

CSR PROGRAM

Part I : Student Rights

The necessity for free inquiry at institutions of higher learning has long been recognized. Both teachers and students should be free of all restrictions on their thinking, questioning, and expression. It is under such circumstances that knowledge can best be pursued.

Among those fundamental rights which must be present in an institution of higher learning are the following:

- Check point?*
1. Access to a college education must be given to all those who desire it. All those desirous of a college education must be granted admission without regard to race, color, creed, national origin, political beliefs, criminal record, or economic status. Stipends must be awarded without regard to race, color, ect. Admissions criteria must be decided on by faculty and students. These criteria must establish the basis for admission.
 2. Students must be free to join or organize any organization on or off campus. Such organizations must be granted unfettered freedom in inquiry, speech, and action.
 - A. They may invite any speakers, audience, and participants they chose.
 - B. They may discuss any subject matter they chose.
 - C. They may promote causes they support by distributing literature, passing petitions, picketing, or taking action they believe desirable on or off campus, without jeopardy to their status in the university.
 - D. They need not have a faculty adviser; but if one is desirable, he or she must be selected by the organization itself.
 - E. They must not be required to submit membership lists to the university.
 - F. Members or advisers must not as a group or as individuals suffer any discrimination because of their affiliations.
 - G. There must be no discrimination in the use of physical or recreational facilities.
 - H. Any organization or individual in the university community must have the right to distribute literature and use university facilities for meetings. They may co-sponsor off-campus speakers.
 - I. Students must not be required to join or attend any religious or non-curricular activities.

3. Students must be free to publish and distribute and sell, without prior approval, both university and independent publications without University censorship or editorial policy. Selection of staff should be on the basis of interest and activity and must be done by the organization itself. Staff must be protected from punishment or suppression for any views expressed. The right to remove staff members must be reserved to the organization. Campus radio and television stations must not be subject to the censorship of the university.

4. The University shall respect the students' civil rights and liberties on and off campus: any entrance into a student's living quarters unauthorized by said student shall be in accordance with state and federal laws, especially those regarding search and seizure.

5. Students must be free to establish a democratic student government, elected by the entire student body and free from censorship. This student government must serve as the student's representative on all levels of decision making. This participation must be on an equitable footing with representatives of the faculty in determining both social and academic aspects of university life. The student government alone must decide on non-curricular matters which affect students only.

6. Faculty must help to insure freedom of expression to students with divergent ideas; they should refrain from harmful disclosure of statements without prior knowledge and consent of the individuals concerned.

Part II : The University Community

The structure and organization of the university community must conform to the needs inherent in the true pursuit of knowledge. How the university community should be governed and what rules and regulations it should establish are questions to which the criteria of free inquiry, student rights, and the basic principles found in our democratic way of life must be applied.

C.S.R. suggests that the following should be among the important principles of university government at Michigan State University:

1. Any student, regardless of sex, may live in housing of his or her choice, subject only to local, state, and federal laws.

2. The residents of each dormitory or other living unit shall formulate all regulations regarding personal conduct for the students living in that dormitory (such as dress regulations, hours, sign-outs, ect.). These regulations shall be subject to no higher university authority, but shall be in accordance with local, state, and national laws. These rules, and maximum penalties, shall be clearly stated in written form and made available to all students.

3. All infractions of rules on campus must be tried by a student-faculty hearing board, in accordance with due process.

A. There must be a code of proscriptions and penalties referring to any possible conduct subject to regulations in the university community.

- B. Preliminary investigation must not include pressure or harassment attempting to elicit confessions of guilt.
 - C. Searching should only be done in the presence of the accused in accordance with protections regarding search and seizure contained in the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
 - D. Notice of charges must be given in writing well ahead of the hearing. The accused must be given a full statement of rights and recourse.
 - E. The status of the student on campus must not be altered pending the conclusion of the hearing.
 - F. The accused must be allowed right to counsel, right to testify and cross-examine, and right to confront his accusers.
 - G. A transcript must be made of the hearing and must be made available to him.
 - H. The hearing may be open or closed according to the preference of the accused.
 - I. The accused must have the right to appeal the decision to a faculty-student body constituted to hear and pass on such appeals.
 - J. Decisions of the hearing board must be made solely on the basis of the evidence presented at the hearing.
4. Suspension procedures which state that suspended students may not remain in the "Lansing-East Lansing" area unless it is their natural home, shall be abolished. Suspended students may frequent both the area and the campus.
5. There must be no campus police who are not under student-faculty jurisdiction. No other law enforcement agents may be allowed on campus, unless by invitation of the campus police.
6. No files shall be kept which:
- A. Are not completely open to the student at all times.
 - B. Are available to anyone directly or indirectly, unless specific, written consent has been given by the student.
- Academic records - which merely contain a transcript of grades and letters of recommendation used for admission to MSU - shall be available to the student at all times.
7. Students and faculty must have control over curriculum.
8. There must be no compulsory ROTC or compulsory ROTC orientation.

9. There must be no loyalty oaths.

10. Improvements in the MSU library shall be initiated immediately in accordance with the suggestions contained in the report of the Faculty library Committee (The Sullivan Committee - 1965).

11. All dormitory housing contracts shall be of term length. Contracts may be broken during the term for any reasons acceptable to the dorm government.

12. Full library, Union and classroom facilities shall be open 24 hours a day.

A DECLARATION OF PURPOSE (CSR)

We, the students of Michigan State University, have formed the Committee for Student Rights (CSR), to defend and promote our legitimate interests as students. We unite to affirm an educational philosophy that is fundamental to the needs of students and consistent with the rights of men.

We state our firm belief in "the doctrine that man is meant to live, not to prepare for life;" democratic participation, not "training for democracy;" the understanding that there is no conflict in being a man and being a student; an atmosphere in which there is no True Value, but one in which there is an unencumbered Search for Values; a society in which the Administration serves the vital and changing needs of students and faculty, not one in which the scholars are subordinate to "the University."

Inherent in this doctrine is the conception of the student as a human being fully capable of assuming responsibilities in the here-and-now, quite prepared to suffer the consequences of making mistakes; not as a child to be pampered and spanked when he is naughty; not as an incidental and troublesome element injected into an otherwise smooth-flowing process; not as an apprentice training to take his place in a strictly defined society.

The University is not a "nice setup" as administration personnel have quaintly put it; it is exploration, it is tension, it is conflict; it is the peaceful, but intense resolution of common problems by those who are most immediately concerned with the given society.

Our beliefs imply the need for the University to facilitate - but not control - the development of each individual student. Facilitation involves devoting primary attention to the individual student's academic needs, to the material and intellectual resources at his disposal; not to the winning of government contracts, not to projecting a favorable public image; not toward the creation of a Multiuniversity.

When we distinguish between facilitation and control, we relentlessly object to the policy that students can realize their potentialities when they suffer special deprivations because they are students. In essence, what we resolutely oppose is the doctrine of in loco parentis, which asserts that "the college stands in the same position to its students as that of a parent...and it can therefore direct and control their conduct to the same extent that a parent can."

The University administration will quickly point out - and correctly so - that the doctrine of in loco parentis has remained substantially intact when legally challenged. Be we deny that this is the paramount issue. Rather, we ask: Does this doctrine serve a beneficial educational purpose? Does it express the most desirable relationship between the students and the administration of the University? Our reply is an emphatic NO! This doctrine permits an administration to formulate a True Value and impose it upon a diverse group of students - forcing them to conform or to forego a University education. Arbitrary rules and regulations which enforce conformity in the personal and social aspects of life inevitably dull individual creativity and an inquisitive spirit in the intellectual sphere.

Thus, CSR arises not only to change the most offensive paternalistic regulations, but also to challenge the University's claim to be paternalistic, and to initiate a fresh dialogue regarding the student, the University, and society.

WORKSHOP OUTLINE
FOR
CSR

I. The Uses of the University:

- A. Liberal Education and The Community of Scholars
(readings: Booth, Dowty, Goodman, McKelvey)
- B. The Multiversity and the Knowledge Industry
(readings: Beck, Dowty, Garson, Kerr, Krebs & Lemansky)

II. Generational Revolt and the Free Speech Movement

- A. An Overview of the "Movement"
(readings: Rosenfield, Kindman, Zinn)
- B. Berkeley
(readings: Draper, Miller & Gilmore, Lipset & Welin)

III. Change and The Power Structure

- A. Analyzing The Power Structure
(readings: Beck, Garson, Krebs & Lemansky, Minnis)
- B. Strategy for Change
 - 1. Counter-communities and Free Universities
 - 2. Direct Action and Social Protest

Suggested readings:

- *1. Beck, Hubert P., Men Who Controll Our Universities
(Kings Crown Press N.Y. 1947)
- **2. Booth, Paul, " A Strattegy for University Reform"
- **3. Dowty, Stuart, "The American University: Is Demo-
cracy Possible"
4. Draper, Hal, Berkely: The New Student Revolt
(Grove Press N.Y. 1965, paperback)
- *5. Goodman, Paul, The Community of Scholars
(Random House N.Y. 1962)
6. Garson, Marvin, "The Regents" ;in Draper, above
- *7. Kerr, Clark, The Uses of The University
- **8. Kindman, Mike "A Short History of CSR"
- **9. Krebs & Lemansky "Columbia: A Political Monograph"
10. Lipset & Wolin, The Berkely Student Revolt
(Doubleday and Co. N.Y. 1965, paperback)
- **11. McKelvey, Donald "The Doctrine of Unfreedom and
University Reform"
12. Miller & Gilmore, Revolution At Berkeley
(paperback)
- **13. Minnis, Jack, "The Care and Feeding of Power Structures"
- **14. Rosenfield, Gerald, "Generational Revolt and The
Free Speech Movement"
15. Zinn, Howard, SNCC: The New Abolitionists
(Beacons Press 1964)

* Available from MSU library

** Available from CSR

SOUTH WEST COMPLEX
(Fee, Akers, Holmes, McDonel)

Workshop starts: Tuesday Feb. 22
7:30 P.M. 137 E. Akers

NORTH EAST COMPLEX
(Mason, Phillips, Abbott, Snyder)

Workshop starts: Thursday Feb. 24
8:00 P.M. at 134 Gunson Street
{ two blocks east of Bogue St }
{ turn left off Grand River }

Controversy Involves Schiff Case

Editor Remains, Sides With Faculty Advisor In Holding Stories

By JAMES SCHUTZE

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Seventy-Five Years of Editorial Freedom

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...tee on Student Affairs has
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...itor James Sterba, one
...who resigned, claimed
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...asted all available avenues of
...otiation. He alleged that the
...faculty advisor would have refused
...permission to publish the state-
...ments had Welis given his permis-
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Schiff's case is presently being
...ried in the U.S. District Court in
...Grand Rapids. Schiff claims he
...was dismissed from MSU because
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THE SITUATION AT MSU: FREEDOM ISN'T UNIVERSAL

A MICHIGAN STATE student walked wearily from the Heritage Room of State's luxurious Kellogg Center and slumped into a leather chair. He had just finished witnessing in behalf of Paul Schiff before the Faculty Committee on Student Affairs.

"Do you have anything you'd like to say about the hearing for the Michigan Daily?" I asked.

"Sure," he snapped. "Tell them down there that they ought to be damn thankful for whatever freedom they have. Tell them that they should be very grateful they are treated like human beings every once in a while."

The tone of his remarks resounded behind much of the murmured conversation going on in the anteroom. The content of his remarks was clarified in a statement made outside the hearing room by Stu Dowty of the Committee for Student Rights.

"We defend the right of the Young Americans for Freedom to distribute copies of *Non Dare Call It Treason*. We defend our own right to distribute copies of *Logos*. In effect, what we are fighting for is the right to freedom of press as guaranteed in the First Amendment. The only problem is that up here the First Amendment only applies to those people the administration decides to apply it to. YAF can distribute *Stormer's* book - without harassment. We are threatened with police action when we distribute *Logos*!"

PAUL SCHIFF was expelled from Michigan State University because he allegedly violated the university's distribution policy has a great deal to say about Michigan State itself.

When the Daily asked Dr. Eldon Nonnamaker of the Office of Student Activities for a clarification of State's policy on distribution, Dr. Nonnamaker pointed to a copy of the 1964-65 *Sparta Guide*. The guide, a hand-

book for student organizations states specifically that, "there shall be no door to door distribution of any nature." Schiff distributed copies of Logos door to door. The violation seems to be ridiculously clear.

Hugh Anderson, vice-chairman of the East Lansing Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, had some remarks to make, however, which put Schiff's case in a different light. "The university has never denied," Anderson said, that three weeks after the distribution, in the May 11 issue of the State News, it was reported that President John Hannah had approved the rule on door to door distribution on May 10. "The rule at the time of the distribution was, as stated by Hannah in a letter to the American Civil Liberties Union in February, that there was no ban or bar on distribution of literature in dormitories or elsewhere."

THE STORY GOES ON. Schiff had been originally refused readmission to the university because he violated the distribution rules, because he participated in demonstrations, and because he criticized the mayor of East Lansing in a public meeting. Someone evidently realized that a student can't be expelled for exercising his First Amendment rights, all of which are involved in the charges above, so a new charge was leveled against Schiff.

Michigan State decided that Schiff, who was admitted as a provisional student, had failed to satisfy the stipulations of his provisional acceptance. Mysteriously, Schiff had already been allowed to reregister for another term when this decision was made. Mysteriously, he had been allowed to pay fees for another term. Mysteriously, a copy of transcript indicating that his status had been changed from provisional to regular was "corrected" to return his status to that of a provisional student.

Schiff was not justly treated by Michigan State when he was refused readmission for exercising his First Amendment rights. Schiff was probably not justly treated when Michigan State accused him of misrepresenting his status as a student.

The wrong against Schiff will not be righted by less than a decision of the Faculty Committee on Student Affairs offering him immediate readmission, the permanent removal of any slur of his character from his academic record, and an apology from President Hannah.

WHAT LESSON can be drawn from the case of Paul Schiff?

President Hatcher stated to a meeting of University alumni Tuesday that, "as citizens, students have the same freedom of speech, peaceful assembly, and right of petition guaranteed to all citizens by our Constitution."

The administration of the University has endowed the student body of this institution with an atmosphere of democratic freedom of expression: to abuse either that freedom or its use by persons we consider mistaken or offensive is to invite the developments of an atmosphere like the one prevailing at Michigan State.

Wise students will receive this statement as a challenge to both responsible and active exercise of a freedom not everyone enjoys.

—JAMES SCHUTZE

Reprinted from THE MICHIGAN DAILY

Editorials printed in THE MICHIGAN DAILY express the individual opinions of staff writers or the editors.

On June 21, 1965, Paul M. Schiff was denied readmission to Michigan State University. Previously a graduate student in economics, Schiff had been accepted to do graduate work in the History Department.

During the summer and early fall, rumors and speculation abounded: the case was before the public, but the facts were in a state of flux.

It was not until after a Federal District Court ruling on October 14 that the University formally specified its reasons for denying Schiff readmission, and granted him a hearing in which he could defend himself against the charges.

For the first time the "Schiff Case" Documents are being presented to the University community for their examination. The two documents printed here are Vice-president Puzak's reasons for denial of readmission, and Paul Schiff's Answer (minus exhibits and affidavits). They are the basic documents which the Faculty Committee must weigh in reaching its decision on Schiff's status.

On Nov. 16, the State News was given copies of these documents at its request. But on the orders of its faculty advisor and general manager, Louis Berman, it refused to publish them, contending that their publication at this time might "prejudice" the deliberations of the Faculty Committee.

This action by Berman was acquiesced to by Editor-in-Chief, Charles Wells, but provoked cries of censorship from the rest of the editorial staff--and their subsequent resignations from the State News. (Many other staff members also resigned in protest.) Apparently the new staff did not feel that this action was newsworthy to the University community. No comment appeared in the next issue of the paper, MSU students and faculty received its information from copies of the Michigan Daily (3000 copies were sold on campus on Friday, Nov. 19.)

CSR is printing the two documents at this time because it fails to understand how public knowledge of the facts in this case could prejudice the members of the Faculty Committee one way or the other--unless one questions the competence of these faculty members to decide the case on its merits alone.

Paul Schiff specifically requested that his hearing be open to the public. The choice between an open and a closed hearing is traditionally accorded to the defendant, even at MSU. Schiff's request was denied; the University opted for secrecy.

Why?

Perhaps the publication of these documents will provide a partial answer. We print them without further comment, but with the hope that the transcript of the entire proceedings will shortly be made public by the University.

THE
SCHIFF
DOCUMENTS

FUZAK'S CHARGES

SCHIFF'S

RESPONSE

A 7

IN REAPPLICATION OF PAUL M. SCHIFF FOR
READMISSION TO MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY AS
A GRADUATE STUDENT AND A CANDIDATE FOR A DEGREE

John A. Fuzak, Vice President of Michigan State University and acting with authority in its behalf, specifies the following reasons for the denial of said petition for readmission, in accordance with the direction of the District Court for the Western District of Michigan, Southern Division:

1. Said petitioner has openly and defiantly refused to abide by a regulation of said University, approved and adopted at the request of students living in dormitories on the campus, prohibiting door-to-door distribution was attempted during the night time.
2. Said petitioner refused to desist from his violation of said regulation when requested to do so and in a publication periodically made by him, ostensibly on behalf of a student organization which was not recognized by the University, ridiculed the reasons for said regulation and publicly announced through a publication especially conducted by him on behalf of said unrecognized group, known as the Committee for Student Rights, that said regulation would be opposed.
3. Because of his defiant attitude and open attack on the enforcement of a reasonable regulation of the University, petitioner encouraged others to indulge in like conduct. Circulation of publications, including that as conducted by petitioner, was permitted in dormitories by placing the periodical known as "Logos" at a designated place in each dormitory where anyone desiring it might take it.

4. Petitioner refused to recognize and abide by a regulation of the University requiring student organizations to secure recognition from the institution before functioning upon the campus. His conduct was such that it resulted in the encouragement of students and others to disregard said regulation, which was essential to the orderly conduct of student affairs.
5. The open and defiant course of conduct in which petitioner indulged was deliberately pursued by him in order to discredit the University, the administration of the affairs thereof, the faculty, and the student body. Such course of conduct was pursued deliberately, with the obvious purpose of accomplishing such results, and in total disregard of the obligations imposed on the Board of Trustees, the administrative officers and the faculty of the institution under the Constitution and laws of the State of Michigan.
6. Petitioner, at a public meeting on the campus of the University, subjected a member of the faculty to public ridicule, and by his words and conduct on said occasion, induced students of the University to participate in acts of civil disobedience.
7. Said petitioner was first enrolled as a student in the University on a provisional basis, that is, under the requirement that he maintain a satisfactory academic record in seeking a degree. Petitioner has taken the position improperly that he had satisfactorily complied with the provisional requirements and that upon completion of a thesis was eligible to receive a degree. The facts in this respect are wholly at variance with the petitioner's claim of regularly pursuing a degree at Michigan State University.
8. The conduct of petitioner, as above mentioned, and the unsupported claims that he has advanced, are such as to justify and require in the protection of the aims and purposes of Michigan State University, that he be denied readmission thereto.

Dated at East Lansing,
Michigan this 22 day
of October, 1965.

Respectfully submitted,

John A. Fuzak

November 1, 1965

RE: PAUL M. SCHIFF: DENIAL OF READMISSION TO
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Answer to list of reasons submitted by Vice-President John A. Fuzak for the denial of my readmission to Michigan State University as a graduate student and as a candidate for a degree.

* * * * *

I have received a list of reasons for the denial of my readmission to Michigan State University for the summer term, 1965. The document, dated October 22, 1965, submitted to me in accordance with the opinion of the United States District Court for the western District of Michigan, by John A. Fuzak, Vice-President for Student Affairs, includes eight numbered paragraphs. I will reply to them in the same numerical order in which they have been set down by Vice-President Fuzak:

1. I am charged with "openly and defiantly" violating a regulation prohibiting door-to-door distribution of literature in University residence halls. While the charge is unspecific with respect to time and place, I understand from previous communications with Vice-President Fuzak and Eldon Nonnamaker, Dean of Students, that this charge refers to my distribution of the Committee for Student Rights (CSR) newsletter, "Logos", in Case Hall on April 23, 1965.

Although I was aware on April 23 that the Faculty Committee on Student Affairs had on or about the same day recommended a new rule prohibiting the door-to-door distribution of literature in student dormitories, it was and is my understanding that the new rule would not become effective unless and until approved by University President John A. Hannah or the Board of Trustees.

The first notice that I received that the new rule had been approved and become effective was on May 11, 1965, some three weeks after the incident occurred, when the following information was conveyed by the "State News":

President John A. Hannah approved Monday (May 10) the new printed material distribution policy in a letter to the chairman of the Faculty Committee on Student Affairs.

The proposals by the Mens Halls Association and Women's Inter-resident Hall Council can now be considered official University policy, said Charles Titkemeyer, associate professor of anatomy and committee chairman.

Until President Hannah approved the new distribution rule, the official policy of the University was to the best of my information and belief, that set forth in a letter from President Hannah to Mrs. Roy Emery, Secretary of the Lansing Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, dated February 24, 1965, a copy of which is attached as Exhibit A:

...The University has provided no ban or bar to the distribution of their (CSA) publications, which have been distributed through the dormitories and elsewhere, and it is not planned to inhibit in any way such distribution by them or by any other group.

I deny that the new distribution rule is desirable or necessary, but regardless of my lack of sympathy with or respect for the rule, I have complied therewith since its approval by President Hannah. I have made or caused to be made no distribution of literature door-to-door in the dormitories since April 23, 1965.

My distribution of "Logos" in Case Hall on April 23, 1965, was performed in a way that would not annoy or harass the residents, by quietly sliding the pamphlets under room doors.

2. As above stated, I violated no existing rule of the University in the distribution of "Logos" on April 23, 1965, or at any other time.

I admit that I argued in the April 23, 1965, issue of "Logos", a copy of which is attached as Exhibit B, that the proposed new distribution rule was badly conceived, should be rescinded before its implementation and that CSR opposes the rule. I deny that I "ridiculed" the rule, if such allegation be material, but instead say that my article in "Logos" was a serious effort to demonstrate the unsoundness of the rule, for the purpose of persuading the University's administration not to adopt or implement the proposed rule. I pointed out in the "Logos" article that the new rule raised First Amendment issues of freedom of press; that it inhibited communication; that it would have little effect upon the maintaining of quiet and privacy in the dormitories; and that it appeared to be directed primarily at CSR.

- My right to continue my education at the University cannot and should not be denied on the basis that I publicly disagreed with a proposed change in University policy. I do not believe that the proper functioning of the University required that students either publicly express approval of proposed or existing rules or remain silent.
3. I am charged with having a "defiant attitude", which even if true is not a proper basis for denying my right to continue my education at the University in the absence of improper conduct. I deny that I have a "defiant attitude" within any normal meaning of those words. Instead, my attitude is one of earnestly and conscientiously attempting to help improve the University as a community of scholars and teachers. This, I believe, can be done only by criticizing aspects of the University which need improvement and offering proposals to bring about that end.

I am charged with making an "open attack" upon a "reasonable regulation", but my right to criticize the new distribution rule cannot depend upon whether that rule is "reasonable ~~in~~ the view of the Administration. Although my public criticism of the rule may have encouraged others to make similar criticisms, I have at no time advocated disobedience of

the rule, but instead urged in "Logos" that the rule be rescinded (see Exhibit B). Indeed, I have urged students to not violate the rule.

4. I am charged with refusing "to recognize and abide by a regulation...requiring student organizations to secure recognition from the institution", and, by my conduct, encouraging other students "to disregard said regulation". It is further alleged that this rule "was essential to the orderly conduct of student affairs."

I deny that CSR is or was in violation of any University rule in failing to seek or obtain "recognition." Section 13 of the regulations promulgated by the All University Student Government, relating to recognition of student organizations, provides only that "A defunct organization (one not chartered by Student Government) shall be considered nonexistent and shall have no rights or privileges as an organization." The University has never interpreted the "recognition" rules as prohibiting student membership in CSR or any other unrecognized group. CSR has continuously and publicly functioned since fall, 1964, and functions today, yet to my knowledge no officer or member thereof has been advised by the University that he is in violation of the rules. To my knowledge, no member of CSR other than myself has ever been disciplined in any way on the basis of such association per se.

I spoke to Vice President Fuzak two or three times during winter term 1965. I was never advised or informed, verbally or in writing, that, by virtue of being the editor of "Logos", I was in violation of a University regulation requiring the registration of student organizations. As shown by Exhibit A, President Hannah recognized the right of CSR to function on campus without recognition.

On information and belief, this fall at least two representatives of CSR, Bary Sommer, Executive Secretary, and Gary Sawatski, On-campus Coordinator, personally discussed with several officials of the University issues of concern to CSR, including distribution of CSR literature, but were not advised that they or CSR are in violation of any University rule.

Even if University rules require CSA to be "recognized," I neither have nor had authority to apply for such recognition on behalf of CSA.

The rules of the All University Student Government, if construed so as to make membership in CSA unlawful, are in violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution, in that they arbitrarily prohibit free association, assembly, speech and press. CSA is a loose association of students and others formed for the purposes, inter alia, of improving the climate at the University for discussion and debate of public issues; improving University library facilities; improving and clarifying the rules affecting student conduct; and bringing about equal housing opportunities for all students in the East Lansing community. The right to associate for these purposes can not be made to depend upon the approval of Student Government or the meeting of the intricate requirements of the "recognition rules" set forth at pages 2-9 of "Sparta Guide," Fall 1964 Edition.

I deny that the application of the "recognition rule" to CSA is essential to or helpful in the orderly conduct of student affairs. If the application of the rule to CSA is essential, the proper method of applying the rule is to notify CSA through its officers that it must seek recognition, rather than arbitrarily denying my readmission without prior notice that such action would or might result from membership in CSA. Such penalty is wholly unnecessary, is unduly harsh, and is discriminatory.

5. I deny the charges that I indulged in a "defiant course of conduct" or that I have at any time attempted to discredit the University, its administration, the faculty or the student body. I object to this charge being made without specifics as to how anything I have ever done since becoming a student at the University in the fall quarter of 1963 has brought discredit to the University or any segment of the University community. If this charge relates to the charges in paragraphs 1 through 4, I deny that the distribution of "Loges" on April 23, 1965, my editorial

in the April 23 issue of "Logos" criticizing the new proposed distribution rule and suggesting an alternative thereto, and my membership in an organization that has not sought University recognition, have brought, or are bringing, discredit to the University.

On the contrary, my participation in CSR has had the purpose and effect of bringing credit to the University and of making the University an institution that may be held in higher repute throughout the country. I have vigorously advocated in "Logos" and elsewhere the improvement of University library facilities; I have attacked the unreasonableness of University housing rules, which through the efforts of myself and many others were modified and made more reasonable this year; I have attacked the arbitrary imposition of discipline by University officials not based upon any clearly defined University rules or policies; I have attacked the restrictions and inhibitions upon free speech and free discussion placed by the University's administration, such as those brought to bear upon me in this case; and I have vigorously urged that the University publicly state its support for an ordinance in East Lansing that would assure equal housing opportunities for all persons in the University community regardless of race or religion. It has been and is my belief that the University has not acted with credit to itself in the aforementioned areas and that if the University changed its policies and rules in these areas, it would achieve greater status and respect in the community of universities and colleges.

To be sure, CSR has subjected both individuals and practices to criticism, feeling critical evaluation to be our inalienable right and duty. However, our aim has never been to simply ridicule and demean, but to hopefully induce the types of changes that would benefit Michigan State University -- that would enable it to better fulfill the promises of an educational institution and its own stated ideals.

Perhaps it is unnecessary to belabor this point, but I think what is "discrediting" to a University is usually a matter of opinion, and rarely a matter of incontrovertible fact. I am informed and believe that in July, the Michigan State University chapter of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) sent a letter to President Hannah, urging him to reconsider the decision not to readmit me. The AAUP listed three reasons for this position. One of these was that this action by the administration would hurt the academic reputation of Michigan State University throughout the country. In other words, in the opinion of the AAUP, the action taken by the administrative officials of Michigan State University has tended to discredit the University. See, also, the "Statement on Faculty responsibility for the Academic Freedom of Students," AAUP Bulletin, Autumn 1964, pp. 254-257, attached as Exhibit C.

I am anxious to resume my studies at Michigan State University. I wish to pursue a program leading to a Master's degree, and perhaps to a Doctoral degree. I do not wish these degrees from a discredited institution.

I deny that "the bringing of discredit to the University" is a proper basis for the denial of my right to continue my education at the University, when the basis for such charge lies solely in the exercise of my First Amendment rights of speech, association, and press on subjects of vital concern to the University, its faculty and students.

6. Vice President Fuzak charges in paragraph 6 that I subjected a member of the faculty to public ridicule at a meeting on the campus and induced students at the University to engage in acts of civil disobedience. Although no specifics as to time, place or the person "ridiculed" are stated in the charge, I can only guess that it refers to a meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) held in late May, 1965, at which Mr. Gordon Thomas, of the Speech Department, spoke in his capacity as Mayer of East Lansing. At such meeting, in a heated debate, I

verbally attacked Mayor Thomas for refusing to acknowledge that he had previously told civil rights leaders that he favored city legislation requiring applicants for rental licenses to file a non-discriminatory pledge. This, of course, I had a right to do pursuant to the free speech guarantee of the First Amendment of the United States Constitution and a moral obligation to do since the issue was of vital public concern.

I deny that at the aforementioned meeting I induced University students to participate in acts of civil disobedience. I did participate with 58 other persons, mostly students, in a peaceful demonstration in front of the East Lansing City Hall, urging the adoption of a fair housing ordinance. Although 59 demonstrators were arrested and charged with obstructing traffic, 56 of those persons (including myself) did not plead guilty and our cases have not yet come to trial. Even should I subsequently be convicted of obstructing traffic, such a violation occurring in the context of the conscientious struggle for equal opportunity is not evidence of my unsuitability for continued education at the University. In my view, the 59 demonstrators (including myself) were pursuing the highest purposes and goals of the University in demonstrating our concern with discriminatory housing in East Lansing and our courage to subject ourselves to possible fine or imprisonment in pursuit of this democratic ideal. The University could only bring discredit upon itself by heaping additional penalties upon penalties, if any, imposed by civil authorities for our expression of support for equal housing opportunities.

7. I admit that I was first enrolled as a student at the University in in the fall quarter of 1963 on a provisional basis, and that I was required to maintain a satisfactory academic record in seeking a graduate degree. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the exact terms of my provisional standing were that I complete two basic courses in Economics which I had not taken as an undergraduate with a grade of B or better. Having completed both courses with a grade of B, I was at the conclusion of winter quarter, given the status of a regular student, and I am informed and believe this is shown by

the transcript of my academic record in the files of the University, a copy of which is attached as Exhibit D. I object to a charge now being made for the first time that my academic record is in any way deficient, since this matter was not advanced as a reason for the denial of my right to continue my education at the time of such denial in June of 1965, or at the time on June 23, 1965, when I requested of Vice President Fuzak a statement of the reasons for my expulsion. On information and belief, on or about June 23, 1965, Vice President Fuzak, in response to inquiries by several members of the faculty, specifically and categorically denied that my academic performance had anything to do with my expulsion, as shown by the affidavits of Professors Charles Larrowe and Russell Allen, attached hereto. In addition, I was accepted on June 3, 1965, for admission to the school for advanced graduate studies to pursue a Master's program in History after a review of my academic record, as shown by the letter to me from Walter R. Fee, Chairman of the Department of History, dated June 3, 1965, a copy of which is attached as Exhibit E.

On October 27, 1965, I talked with Professor John Henderson, Director of Graduate Studies in the Economics Department, and was told that nothing in my academic record precluded further study at this University.

I am unable to respond to the charges contained in the second and third sentences of paragraph 7, which, allege that I have improperly taken the position that I have complied with the requirements for obtaining a Master's degree, other than completion of a thesis, or, that the facts are "wholly at variance" with my claim of regularly pursuing the degree. I request therefore, that such charges either be withdrawn, or, in the alternative, made sufficiently specific that I may respond thereto.

I have never been advised or notified, formally or informally, by anyone connected with the Economics Department, the College of Business, or the University Administration that my academic record to date precludes me from obtaining a Master's degree upon satisfactory completion of my thesis in Economics and the passing of an oral examination.

8. I deny that any of the conduct referred to in the prior seven charges, no matter how broadly such charges are construed, could justify denial of my right to continue my education at the University. I deny that the protection of the aims and purposes of the University require and justify the denial of my readmission, and object to this charge as being so vague as to be meaningless and for failure to specify what specific aims and purposes of the University require denial of readmission. I deny that I have advanced "unsupported claims," and request that this charge be withdrawn in the absence of being advised as to what claims I have made that are unsupported. I deny that the making of "unsupported claims" is a proper ground for denial of readmission, at least in the absence of the most unusual circumstances not shown here. If "unsupported claims" refers to my criticism of the University's new literature-distribution rule and my proposal of a substitute therefor, I deny that such criticism is or can be a proper ground for my expulsion.

RELIEF REQUESTED

I request that those charges which are so vague and unspecific that I was unable to respond thereto in this answer be made sufficiently specific to enable me to answer, or that they be withdrawn.

I further request that paragraphs 6 and 7 of the charges, dealing with the criticism of Mayor Thomas and my academic standing, respectively, be stricken for the reason that the denial of my readmission to the University was not based upon such charges, as more fully set forth in

my complaint filed with the United States District Court for the Western District of Michigan, Docket No. 5147. Such charges are mere after-thoughts, raised for the first time, long after the denial of readmission.

I further request that upon conclusion of the hearing on the charges against me, the person or persons conducting such hearing advise me of their decision in writing with a statement of the facts and reasons in support of the decision made.

Respectfully submitted,

Paul M. Schiff

CSR

First, to educate as many students as possible to an awareness of the role they have been relegated to as raw material for the brain factory and consequently in the society at large.

Secondly, to instill a sense of responsibility contrary to the "in loco parentis" doctrine. In other words to provide responsibility for making influential decisions as an alternative to mass anonymity and business as usual.

Finally, to translate this sense of responsibility into collective action through organizations.

We believe a program of this sort will not only provide tactical results but more important it will provide a basis of mass creative expression for the movement. Without this C.S.S. operates as an isolated entity, merely justifying its own existence. Moreover we can anticipate increased participation from the administration. By establishing our roots on a mass basis we can guarantee the survival of C.S.S. No suppression of individuals will stop the movement.

FROM THE ORGANIZER

STRUCTURAL REORGANIZATION

Report from Committee
October 4, 1965

In approaching the problems of structural reorganization let us consider it from the angle of what purposes must the structure serve, while at the same time allowing for the utmost in democratic participation and individual creative expression.

The first and major concern is the making of general policy decisions. This function was served last year by the Committee of the Whole; made up of any interested students who wished to attend. It seemed to work well when there were major decisions to be made, however, after major policy had been acted upon participation dwindled until the meetings finally abolished themselves of their own accord. In other words the Committee of the Whole seemed to function in direct proportion to the importance of the work at hand.

It is the feeling of this committee that the Committee of the Whole be maintained as the group having ultimate authority over major policy and that it should meet whenever there is major policy to be made. Furthermore that all interested persons should be encouraged to assemble at the local level (dorms, complexes, off campus) and make their own policy in the context of the general purposes and beliefs of C.S.S.

The second function which we must address ourselves to is the day to day operation of the organization. This function was fulfilled last year by the Steering Committee made up of the following positions: Chairman, Executive Secretary, Editor, Press, Legal, Faculty, Research, three on

campus coordinators, one off campus coordinator and four members at large. This body was responsible for implementing the policy decisions of the Committee of the Whole and its members were elected from the Committee of the Whole.

It worked well until it became obvious that the people in the dorms had no effective means of participation with this body, so in May the head coordinators of the five areas of campus were added to the Steering Committee. How effective this corrective measure was is hard to determine due to the lateness of the action.

This committee feels that a coordinating body which could meet frequently to fulfill the specific functions of day to day operation, coordinating them with each other and with the local groups is needed. Thus we propose the creation of a Coordinating Committee. This body would be composed of...

1. A representative from each dorm group, to be elected and responsible to that group. In the case of coed dorms, one representative from each side. In the interim period, until enough CSR people are gathered in a dorm to have a meeting, the post shall be temporarily filled by the assigned dorm organizer.

It is strongly hoped that these local groups, once established, can take the lead in action at the local level.

In addition the Coordinating Committee should contain the following elected positions:

2. An Executive Secretary. To fulfill the function of chairman and take responsibility for meetings. To also provide over all coordination, communication and direction for the organization.

3. Business Manager. To act as treasurer, keep books and generally handle all business functions of the organization.

4. Secretary. To coordinate all secretarial functions and keep minutes.

5. Legal Coordinator. To collect research in areas of interest and handle legal relations (aid).

6. Editor - LOGS

7. Editor - ORIENTATION

8. Press - public relations and distribution of informational materials.

9. Faculty Coordinator - coordinate activities with the faculty, faculty relations and distribution.

10. Research. To stimulate and coordinate research in all relevant areas.

11. On Campus Coordinator. To direct the organization program, coordinate distribution and other on campus activities.

12. Off Campus Coordinator - handle distribution off campus and other functions.

13. Off Campus Coordinator - attempt to organize around grievances (i.e. housing).

M.E. Furthermore - the meetings of this body shall be open to all interested persons.

Adopted October 10, 1965

STUDENT CONVICTIONS PROVOKE COWLES HOUSE VIGIL

FREE SPEECH?

On October 12, 1965, three students of Michigan State University: Fred Janvrin, Albert Halprin, and James Dukarm, and one non-student: Howard Harrison, were arrested while passing out anti-war literature during the MSU "Career Carnival" at the Union Building. The charges against them were trespassing and interfering with the normal flow of university activities.

These students were in a building ostensibly owned and operated for the students of Michigan State University and their guests, i.e., in their own building. They were standing near the Marine Coprs booth, and the Marines did not contend that they were bothered by this distribution of literature. Other booths in the same area of the Career Carnival similarly made no protest at the time.

Yet these students were arrested for trespassing by the University Police, at the request of the university administration. It became clear as time passed that the issue was not trespassing, but whether these students were to be allowed to voice an opinion which disagreed with and embarrassed the university administration. The students were protesting a war which MSU helped start, by its long-term aid to Ngo Dinh Diem's government in South Vietnam.

DUE PROCESS?

The original trial for the four defendants was held December 17, 1965, in the Lansing Township Justice Court. They were found guilty, and released on bail pending appeal. On Monday and Tuesday of this week, their trial on appeal was held in Michigan Circuit Court in Mason. Judge Marvin Salmon upheld their conviction and sentenced Harrison and Halprin to 30 days each, Janvrin and Dukarm to 10 days each. This sentence was imposed, it seems, in an attempt to make an example of these four in order to scare off any other person who might wish to voice his opinion in opposition to the university administration. Judge Salmon then refused to either suspend the sentence or grant bail pending appeal to the Michigan Court of Appeals.

Judge Salmon had appeared cordial throughout the trial, but dropped this appearance when the time arrived for sentencing. He declared himself opposed to the actions the defendants had taken to express their opinions, and went out of his way to chastise them for both these actions and other actions not related to the trial. His bias against both the defendants and their views was shown in the following incident. After the judge stepped down from the bench, Halprin politely inquired as to the reason (which had not been given) for his refusal to set bail. Salmon irately told him to shut up or "I'll give you more of the same."

Conrad Lynn, the defense attorney, inquired at the Court of Appeals about the possibility of obtaining a review of Salmon's refusal to set bail. He was told that there was no way to reverse the no-bail decision. Under usual conditions, the Court of Appeals must be given five days' notice before it can consider the case, and it will probably take several additional days before any decision will be handed down. Thus, two of the convicted will have served their sentence before their appeal is considered. In other words, they may be punished before it is decided that they should be punished. Thus, the decision by Salmon, though technically within the letter of the law, is an abridgment of the right of the defendants to appeal their case at a higher level, and a denial of due process.

VIGIL -- HUNGER STRIKE

If this violation of the civil rights of these students is allowed to occur, then worse violations can and will happen. A vigil on the law of the home of University President John Hannah has been under way since midnight, Tuesday March 29,

and will continue until all the students are released. Six students have declared they will remain on a hunger strike until the four defendants are released on bail. In addition, they will remain at the vigil continuously. Others are joining them, leaving only to attend classes.

*****WE URGE ALL MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY
TO JOIN WITH US IN SUPPORT OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH.***

Committee for Student Rights P.O. Box 651, East Lansing, Michigan
Students for a Democratic Society, East Lansing, Michigan

RALLY

TO SUPPORT THE
DEFENDANTS

Thursday 2:00

Cowles House

THE SEA-BLUE FLAG

(OUR MIGHTY MOLLUSK) TUNE: Maryland, My Maryland

This stirring anthem of the CSR is gratefully dedicated to John P. Dellera, who gave us the benign bivalve to be the banner of our cause. Long may he wave.

The students' flag is deep sea-blue
The oyster is our symbol true.
The CSR's the student's friend;
Paternalism's blight must end.

Chorus:

So fling the sea-blue banner high
Beneath its folds we'll grin and try.
Though finks may snoop and deans may sneer
We'll keep the blue flag flying here.

Within our oyster grows a pearl
We would not lose for all the world.
It can't be found until we're free
Our pearl is called maturity.

(Chorus)

A student's not a tiny child
Victorian and meek and mild.
We like to know that we're alive
Admit it's 1965.

(Chorus)

What binds together all our band
That firm beneath the bivalve stand
Is this one truth that all must know
Within straight-jackets none can grow.

(Chorus)

We sometimes like to tilt a glass
Or put an arm around a lass.
One thing is common to our group:
Contempt for all who sniff and snoop.

(Chorus)

One thing we know and know full well
Who stand beneath the sacred shell:
As oysters cling in storm so grim
We'll stick together, sink or swim.

(Chorus)



A FREE PRESS IN A FREE SOCIETY

THE LOSS OF FREEDOM AT MICHIGAN STATE

The University of Michigan's Board in Control of Student Publications, which is delegated "authority and control" over the Daily by the Regents, has repeatedly affirmed, often under trying circumstances, the almost total freedom and responsibility historically granted The Daily's Senior Editors.

Freedom of expression apparently carries little meaning at MSU's State News, however, nor does an individual student's freedom of speech seem to mean much to President John Hannah, who just last week exhorted his national colleagues to "lead the fight for civil rights."

What about Paul Schiff's civil rights, President Hannah?

And, as the letter on this page asks, what has the national civil rights commission, which you have chaired for some years, done for civil rights except what free students working in the North and South have pressured it into doing?

The blatant interference of the MSU administration, particularly President Hannah, in the operations of the State News was brought to a head last night as several of the editors said that they plan to resign today because of a dispute with the editor and faculty advisors over running information on the Schiff case.

And several weeks ago the News editorial director resigned in disgust at the editor's willingness to let Hannah appointees and "faculty advisors," who act as effective censors, to run the paper.

The general manager of the State News, who controls most of what goes on there, is appointed by and is a close personal friend of President Hannah. If Hannah wants to run a newspaper for his own purposes, that's fine, but it should be labeled as the propaganda that it is, not as a free student newspaper.

President Hannah could learn some lessons from University President Harlan Hatcher. Whatever trials and tribulations The Daily has caused Hatcher this semester, and there have been plenty, he cannot be accused of even the slightest imposition on The Daily's editorial freedom.

And whatever trials and tribulations student demonstrators and Viet Nam protesters and sit-inners have caused him, and those have also been considerable, complete freedom of student and faculty expression on important issues has been upheld.

Hannah of course claims that various circumstances other than Schiff's political activities affect his case. That is so much obfuscation. Either there is student freedom of expression or there is control and/or suppression of ideas, something insidious in any university worthy of the name.

*The students and faculty of Michigan State University are entitled to know what is happening at their university, everything happening all of the time.

*They are entitled to a newspaper which can tell them these things freely and without restraint or indirect control of any kind.

*MSU's students and faculty have a right to know that rights of free speech and expression have been blatantly and hypocritically trampled there and that freedom for the principal means of communication within the university, the student paper, is nonexistent.

The basic ideals of the university are at stake. Are the ideals of unhindered search for truth and understanding, by both groups and individuals, and the free and open and unfearful discussion that must accompany such a search for understanding and comprehension, still applicable to MSU?

Freedom is the first prerequisite to education. Without it education is hollow and meaningless for those undergoing it. Education becomes a tool to manipulate others to prescribed social ends, ends which the university itself should be seeking to establish.

Apparently these ideals aren't applicable at MSU. If the faculty and students still believe in them, they should demand the full story on Schiff, and they should get it from a free student press, not Hannah's.

Robert Johnston
Editor

Reprinted from The Michigan Daily. Editorials printed in the Michigan Daily express the individual opinions of staff writers or the editors.

LOGOS

Vol I No 5

THE VOICE OF CSR

April 23, 1965

CSR WILL FIGHT BAN ON DOOR-TO-DOOR
DISTRIBUTION.....p. 1

CSR INITIATES ACTION PROGRAM TO IMPROVE
THE LIBRARY: PUBLIC FORUM CALLED-
MONDLY APRIL 26th 3:00 PM
BEAUMONT TOWER.....p. 3

CSR, NAACP & SNCC TO WORK FOR OPEN OCCU-
PANCY ORDINANCE IN EAST LANSING
ANNOUNCE PICKETING OF HOME OF LOCAL
RESIDENT.....p. 4

DORM LIT TO FLOW FREER HAHA

DORM LITERATURE TO FLOW FREER reads the headline in the State News (April 22). But the truth slips out in the next to the last paragraph of the story: "THE NEW RULES FORBID DOOR-TO-DOOR DISTRIBUTION. OTHERWISE THEY ARE ESSENTIALLY THE SAME AS BEFORE." Thank you Faculty Committee on Student Affairs.

What was the rationale for this latest restriction? Jim Sink, chairman of the MHA-WIC committee which initially proposed it, declared: "We are...trying to protect student rights - the right of privacy from unwanted and annoying material." (State News, April 7). Now rules in the name of student rights!

No doubt a few people have been disturbed by the distribution of LOGOS (including some non-administrators), and we take this opportunity to apologize to any students who have been bothered.

- continued on next page -

- continued from page one -

But anyone who has ever lived in a dormitory knows that "disturbances" are an hourly occurrence: the noise from the hall or next door; someone wanting to read your Playboy or borrow your soap or ask you about a test; or your roommate wants to talk about his problems; and then there's the telephone...LOGOS appears only once every two weeks.

But - the committee argued - if CSR is permitted to distribute door-to-door, a dozen or more groups might do the same thing! We admit - in this event - a problem might be created. But at the present time, the only group distributing in this way is CSR. What this committee proposed, in effect, is a LOGOS-BAN.

And, suppose other groups do arise and want to distribute door-to-door. Would MHA-WIC (or anyone) then be justified in banning this most effective means of communication?

We don't think so. First of all, there is the ludicrous corollary that would have to be confronted: that knocking on other students' doors should be forbidden.

More importantly, there is a very basic constitutional question at stake here, which MHA-WIC and the Faculty Committee have refused to recognize. As early as 1878 the Supreme Court noted: "Liberty of circulation is as essential to that freedom (of the press - ed.) as liberty of publishing; indeed, without the circulation, the publication would be of little value."

There is an easier solution to the "problem" that MHA-WIC perceives - one consistent with the First Amendment, and operational regardless of how many groups want to distribute door-to-door. Anyone who wants to reject anything and everything (sight unseen) should hang a sign on his door: NO LITERATURE PLEASE. LOGOS distributors will be the first to respect this desire for privacy (even though we might consider "insulation" a more appropriate term).

The only effect of this rule, if obeyed, will be to discourage and inhibit communication. IN THE INTEREST OF A FREE ACADEMIC AND POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE AT MSU, CSR WILL REFUSE TO RESPECT THIS REGULATION, AND APPEALS TO THE FACUL-

LIBRARY FORUM

The Committee for Student Rights is sponsoring a Public Forum to allow all interested persons to voice their opinions on present plans for library expansion and improvement. Representatives of the Administration, Sullivan Committee members and other faculty have been invited to speak.

CSR is not "neutral" on this issue: we insist on a vastly improved library "in our time," one commensurate with the size and diversity of this university. We are of the opinion that the Board of Trustees and President Hannah have not assigned a high enough priority to the library.

Are our criticisms unrealistic? Is the money unavailable? We are offering the decision-makers an opportunity to justify their budget allocations, to explain their current plans, as well as to listen to faculty and student opinion on this matter.

The discussion will be free and open; anyone wishing to speak will be encouraged. We hope that all students who have griped about the inadequacies of the library will attend and demonstrate to the administration that students do care about the condition of their library.

FOR THE RECORD

Michigan State University has fewer total holdings (including books, pamphlets, journals, etc.) than all other American universities combined.

LOGOS: THE VOICE OF CSR

Editor-in-chief: Paul M Schiff

P.O. Box 651
East Lansing, Mich.

- continued from page two -

TY COMMITTEE ON STUDENT AFFAIRS TO RESCIND ITS DECISION IMMEDIATELY BEFORE IT CAN BE IMPLEMENTED.

YES VIRGINIA - THERE IS DISCRIMINATION IN
EAST LANSING

At the last Committee of the Whole meeting, CSR voted overwhelmingly to initiate or support any action leading to the adoption of an open occupancy ordinance by the East Lansing City Council. Contact has subsequently been made with the campus NAACP and with the recently reactivated Friends of SNCC chapter, and a coordinated campaign is now being planned.

An open occupancy ordinance would ensure that a house for sale or an apartment for rent, that is offered to the public (through ads and realtors), would be offered to the entire public, regardless of race.

CSR NAACP & SNCC TO PICKET HOME OF
MRS WALTER A GIBSON - 217 BEECH ST
THURSDAY APRIL 29 - 10 AM - 7 PM -
MRS GIBSON WILL NOT RENT TO NEGROES

In the recent campaign for positions on the East Lansing City Council, three of the four candidates denied that there is any racial discrimination in the city. But facts are facts. At the beginning of this term, Miss Sandra Jenkins, Birmingham, Alabama junior, rented an apartment from Mrs. Gibson, who, upon discovering that Miss Jenkins is a Negro, refused to allow her to move in. This was not an isolated incident. We are picketing Mrs. Gibson's home to convince East Lansing residents that they should push their Councilmen to enact an open occupancy ordinance NOW.

We are determined to see this change brought about. It will be up to the citizens of East Lansing and their elected representatives to bring it about with a minimum of conflict and fanfare.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM NEWSLETTER

Vol. 1

Michigan State University, July 28, 1965

No. 2

As reported in the first issue of this NEWSLETTER, the American Civil Liberties Union and the MSU chapter of the American Association of University Professors have taken an interest in the cases of Paul Schiff and Donna Renz (see box below). Since that time representatives of both groups have met and talked with administrative officers of the University.

On Monday afternoon, July 19, a committee of the Michigan branch of the American Civil Liberties Union met with President John A. Hannah, Provost Howard

PAUL M. SCHIFF, a graduate of Rutgers University, was enrolled as a graduate student in economics at Michigan State University from the fall term of 1963 through the winter term of 1965. During the past academic year he took part in a number of student activities: he was president of the Young Socialist Club, a critic of U.S. policy in Vietnam, and a leader of student protest against discrimination in housing in East Lansing. As an officer of the unrecognized Committee for Student Rights and editor of its journal LOGOS, his activities brought him into conflict with University authorities. Originally planning to work on his thesis, Mr. Schiff did not enroll as a student for the spring term. Later he decided to change his major field of study from economics to history, which had been his minor field. The Department of History accepted him as a master's candidate, and he applied for readmission to the University for the summer term. Just as he was about to enroll, he received a letter from the Registrar, dated June 18, informing him that his application had been submitted to the University's Readmission Board and had been denied. No reasons were given, in accordance with Administration policy of keeping potentially damaging information out of letters which will go into a student's file.

DONNA RENZ, a sophomore in the Honors College, was an active participant in the student movement that culminated in the jailing May 26 of 36 men and 23 women, including Miss Renz, for sitting in the street in front of the East Lansing City Hall to protest the failure of the City Council to enact an open-occupancy ordinance. On two previous occasions (May 6 and 17) Miss Renz had violated the 11:30 PM curfew for women as a result of her involvement in civil-rights activities. A few days after the second violation she was questioned in the office of the Dean of Students about the first violation and subsequently was sent a letter of "warning probation." She was not questioned about the second violation until the first week in June. (Although her arrest entailed a third curfew violation, the Office of Student Affairs took no notice of it and has said that it contemplates no further disciplinary action against Miss Renz because of it.) On June 4 Miss Renz was sent a letter signed by Associate Dean of Students E. R. Nonnamaker informing her that, "for reasons with which you are entirely familiar," she was indefinitely suspended from the University. The Dean expressed the hope that "this will be a learning experience for you which will make you a better student and eventually a greater contributor to society."

R. Neville, and Vice President for Student Affairs John A. Fuzak. Discussion brought out the following information:

1. It is the Administration's view that the University cannot permit an organization to exist which is not formally recognized by the University. This refers at present to the Committee for Student Rights, which seeks to alter that regulation by, among other means, refusing to obey it.*
2. The Office of Student Affairs is willing to make available to the interested parties a full catalog of the reasons for which they were denied readmission or suspended. This will be done upon request.
3. One of the charges against Paul Schiff is that he violated the rule prohibiting the distribution of literature from door to door in the dormitories. (This matter is discussed in detail on Page 3.)

As reported in the State News Thursday, July 22, the A.C.L.U. has extended its support to Paul Schiff in any legal action he may contemplate. Because Donna Renz has not made clear her own intentions concerning the action taken against her, the A.C.L.U. has deferred a decision about whether to extend support to her.

The questions raised by the action of the University in refusing readmittance to Paul Schiff were brought to the attention of the Academic Freedom Committee and the Executive Council of the MSU chapter of the American Association of University Professors. On the recommendation of those bodies the president of the chapter addressed a letter to President Hannah, requesting that the Administration reconsider its action in the case and expressing concern over several aspects of the situation:

1. The refusal to readmit seemed to the A.A.U.P. to have been a unilateral action taken by the Administration without consultation with representatives of the faculty—not even representatives of the History Department, which had regarded Mr. Schiff as academically admissible.
2. The denial of readmission did not seem to be the result of the application of regular procedures and well-known, well-established principles. The charge, that he was guilty of "behavior disruptive to the normal functions of the University," was so vague as to raise the question of whether the action of the Administration had not been unjust and arbitrary.
3. The publicity which the University had received and might still receive as a result of its action would be damaging to the reputation which the University has been building within the academic community of the nation.

On Friday, July 23, two members of the Executive Council of the A.A.U.P. met with President Hannah and Provost Neville to discuss the issues raised by the letter. The Administration explained that the decision not to readmit Paul

* It may be recalled that at the May 26 meeting of the Academic Senate President Hannah raised the question, "What should be the attitude of the University with respect to the use of the time and energies of a large number of people and the expenditure of considerable funds in trying to keep the activities of this very small group, one-sixth of one per cent of the student body, some of whom are not even students, directed in proper channels?"

On Wednesday, July 14, Howard Harrison, an undergraduate student and CSR member, was arrested in front of Wilson Hall by campus police for distributing copies of LOGOS. A brief account of the incident was carried in the State News the following day. When the A.C.L.U. committee asked Vice President Fuzak about the incident, he expressed the belief that it had been a mistake on the part of the police, though he suggested that the police had been provoked. He explained that no action against Mr. Harrison was planned and that he had personally asked the Ingham County prosecutor to ignore the incident. Howard Harrison reported that he was approached by an officer and told he could not distribute literature because it was against a University ordinance. Mr. Harrison asked to see the ordinance and was told that he would have to go to the Office of Public Safety. Mr. Harrison said he would do this only if he were arrested, and the officer replied that he should therefore consider himself under arrest. When he reached the headquarters, however, he was not arraigned or treated as a prisoner and was soon released.

Schiff was based on a number of specific violations of University regulations, of which Mr. Schiff had been apprised orally in talks with Dean Fuzak and Associate Dean Nonnamaker. The Administration felt Mr. Schiff was thus well aware of what the charges against him were; however, if he wanted a written bill of particulars, one would be furnished him upon his written request. Although the Administration believes its present disciplinary procedures are quite fair, it indicated that if the A.A.U.P. or individual faculty members wished to suggest certain changes, the Administration would be willing to consider them. It was also pointed out that Mr. Schiff could make another application for readmission at a later time.

The history of the formulation and implementation of the present rule pertaining to the distribution of literature on campus indicates some uncertainty about the University's rule-making process. During the winter term copies of LOGOS were distributed from door to door in the dormitories. The rule then in effect, whose origin is obscure, apparently did not forbid this. On April 20 Men's Halls Association and Women's Interresidence Council proposed a new rule to the Faculty Committee on Student Affairs and secured its approval. The rule provided that space would be made available in the central lobbies of dormitories where literature could be put on display. At the same time door-to-door distribution was prohibited on the grounds that it constituted an invasion of privacy. The State News reported the action in its next edition. The President, however, did not announce his approval of the rule until May 10.

Three days after the action of the Faculty Committee but before President Hannah had given his official approval, CSR stated its position in the April 23 issue of LOGOS: "In the interest of a free academic and political atmosphere at MSU, CSR will refuse to respect this regulation and appeals to the Faculty Committee on Student Affairs to rescind its decision immediately before it can be implemented." On the night of April 22 Paul Schiff and another student were stopped as they attempted to distribute the periodical in Case Hall.

At issue is the question of how University rules are made and who has the authority to make them. It is the view of Dean Fuzak and the President that once the Faculty Committee approved, the rule was in force. On the other hand, the chairman of the Committee, Dr. Charles Titkemeyer, was reported in the State

News of May 11 is saying that with President Hannah's approval the MHA-WIC proposal "can now be considered official University policy." At least one member of the Committee believes that there are some circumstances when the Committee's action is sufficient and others, pretty much understood by the chairman and members, when the President must ratify actions taken by the Committee before they can be considered in force. President Hannah informed members of the A.C.L.U. fact-finding committee that in this instance the Faculty Committee possessed power to enact a new rule by its own authority.

The rule is still undergoing modification. The July 22 issue of the State News described special procedures to be followed in distributing literature during the summer term, the source of this latest clarification of the rule being the MHA vice president.

The question raised by the MSU chapter of the A.A.U.P. concerning "the application of regular procedures and well-known, well-established principles" has recently been dealt with at length in the report of the national A.A.U.P.'s Committee on Faculty Responsibility for the Academic Freedom of Students (AAUP Bulletin, Autumn 1964, pp. 254-257). The Committee believes that "faculty members share with administrators a special responsibility for establishing and maintaining conditions under which freedom of inquiry may flourish."

The report discusses the responsibility of the professor as teacher and as participant in institutional government and the responsibility of faculty for safeguarding off-campus freedom of students and for procedural due process in cases of alleged misconduct. In the view of the Committee, due process requires (1) that "adequately defined standards of conduct [should be] made known to the students in advance," with offenses and penalties spelled out as clearly as possible; (2) that "students detected or arrested in the course of serious violations of institutional regulations . . . should be informed of their applicable rights"; (3) that a student facing disciplinary action should be informed, in writing, of the reasons therefor "with sufficient particularity, and in sufficient time, to ensure opportunity for a proper defense"; (4) that, pending action on the charges, "the status of a student should not be altered or his right to be present on the campus and to attend classes suspended," except for reasons of safety; (5) that, while minor offenses may be dealt with by such informal tribunals as traffic bureaus or residential councils, in cases where a student is exposed to serious sanctions, e.g., expulsion or suspension, "he should have the right to appeal the initial judgment of his culpability to a Hearing Board . . . composed of faculty members selected by the faculty, or, subject to request by the accused student, of faculty members and students," and that the Hearing Board should be governed by accepted principles of jurisprudence: the right of counsel, the right to present evidence, the right to cross-examine, etc.; and (6) that, "subject only to the student's right to appeal to the highest institutional authority or a designee, or to a court as provided by law, the decision of the Hearing Board should be final."

The State News has declined to print any letters on the issues raised by the cases of Paul Schiff and Donna Renz. Believing in the need for a forum for the discussion of these matters within the University community, the editors of this NEWSLETTER will be glad to receive the opinions of its readers. Letters should be addressed to Dr. J. K. Roberts, Department of Political Science, Berkey Hall.
Norman W. Johnson and Connie Lee Williams
Committee on the ACADEMIC FREEDOM NEWSLETTER

A DECLARATION OF PURPOSE (CSR)

We, the students of Michigan State University, have formed the Committee for Student Rights (CSR), to defend and promote our legitimate interests as students. We unite to affirm an educational philosophy that is fundamental to the needs of students and consistent with the rights of man.

We state our firm belief in "the doctrine that man is meant to live, not to prepare for life;" democratic participation, not "training for democracy;" the understanding that there is no conflict in being a man and being a student; an atmosphere in which there is no True Value, but one in which there is an unencumbered Search for Values; a society in which the Administration serves the vital and changing needs of students and faculty, not one in which the scholars are subordinate to "the University."

Inherent in this doctrine is the conception of the student as a human being fully capable of assuming responsibilities in the here-and-now, quite prepared to suffer the consequences of making mistakes; not as a child to be pampered and spanked when he is naughty; not as an incidental and troublesome element injected into an otherwise smooth-flowing process; not as an apprentice training to take his place in a strictly defined society.

The University is not a "nice setup" as administration personnel have quaintly put it; it is exploration, it is tension, it is conflict; it is the peaceful, but intense, resolution of common problems by those who are most immediately concerned with the given society.

Our beliefs imply the need for the University to facilitate - but not control - the development of each individual student. Facilitation involves devoting primary attention to the individual student's academic needs, to the material and intellectual resources at his disposal; not to the winning of government contracts; not to projecting a favorable public image; not toward the creation of a Multiversity.

When we distinguish between facilitation and control, we relentlessly object to the policy that students can realize their potentialities when they suffer special deprivations because they are students. In essence, what we resolutely oppose is the doctrine of in loco parentis, which asserts that "the college stands in the same position to its students as that of a parent...and it can therefore direct and control their conduct to the same extent that a parent can."

The University administration will quickly point out - and correctly so - that the doctrine of in loco parentis has remained substantially intact when legally challenged. But we deny that this is the paramount issue. Rather, we ask: Does this doctrine serve a beneficial educational purpose? Does it express the most desirable relationship between the students and the administration of the University? Our reply is an emphatic NO! This doctrine permits an administration to formulate a True Value and impose it upon a diverse group of students - forcing them to conform or to forego a University education. Arbitrary rules and regulations which enforce conformity in the personal and social aspects of life inevitably dull individual creativity and an inquisitive spirit in the intellectual sphere.

Thus, CSR arises not only to change the most offensive paternalistic regulations, but also to challenge the University's claim to be paternalistic, and to initiate a fresh dialogue regarding the student, the University, and society.

"A free student in a free university"

CSR

A Declaration of Purpose

We students of Michigan State University have formed the Committee for Student Rights (CSR) to defend and promote our legitimate interests as students. We unite to affirm an educational philosophy that is fundamental to the needs of students and consistent with the rights of men.

We state our firm belief in "the doctrine that man is meant to live, not to prepare for life;" in democratic participation, not "training for democracy;" in the understanding that there is no conflict in being a man and being a student; in an atmosphere in which there is no True Value, but one in which there is an unencumbered Search for Values; in a society in which the Administration serves the vital and changing needs of students and faculty, not one in which the scholars are subordinate to "The University."

Inherent in this doctrine is the conception of the student as a human being fully capable of assuming responsibilities in the here-and-now, quite prepared to suffer the consequences of making mistakes; not as a child to be pampered, and spanked, when he is naughty; not as an incidental and troublesome element injected into an otherwise smooth-flowing process; not as an apprentice, training to take his place in a strictly defined society.

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mary attention to the individual student's academic needs, to the material and intellectual resources at his disposal; not to the winning of government contracts; not to projecting a favorable public image; not toward the creation of a Multiversity.

When we distinguish between facilitation and control, we relentlessly object to the policy that students can realize their potentialities when they suffer special deprivations because they are students. In essence, what we resolutely oppose is the doctrine of in loco parentis, which asserts that "the college stands in the same position to its students as that of a parent...and it can therefore direct and control their conduct to the same extent that a parent can."

The University Administration will quickly point out - and correctly so - that the doctrine of in loco parentis has remained substantially intact when legally challenged. But we deny that this is the paramount issue. Rather, we ask: DOES THIS DOCTRINE SERVE A BENEFICIAL EDUCATIONAL PURPOSE? Does it express the most desirable relationship between the students and the administration of the University? THE REPLY IS AN EMPHATIC NO! This doctrine permits an Administration to formulate a True Value and impose it upon a diverse group of students - forcing them to conform or to forego a University education. Arbitrary rules and regulations which enforce conformity in the personal and social aspects of life inevitably dull individual creativity and an inquisitive spirit in the intellectual sphere.

Thus, CSR arises not only to change the most offensive paternalistic regulations, but also to challenge the University's claim to be paternalistic, and to initiate a fresh dialogue regarding the student, the University, and society.

What is the COMMITTEE for STUDENT RIGHTS...?

Once at Michigan State a demonstration was novel; today some people think there have been too many. In the past it was debated whether to establish a "Hyde Park" at Bearment Tower; this past year many outdoor rallies of various types were held, because people had something to say. The war in Vietnam has become a vital issue for MSU students and faculty; both sides have initiated discussion and debate and have taken action consistent with their beliefs. The civil rights forces in East Lansing have exhibited greater strength and militancy than ever before. And the sense all-powerful administration has been forcefully challenged. In 1968 parentis is still a reality - still to be disposed of - but somewhat more temperate and less assertive.

CSR began with a statement of principles to which it was remained loyal; but perhaps if that declaration were to be rewritten today, it would be a little less abstract, and reflect the experiences of the past few months. How much of the activity and the change in atmosphere is attributable to CSR is hard to say. A great deal, certainly. But the important thing is not "who gets the credit" - be it individuals or groups - but the fact that there is now a student movement alive at MSU - a movement which will set and one which is growing continually more confident in its own power to affect change.

CSR is more than an organization or a specific set of goals; it symbolizes the spirit of change that is permeating the American college campus and American society. It is the spirit of impatience. It is the spirit of challenge.

What becomes of CSR per se is not important; it is the momentum that it has generated that counts - and that momentum is not about to disappear.

CSR is not a membership organization, so we have no record of how many people consider themselves "CSR". But we do know that more than two hundred students have been actively involved in CSR activities - and for a previously apathetic campus, this is significant.


On the other hand, two, or even several hundred out of 35,000 is a small percentage. Why so few? These outside CSR might present a multitude of answers, but we would like to offer some speculation from our perspective.

First of all, the issue is not beards and sandals vs. madras and cranberry, but what role we students are willing to assume in the campus society today, and what role we envision for ourselves in the larger society tomorrow.

Basically, most students are "satisfied" in one sense or another with their lives at MSU. They are here to obtain degrees, or perhaps spouses, and to make their futures in the image of society's current values. They are concerned with personal careers, with getting ahead, and thus with conforming to the norms that society has established.

In contrast to the "beatniks" of the 1950's, today's "rebels" no longer aim to escape from society, but to transform it into a better one. We are not content to dissent in a passive way. We are determined to fight for our convictions. Optimism has replaced pessimism. Activists have replaced cynics.

This more than anything else has been the meaning of CSR at MSU and of the student movement in America.



Committee for Student Rights P.O.Box 651 East Lansing, Michigan

Internal

13 February 1966

Business Report: So far we have made enough money on Organon to pay our bills and get this newsletter out, nothing to brag about but at least we are out of the hole. We were plagued with a very small turnout to help sell Organon but still managed to get rid of all but 200. If you have money out (most of it still is) please turn it in at the Union Grill next Monday and Tuesday between 2 and 4.

In order to keep ourselves solvent we are going to have to appeal for donations through the enclosed pledge cards. This is only on a voluntary basis for those we can afford it. Many of us can't. This has the advantage of letting us know how much to expect, unlike the old pass the hat routine, and we are desperate enough to try anything once. Maybe our luck will change and a boat loaded with gold from Peking will come chugging up the Red Ceder.

Organon: Is good, read it if you havn't.

The Senate Resolution: The appearance of Herbert Aptheker at Wayne, UofM and MSU prompted the Senate Majority Leader, Raymond D. Dzendzel, to push a resolution through asking that communist speakers be banned from Michigan campuses. Said Dzendzel "The intent of this resolution has nothing to do with free speech." Wayne and U of M thought otherwise and their respective presidents preceded to tell the Senate where to go. Dzendzel's reaction to this was: "We have the purse strings". Blackmail anyone? It is important to note that the MSU administration let Aptheker go ahead with his speech only after the presidents of Wayne and U of M had taken a firm stand. Moreover Hannah has yet to make a public statement (shades of civil rights).

As usual WJIM came out with the expected editorial, backing the resolution. They were in turn backed by the State Journal, again true to form.

Maybe we arn't as far out of the woods as we thought we were. This is an old fight which I thought we had won long ago after many hard fought battles. What Dzendzel has to gain by dredging it up is beyond me.

This proves, not to count chickens but as long as we arn't wasting our time counting we should at least write Dzendzel letters, as individuals, letting him know what we think of him and his resolution.

Where Do We Go From Here: From the beginning CSR has been what could be called a crisis oriented organization. That is to say we have reacted to crises which have been created with the help of the blundering machinations of the administration. This orientation has won us a few concessions. However, it should also be obvious that these concessions are only in relation to some external manifestations of a system which trains and dehumanizes in the name of higher education. We havn't analyzed or explored this beast we call the university to more than a superficial degree. We have also failed to relate the issues which we have been so hung up with to an analysis or tried to understand change in the university in terms of what we are really looking for.

In regards to change it has been our experience that a crisis can mobilize quite a number of people, but for how long? Once the crisis has died down the people disappear, their commitment is short term and not oriented toward a real understanding of the situation or a long term commitment to bring about the really basic change. In other words, a crisis orientation doesn't begin to go deep enough to bring about the change we are looking for.

The problem then becomes one of developing a commitment based upon a real understanding of what we are dealing with, what we want, and what we must do to get there. To do this I feel that we must be flexible enough to shift from a crisis orientation, to one of education-action. This implies, on the one hand, workshops (which we are already experimenting with) to help us arrive at an understanding in answer to the problems. Also important, is that we maintain the system we have (coordinators etc.) to enable us to move into action when our understanding of the situation calls for it.

In any event we must make the decision now, are we just a bunch of malcontents or students committed to bringing about meaningful change.

Meeting: The Committee of The Whole met Monday night, February 7th. to decide the question of CSR registering under the new policy. After a close look at the regulations it became clear that nobody favored registration on ASMSU's terms. After more discussion it was decided that we would present ourselves for registration on our own terms and those terms were specified. Marc Ruby was appointed to write the letter in which we were to lay down our terms and give our reasons for them. The letter has not been sent yet and as requested it is enclosed.

"MDP"

Student Board
Associated Students of Michigan State University
Room 13, Student Services Building,
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Sirs:

I have been appointed by the Committee for Student Rights (CSR) to make application, on behalf of this organization, for registration for the use of student facilities. However, it was brought up at our last meeting, during which the feasibility of CSR's applying for registration under the new policy on organizational registration lately approved by the Faculty Committee on Student Affairs, that while we fully approve of the progress made in liberalizing such policies as registration of organizations, we still take exception to several of the requirements for registration set down in the new policy. It was decided that, in making our application, we would follow these exceptions and give our reasons for them. They are as follows:

1. Article III, section B of the Policy on Organizational Registration states; "To be registered, an organization must file the names and titles of its officers with ASMSU." The only purpose this should serve is to give to ASMSU a list of people with whom it can communicate. However, in most organizations, there are specific offices whose duty it is to handle the various communications and arrangements which an organization must make. All that ASMSU should require is the name of the officer whose job it is to handle communication and arrangement making. Other officers who wish to do so may add their names if they wish to.

2. Article II, section D of the Policy on Organizational Registration states; "To be registered an organization must file the names of an advisor with ASMSU." We feel that a student organization, since it is basically a student organization, should not be required to have a faculty advisor. The advisoral position tends to become confused with the "leader" position and often becomes merely a method of administration control. Since its inception CSR has enjoyed a working relationship with, not one but, many members of the faculty. We feel the prime reason this relationship has been so fruitful is that it has been a natural one, a sharing of ideas by faculty and students in the academic community. We believe that this is as it should be; any attempt to artificially formalize this relationship would only strip it of its natural and honest qualities, furthering, the already present, gulf between faculty and students.

3. Article III, section E, paragraph 1, of the Policy on Organizational Registration states that; Only students registered with Michigan State University should be voting members and officers." It is obvious that our concept of "student" is, by definition, at variance with the regulation. We feel that a student is, first, any seeker of truth and knowledge. No amount of credits, IBM cards, IDs, etc, can mold an individual to fit our definition, it must be something which the individual develops for himself.

...
We would also bring to your attention the numerous free universities and academic undergrounds that have recently appeared around the institutions of higher learning. Many of the best scholars are finding it impossible to become educated while a formal part of the university. We cite this as evidence of a widespread revolt from institutionalized learning and the administrators' definition of student.

4. Article VIII, section E, paragraph 1 of the Policy on Organizational Registration states that; "An organization may have its registration revoked by the Student Board if violation of civil law on the part of the organization has been proven in court." What this regulation does, in effect, is to make the organization responsible for the actions of its members. It must be understood, that even if an organization were to advocate an act of civil disobedience it is up to the personal discretion of the individual member whether or not he will break the law. His decision absolves the organization from all responsibility in either case. Thus, the organization cannot break the law, only its members can.

5. Article VIII, section B of the Policy on Organization Registration states that; " An organization may have its registration revoked by the Student Board if the organization violates university procedure or policy." Our comments on this regulation can best be divided into two parts:

a. The regulation as it stands is extrremely ambiguous. Almost anything the administration wishes to say can be construed as pro-"procedure or policy," from jaywalking to how you brush your teeth. Thus the regulation in effect is a ready-made way of punishing anyone who might disagree too strongly with the administration and its minions.

b. Several of the administrations written policies come very close to being in direct variance with the rights given all U.S. citizens by the Constitution. Regulations such as these should be disobeyed on principle. To demand that these regulations be obeyed or you will be punished, is to show that the regulations in question are often so illogical that it takes threats to enforce them.

It is with the above exceptions to the Policy on Organizational Registration that the Committee for Student Rights presents its credentials for registration. Enclosed you will find a copy of the CSR Program and Declaration of Purpose. Below you will find a list of those officers who wished to sign this letter with me. Thank you very much, I am

In freedom,

Marc Ruby
Public Relations

LETTER FROM JAIL

On the night of May 25, 59 students were arrested for committing an act of civil disobedience. Many of the students were troubled. Even though they had demonstrated the total nature of their commitment, they felt their message still hadn't gotten through. The result was the following statement of conscience written at Ingham County Jail, Mason.

The problem of civil rights is that the gulf between those who have experienced humiliation as a people and those who have not is the deepest and most significant we have to face; contemplation of this gulf and awareness of its meaning are the chief essentials for dealing with this problem.

This gulf exists in East Lansing.

We, and others before us, through discussion and demonstrations have tried to impress upon the people the growing seriousness of this gulf that has divided Americans from each other.

Despite all their protestations of good faith, the leaders of this community have failed to grasp the moral urgency of this problem. They are men of good faith, but their moral vision is blinded. Our discussions and demonstrations have not given them the new vision these times require.

Stronger action was necessary.

Civil disobedience is a dramatic force. But we are not trying through such action to force those opposing us to their knees. We are trying to force them to look at the situation in a new way. And our message is too urgent and has been ignored too long — a message about dangers and hopes that should involve all men. Respect for the law must not obscure what is morally right.

Because they failed to realize the basic human issues and its sources, the leaders of this community have so far failed to take positive action. The most obvious action a community such as East Lansing can take is the passage of legislation guaranteeing open occupancy and rentals.

More than a year after the need for legal action to cope with housing discrimination was brought to the attention of the City Council by East Lansing citizens, no action has been taken. No legal report has been made, and the mayor of East Lansing is, by his own admission, still uninformed about many aspects of the problem. Despite resolutions expressing concern, despite the existence of guarantees in the State Constitution, there

is no rapid justice for members of minority groups denied rental on the basis of race, and discrimination still exists in the sale of housing.

The meeting Tuesday night was the culmination of three weeks of discussions. Despite previous statements that the resolution of legal obstacles was the chief problem, Mayor Thomas revealed that he was unequivocally opposed to an open occupancy ordinance, even if it proves to be legal. While he expressed qualified support for an ordinance banning discrimination in licensed rental, he would promise no immediate action.

In a responsible community, moral leadership cannot be founded on the basis of equivocation of this kind.

Negotiations had yielded nothing but exposure of hypocrisy. The only action left — action we had discussed for weeks — was civil disobedience.

At 11:00 P.M., we confronted the community with a plea to search their hearts. The gravity of our action, jeopardizing our futures and suffering the indignities of jeers and jail, is testimony to our commitment and the immediacy of the issue. Some will be deterred by our action, but few will remain indifferent. We have made our commitment. We ask those deterred by our action to re-search their hearts. We beseech those who with us realize the seriousness of the situation to take action also — to take the risk of speaking out and acting for that which they know to be good and right.

East Lansing
Civil Rights
Movement

CIVIL RIGHTS RALLY
THUR. JUNE 3
UNION BALLROOM
8 30

DISTRIBUTION POLICY

INTRODUCTION

Michigan State University considers freedom of inquiry and discussion essential to a student's educational development. Thus, the University recognizes the right of all students to engage in discussion, to exchange thought and opinion, and to speak, write, or print on any subject whatever, in accordance with the guarantees of our state and national constitutions. The University feels this principle is a cornerstone of education in a democracy. Further, the University endeavors to develop in its students a realization that all citizens not only have the right but the obligation to inform themselves regarding various problems and issues, to formulate stands regarding these issues, and to give expression to them.

In discharging the right and obligation of citizenship, students must also recognize their responsibilities to other individuals, to the University, and to the state and nation. In the management and conduct of activities designed to attain these objectives, students enjoy certain privileges and bear certain responsibilities as members of the University community. Among these privileges are the following:

Rights and privileges similar to those enjoyed by responsible citizens in every community, including those of discussion, debate, assembly, communications, and dissemination of personal and group points of view through University-recognized and/or established media of expression and distribution; the formal and official University recognition of activities and organizations; the right to establish and maintain suitable media for the publicizing and furtherance of student activities and the expression of student's points-of-view; and the use of University facilities, services, building, and property in conformity with University regulations designed to make for orderliness and to serve the best interests of the University community.

These privileges granted to students imply attendant responsibilities which are assumed with the acceptance of privileges. Among these responsibil-

ities are the following:

The responsibility to plan and conduct activities furthering educational purposes; the responsibility of student groups and organizations to recognize at all time that their actions and words may be considered by the public as representatives of the University and that such actions and words should be such as to serve the best interests of all students and the highest purposes of higher education as a whole; and to achieve the furtherance of purposes consistent with educational objectives.

GROUPS

Recognized student organizations, living unit organizations, and major governing groups at Michigan State University may distribute free printed material according to the following:

- A. Printed material must contain the name of the organization.
- B. The contents of the material must conform with the laws with respect to obscene material.
- C. A group must receive permission from the Board of Publication before it may print or distribute any literature with paid advertising.
- D. No advertising for commercial and/or non-university interests shall be permitted, other than regular United States mail fully addressed with the student's name and room number.
- E. Material may not be passed out at a regularly scheduled event sponsored by the University or a student organization without the consent of the sponsoring party.
- F. A group wishing to distribute free printed material must secure a Form of Intent from the Division of Student Activities, 101 Student Services Building. Requests must be filed at least 48 hours in advance of proposed distribution and three (3) samples of the material must be provided.

The above procedures are not intended to censor materials that an organization may wish to distribute; they have been established to provide an orderly procedure through which materials may be distributed and which will provide equal opportunity to all student groups wishing to distribute literature on campus.

A. DISTRIBUTION LOCATIONS

1. Inside Campus Buildings (other than residence halls)

a) Free-will, Pick-up Distribution Centers

The mass distribution of free material such as handbills, pamphlets and other similar materials is permitted only in the first floor main lobbies of the Union Building and the International Center.

b) Hand to Hand Distribution

Hand to hand distribution of free printed material is permitted only from a designated area in the main first floor lobbies of the Union Building and International Center.

c) Bulletin Boards

1) Classroom Bulletin Boards:

Single copies of free material, notices, and publicity may be posted on these bulletin boards providing that permission to do so has been secured from the Secretary of the University. The size of the material to be posted shall not exceed 12" x 18". All publicity material must be removed one week after the event.

2) Office Building Bulletin Boards:

In office buildings such as Student Services, Administration, and Personnel Office, the person holding the highest rank in the building (usually the dean) officially decides what shall be placed on bulletin boards in that particular building and must be contacted for permission to post materials.

2. Residence Halls

a) Mailbox Distribution

Material may be placed in university residence hall mailboxes provided it qualifies as one of the following:

- 1) U. S. Mail
- 2) Campus mail with the student's name and room number.
- 3) Material from Resident Hall Advisory Staff or Hall Student Organizations.
- 4) Material from chartered and authorized university or student organizations, if the material carries the student's name and room number.
- 5) Material presented to the desk receptionist if the material has the student's name and room number. (This is to be understood as communication between individuals, not mass distribution.)

The above procedures are to protect all the occupants of the halls from mass distribution of material that is generally not of

interest to the majority of the occupants, to protect the privacy of the individual, and to facilitate a method of circulation which is feasible and effective.

b) Free-will, Pick-up Distribution

Mass distribution of material, on a free-will, pick-up basis, may only be accomplished in the University residence halls at the designated distribution center. This material may be removed after three (3) days of exposure. There shall be no hand-to-hand distribution of material inside the residence halls.

c) Door to Door Distribution

There shall be no door-to-door distribution of any nature.

d) Commercial Distribution

No advertising for commercial and/or non-university interests shall be permitted, other than regular United States mail fully addressed with the student's name and room number.

e) Bulletin Boards

- 1) Permission to post material on residence hall bulletin boards must be secured from the Residence Hall Programs Office.
- 2) Each individual Residence Hall shall have final authority to establish a policy of bulletin board maintenance and to post approved materials in accordance with this policy.
- 3) No advertising for commercial interests will be permitted.
- 4) Size of notices and publicity shall not exceed 12" x 18".

3. Outside Campus Buildings

a) Free printed material may be passed out on a hand-to-hand basis outside of all campus buildings providing:

- 1) Traffic - Automobile, bicycle, and pedestrian traffic must not be obstructed.
- 2) Entrances - Entrances to buildings and driveways must not be blocked or traffic interfered with.
- 3) Noise - There shall be no disturbing of classes by noise or by other means.
- 4) Interference - There shall be no harassing of passers-by or interference with their activities.
- 5) Damage and Littering - There shall be no damage to property, including lawns and shrubs, nor littering of premises with signs, leaflets, or other materials.

- b) Outdoor bulletin boards are under the supervision of the Division of Campus Planning and Maintenance, and this department must approve all material posted on these bulletin boards.
- c) Permission for the placement of A-frames outside of buildings and on the lawns for the purpose of posting publicity material must be secured from the Grounds Department.

B. BOOTHES, TABLES, AND SPECIAL ACTIVITIES ON CAMPUS

During official registration periods only recognized student organizations, living units and major governing groups, may erect booths, tables, or other stations in areas designated by the ASMSU Organizations Bureau and the Division of Student Activities for the purpose of selling subscriptions to student sponsored publications, tickets to student events, or for the distribution of materials advertising their group or for activities promoting any of their group functions. Organizations must file a Form of Intent at least one week prior to the first day of registration.

C. SALE OF LITERATURE

1. Recognized student organizations, living unit organizations, and major governing groups desiring to sell literature or printed material must do so in accordance with the fund raising policy and procedures established by ASMSU and ordinances established by the University.

2. Sale of literature must follow the general procedures outlined for free distribution of material, once sale of said literature or printed material has been approved. Literature or printed material approved for sale may be sold in the Union Building and the International Center. In addition, permission to sell in the Residence Halls must be obtained from the Residence Hall Management and the Residence Hall Programs Office. Permission to sell at regularly scheduled events must be secured from the sponsoring party. Permission to sell outside of buildings must be secured from the Secretary's Office.

D. VIOLATION OF THIS POLICY

Members of student organizations and the organization violating this policy will bear direct responsibility for such violations. Enforcement of this policy and investigation of violations will be the responsibility of the ASMSU Committee on Student Organizations in cooperation with the Division of Student Activities. Violations of this policy by living units will be referred to the Committee on Student Organizations which may obtain recommendations from the appropriate major governing group. Decisions made by this committee regarding violations of this policy may be appealed to the ASMSU Student Board.

INDIVIDUALS

Individual students enrolled at Michigan State University who wish to distribute free material that is not prepared or published by a recognized student organization, living unit, or major governing group at Michigan State University may do so according to the following:

- A. Printed material must contain the name of the individual, individuals, or group who prepared the material.
- B. The contents of the material must conform with the laws with respect to obscene material.
- C. Permission to print or distribute literature with paid advertising must be secured from the Board of Publications.
- D. No advertising for commercial and/or non-university interests shall be permitted, other than regular United States mail fully addressed with the student's name and room number.
- E. Material may not be passed out at a regularly scheduled event sponsored by the University or a student organization without the consent of the sponsoring party.
- F. An individual wishing to distribute free printed material must secure a Form of Intent from the Division of Student Activities, 101 Student Services Building. Requests must be filed 48 hours in advance of the proposed distribution and three (3) samples of the material must be provided.

The above procedures are not intended to censor materials that an individual student may wish to distribute. They have been established to provide an orderly procedure through which materials may be distributed and which will provide equal opportunity to all students wishing to distribute literature on campus.

A. DISTRIBUTION LOCATIONS

1. Inside Campus Buildings, Residence Halls, Outside Campus Buildings

Individuals may distribute free materials, such as handbills, pamphlets and other similar materials in the above areas in accordance with the procedures outlined for groups.

2. Registration

Individuals not connected with a recognized student organization may not distribute material outside of registration.

B. SALE OF LITERATURE

In accordance with the University ordinance on selling and advertising, individual students enrolled at Michigan State University may not sell literature on the premises of Michigan State University.

C. VIOLATION OF THIS POLICY

Violation of these provisions will result in disciplinary action by the Dean of Student's Office.

COMMITTEE FOR REVIEW OF POLICIES PERTAINING TO STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS:

Don Strange, Chairman

Vice President for University Affairs,
ASMSU

Jeff Greene

Director, Student Organizations Bureau

Bob Musmanno

Executive Assistant to the Cabinet President

Jim Tanck

President, ASMSU Cabinet

Miss Lana Dart

Student Activities Division

Mr. Louis F. Hekhuis

Student Activities Division

WHY WE ARE PROTESTING

Yesterday the Committee for Student Rights sponsored a Public Forum to draw attention to the problems of the library. We invited representatives of the administration, faculty members and students to express themselves on this issue. No administrators responded: perhaps they were too busy with "more important" matters; or, perhaps they felt that the condition of the library is not the proper concern of the student body. Dr. Chapin, director of the library, wrote: "I do not believe ... that much could be gained in an open air discussion of the problems. They are much more sophisticated and complicated than can be handled in an open air discussion."

We are left with the feeling that the administration has no real response to our criticisms. A number of studies have been presented to it, documenting the inadequacies and proposing drastic reforms, but without apparent success; the administration refuses to discuss this problem publicly. We are convinced that the only means left at our disposal is the public protest. Our objective today is to focus attention on the MSU library. Our aim is to publicize the facts about the library to the University community, to the people of this state, and to the entire nation if possible.

To those who would criticize us for creating unfavorable publicity for the University, we retort that we refuse to remain loyal to a false image. If our actions are widely publicized and if our actions discourage prospective National Merit Scholars, graduate students and faculty from coming to MSU, who is to blame? We who insist on better academic facilities? or the administration which is willing to "sell" MSU by hiding some pertinent facts? An image will never yield us an education; a decent library might.

ACTION NOW!

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There is a general realization on campus of the inadequacies of the present library facilities. The administration has taken cognizance of this problem. But time is the prime factor. We must move forward now if the library is to meet the needs of students today and those of a rapidly growing student population. Specifically, we call upon the administration to commit the University to the following program of reform:

The expansion program, which remains in the planning stage, must be accelerated now.

The acquisition rate of the library is woefully low; it must be doubled immediately.

The organization of the library into separate divisions is outmoded, inefficient and needlessly frustrating and should be immediately restructured.

The library staff is too small to effectively service students and faculty. The professional staff alone should be doubled, and, if need be, increased salaries be awarded to attract competent people.

When students are deprived of adequate educational facilities; when they cannot feel confident that vital decisions are being made in their interests; when they have exhausted all traditional channels: they then fall into apathy or they are spurred to new forms of protest.

A DESCRIPTIVE OUTLINE OF THE COMMITTEE FOR STUDENT RIGHTS (CSR)

I. CSR - Origin and Purpose

- A. CSR grew from a group of students committed to certain principles; they were dissatisfied with the lack of student participation in the university community and the ineffectiveness of the present "channels" for voicing student opinion.
 1. CSR grew from a common commitment to oppose in loco parentis as an educational policy and to affirm a belief in the need for real student participation in all aspects - academic and social - of the total educational process.
 2. CSR was organized as the direct result of several students' discussions of their common problems and the decision to attempt to resolve these problems through a new, different, and dynamic approach.
- B. CSR is founded on a concept of "direct student participation;" i.e., the belief that students should have an effective voice in university affairs and that this proper role of the student is not found at MSU.
 1. It is one of CSR's goals to open new, direct channels for expression of student sentiment, and to make more effective those channels that do exist.
 2. AUSG - the most obvious channel - is ineffective
 - a) AUSG has no real power; only recommends and is listened to by the administration only when the administration wishes to listen.
 - b) AUSG is not taken seriously by many students
 - c) AUSG is bogged down within the channels of our "multiversity," and thus loses its effectiveness as a spokesman for the students and as an adequate bargaining agent for many students.
 3. Public discussion of student participation in the university, of the validity of many of the rules and regulations concerning a student's personal and social life, has, in the past, been inhibited. An adequate public dialogue of these questions must take place, with direct and effective student participation.
- C. We believe that our approach is achieving results; already we see:
 1. There is more public discussion of the question of the student and his role in the university, of the validity of in loco parentis and paternalism, of specific rules and regulations, than MSU has has experienced in years.
 2. Specifically, we can note the present re-evaluation by the Administration and other campus groups, of the rules regarding distribution of literature. This is a direct result of the distribution of CSR's publication Logos.
 3. The attempts to involve students in hearings by the Faculty sub-committee on Housing is also indicative of a new (or growing) regard for the students' opinion. However, a petition containing over 4200 signatures collected in less than 6 days was rejected by the committee. This is indicative of the problems encountered within the "channels" of our university.

II. Organization and Structure of CSR

- A. Committee of the Whole
 1. All students who are interested are members
 2. Decides CSR policy and programs
- B. Steering Committee
 1. Elected by the Committee of the Whole
 2. Chairman of CSR is a member
 3. Undertakes executive functions
- C. Dorm Coordinators
 1. Serve as CSR representatives in each dorm
 2. Distribute Logos - the Voice of CSR
 3. Communication between Steering Committee and students
- D. CSR structure is very loose; CSR is a young and a growing organization; it remains flexible in structure to meet changing and developing situations.
- E. CSR structure is based on direct student participation - this means that its success depends on students - and faculty - to guide and carry out its programs and activities.
- F. CSR has also, in the short time since it has been organized, gained some valuable friends and allies.
 1. Faculty members
 2. American Civil Liberties Union advice and aid in legal aspects
 3. Representatives in AUSG
 4. Contacts with state legislature
 5. Merger with the Student Ad Hoc Library Committee
- G. Publications
 1. Logos - The Voice of CSR
 2. Future hopes are to publish informative material regarding the questions that concern CSR and the students at MSU.
- H. Finances
 1. CSR is financed through contributions of students - donations at Committee for the Whole meetings. (Contributions may be sent to P.O. Box 651 in East Lansing.)
 2. Money is being raised through the sale of CSR buttons.

III. Methods - CSR tactics in relation to its purposes

- A. CSR is an organization whose base is a strength of students. To build this base and to gain public dialogue necessary for reforms in our university, CSR:
 1. Publishes Logos
 2. Maintains a speakers service; public debates and discussions
 3. Holds Committee of the Whole meetings
 4. Has Dorm Coordinators and student contact
 5. Has other means of publicity and press coverage
 6. Uses "channels" by adding a direct student voice (as with the housing petition)
 7. Exists as a new and independent voice of student opinion at MSU

B. CSR is an organization of student opinion which is not engulfed by the myriad of university bureaucracy.

1. CSR's decision not to seek a charter and "approval" of AUSG

- a) Previous experience of the Federation for Student Rights and refusal of charter
- b) CSR is interested in spending its time and efforts in meaningful ways to advance its program; it does not want to become bogged down in organizational diversions.
- c) The second issue of Logos carried an editorial which explained some of the other reasons for not seeking AUSG approval.

2. The general experience of the last several years has shown the ineffectiveness of the normal "channels" for student participation in university affairs at MSU.

- a) The issues that CSR is raising are not new; these are problems that have concerned students here before.
- b) The fact that nothing has been achieved in the past regarding these problems indicates that a new and different approach by the students at MSU is necessary before any of our goals will be achieved.

3. CSR is an organization which intends to function independent of the bureaucratic "channels" of the university, but it does not intend to ignore or disregard such channels that do presently exist.

- a) Its efforts will be to open and improve these channels through its position as an independent student organization.

4. The future action and effectiveness of CSR depends on you; as a student organization CSR will gain strength as more students become active and join with others in the campaign for a better university.

IV. CSR's Specific Program

A. CSR has applied its belief that in loco parentis is not an educationally beneficial policy to several of the present rules and regulations at MSU.

B. While recognizing that any community must have some sort of regulations to function properly, CSR denies the validity of university rules which are based on the concept of in loco parentis, and has adopted - at this time - a specific program of 12 points regarding some of the more out-dated rules at MSU.

1. Refer to the 12 point program that CSR has adopted.

2. This program - and all such policy decisions - are decisions of the Committee of the Whole, and are dependent on direct student support for their strength.

C. This program is based on a fundamental belief in the importance of real student participation in the educational process, in the necessity of an effective student voice in the functioning of the university, and in the emphatic denial of the validity of the concept of in loco parentis for educational purposes.

V. CSR "Philosophy"

- A. Refer to CSR's "Declaration of Purpose" - this is a basic statement of the philosophy behind our goals and our decision to strive for these goals in a new and independent manner.
- B. The following points, from this "philosophy," should be emphasized:
 1. In loco parentis does not serve an educationally beneficial purpose. Individuals cannot realize their potentialities when they suffer special deprivations because they are students.
 2. Students should be guaranteed the same freedoms as all other citizens; becoming a member of the university community should not mean giving up any of the basic rights guaranteed in our society (courts have upheld this principle). In fact, for the educational process, and the true pursuit of knowledge, it is even more important that all such rights be jealously preserved.

VI. IT IS IMPORTANT FOR ALL STUDENTS TO WORK EFFECTIVELY TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF THE GOALS OF AN IMPROVED UNIVERSITY.

- A. Silence on the part of the student is consent to the present situation. Student apathy toward in loco parentis and limitations of constitutional freedoms is consent to these policies by default.
- B. The lack of results in the past has shown the ineffectiveness of the established "channels" for the voicing of student opinion.
 1. Thus, CSR hopes to bring an effective voice of student opinion to our campus through a new and direct approach.
 2. It is now time for the student to become a vital part of his university community ...
- C. CSR is basically interested in working for a better educational community, in the broadest sense of this term. This involves securing the freedoms necessary for adequate student participation in the total educational process, and this involves a serious reappraisal of the present relationship between the student and his university. CSR invites all members of the MSU community to join with us in public discussion of these questions and in responsible action to resolve our common problems.

A DECLARATION OF PURPOSE (CSR)

We, the students of Michigan State University, have formed the Committee for Student Rights (CSR), to defend and promote our legitimate interests as students. We unite to affirm an educational philosophy that is fundamental to the needs of students and consistent with the rights of man.

We state our firm belief in "the doctrine that man is meant to live, not to prepare for life;" democratic participation, not "training for democracy;" the understanding that there is no conflict in being a man and being a student; an atmosphere in which there is no True Value, but one in which there is an unencumbered Search for Values; a society in which the Administration serves the vital and changing needs of students and faculty, not one in which the scholars are subordinate to "the University."

Inherent in this doctrine is the conception of the student as a human being fully capable of assuming responsibilities in the here-and-now, quite prepared to suffer the consequences of making mistakes; not as a child to be pampered and spanked when he is naughty; not as an incidental and troublesome element injected into an otherwise smooth-flowing process; not as an apprentice training to take his place in a strictly defined society.

The University is not a "nice setup" as administration personnel have quaintly put it; it is exploration, it is tension, it is conflict; it is the peaceful, but intense, resolution of common problems by those who are most immediately concerned with the given society.

Our beliefs imply the need for the University to facilitate - but not control - the development of each individual student. Facilitation involves devoting primary attention to the individual student's academic needs, to the material and intellectual resources at his disposal; not to the winning of government contracts; not to projecting a favorable public image; not toward the creation of a multiversity.

When we distinguish between facilitation and control, we relentlessly object to the policy that students can realize their potentialities when they suffer special deprivations because they are students. In essence, what we resolutely oppose is the doctrine of in loco parentis, which asserts that "the college stands in the same position to its students as that of a parent...and it can therefore direct and control their conduct to the same extent that a parent can."

The University administration will quickly point out - and correctly so - that the doctrine of in loco parentis has remained substantially intact when legally challenged. But we deny that this is the paramount issue. Rather, we ask: Does this doctrine serve a beneficial educational purpose? Does it express the most desirable relationship between the students and the administration of the University? Our reply is an emphatic NO! This doctrine permits an administration to formulate a True Value and impose it upon a diverse group of students - forcing them to conform or to forego a University education. Arbitrary rules and regulations which enforce conformity in the personal and social aspects of life inevitably dull individual creativity and an inquisitive spirit in the intellectual sphere.

Thus, CSR arises not only to change the most offensive paternalistic regulations, but also to challenge the University's claim to be paternalistic, and to initiate a fresh dialogue regarding the student, the University, and society.

CSR PROGRAM

The following recommendations were approved by general meetings of the Committee for Student Rights (CSR). These proposals represent specific improvements which should be made at Michigan State University as soon as reasonably possible.

1. Students over 21 may live in housing of their choice, subject only to local, state, and federal laws. To be implemented immediately.

2. Juniors and seniors, regardless of sex or age, may live in housing of their choice with parental consent, subject only to local, state, and federal laws. To be implemented immediately.

3. Senior women, and those women over 21, living in residence halls, shall have no hours; junior women shall have no hours Friday and Saturday nights. Hours for other women shall be 12:00 midnight Sunday through Thursday, 1:00 A.M. Friday, and 1:30 A.M. Saturday. To be implemented immediately.

4. Overnight permissions for female students shall be:

a. GENERAL: A female student may stay overnight anywhere for no more than three consecutive days and nights.

b. GENERAL WEEKEND: Same as above, but valid only Friday through Monday morning.

c. SPECIFIC: A parental note shall accompany each overnight, except for home. Duration shall be determined by the parent or guardian. The note need only mention the duration of the overnight.

The form letters sent to parents shall specifically use the terms "General", "General Weekend", and "Specific", and shall contain no inference that any type of permission is of an extraordinary nature. To be implemented Spring term, 1965.

5. All University regulations that discriminate against female students shall be abolished no later than Fall term, 1968.

6. The University shall respect the students' civil rights and liberties on and off campus; any entrance into a student's living quarters unauthorized by said student shall be in accordance with state and federal laws, especially those regarding search and seizure. To be implemented immediately.

7. All students, while not on University property, in University approved supervised housing, or involved in University sponsored activities, shall be subject only to local, state, and federal laws. To be implemented immediately.

8. Any student or students may distribute any written or printed material in accordance with local, state, and federal laws, on campus, and no permission need be sought to distribute except in classrooms and study halls. To be implemented immediately.

9. Suspension procedures that state that suspended students may not remain in the "Lansing-East Lansing area" unless it is their natural home, shall be abolished. Suspended students may frequent both the area and the campus. To be implemented immediately.

(over)

10. Rules and maximum punishments shall be specific. Disciplinary actions shall be for specific offenses, not for such vague reasons as asocial and/or anti-social behavior and/or attitudes, or, a general inability to adjust to the University. The specific rules, regulations, policies, and punishments shall be written in a comprehensive form, made available to all students, and shall be sent to all prospective students. To be implemented immediately.

11. No files shall be kept which:

- a. Contain evaluations or reports made by fellow students, including Resident Assistants;
- b. Are not completely open to the student at all times;
- c. Are available to anyone except faculty and authorized administration, directly or indirectly, unless specific, written consent has been given by the student.

Academic records — which merely contain a transcript of grades and letters of recommendation used for admission to MSU — shall be available to the student at all times. To be implemented immediately and retroactive to presently enrolled students.

12. Improvements in the MSU library shall be initiated immediately in accordance with the suggestions contained in the report of the Faculty Library Committee (the Sullivan Committee).

Steering Committee

Chairman	Mike Hooten	351-5378
Exec. Sec.	Stu Dowty	351-5529
Secretary	Janet Goldwasser	355-3624
Treasurer	Carl Friberg	332-3574
Research	Valerie Westcott	332-0647 or 351-5529
Legal	Marcia Klugman	351-4095 or 351-5529; work: 372-1910/ex.285
Logos	Paul Schiff	351-4462 or 351-5529
Speakers	Linda Kerley	355-7305
Press	Mike Kindman	353-1432 or 355-8252
Coordinators	Mike Price	332-3466
	Bret Wakefield	337-2000
Academic Affairs	Reinhard Mohr	337-9551
Members-at-large	Tory Louis	355-4821
	John Dennis	355-9402
	Mike Steely	355-0648
	Roger Howard	351-5529
Brody Coord.	Gordon Hershey	355-0641
W. Circle	Linda Kerley	355-7305
E. Circle	Kathy Coyle	355-2063
S.E. Campus	Merrell Frankel	353-3039
S.W. Campus	Lynn Cronquist	353-0463

Dormitory Coordinators

Brody	Gordon Hershey	355-0641	S. E. Campus	Merrell Frankel	353-3039
Armstrong	Mike Griffin	355-5452	McDonel, W.	Mike Kindman	353-1432
Bailey	Kurt Hahn	355-5719	" "	Nelson Brown	353-1425
Bryan	Gordon Hershey	355-0641	" E.	G. Mietzner	353-1046
Butterfield	Jean Powers	355-1386	Shaw, E.	Carl Christenson	355-8846
Emmons	Jim Wiedman	355-2628	" W.	Dan Olden	355-9254
Rather	Barbara Gisler	355-4283	Fee, W.	Vic Lapuzywski	353-1863
			" "	Jeff Simmon	353-1863
W. Circle	Linda Kerley	355-7305	" E.	Ravell Lultz	353-3076
Landon	Georgia Bodtke	355-8690	Akers, E.	Jerry Druff	353-2065
Williams	Amy McClellan	355-3588	" W.	Mary Kocher	353-3280
"	G. Vandenbossche	355-3554	" W.	Erin Tucker	353-3347
Mayo	Pam Kull	355-2420			
Gillchrest	Pat Averill	355-0459	S.W. Campus	Lynn Cronquist	353-0463
Yakeley	Linda Kerley	355-7305	Wilson, E.	Dick Morgan	353-0066
Campbell	Janet Goldwasser	355-3624	" , W.	Lynn Cronquist	353-0463
			Case	Greg Martin	355-6896
E. Circle	Kathy Coyle	355-2063	"	Carol Evans	355-7125
Phillips	Tory Louis	355-4821	Wonders, N.	Jerry Chamber-	
Mason	Kathy Coyle	355-2063		lin	353-2800
Snyder	John Dennis	355-9402	" S.	Karen Lee	351-2331
Abbott	Ken Kopstein	355-6410			

PARLIAMENTARY POINTERS

Members

1. Keep alert. Many meetings seem stupid because the members dream.
2. Study the most important motions so you will know what to do.
3. Remember: Silence means consent. You have an obligation to object if you think something not proper or wise.
4. Make your contribution before the whole meeting, not merely to your neighbor.
5. Make your contribution at the meeting, not merely in indignant comments to a friend after the meeting.
6. Address the chair and get his consent where necessary (see chart).
7. Debate the issue, not the man who presents it.
8. If in doubt ask for information. Use parliamentary inquiry or request for information.
9. If you are shy, get into the debate. You will soon forget your fear.
10. If you are the talkative type, discipline yourself. Listening well is as great an art as talking well.
11. Remember procedure provides for reconsideration of question.
12. Appeal from the decision of the chair if he is dictatorial.
13. If action is taken that does not seem representative of the membership, move to consider and have entered on the minutes for the next meeting.
14. Use point of order if violations of procedure occur.
15. Cries of "question" have no meaning, Debate can be closed only by 2/3 vote if someone wished to speak.

Chairman

1. Guard the spirit of democratic procedure. Work to:
 - (a) Promote free debate
 - (b) Guarantee the rights of minorities
 - (c) Produce the majority will
 - (d) Establish equal rights of members
 - (e) Avoid Time wasting procedures
 - (f) Keep Tone of the meeting impersonal
 - (g) Take definite action.
2. Work out the program before the meeting. If a program committee or executive board exists in your organization, plan with it definite agenda for the meeting. See that responsibility is assigned where reports are necessary, or where information must be found before profitable discussion and action can occur. The usual order of business is:
 - (a) Reading of the minutes of the previous meeting, with correction and adoption
 - (b) Reports of boards and standing committees
 - (c) Reports of special committees
 - (d) Special orders
 - (e) Unfinished business and general orders
 - (f) New business and general orders
3. Preserve order--don't let the meeting get away from you.
4. Refer to yourself as the chair, not as I.
5. If you must debate, leave the chair, or at least ask the permission of the group. If you find it necessary frequently to assert your own opinions, probably you are not the chairman type.

6. Adjust the formality of your manner and vocabulary to the size and purpose of the meeting. Frequently in small groups discussion can be carried on informally, but with formal motions made for the minutes when action is taken.
7. In debate, recognize speakers fairly, giving preference to one who speaks infrequently, to alternate sides, to one who has not spoken, etc.
8. Avoid ambiguous instructions, such as "make known by the usual sign." Say: "Those in favor say aye.....those opposed say no."
9. Always take a negative vote even though the affirmative seems to have carried.
10. State clearly whether the motion is carried or lost.
11. Identify the motion to be voted upon.
12. If in doubt, ask for opinion of someone who knows.
13. Remember: nothing is official until stated by the chairman. The meeting is not adjourned, even after vote, until chairman announces adjournment.
14. Insist on relevant debate on clearly phrased motions. Keep the assembly clearly informed as to what is pending.

Notes on Parliamentary Procedure #1

The accepted authority on parliamentary procedure is ROBERT'S RULES OF ORDER, a handbook compiled by a Col. Henry M. Robert, and based upon the rules of the American Congress and the British Houses of Parliament. Unless otherwise specified in the constitution or by-laws of an organization, it is assumed that Robert's Rules is the standard under which meetings are conducted, and disputes are settled by reference to this volume in any of its many editions.

Parliamentary law can become very complex, and as you know the study and interpretation of it is a private profession for some few men who are always on hand when a legislative body of any importance meets. The purpose of parliamentary law is to facilitate the passage of business with justice to the majority and minority alike. It may be used, and sometimes is, however, to obstruct the passage of legislation and to confuse the members of the group.

You cannot expect to become a parliamentary expert, unless you devote much of your time to study Robert's and other handbooks. But you can equip yourself to act as chairman, as you perhaps already have; and you can become an effective member of a group, by some familiarity with the ordinary parliamentary procedures.

The Main Motion

Business is gotten under way in a meeting by means of the main motion. The main motion is a means of setting before the group the matter upon which action is required.

The preferred form is:

Mr. Chairman, spoken by the member from the floor.

The Chairman recognizes the speaker

The speaker states his motion: I move that....

Another member seconds, or the Chairman asks for a second

The Chairman calls for discussion....

After discussion the Chairman restates the motion

The Chairman calls for a vote and announces the result

The main motion may be modified in three ways:

By motion to amend by addition

By motion to amend by striking out

By motion to amend by substitution

Only two amendments may be on the floor at one time. An amendment may modify but not reverse the intent of the main motion.

Only one main motion may be on the floor at one time.

Except in special cases, The Chairman may vote on the main motion or amendments only when his vote can change the final decision.

Notes on Parliamentary Procedure #2

Disposing of the Main Motion -

Once a main motion is on the floor, it may be disposed of in various ways. One of them is to vote it down; another is to pass it.

There are other ways to treat main motions, some to delay action, some to make for further consideration, some to in effect defeat the motion:

1. To commit or refer to committee

- a. May be sent to some standing committee. The motion is:
I move that this matter be referred to the Committee on....
- b. May be given to special committee. The motion is: I move
that the Chair appoint a committee to....

(probably is wise to suggest number of committee members;
perhaps to require a report by a certain time)

2. To defer action

- a. Motion to postpone consideration to a certain time: Motion:
I move that we postpone further discussion until....
- b. Motion to make a special order of business: Motion: I move
that the motion under consideration be made a special order
of business at....(requires 2/3 vote to pass)
- c. Motion to table. Motion: I move that this motion be tabled.

3. To suppress or limit debate

- a. Motion, or call, for the previous question. Motion: I move
the question. (Often just the call: "question") (2/3 vote)
- b. Motion to limit debate. Motion: I move that debate close
at....or; I move to limit debate on the pending motion to...
minutes. (requires 2/3 vote)
- c. Objection to consideration. Motion: I object to considera-
tion. (requires no second; needs 2/3 vote; must be made be-
fore any discussion begins)
- d. To postpone indefinitely. Motion: I move that we postpone
indefinitely the motion under consideration. (really a mo-
tion to kill - may be used for test of strength).

These motions provide you with a range of options for securing the postponement of further consideration of a motion on the floor. They require only a majority to pass unless the 2/3 vote is specifically noted, or if particular conditions obtain. In case of doubt, look at your ROBERT'S RULES if you have one, or let the group help you decide.

Notes on Parliamentary Procedure #3

Privileged Motions -

This is a class of motions which provides for meeting special problems and which usually take precedence of whatever business is on the floor.

1. To fix the time of the next meeting.

A motion intended to set the time of next meeting for those groups which do not have fixed dates. It is used to perpetuate groups not well organized, and may be used to prevent the dissolution of a group formed for some special purpose. This motion takes precedence over all others, even that to Adjourn. Can be amended.

2. To Adjourn.

Takes precedence over all other motions except the one above discussed. It is not debatable, nor amendable.

3. Take a recess.

Not debatable, but may be amended. Takes effect immediately if passed.

4. Question of privilege.

The motion is: Mr. Chairman. I rise to a question of personal privilege.

May relate to such matters as: The organization of the assembly; the comfort of its members in lighting, heating, ventilation, etc.

5. Call for orders of the day.

This is a demand that the assembly conform to its program or order of business. Requires no second. May remind the chair of a previously passed special order of the day motion, or of any violation of the prescribed order of business.

NOTES ON PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE #4

The following are some miscellaneous motions which have not been discussed so far. Some are classed as main motions; some are classed as incidental motions; some are just motions.

1. Division of the question.

Sometimes the question(or motion) on the floor is made up of several distinct sections or divisions. If you think each of these sections could better be discussed and voted upon separately, you make a motion to Divide the Question. The motion must indicate clearly how the question should be divided. It is not debatable. If passed, the motion is then discussed and voted upon in the sections suggested by the motion.

2. Division of assembly.

This is a simple request for a careful count of the vote on any motion. What you are asking is that the chairman shall require the assembly to rise, or to show hands, so that a careful check can be made. It comes when you think a voice vote is so close that the outcome is in doubt. It needs no second, but must be made before another motion is on the floor.

3. To Reconsider

This motion may be made only by someone who voted with the winning side. It requires a second, which may be made by anyone. It is debatable when the motion to be reconsidered is debatable. Majority vote.

4. To rescind.

This motion may be made by any member. It is debatable. The effect of this motion is to remove from the minutes whatever action has been taken. It requires a two thirds vote to pass it if it is made at the meeting as the same action to which it is applied. If the motion is made at the next meeting only a majority is required.

NOTES ON PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE #5

1. Parliamentary Inquiry

This is not really a motion at all. It is simply a means for getting advice from the chairman. As a member of the group, you always have the right to rise and ask parliamentary advice from the chairman. The form is; Mr. Chairman. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. Needs no second. Is not debatable. May interrupt a speaker.

2. Request for information.

This one is like the parliamentary inquiry, except that you may direct it to someone in the group, usually the speaker or the one who has just spoken, through the chairman. This is a request for information of any kind on the subject under discussion. The form: Mr Chairman. I rise for information. (This is a question to the chairman) OR: Mr. Chairman. I should like to ask a question. (the chairman will then ask....if he will yield for or accept a question; and if so, you direct your question to the chairman.)Needs no second. Not debatable. May interrupt a speaker.

3. Appeal from the decision of the chair.

This is a way of asking the group to overrule the chairman, when you believe his decision is wrong. The form is: Mr. Chairman. I appeal from the decision of the chair.

You may state your reason; the chair may state his. Then he calls for a vote like this: The decision of the chair has been appealed from. Those in favor of sustaining the decision..... Those opposed. The vote of the group will then decide the dispute. Needs no second. Is not debatable.

4. Question of order.

This motion is a way of reminding the chairman that business is out of order, or that he is allowing debate when there should be none, or so on. The form: Mr. Chairman. I rise to a point of order, or just, Point of order.

Needs no second. Is not debatable.

5. Withdraw a motion.

If the mover wishes to withdraw his motion for any reason, he will simply ask permission of the chair to do so. The chairman will inquire if there is any objection; if not the motion is withdrawn. The seconder need not be specially consulted; he can object when the chairman asks for any. If there is objection the chairman will put the question to vote; if passes the motion is expunged from the minutes; if defeated, the motion remains on the floor. The form: Mr. Chairman. I request permission to withdraw my motion.

NOTES ON PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE #6

Motions Listed by Precedence

<u>PRIVILEGED MOTIONS:</u>	<u>Second</u>	<u>Amendable</u>	<u>Debate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
Fix time of next meeting	Yes	Yes	No	1/2
Adjourn	Yes	No	No	1/2
Recess	Yes	Yes	No	1/2
Privilege	No	No	No	Chair.
<u>SUBSIDIARY MOTIONS:</u>				
Lay on table	Yes	No	No	1/2
Previous question	Yes	No	No	2/3
Limit debate	Yes	Yes	No	2/3
Postpone to certain time	Yes	Yes	Yes	1/2
Refer to committee	Yes	Yes	Yes	1/2
Committee of the whole	Yes	Yes	Yes	1/2
Amend	Yes	Yes	Yes	1/2
Postpone indefinitely	Yes	No	Yes	1/2
<u>MAIN MOTIONS:</u>				
Main motion for general bus.	Yes	Yes	Yes	1/2
Take from table	Yes	No	No	1/2
Reconsider	Yes	No	Yes	1/2
Rescind	Yes	Yes	Yes	2/3
Make special order of bus.	Yes	Yes	Yes	2/3
<u>INCIDENTAL MOTIONS:</u>				
Question of order	No	No	No	Chair.
Appeal decis. of chair	Yes	No	No	1/2
Suspend rules	Yes	No	No	2/3
Object to consideration	No	No	No	2/3
Parliamentary inquiry	No	No	No	Chair.
Request for information	No	No	No	Chair.
Withdraw a motion	No	No	No	1/2

The Most Important Principles Of
Parliamentary Procedure

"Parliamentary procedure is the code of rules for working together in groups. It has evolved through centuries out of the experience of individuals working together for a common purpose. It is logic and common sense crystallized into rules of law." (1) Parliamentary rules are not technicalities to be used to obstruct and confuse, but rules based on principles of cooperative, democratic action. If a person understands the principles he need not memorize rules. Below are listed the most important principles of parliamentary procedure: (2)

1. Parliamentary rules exist to facilitate the transaction of business and to promote cooperation and harmony.
2. The vote of the majority decides.
3. All members have equal rights, privileges, and obligations.
4. The minority has rights which must be protected.
5. Full and free discussion of every proposition presented for decision is an established right.
6. The simplest and most direct procedure for accomplishing a purpose should be used.
7. A definite and logical order of precedence governs the introduction and disposition of all motions.
8. Only one question can be considered at a time.
9. Every member has the right to know what the question before the assembly means before he votes.
10. The membership may delegate duties and authority but retains the right of final decision.
11. Parliamentary rules must be administered impartially.

(1) Alice F. Sturgis, *Learning Parliamentary Procedures*, McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., New York, 1953, p. 15
(2) *Ibid.*, Chapter 3.

CLASSIFICATION OF SPECIAL MOTIONS ACCORDING TO PURPOSE

- A. To Change A Main Motion
 - 1. Amend
- B. To Suppress Debate or Hasten Action
 - 2. Previous question (or vote immediately)
 - 3. Suspend Rules
 - 4. Limit debate
 - 5. Take from table (or resume consideration)
 - 6. Make special order of business
- C. To Delay Action
 - 7. Postpone to a certain time (or postpone definitely)
 - 8. Lay on table (or postpone temporarily)
 - 9. Refer to committee (or commit)
- D. To Prevent Action
 - 10. Object to consideration
 - 11. Withdraw a motion
 - 12. Postpone indefinitely
- E. To Consider More Carefully
 - 13. Committee of the whole (or consider informally)
- F. To Change A Decision
 - 14. Reconsider
 - 15. Rescind
- G. To Maintain Rules and Order
 - 16. Question of privilege
 - 17. Point of order
 - 18. Appeal from decision of chair
 - 19. Parliamentary inquiry
 - 20. Request for information
- H. To Close A Meeting
 - 21. Adjourn
 - 22. Fix time of next meeting.
 - 23. Recess

The conduct of formal group meetings often requires the use of special parliamentary motions to meet particular types of situations. Many of them will be employed very rarely, and others are used more commonly, but an acquaintance with all of them is helpful in furthering democratic and efficient conduct of business. Because these motions are special, many use standardized phraseology, many may not be amended, some are in order when main motions are being discussed and may even interrupt a speaker, many are not debatable, and some which are more drastic require a two thirds vote.

HOW TO HAVE A GOOD DISCUSSION

(A guide for those participating in discussions)

1. **SPEAK UP WHEN YOU HAVE AN IDEA**
In an informal group don't wait for the discussion leader to recognize you, and don't stand up; however, let him decide who should have the floor if several try to speak at once. Everyone's ideas are valuable. Your remarks will stimulate others.
2. **HELP YOUR DISCUSSION LEADER**
When the discussion gets fuzzy, you should summarize or ask for more information. You can keep the discussion on the track by restating the problem.
3. **DON'T LET SILENCE EMBARRAS YOU**
Silence is good for thinking. You may want to ask for more information to help start the discussion.
4. **PERSONAL STORIES MAKE EXCESS BAGGAGE**
Personal experiences usually take more time to tell than they are worth. If everyone describes what happened to him, discussion gets nowhere.
5. **LISTEN THOUGHTFULLY TO OTHERS**
The hardest part of the discussion is to concentrate on what is being said, and NOT on what you plan to say as soon as you get the chance. Let yourself be stimulated by the thinking of others. Your own past experience will come to you as soon as you need it.
6. **ADDRESS YOUR REMARKS TO EVERYONE**
You are being too formal if you talk to the discussion leader only. If you speak to only one person at a time you may start a two way conversation or even an argument.
7. **DON'T MONOPOLIZE**
A minute or two is long enough to speak. If you like to talk, you'll have to watch yourself very closely on this one. Time goes twice as fast while YOU ARE TALKING.
8. **KEEP UP WITH THE DISCUSSION**
If you get lost, say so. If you don't understand what's going on, chances are some of the others don't either. Ask for all the explanations you need.
9. **BE FRIENDLY WHEN YOU DISAGREE**
People don't think straight or quickly when they are irritated. And remember there are two sides to every question. When you are wrong admit it. The test of intelligence is how quickly you see what's right—not how often you are right to begin with. If you don't mind criticism, others will be encouraged to share their ideas with you. Remember too, that friendly disagreement is a good way to stimulate sound thinking again when agreement has been too hasty.

10. COME TO THE MEETING WITH QUESTIONS
If the meeting has been well planned you will know in advance what you are going to talk about. Think about it a little before the meeting - read, ask questions, make notes of the points you will want to bring up.
11. REACH DECISIONS
Before the meeting ends, try to reach agreement on the problems. When agreement is possible, you should try for an understanding of the different points of view. In this way you can help the group move ahead with a good feeling. As a rule you will want to vote only on a matter of personal preference.
12. FOLLOW THROUGH AFTER THE MEETING
Be sure you know what to do before the next meeting-then do it.

Barriers to Discussion

- I. Early Training Has Not Encouraged Discussion
 - A. At home ---parental domination
 - B. At school-- Speak when spoken to , "Answer teacher".
 - C. In community--"Children should be seen, not heard".
 - D. Enjoy listening-- no mental strain and proper member role.
 - E. Depend on experts-- leaders, parents, etc. More courteous to listen.
 - F. Wait to get a new and startling idea to compete favorably with others.
 - G. "If I suggest anything, I'll be put on a committee!"
- II. Little or No Preparation of Group for Discussion
 - A. No feeling of belonging.
 - B. Poor choice of subject (1) "No interest in it";(2)"Don't know enough about it." (3) Too broad or (4) untimely.
 - C. Topic poorly handled. (1) speaker tells all - nothing is left to discuss; (2) not challenging -- creating passivity; (3) incomplete introduction to question; (4) no advance warning so no preparation.
 - D. Questions to group (1) poorly worded, (2) not heard (3) patronizing.
 - E. Feeling of futility (1) subject doesn't lend itself to action; (2) from past experience, "Nothing can be done."
 - F. Resistance to imposed program.
- III. Domination by Others.
 - A. Unskilled leader --- offers little encouragement or opportunity.
 - B. Monopolizing member -- unaware or unwilling to accept proper role.
 - C. Expert -- who creates dependence by being too expert.
 - D. The brass -- in whose presence few people care to stick their necks out.

IV. Fear of Ridicule

- A. Fear of taking a stand which may be unpopular.
- B. Fear of deficiency in (1) grammar, (2) physical expression, (3) emotional control, (4) fluency, (5) general appearance.
- C. Fear of appearing stupid, or not using correct parliamentary procedure.

Handling Difficult Situations

1. Handling the ready-talking interruptive member.
 - a. Interrupt him pleasantly, and ask him to state his point briefly.
 - b. Interrupt him, sum up his contribution, and turn to others.
 - c. Ask him to yield to others.
 - d. As a last resort, request recognition before speaking.
2. Handling the non-responsive member
 - a. If he is reticent, do not force him; eventually ask a question of him and finally bring him into the discussion.
 - b. If he seems to be a deliberate thinker, give him time; ultimately ask a question of him.
 - c. Suggest that those who have contributed turn to others for comment.
3. Handling the too assertive member.
 - a. Ask the person making a dogmatic statement to repeat the assertion and to explain it (frequently, he will make important qualifications or include supporting material not previously presented).
4. Handling the member who is over-anxious to settle the problem.
 - a. Encourage him to use the problem solving pattern.
 - b. Ask him a question or two on steps in the thinking process which he wishes to omit.
 - c. Point out wherein the group avoided trouble at earlier stages by using a systematic procedure.
 - d. As a last resort, handle this person as you would a ready-talking interruptive one.
5. Handling the antagonistic member.
 - a. Divert any caustic remarks from the group to yourself.
 - b. Sum up in a quiet voice and in less charged words the apparent reasons for anger or antagonism.
 - c. Remind the group that frank discussion requires self control.

WEAKNESSES IN ARGUMENTS TO CAREFULLY OBSERVE

- I. Misuse of definitions
 - A. Lack of definitions
 - B. Vague definitions
 - C. Inaccurate definitions
- II. Misuse of language
 - A. Abstract language
 - B. Verbalisms
 - C. Emotional meanings
 - D. Loose grammar of opponent
 - E. The fallacious or complex question
- III. False division
 - A. Suppression of important issues
 - B. Stressing a minor issue
- IV. False use of facts (evidence)
 - A. Unsupported assertion
 - B. Inaccuracy of facts
 - C. Inconsistency of facts
 - D. Partial evidence
 - E. Mistaken facts
- V. False argument from generalization (strong statement)
 - A. Insufficient number of cases
 - B. Instances not typical
 - C. Ignoring negative instances
 - D. Inaccuracy of instances cited
 - E. Faulty causal connections
- VI. False argument from statistics
- VII. False argument from analogy
 - A. Too few resemblances
 - B. Comparison based on insignificant particulars
 - C. Ignoring important differences
 - D. Lack of causal connection
 - E. Inaccuracy of facts
- VIII. False argument from causal relation
 - A. Assumed connection between two events
 - B. Inadequate cause seen as sufficient cause
 - C. Ignoring of counteracting causes
 - D. Inaccuracy of facts
- IX. False argument from authority
- X. False argument from general propositions
 - A. Faulty construction of circumstances
 - B. False reasoning through vague phrasing of the issue
 - C. False assumptions on the major issues at stake.
 - D. Misstatement of facts in the major issues
 - E. Begging the question
 - 1. Arguing in a circle
 - 2. Assuming a more general truth than the point at issue
 - 3. Assuming that what is true in other cases is true in the present one.

- XI. False argument from ignoring the question
- A. Slanted or emotionalized language
 - B. Substitution of irrelevant argument
 - C. Repeated affirmation of an unimportant detail
 - D. Substitution of questions for argument
 - E. Invective or name calling
 - F. Defensive of self and colleagues (prestige appeal)
 - G. Using argument - University policy
 - H. Substitution of authority for argument
 - I. Appeal to honor, sympathy or fear
 - J. Appeal to tradition and custom
 - K. Appeal to ignorance of the opposite side

SUGGESTIONS FOR PERSUASION AND ARGUING

Following are some considerations for sitting down to discuss, argue, bargain, negotiate effectively. As you read them, it will become obvious that some are stronger than others; some will work in some situations and not in others, for one person and not another; some will apply to one kind of discussion and not to others. However a careful study of these suggestions will give you clues as to how to improve your ability to argue, persuade and reach agreement.

1. Be sure that both parties understand exactly what the problem is.
2. Be careful to define any terms that need defining.
3. Admit some of the opposing parties arguments. Admit everything that you can safely admit. Concessions of this kind are often persuasive.
4. Avoid using emotionally loaded words... they might lead to retaliation and as a result obscure the facts and the problems. They also might put the other party in a poor frame of mind to be influenced.
5. There are two ways to overthrow an argument, broadly speaking;
 - a. Question the truth of the alleged facts upon which the argument is based.
 - b. Question the validity of the reasoning being used.
6. Become familiar with the common errors in reasoning and avoid using them.
7. Become familiar with the common errors in reasoning so you can spot them in other person's arguments.
8. Listen carefully to what the other person says so you can understand his point of view to determine what his facts and reasoning are so you can spot weaknesses in his case etc.
9. Take all the time you need to think out answers to questions
10. Don't jump to conclusions before they are warranted.
11. Don't lose your temper.
12. Your personality can be as persuasive as your arguments.
13. You seldom win a point by out talking your opponent.

IMPROVE THE ACCEPTANCE OF IDEAS

1. Provide time for the other person to digest ideas, facts, figures, plans, proposals. Leave listeners in no doubt about your proposal.
2. Remember that answering objections does not insure acceptance. You may need to build up your case if good will is to be maintained.
3. Do not expect "instant" acceptance of something we may have spent weeks or months to prepare. Comprehension is sometimes difficult.
4. Anything new to people may be sensed as threatening to them; therefore it will be resisted until it becomes a part of their own thinking processes with which they feel comfortable.
5. Curb impatience in yourself.
6. In some instances, let people convince themselves by having them mull over the plan or idea.
7. Different people have different rates of mentally digesting.
 - a. fast tempo may not be good - it may indicate gulping minds and mental indigestion may result.
 - b. deliberate minds may not be thorough minds.
 - c. let minds (individuals or groups) determine the mental tempo.
 - d. try to welcome questions rather than merely plodding through material you want to present.
8. Agreement now or finishing the job of "acceptance" now may not be the best way to make progress or obtain acceptance. Remember, in a boxing match you don't need to win in the first round.
 - a. sometimes it may be wise to leave the idea with the people. offer it for consideration, without pressure to accept. Leave it for digestion.
 - b. a non-defensive mind is more open to receive a new idea.
9. Some times we are reluctant to accept a good idea from another because we didn't think of it first. Also, keep in mind creditability. All the persuasion in the world is of little value unless we have a good past record of sincerity.
 - a. if an idea can seem to have come from a group, the rejection of the personally conceived idea is lessened.
 - b. group output needs to supersede the recognition of the individual's stake in the idea.
10. It is natural for others to meet the new with suspicions and doubt.

- a. welcome objections and doubts (remember permissiveness or free speech without "squelchers") it may be a slower process but it is more readily accepted (if it should be accepted).
 - b. if objections and doubts are not raised, we might be suspicious of our plans. There may be real flaws in our proposal yet to be exposed.
11. Sharing in the preparation of the plan distributes the responsibility in case of failure.
 12. Sharing in the preparation of the plan increases the feeling of responsibility for seeing that it works.
 13. Observe that if there are no objections or doubts, it may mean that a plan is not really understood.
 14. Avoid too-positive positions - often it is wise to "under play" your position.
 15. A lengthy stream of arguments may not help a person to understand an idea; such a "load" of material should be simplified for easy comprehension.
 16. Wisecracks, sarcasm, ignoring a position or indicating that it is weak or ridiculous many times blocks contribution and acceptance.
 17. Sometimes it may help to explore alternatives with people rather than defend but one position.
 - a. it will reduce argumentation.
 - b. it may show weaknesses in your own plan.
 - c. it may be that we need to allow more time for our own position to be established.
 18. Make it easy for everyone to "save face" - if he once objected, you need to help him be able to accept - or to help him to retreat.
 - a. Review what has developed and dwell on any one point which was not quickly apparent, or which was a point which may have seemed less important earlier.
 19. The "yes, but" technique may result in more "butters" than "yessers".
 - a. a "yes, butter" may be valuable, he may be agree with with minor reservations. Listen to him, but do not be him.
 - b. a "yes, butter" may be stalling for a position to hold.
 - c. it could become a habit to avoid thinking, to become a resistor. avoid these.
 - d. get over on their side and discuss their reservations (acceptance) open-mindedly and reasonably. sometimes they don't accept what you say when you agree by stating in your own words the same thing they have said - they "yes, but" you again. Resort to mirroring, non-directive questioning,

ACADEMIC FREEDOM NEWSLETTER

Vol. 1, No. 1

July 1965

As you may already have heard, two students have recently been subjected to "unusual" punishment by the University. Both the American Civil Liberties Union and the MSU chapter of the American Association of University Professors are examining the incidents. This and subsequent reports will attempt to keep you informed of developments in the cases, to raise some questions suggested by the developments and to suggest avenues of action for those who are concerned.

The two students are Paul Schiff, a former graduate student in the Department of Economics, and Donna Renz, an honors college sophomore. Both were active in students' rights campaigns, Viet Nam war protests and civil rights demonstrations during the winter and spring, but disciplinary action against them took place at the end of spring term and the beginning of the summer term.

There appears to be general agreement on the facts of the situation, which are summarized as follows:

DONNA RENZ was informed by Associate Dean of Students Nonnamaker on June 4 that she would be suspended for an indefinite period beginning with the summer term "for reasons with which you are entirely familiar."

Miss Renz violated women's curfew three times during May (6, 17, 27) in connection with the planning and conduct of civil rights projects in East Lansing. The first violation occurred when she returned to her dorm at 2 AM from a meeting on civil rights strategy. The second violation occurred when she stayed out all night to sit-in at City Hall and then prepare a leaflet (she did anticipate this violation and notified her house mother). Several days after the second violation Miss Renz was questioned at the Dean of Students' Office about the first violation and subsequently was notified of "warning probation." At the time of the first two curfew violations, therefore, Miss Renz had been subject to no disciplinary action. On May 27 she participated in the City Hall demonstration in which she and 58 others were jailed. About June 2 she was again questioned at the Dean's Office but only about the May 17 curfew violation and on June 10 received notification that she was suspended indefinitely. She was never questioned about the third violation and Dean Nonnamaker says that she will not be subject to further University punishment as a result of spending the night in jail.

PAUL SCHIFF, who had finished his normal course work for a master's degree did not enroll in the University during the spring term because of his avowed intention to work on his thesis. During the term he decided to change fields, applied for admission to the History Department and was accepted on June 3.

On the first day of registration for the summer term he received a two-sentence letter from the Registrar refusing him readmission. There was no explanation.

After a week of inquiries by Schiff and three professors the following verbal explanations and administrative procedures were uncovered:

1. The principal administrative officer responsible for rejecting Schiff's application was Vice President for Student Affairs, J. A. Fuzak; further appeal must go to the President.
2. Associate Dean Nonnamaker explained that the University never includes in letters the reason for disciplinary action since they would appear in the file of the student and possibly injure his future.
3. The Dean agreed that Schiff had done nothing "illegal" but did accuse him of having been a disruptive influence on campus while a non-student.
4. He edited LOGOS, distributed it from door to door in Case Hall and did not stop when intercepted by the resident adviser. LOGOS "urged students to violate University regulations."
5. Dean Fuzak reported his action on Schiff to the Faculty Committee on Student Affairs. It seems, however, to have been part of a longer annual report in which special attention was drawn to the Schiff case. Dean Fuzak subsequently turned down a request from Schiff to present his own case to the Committee.
6. President Hannah has thus far refused to reverse the decision of the Dean.

In the meantime at least two faculty members who learned of the two cases from newspapers and informal channels have spoken with Dean Fuzak and found him adamant about his ruling. Some of the questions suggested by these facts carry disturbing implications. They are set forth here to stimulate your consideration and not to suggest a uniform view as to the "correct" answer.

1. The University maintains elaborate means for supervising student academic and social conduct. Is two weeks not an unusual lapse for interviewing Miss Renz about her curfew violations?
2. In view of the delayed reaction of the Dean's Office was University punishment in Miss Renz's case harsh or unusual?
3. Paul Schiff has never been disciplined by the University. Why is he being denied readmission?
4. Should he not have received some formal warning of the intention of the University? Should he not at least have received an explanation for the decision?

5. Is the practice of concealing from the record facts surrounding the disciplinary action always in the long-term best interest of students or does it raise more shadowy doubts for prospective employers? Is it, moreover, a practice consistent with broader legal and administrative due process in America?
6. How did it happen that Mr. Schiff was admitted to study in the History Department by action of its graduate admissions committee yet refused on administrative grounds by the Office of Student Affairs? What are the academic implications of this action?
7. Does the Faculty Committee on Student Affairs exist merely as an adjunct of the Dean of Students or could it hear Schiff on its own discretion? Is there sufficient opportunity for hearing, rebuttal and appeal in the disciplinary apparatus as revealed by these two cases?

The State News of July 6 carried an editorial signed by Susan Filson suggesting a court ruling on the matter, but the newspaper now refuses to print further letters on the subject. It is therefore difficult to know the opinion of members of the faculty. The issue, we believe, is sufficiently important to merit wide discussion in our own community and it is not unlikely that it will be discussed more broadly. Here are some steps that interested faculty might take:

1. Individuals should make telephone calls or write letters expressing their views to President Hannah, Dean Fuzak and Dean Nonnamaker.
2. The Faculty Committee on Student Affairs should be urged to reconsider its somewhat "pro-forma" endorsement of Dean Fuzak's action. Members of the Faculty Committee include:

Dr. Charles Titkemeyer, Chairman (Anatomy) 5-6528	Dr. Walter Johnson (Guidance) 5-6682
Dr. Vera Borosage (Home Economics) 5-1761	Dr. George Martin (Mech. Eng.) 5-5152
Dr. James M. Elliott (Natural Science) 5-3515	Dr. James McKee (Sociology) 5-6637
Dr. Gordon L. Gray (TV & Radio) 5-6558	Dr. Claude McMillan (Management) 5-2414
Dr. Robert N. Hammer (Chemistry) 5-8495	Dr. Woodrow Snyder (Dairy) 5-8446
Dr. Frederick Williams (History) 5-7504	

3. State newspapers including the State Journal and the Detroit Free Press have carried articles and editorials on the Schiff case. Because the State News will not print letters, interested faculty may want to find space in daily papers.

4. Encouragement of both the A.A.U.P and the A.C.L.U in their efforts to redress the injustices in these cases is an obvious action for those who are concerned, whether or not they are members of these organizations. The Chairman of the A.A.U.P is Dr. Victor E. Smith (Economics 5-8382). The Chairman of the A.C.L.U is Mr. George Griffiths (127 Bessemaur St., East Lansing, 332-2339).

Further issues of this newsletter will keep you informed of events as they develop. We will be grateful to hear what steps you take and their results.

J.K. Roberts, Secretary

Committee on the Academic Freedom Newsletter

Generational Revolt and the Free Speech Movement

GERALD ROSENFELD

AMONG the criticisms of the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley has been the contention that the underlying animus is "generational revolt," a factor which obscures whatever legitimate complaints the students may have had against the administration of the University of California. Those who make this criticism apparently assume that rebellion against their elders is a natural phenomenon of adolescents which is more commonly expressed in this country in the form of beach riots at Easter week, panty raids, etc.

This particular attitude toward the Free Speech Movement was found in the editorial pages of the daily press, but it was also articulated and made part of the more or less systematic attacks on the F.S.M. by some liberal intellectuals, most notably in the articles by Lewis Feuer, professor of philosophy and social science at Berkeley, which appeared in the *New Leader* (December 21, 1964, January 4 and February 1, 1965). Feuer is not a traditional conservative, but an ex-radical from C.C.N.Y. Feuer characterized the student rebels as follows:

Spontaneously the natural idiom of the student political protest was that of sexual protest against the forbidding university administrator who ruled *in loco parentis*. . . . Many students come to Berkeley, to the Impersonal Knowledge Factory, precisely because they want to have the experience of generational revolt. The will to revolt, the "alienation," is present long before a *causa belli* has been defined. The student comes to the university in quest of a bill of particulars to justify this "alienation."

The terms "generational revolt," "generational animus," etc., appear repeatedly in Feuer's articles. He attacks the way in which this underlying motivation of "generational animus" dominated the specific demands (freedom of speech), the tactics (direct action and civil disobedience), and the style (mass rallies, folk songs, beards, etc.) of the F.S.M. This is rather odd, because Feuer, as well as those of his colleagues among the liberal professors who have been critical of the F.S.M., most notably Nathan Glazer (Professor of Social Sciences, co-author of *The Lonely Crowd*, advocate of the rights of the urban poor, and ally of the civil-rights movement) and Seymour Martin Lipset (noted Professor of Sociology) have each, in their published articles on the Free Speech controversy, recognized the legitimacy of the student's claim for recognition and accepted the correctness of the student's complaints about the impersonality, the bureaucratism, and the ponderousness of the modern Multiversity, in which both professors and students become lost and isolated from each other and from the administration. This recognition, however, did not deflect them from attacking, sometimes quite bitterly, the only action which has confront-

ed the evils of the Multiversity with any success and won at least a partial victory over it.

Although none of the other liberal critics of the F.S.M. have articulated the cry of "generational revolt!" as Feuer has, I think that an examination of this concept provides a key to understanding not only what the Free Speech Movement was all about, but also why it has been attacked with such enmity by many academy liberals, especially liberals who were radicals in their youth. Further, I think that this concept may be used as a key to an understanding of the development of what has come to be called The New Radicalism in America, a development in which the Free Speech Movement has played a critical part.

I agree with Feuer that "generational revolt" was a critical underlying force moving the Free Speech Movement, without which the events at Berkeley could never have taken place in the way that they did. I do not believe that this discredits the F.S.M., however; I believe that this is precisely what validates it and makes the Free Speech Movement of major political and social significance.

I do not accept the thesis that adolescent revolt can be dismissed as a normal and necessary accompaniment of the process of human maturation, nor that it can be legitimately rejected as delinquency or sickness. These attitudes, I think, are rationales which serve the function of avoiding a confrontation with the real causes of the revolt of adolescence that has characterized our time.

I do not believe that adolescent revolt is a universal or even usual occurrence in human societies; it seems rather to be an increasingly common phenomenon in the Western World, particularly in America. And one searches the writings of the pre-eminent analyst of Western man, Sigmund Freud, in vain for a description of "adolescent revolt"; to use Freud by attributing something to "unresolved Oedipal conflict" and thereby to presume to have accounted for it (as Feuer does), is an abuse of psychological and social method. Specific events have specific causes, and specific social events develop out of specific social conditions.

I submit instead the contention that the existence of adolescent revolt, the revolt of the generation coming into being against the generation in power, the revolt of the sons against the fathers, is a sign of, and a measure of, the failure of the older generation; that is, the failure of the society to provide for its children a society compatible with the fulfillment of their needs and expectations as maturing human beings.

At the root of this view are some basic premises about the relationship between the individual—the citizen, if you will—and the society he lives in, and the conditions

necessary in order for the individual willingly to acquiesce in the conditions of life imposed on him by that society. The nature of this relationship has been outlined by the psychoanalyst Eric Ericson in his book *Childhood and Society*, and I will state my analysis of the cause of the adolescent revolt of our time with the assistance of several quotations from Ericson's book:

The underlying assumptions . . . are 1) that the human personality in principle develops according to steps predetermined in the growing person's readiness to be driven toward, to be aware of, and to interact with, a widening social radius; and 2) that society, in principle, tends to be so constituted as to meet and invite this succession of potentialities for interaction and attempts to safeguard and to encourage the proper rate and the proper sequence of their unfolding. This is the "maintenance of the human world."

We suggest that, to understand either childhood or society, we must expand our scope to include the study of the way in which societies lighten the inescapable conflicts of childhood with a promise of some security, identity, and integrity. In thus reinforcing the values by which the ego exists societies create the only condition under which human growth is possible.

My contentions are that what has given rise to the Free Speech Movement is the failure of those who conduct America, the failure of the procreators of the American child, to create this country, or maintain it, sufficient to the promise of security, identity, and integrity it has pledged to that child: that America has become a place where human growth, although possible, is extremely difficult; that America has betrayed the promise of fulfillment that it offered the child turning away from the tight world of infancy, from dreams and nightmares of wild animals and gingerbread houses, and setting out for the first day of grammar school. Again Ericson:

A lasting ego identity cannot be completed without a promise of fulfillment which from the dominant image of adulthood reaches down into the baby's beginnings and which, by the tangible evidence of social health, creates at every step of childhood and adolescence an accruing sense of ego strength. . . .

Adolescence is the age of the final establishment of a dominant positive ego identity. It is then that a future within reach becomes part of the conscious life plan. It is then that the question arises whether or not the future was anticipated in earlier expectations.

At the end of his years of schooling, when his future at last comes within reach, the adolescent of post World War II America has found that his expectations have been betrayed for this generation, and that sense of betrayal, I believe, is the root of its revolt:

Should a child feel that the environment tries to deprive him too radically of all the forms of expression which permit him to develop and to integrate the next step of his identity, he will defend it with the astonishing strength encountered in animals who are forced to defend their lives.

The revolt of this generation has indeed shown unexpected, and at times astonishing, strength. I would like to trace the psychic development of some salient features of this revolt, and in doing so to explain the animosity toward it of an older generation of liberals and ex-radicals.

II.

"Jim, Jim, where is our party . . ."

—Bob Dylan poem

The Free Speech Movement is a part of the development of a new radical politics in America, a politics appropriate to life in what C. Wright Mills called The Fourth Epoch, what others have called the Post Modern World, the Technological Society. It is a revolt against the failure of that better society, the "Post War World" that the defeat of fascism in World War II was supposed to bring into existence; instead we got the Cold War, Television, the standardized Man in the Gray Flannel Suit, Computerization, and a growing sense of alienation from American life on the part of anyone with any degree of sensitivity.

The New Radicalism is basically a movement of middle-class youth; it is the politics of those who believed what the grammar school history books and the eighth-grade civics books told them about Freedom and Justice and Democracy. It is a revolt of the ingenuous, but no longer naive, who took to heart the promise of America the Beautiful, and still believe that such an America, based on "liberty and justice for all" is possible, but have found from their own experience that America as it is, or as it has become, is in some basic way the negation of that dream. This radicalism directs its animus against the betrayal of its expectations by those who taught it to believe in the American Dream while at the same time acquiescing in and collaborating with the building of a quite different, an unlovely, America.

The New Radicalism is different from the radicalism of the Old Left of the 1930's. The arguments of the pre-war Left no longer seem relevant to the lives of the post-war adolescents who never experienced the Great Depression, except for a vague memory, perhaps, that their families used to be poor. The impotence of the Left in the face of the Cold War and McCarthyism, sealed by the death of the Progressive Party, and, overseas, the revelations about Stalin, and the quashing of the Hungarian Revolution, discredited the only alternative that the Left had to offer to what was wrong with America. Furthermore, the class theory of Marxism seemed foreign, and the manipulative tactics of the Communist Party and of the conflicting Trotskyist factions repulsive, to a generation born into a seemingly amorphous middle-class society in which the psychic distance, at least, between men of different socio-economic classes was broken down, so that what once was viewed as a struggle against an alien exploiting class (against whom any means of attack might be acceptable), was felt as a conflict with an enemy whom we recognize not so much by the fact that he is so different from us, as by the fact that he is so much like ourselves. (The Negro of the South and of the Northern ghetto is largely an exception to this generalization, of course;

it applies to him only to the extent that he has shared some of the experience of the larger society.) The uniformity accompanying technological development and the diffusion of the mass media served to break down class, as well as ethnic, consciousness and, by the same token, to leave each man more isolated in the mass, perceiving his problems as personal rather than social. In such a context, tactics which depended on manipulation and authoritarian control were unacceptable as means for bringing about a decent society in which men could live together on the basis of mutual respect and integrity, because it was precisely the insight that one was manipulated and controlled in the larger American society that was the beginning of any radical attitude toward it by those growing up in this generation. The means used by the old Left seemed to reveal its lack of comprehension of the ends it was supposedly fighting for.

Without any acceptable guides for action from either the established institutions or from the existing radical opposition, both of which had been discredited in their eyes, those who would change the conditions of their lives found it necessary to work out a politics *de novo* from their own experience.

III

America I've given you all and now I'm nothing
America two dollars and twenty-seven cents January 17, 1956 . . .
—Allen Ginsberg

The history of the revolt of the Post-War Generation as a social force in American life begins with the beat movement of the 1950's.

By the middle of the 1950's the prospects for life in America and in the world seemed to have approached the nadir. McCarthyism had destroyed whatever meaningful political dialogue there had been in America and left the psychic atmosphere poisoned, while fallout from the explosions of the Cold War was poisoning the physical atmosphere. The Eisenhower administration, combining the bland ineffectuality of the President with the evil self-righteousness of John Foster Dulles, seemed the fruition of a bad, unshakeably smug and incredibly dull society that was inexorably destined to destroy itself as well as its equally bad and monolithic enemy in a nuclear holocaust. There was nothing one could do about it except to cherish privately his antagonism to the way things were, withholding his emotional commitment while outwardly acquiescing in the system. Power was evil, politics a lie, the conversations boring, and it looked as though the whole thing was going to end in one monstrous mushroom cloud.

It was a time of "student Apathy."

The upshot was that some decided they couldn't, or wouldn't, take it anymore. Society was giving them very little in return for the demands it was making on their spirit; the effort to make a life in society had drained and exhausted their emotional resources—they were beat. And so, having little to lose—since the prospects

for being alive, for being happy, for making it, in the larger society were so bleak—they withdrew. They disassociated themselves from society, openly broke with it. And that was a radical act.

The Beat, rejecting the standards of the outside world and its sanctioned forms and formalities, looked inside himself for clues to his existence and asked himself the question: "What do I want?" He found that he wanted love and sex and beauty in his life, and that these things were good; he found, looking inside himself—and this insight was critical to the development of a new radicalism in America—that *he himself was not evil*.

The Beats attempted to make a way of life for themselves addressed directly to the fulfillment of what they found to be their nature and their need, a little community free of the enervating social superstructure which stood between the square and his inner self. (It must be said, to give America its due, that in the interstices maintained by the Jeffersonian strain in American life there was room, barely room, at that particular time and place, mainly around San Francisco, for them to exist, at least for a while.) They did isolate themselves and make their little world. They drank wine, listened to jazz, smoked pot, and they fucked. But they also talked, and some of them wrote, and they made themselves known to the outside world. They drew a savage picture of the America they had denied, or rather, that had denied them, and they sketched a crude drawing of their personal vision.

If their community eventually failed, if even while it existed it was characterized as much by egoism, hang-ups, and affectations as by love, sex, and beauty, if Beat never really became Beatific, nevertheless they managed to make their statement and to be heard, and their very existence was a sign to some on the outside, and especially to some kids just starting out at that time, that all roads to being were not closed, that all was not dead and grey, that somewhere in America life was still stirring. The fact that the Beats existed opened a possibility for these kids of an alternative to becoming part of the square world. And if some of those kids took to the road and are still there, not really going anywhere, others in time came back to confront society not only with their need but also with certain strengths and a style that they developed on their own.

The existence of the Beats shook up America, challenged it, threatened it, which is why America expended so much effort putting them down. Beat was subversive of the established social, moral, and emotional order: it especially influenced the impressionable minds of the young, and that was a necessary beginning.

But Beat was not enough. The outside world bore down everywhere and impinged on one's life—it was not possible to be free of it, day in and day out, and Big Sur was lonely (nor could you make a living there). A very few were psychically capable of finding a way out by giving up love, I mean love in the sense of compassion and the acceptance of one's own and others' weakness, and becoming Hipsters. But for most, Hip, asserting

the overriding claim of the search for the bigger and better orgasm, was a dead-end of each man for himself, a return to a more primitive—and therefore perhaps a better—jungle than the jungle of the Post-Modern World, but nevertheless a jungle, where murder was the ultimate necessity. Although Hip may have been a necessary development, since it brought us back to the ultimate animal ground of human existence, and therefore gave us better insight into our nature, at the core of Hip there was a denial of the possibilities of human community.

So the Beat movement ended either in Hip isolation or in irrelevance to the problems of living in the world; it could take one only so far. Although some of the best, such as Allen Ginsberg, maintained and kept alive a social vision, the Beats had no viable social alternative to offer. Alive again, there was still no place to live.

But by the close of the Fifties, McCarthy had died of cirrhosis and Dulles of cancer, Fidel Castro had made a revolution in Cuba, and a third-camp of "uncommitted" nations had begun to force its way into the world. The will to live had reasserted itself in the world.

In this context, out of the barrenness of the conditions of their own lives, some Negroes, with the help of a few radicals—some of the few American radical anarchists and pacifists, whose utopianism or deep personal morality, perhaps, made them immune to the vicissitudes of the American Left—conducted a bus boycott, a sit-in, went on a Freedom Ride, and the civil-rights movement came into existence.

IV.

Deep in my heart I do believe . . .

—Freedom Song

The civil-rights movement has been the workshop, the training ground, the elementary school, that has forged both the consciousness and the techniques of the new radicals. While the Beats left the legacy that there is some basic good in an individual man, which society inexorably destroys, the civil-rights movement restored the faith of a succeeding generation of youth in the possibility of a better society. While the Beats rejected Society and withdrew from it, the rebels who fought in the civil-rights movement grappled with Society and gained not only a better insight into its nature and structure, but also, because of the nature of the action demanded by the struggle, gained the germ of an insight into the necessary conditions for an acceptable alternative.

Developments in the outside world, especially the rise of the black African nations, and increasing domestic difficulties caused by the anachronistic position of the Negro in American society, made a change in America's attitude toward the Negro necessary for the American power structure and laid the groundwork for the Brown decision by the Supreme Court in 1954. But the failure during the succeeding years of the system of American law to achieve any significant actual change in the conditions of the Negro's life gave rise to a growing sense

of frustration, especially among Negro students, as well as among white youth who identified their own frustrated struggle for recognition and manhood with that of the Negro. Publicly acknowledging at last the Negro's complaint that he had been denied for at least a hundred years a share of the benefits rightfully his under the principles of the American creed and the Constitution, the white fathers still failed to inconvenience themselves to make this promise a reality. They continued to demand that the Negro accept his hateful present position until he was "grown up" enough; which really meant until things could be worked out so that there be no inconvenience to those who held that portion of the power and the benefits that admittedly belonged to the Negro. This condition proved intolerable.

In a prosperous society in which others enjoyed the material benefits of civilization, at a time when traditional beliefs that suffering in this world will be rectified by benefits in Heaven no longer seemed plausible as a rationale for existing in want, and when black men across the sea were taking control of their own destiny, the Negro rejected the promise that his children, or his children's children, would be granted what he had been denied. Under the rule of integration "with all deliberate speed," the system of law and law enforcement allowed things to remain essentially as they had been. (A whole generation of Negro children in the South has now passed through segregated school systems from first grade to the final years of high school—that is, those who have remained in school—since the Brown decision was made.) Although the Negro never had reason to believe in the White Man's justice, the lesson to the young white students involved in the Negro's struggle was that there is no necessary relationship between "law and order" and that freedom and justice supposedly for which America's sons, both white and black, had fought so many wars. The only possible answer to the admonition to have patience and wait for orderly process was "Freedom Now."

Having found that under the "due process" of American law, power weighed heavier in the scales than justice, the civil-rights movement found it necessary to go outside the legal system and to take direct action to achieve justice. Although the tactics which were adopted—nonviolent direct action, civil disobedience—were explained in the beginning on the basis of pacifism and the Christian credo of the power of love, during the course of the struggle it became increasingly clear that what made these techniques successful was not so much their appeal to a buried moral sense and humanity in the heart of the adversary, as the disruption of the functioning of thing-as-they-were. Through their confrontation with power, those in the movement learned to understand it, and to use what power they themselves had.

The tactics of direct action were also crucial for another reason. There was an experience shared by those who took part in acts of civil disobedience, and the experience was essentially the same, I believe, whether

the occasion was a sit-in in Georgia, defiance of the local authority in Mississippi, or—my own experience—a sleep-in in San Francisco. I would like to describe what happened to us at San Francisco's Sheraton-Palace Hotel, in March of 1964.

I had walked on picket lines before, but picketing is cheap in a big city where you're anonymous and can return to your job the next day without anyone being much the wiser about who you are. While we were picketing outside the hotel, negotiations were going on inside for the hiring of more Negroes by the San Francisco Hotel Association. No progress was made, despite the presence of two thousand of us on the line, and the leadership finally asked us to go inside the hotel and sit in the lobby. This could mean being arrested, so one had to decide how much the cause meant to him: whether it was worth jail, a police record, maybe loss of a job and, perhaps most important, being recognized by the hostile majority of the city as being on the other side.

We went inside, most of us acting in civil disobedience for the first time; the boisterousness of the picket line quieted to a hush, most of us being a little nervous. Once inside, however, one could relax, for one was committed at last in some way to those things one had been told as a child were right and valuable—liberty, justice, equality. Each of us knew at last that he believed in those things. The lobby was filled, the lobby and the long corridors on either side, and we each realized, scanning the mass of a thousand faces, that *we were not alone*. One spent a lifetime, in America, hedging one's bets, keeping up one's guard, never letting anyone else look too deep for fear of being laughed at or looking foolish; but here we were, a thousand strong, and, each in our own way, we knew that we believed, that we all believed, that we had some core of our lives to share with one another. We spent that night together, some in jail, most of us sleeping-in in the hotel lobby, a small army encamped in the fortress of the enemy. Instead of returning to our private lives we stayed and lived together that night and through the next day, and when it was over we were no longer strangers to one another. For twenty-four hours we were a community.

It is only when the pull of involvement finally wrenches you in some way from the accustomed routine of privateness, from the doubts and ambiguities and compromises, day in day out, of life in America that it is possible to have sense of oneself, and to feel alive. A night in the Sheraton-Palace, a summer in Mississippi to know that there is a battle raging, to know that you are personally involved, and to know, finally, which side you are on.

So when the press pointed out the following day that eighty per cent of the demonstrators at the Palace were white students, and questioned what they were really there for, whether they were agitating for jobs for Negroes or only using that as a pretext for something else, they were essentially right. We were concerned about those jobs, but there was much more at stake that night.

What this experience gave us, and what their experience in the civil-rights movement gave the students who committed themselves to it, was the knowledge that a community is possible, that the basis for a viable society is not the protection of each man from his neighbor, who without restraint would be his enemy and destroy him for his own ends, but rather a shared humanity and mutual need for each other. To the Beat insight of the basic rightness of the inner feelings of the individual, and therefore the basic worth of the individual, the civil-rights movement added the assertion that *it is possible for the good society to exist*. (This is the underlying motif of S.N.C.C.'s community organization in the South, as well as of student efforts at community organization of the Negro ghettos in the North.)

The night at the Sheraton-Palace was the high point of the civil-rights movement in San Francisco for the students who participated. The group which sponsored that demonstration, a coalition of youth and student groups which called itself the Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination, was never able to muster that kind of strength again; partly because of the demoralizing effect of the arrests and trials that ensued from that and subsequent demonstrations, as the system inexorably brought its power to bear upon the transgressors of "law and order," but even more importantly for another reason.

The demands of the civil-rights movement were demands made on behalf of the Negro, and most of us were not Negroes. As we in the North attempted to get more Negro working people involved in the struggle, as we attempted to work in Negro neighborhoods, a growing sense of frustration set in; for we were outsiders, and the life experience of a white college student or intellectual was not the same as that of a poor Negro working man or welfare recipient, and there was a gap between us that all our good intentions could not breach. Nor did we feel at ease attempting to convince someone else of what he must do for his own welfare, when we ourselves resented this kind of interference and outside direction of our lives. Finally, we were haunted by the knowledge that we had returned, in our own lives, after the Sheraton-Palace, to the same jobs and the same neighborhoods, to reading the same newspapers, to voting in the same meaningless elections as before. We were asking the Negro to move to change the conditions of his existence, when we had not really moved to change the conditions of our own. Although we had forces and skills the Negro needed, and it was necessary to continue to contribute them, it was up to the Negro, and not to us, to manage the strategy of civil rights.

But the experience of the civil-rights movement forced the white student to take a closer look at the conditions of his own life and to raise the question of whether, if it was possible for the Negro, with so many strikes against him, to do something about his life, it was not possible for the white student to do something about his.

(to be continued in the January LIBERATION)

INTRODUCTION

The appearance of C.S.R. in February of 1965 has marked the beginning of a student movement on the Michigan State campus. The summer lull has given us the opportunity to meet in discussion groups; to more fully analyze our situation and its implications.

Out of this discussion came a realization of our failure to organize and effectively communicate with students at the grass roots level. It is obvious that what is needed is some form of intensive organizing program. This effort would have several objectives.

First, to educate as many students as possible to an awareness of the role they have been relegated to as raw material for the brain factory and consequently in the society at large.

Secondly, to instill a sense of responsibility contrary to the "in loco parentis" doctrine. In other words to provide responsibility for making influential decisions as an alternative to mass anonymity and business as usual.

over...

Finally, to translate this sense of responsibility into collective action through organization.

We believe a program of this sort will not only provide tactical results but more important it will provide a basis of mass creative expression for the movement. Without this C.S.R. operates as an isolated entity, merely justifying its own existence. Moreover we can anticipate increased persecution from the administration. By establishing our roots on a mass basis we can guarantee the survival C.S.R. No suppression of individuals will stop the movement.

Before we can begin to educate on a mass basis we must first educate ourselves. The following manual has been prepared with this in mind, to provide effective tools for communication and organization.

THE ORGANIZER

Various personality tools are of primary importance in the development of a good organizer. This does not mean that the organizer must confine himself to the dubious business of exuding charm or squirting his "personality" all over the place. It simply means "being yourself" and maintaining a sustained interest in people.

These personality tools can be reinforced with a continuous faith in what you are doing. A strong faith and belief in the purposes and goals of The Student Movement will keep you going when you feel most discouraged.

A. THE CAPACITY TO LIKE PEOPLE

This means more than back-slapping, telling jokes and having a beer with the boys. It means that a person must be deeply concerned with the problems of other people. It means that you really enjoy meeting new people and exchanging views. It means that you are not strained, uncomfortable or ill-at-ease with people who are comparative strangers to you. It means that you feel that you can learn something from other individuals in the course of a discussion, and that you do not have an exclusive monopoly on knowledge and know-how. It means that you can keep an open mind about people who are different than you, and you can judge each individual on the basis of merit. It means that you have the capacity to grow in maturity and out-look with each new experience in human contact and relations.

B. ABILITY TO ADAPT

A good organizer must be able to adapt himself to his immediate surroundings, and not feel either superior or out of place. If he is not able to do this, he will certainly make everyone uncomfortable and unwittingly create resistance to organization. In adapting yourself, you put people at ease and it aids you in getting over your point of view.

C. PATIENCE WITH PEOPLE

In promoting the ideas of CSR among the student body, the organizer must employ great patience. An organizer who shows impatience with a prospective member has permitted half of his effort to go down the drain. Impatience with people on the part of organizers has killed the effectiveness of more organizing campaigns than any other single personality trait. Avoid rambling arguments. The more heated the argument, the more the resistance is built up in the mind of the prospective member.

D. SELF-ORGANIZATION

The first task of an organizer is to organize himself--what he intends to do; how he intends to do it; what appear to be some of the problems; what are the likely assets to utilize and the liabilities to overcome; what are the resources that can be drawn upon; what techniques and methods should be used in particular situations.

An organizer who has organized himself in his general plan of operation before going into the actual campaign saves himself an undue amount of lost motion. Nothing is more frustrating than an unplanned organizing project that wanders off in several nonsensical directions simultaneously--with the organizer suspended in mid-air.

E. THE FIRST STEPS

In making initial, individual contacts, we are concerned with two important goals: first, to seek out potential leadership in the dorm, which will aid in furthering the organizing drive; second, to obtain detailed information concerning the immediate problems and group grievances within the dorm. This information will assist in conducting the campaign.

1. The ability to seek out and instinctively weigh the quality of potential dorm leadership is perhaps one of the greatest tests for a skillful organizer.

In making contacts during the initial stages of the organizing efforts, the organizer should be primarily concerned with the quality of the contact rather than the quantity.

A great deal of time should be spent in developing the confidence and the understanding of the potential leadership in the early stages.

2. The second immediate goal is to learn about the conditions and the problems of the dorm. This information will become the major ammunition in the day-to-day campaign to organize the group. Without this information, the organizer is too often placed on the defensive in conducting the campaign.

An organizer cannot engage in too many abstract generalities on the glories and wonders of The Student Movement. He must come down to earth, and as quickly as possible translate CSR principles and program into terms relevant to the everyday practical experience of the particular group. Initially, most people are motivated by self-interest--they are interested in their own immediate problems--and are far more receptive to proposals for action when you talk and plan from that point.

F. BUILDING THE ORGANIZATION

In certain respects, a good organizer is a good salesman. His "product" is student freedom and like all good salesman, he should know his product before attempting to sell it to someone else. He should understand the fundamental principles and values of CSR and be able to translate them into the practical aspects of dorm life, academic problems, and disciplinary problems.

The next stage of the campaign is that of building a hard, functioning core of CSR support within the dorm. This is to become the dorm organizing committee and should represent a cross-section of potential leadership in the dorm.

The organizer should make every effort to have representation from each house. Several meetings should be held with the organizing committee prior to the all-out campaign. It is very important that this committee understands the general pattern of the campaign, the part each individual will play, and the calculated risks involved.

G. THE FIRST GENERAL MEETING

The first general meeting should be called in the name of the organizing committee. A temporary chairman selected to conduct the meeting should announce the general purpose of the meeting to the group, and should be urged to state his opinions on the need for organization.

When introduced by the temporary chairman, the organizer should set the tone and spirit of the meeting:

1. You should talk with sincerity and in simple, concise terms. Don't say, "you people." Associate yourself with the group and its problems by using "we."

2. Do not make a speech on vague generalities. The people are there to make one of the most important decisions of their academic lives. They want to know how to deal with their problems.

3. Do not make wild promises of what CSR can or will do for them. Be honest and tell them that their group can achieve no more than what they are willing and prepared to fight for in the way of freedom and security. Wild promises have a habit of coming home to roost after the campaign.

4. Draw heavily on material collected on dorm problems. Start from the point of their own common experiences, and the chances are that you will get through to the group.

5. Do not talk too long. When you begin repeating yourself--or preferably before--sit down. Encourage discussion from the floor. If articulate spokesmen emerge from the group, encourage them to answer the questions from the group, and make your own presence as minimally felt as possible. Group discussion, with as much individual participation as possible, is the heart of the meeting.

6. Answer questions from the group honestly and to the point. If you don't know an answer, do not cover up with vague generalities, guesses or false information. Tell them you do not know, and that you will try to get the needed information as quickly as possible. Be sure you follow through with the information. This builds confidence in the organizer and in the organization.

7. Try to get as many individuals as possible to commit themselves at the meeting, to indicate that they will become involved in some aspect of activities in the dorm.

8. After the meeting, try to get personally acquainted with as many people as you can.

H. BEYOND THE FIRST MEETING

What develops after the first general meeting will depend largely on how successful the organizer and the organizing campaign have been. If it is not feasible at the first meeting to establish a permanent dorm organization (and this should not be forced upon the group), the meeting should conclude with the announcement of a second meeting expressly for the purpose of forming an organization in the dorm, and to work out a strategy to meet the problems that exist.

The organizer has no detailed blueprint for success: his job is to convince people that whatever their difficulties and problems, they can only be solved by an organized effort, and to help them establish their organization.

GETTING YOUR POINT ACROSS

More tips on a personal level on how to convince. Here are some fundamental principals that will lead to success.

IMPROVE THE ACCEPTANCE OF IDEAS

1. Provide time for the other person to digest ideas, facts, figures, plans, proposals. Leave listeners in no doubt about your proposal.
2. Remember that answering objections does not insure acceptance. You may need to build up your case if good will is to be maintained.
3. Do not expect "instant" acceptance of something we may have spent weeks or months to prepare. Comprehension is sometimes difficult.
4. Anything new to people may be sensed as threatening to them; therefore it will be resisted until it becomes a part of their own thinking processes with which they feel comfortable.
5. Curb impatience in yourself.
6. In some instances, let people convince themselves by having them mull over the plan or idea.
7. Different people have different rates of mentally digesting.
 - a. fast tempo may not be good - it may indicate gulping minds and mental indigestion may result.
 - b. deliberate minds may not be thorough minds.
 - c. let minds (individuals or groups) determine the mental tempo.
 - d. try to welcome questions rather than merely plodding through material you want to present.
8. Agreement now or finishing the job of "acceptance" now may not be the best way to make progress or obtain acceptance. Remember, in a boxing match you don't need to win in the first round.
 - a. sometimes it may be wise to leave the idea with the people. offer it for consideration, without pressure to accept. Leave it for digestion.
 - b. a non-defensive mind is more open to receive a new idea.
9. Some times we are reluctant to accept a good idea from another because we didn't think of it first. Also, keep in mind creditability. All the persuasion in the world is of little value unless we have a good past record of sincerity.
 - a. if an idea can seem to have come from a group, the rejection of the personally conceived idea is lessened.
 - b. group output needs to supersede the recognition of the individual's stake in the idea.
10. It is natural for others to meet the new with suspicions and doubt.

- a. welcome objections and doubts (remember permissiveness or free speech without "squelchers") it may be a slower process but it is more readily accepted (if it should be accepted).
 - b. if objections and doubts are not raised, we might be suspicious of our plans. There may be real flaws in our proposal yet to be exposed.
11. Sharing in the preparation of the plan distributes the responsibility in case of failure.
 12. Sharing in the preparation of the plan increases the feeling of responsibility for seeing that it works.
 13. Observe that if there are no objections or doubts, it may mean that a plan is not really understood.
 14. Avoid too-positive positions - often it is wise to "under play" your position.
 15. A lengthy stream of arguments may not help a person to understand an idea; such a "load" of material should be simplified for easy comprehension.
 16. Wisecracks, sarcasm, ignoring a position or indicating that it is weak or ridiculous many times blocks contribution and acceptance.
 17. Sometimes it may help to explore alternatives with people rather than defend but one position.
 - a. it will reduce argumentation.
 - b. it may show weaknesses in your own plan.
 - c. it may be that we need to allow more time for our own position to be established.
 18. Make it easy for everyone to "save face" - if he once objected, you need to help him be able to accept - or to help him to retreat.
 - a. Review what has developed and dwell on any one point which was not quickly apparent, or which was a point which may have seemed less important earlier.
 19. The "yes, but" technique may result in more "butters" than "yessers".
 - a. a "yes, butter" may be valuable, he may be agree with with minor reservations. Listen to him, but do not be him.
 - b. a "yes, butter" may be stalling for a position to hold.
 - c. it could become a habit to avoid thinking, to become a resistor. avoid these.
 - d. get over on their side and discuss their reservations (acceptance) open-mindedly and reasonably. sometimes they don't accept what you say when you agree by stating in your own words the same thing they have said - they "yes, but" you again. Resort to mirroring, non-directive questioning,

counseling technique of "I'm not sure I understand just what you mean." ask questions to clarify; not to refute.

20. Authority does not force acceptance - it may only force some action. Therefore, do not give an impression of being infallible.
 - a. exploration is better than authoritarianism in many instances.
 - b. may not be understood and appreciated by inferiors.
21. We FEEL before we THINK. Judgments precede thought. If the idea or thought is not a part of our pattern we become insecure and FEELING results.
 - a. arguments, stifled discussions, etc. only intensify feeling - so further block thought.
22. A good leader puts another person in a position to give his view - points and feelings.
23. If a plan cannot stand a bit of "thinking over", maybe it is unsound and should be "thrown over".
24. People are often tolerant of that which they know; they are often suspicious of strange or new ideas.
25. People are often loyal only to that which they have helped to create.
26. People usually understand better that in which they have participated.
27. Since we usually FEEL before we THINK, use delayed judgments to be sure of our stand.
28. A minute or more for mental digestion may prevent an hour's mental indigestion.
29. It makes no difference how rich and wonderful it is to you, the other fellow can often see only that which he is prepared to receive.
30. The action you propose must be within limits of their capacity to do, buy, etc.
31. Proposed action must bring nearer some highly desired result for them.
32. The good persuader is sold on his topic and believes strongly in himself.
33. Try to find areas of agreement rather than disagreement.

TEN TIPS TO EASIER UNDERSTANDING

1. Don't pretend to know it all.
2. Avoid telling others what to do or how to think.
3. Don't be afraid to admit your own mistakes.
4. Encourage each person to keep the best interests of the group in mind.
5. If you think you disagree, ask the other person to explain what he means - maybe you misunderstood him.
6. Find out if he disagrees with the details or with the conclusion.
7. Be sure everyone knows what the problem is before you discuss solutions.
8. Don't rush a solution - take time to talk.
9. Make it easy for everyone to "give in" a little.
10. A "hot" problem could be discussed as a case study (hypothetical situation similar to the real one).

ARGUMENTATION

The core of an organizers task is to convince, persuade and detect weaknesses in oponent's arguments.

WEAKNESSES IN ARGUMENTS TO CAREFULLY OBSERVE

- I. Misuse of definitions
 - A. Lack of definitions
 - B. Vague definitions
 - C. Inaccurate definitions
- II. Misuse of language
 - A. Abstract language
 - B. Verbalisms
 - C. Emotional meanings
 - D. Loose grammar of opponent
 - E. The fallacious or complex question
- III. False division
 - A. Suppression of important issues
 - B. Stressing a minor issue
- IV. False use of facts (evidence)
 - A. Unsupported assertion
 - B. Inaccuracy of facts
 - C. Inconsistency of facts
 - D. Partial evidence
 - E. Mistaken facts
- V. False argument from generalization (strong statement)
 - A. Insufficient number of cases
 - B. Instances not typical
 - C. Ignoring negative instances
 - D. Inaccuracy of instances cited
 - E. Faulty causal connections
- VI. False argument from statistics
- VII. False argument from analogy
 - A. Too few resemblances
 - B. Comparison based on insignificant particulars
 - C. Ignoring important differences
 - D. Lack of causal connection
 - E. Inaccuracy of facts
- VIII. False argument from causal relation
 - A. Assumed connection between two events
 - B. Inadequate cause seen as sufficient cause
 - C. Ignoring of counteracting causes
 - D. Inaccuracy of facts
- IX. False argument from authority
- X. False argument from general propositions
 - A. Faulty construction of circumstances
 - B. False reasoning through vague phrasing of the issue
 - C. False assumptions on the major issues at stake.
 - D. Misstatement of facts in the major issues
 - E. Begging the question
 - 1. Arguing in a circle
 - 2. Assuming a more general truth than the point at issue
 - 3. Assuming that what is true in other cases is true in the present one.

- XI. False argument from ignoring the question
- A. Slanted or emotionalized language
 - B. Substitution of irrelevant argument
 - C. Repeated affirmation of an unimportant detail
 - D. Substitution of questions for argument
 - E. Invective or name calling
 - F. Defensive of self and colleagues (prestige appeal)
 - G. Using argument - University policy
 - H. Substitution of authority for argument
 - I. Appeal to humor, sympathy or fear
 - J. Appeal to tradition and custom
 - K. Appeal to ignorance of the opposite side

SUGGESTIONS FOR PERSUASION AND ARGUING

Following are some considerations for sitting down to discuss, argue, bargain, negotiate effectively. As you read them, it will become obvious that some are stronger than others; some will work in some situations and not in others, for one person and not another; some will apply to one kind of discussion and not to others. However a careful study of these suggestions will give you clues as to how to improve your ability to argue, persuade and reach agreement.

1. Be sure that both parties understand exactly what the problem is.
2. Be careful to define any terms that need defining.
3. Admit some of the opposing parties arguments. Admit everything that you can safely admit. Concessions of this kind are often persuasive.
4. Avoid using emotionally loaded words... they might lead to retaliation and as a result obscure the facts and the problems. They also might put the other party in a poor frame of mind to be influenced.
5. There are two ways to overthrow an argument, broadly speaking;
 - a. Question the truth of the alleged facts upon which the argument is based.
 - b. Question the validity of the reasoning being used.
6. Become familiar with the common errors in reasoning and avoid using them.
7. Become familiar with the common errors in reasoning so you can spot them in other person's arguments.
8. Listen carefully to what the other person says so you can understand his point of view to determine what his facts and reasoning are so you can spot weaknesses in his case etc.
9. Take all the time you need to think out answers to questions
10. Don't jump to conclusions before they are warranted.
11. Don't lose your temper.
12. Your personality can be as persuasive as your arguments.
13. You seldom win a point by out talking your opponent.

14. Prove to the other party that you are sincere and honest. These attributes carry a lot of weight.
15. Learn how to use suggestion. (Establishing an idea indirectly in the other persons mind.)
16. Get the other party to want to believe your arguments, through use of the right motivations.
17. Keep trying until you are sure the other person understands your point of view.
18. Combine reason and emotional appeals.
19. Attempt to establish a common bond with the other party.
20. Avoid dogmatic and negative statements such as: You are all wrong, you don't think straight etc.
21. If you can give the other person a choice of plans, both of which you would approve, he is more apt to accept your approach. At times it can be approached in the form of a question.
22. Give the other party time to digest the material you present.
23. Don't become impatient if the other party doesn't immediately accept what you have spent a long time working out.
24. Be careful to avoid making the other person feel threatened.
25. Remember that most people are hesitant to accept new ideas.
26. Give the other party a chance to save face when he is wrong. Otherwise it will be almost impossible for him to admit he is wrong.
27. It is sometimes a good idea to let the other party help develop your plans. Participation frequently leads to acceptance.
28. Sarcasm, ridicule, wisecracking may make you feel superior but it will seldom help your cause gain acceptance.
29. Sometimes you will find that the other party will come around if you can give him a chance to blow off steam, express his objections, and have a receptive audience from you.
30. Sometimes the other person has no reason for his beliefs, if you help him discover this by asking a few questions about his beliefs in a non-antagonistic way.
31. Being willing to listen will frequently make the other person willing to listen to you.
32. Remember that people act more on emotion than on reason.

PERSUASIVENESS: SECURING BELIEF

1. Speak with authority.
2. Understand thoroughly the problem at hand.
3. Use a systematic approach....proceed from one thing to another.
4. Adapt to occasion, be diplomatic.
5. Use energetic presentation.
6. Have enthusiasm, spontaneity and friendliness.
7. Don't be over-emotional.
8. Speak from the viewpoint of audience.
9. Find their likes and dislikes...refer to them.
10. Begin on common ground.
11. Use facts, figures, examples.
12. We are more persuasive if what we ask is made easy to do.
13. Illustrations help tremendously in understanding.
14. Point out a definite need for believing or acting on your proposals.
15. Be eager to talk... don't shout....speak forcefully, however.
16. Reliable quotes are needed.
17. The conclusion needs to emphasize the important things.
18. Use sincerity, accuracy and a sense of objectivity.
19. Use "we" more than "I" or "you".
20. Use repetition of main points....People forget them.
21. Emphasize by saying something is important to know.

SOURCES OF GROUNDLESS BELIEFS

1. Result of Early Environment
Somewhere...sometime.....somebody told us a certain thing and we believed it without carefully examining it. Refers to those we heard and believed in early childhood.
2. Parroting
Similar to the above, but ideas picked up later in life and adopted as our own without question. Most of the people, most of the time are merely parrots. But now we tend to accept only those ideas that agree with ideas we already hold.
3. Everybody Says So
Generally accepted and so obviously true it is foolish to doubt.
4. Self Interest
It pays to think that way and also, if I think that way I can justify my own belief and conduct.
5. Sentimental Associations - (pleasant or unpleasant)
6. Fashion - (your own group or sets)

TECHNIQUES TO BE WATCHED

Purpose: To identify some of the common errors in argument, so that you will avoid falling into these errors yourself, and so you will spot such errors in the argument of others.

1. OUT AND OUT LIES...One of the most difficult kinds of argument to combat. In areas where the experts disagree, or where the questions are surrounded by prejudice, precedents and personal interest, the liar is at times as well off as the honest man. Ask yourself: does he have an axe to grind, is this a sweeping statement, what evidence is there, what authority is there to verify, do disinterested witnesses agree, etc.
2. PERSONAL OPINION STATED AS PROVEN FACT...Even though the man who gives the opinion may believe it, it is still personal opinion and worth no more than the facts will support.
3. REDUCTION TO ABSURDITY...This is taking part of an argument and applying it to an absurd situation. Insist that the argument be considered as it is, and return to the issue in question.
4. ARGUMENT TO THE PERSON...(Argumentum ad Hominem)... Can be used either for or against an argument. This argument confuses the issue and the man or men. Because a man drinks is no sign his arguments are weak. On the other hand because a man is likeable, is no reason to believe him.
5. ARGUMENT FROM AUTHORITY... Authorities can be wrong and often are, You can ordinarily find some authority to agree with almost you want to prove or disprove. Is he an authority? Is he biased? Did he say it? Was he misquoted?, etc.
6. ARGUMENT FROM ANTIQUITY..."What has been should be" Past practices are often revised. People who insist on this kind of of arguing are difficult to convince because they are not being logical. Insist on good reasons rather than precedent.
7. ONLY HALF THE TRUTH...Common practice is to take credit for all the good things and escape blame for the bad things. Also it is common to tell only part of what actually happened in a situation.
8. THE ONE SIDED ARGUMENT...Also called stacking the cards. This involves selecting out the facts you want for your case and ignoring all the ones that disagree with your stand.
9. MISUSING STATISTICS...Ask such questions as: what is the source of these figures? Are there enough cases involved? Do they cover a sufficient period of time? Are they in the same context? Are the units comparable? Have the right conclusions been drawn from them?

10. USE OF THE "YES" TECHNIQUE... This involves asking a series of questions, the first ones that you will naturally answer "yes" to and gradually leading to the unthinking "yes" to a question you would otherwise answer "no" to. When confronted by this technique, be careful to evaluate each question on its own merit.
11. FAULTY CAUSE-EFFECT REASONING... It doesn't follow that because B followed A, A caused B. Just because you leaned against a building, and at that moment it falls over, it doesn't mean that you caused it to fall over.
12. USING ANALOGY AS PROOF... "You can't teach a dog new tricks" is no proof that something can't be done about the university. An analogy proves nothing, although it might help clarify a point. Be sure the two cases are exactly parallel. See what other proof there is. Always be wary of any comparisons, but especially analogy.
13. WEAK COMPARISONS... People are used to proving their points by comparison. Be sure the two things are actually parallel. The more points there are in common the stronger the argument. To disprove point out that there are more points of difference than there are points of likeness.
14. THE BANDWAGON... Everybody else is doing it, so why don't we? Whenever your opponent tries to get you to do something because the act is popular or because others are doing it, he is attempting to get you on the bandwagon. Ask: where this bandwagon is headed? Is our situation the same as everybody else's?
15. FAILURE TO DEFINE TERMS... Example, "We need to return to the old fashioned values!" What specifically does this mean?
16. ASSUMING AS TRUE WHAT HE IS TRYING TO PROVE... When the prosecuting attorney refers to the person on trial as a murderer, he is assuming proved what he is trying to prove. After all, that is what the trial is about.
17. TOO FEW ALTERNATIVES... Beware the person who says, "There are only two possible solutions to the problem." Example; "Either we have to fight Russia now or we'll have to fight her later on when she has had the chance to build up more military power. Why wait any longer?" Problems are seldom so simple they have only two possible solutions.
18. LOADED QUESTION... Demand "yes" or "no" answer, either of which will be an admission of guilt. Example: "Have you stopped beating your wife yet."

HANDLING DISCUSSIONS

How to get along in groups in order to get the most done and how to lead discussion groups. This provides information valuable in itself as well as a guide for personality development in face to face communication.

HOW TO HAVE A GOOD DISCUSSION

(A guide for those participating in discussions)

1. **SPEAK UP WHEN YOU HAVE AN IDEA**
In an informal group don't wait for the discussion leader to recognize you, and don't stand up; however, let him decide who should have the floor if several try to speak at once. Everyone's ideas are valuable. Your remarks will stimulate others.
2. **HELP YOUR DISCUSSION LEADER**
When the discussion gets fuzzy, you should summarize or ask for more information. You can keep the discussion on the track by restating the problem.
3. **DON'T LET SILENCE EMBARRAS YOU**
Silence is good for thinking. You may want to ask for more information to help start the discussion.
4. **PERSONAL STORIES MAKE EXCESS BAGGAGE**
Personal experiences usually take more time to tell than they are worth. If everyone describes what happened to him, discussion gets nowhere.
5. **LISTEN THOUGHTFULLY TO OTHERS**
The hardest part of the discussion is to concentrate on what is being said, and NOT on what you plan to say as soon as you get the chance. Let yourself be stimulated by the thinking of others. Your own past experience will come to you as soon as you need it.
6. **ADDRESS YOUR REMARKS TO EVERYONE**
You are being too formal if you talk to the discussion leader only. If you speak to only one person at a time you may start a two way conversation or even an argument.
7. **DON'T MONOPOLIZE**
A minute or two is long enough to speak. If you like to talk, you'll have to watch yourself very closely on this one. Time goes twice as fast while YOU ARE TALKING.
8. **KEEP UP WITH THE DISCUSSION**
If you get lost, say so. If you don't understand what's going on, chances are some of the others don't either. Ask for all the explanations you need.
9. **BE FRIENDLY WHEN YOU DISAGREE**
People don't think straight or quickly when they are irritated. And remember there are two sides to every question. When you are wrong admit it. The test of intelligence is how quickly you see what's right-not how often you are right to begin with. If you don't mind criticism, others will be encouraged to share their ideas with you. Remember too, that friendly disagreement is a good way to stimulate sound thinking again when agreement has been too hasty.

10. COME TO THE MEETING WITH QUESTIONS
If the meeting has been well planned you will know in advance what you are going to talk about. Think about it a little before the meeting - read, ask questions, make notes of the points you will want to bring up.
11. REACH DECISIONS
Before the meeting ends, try to reach agreement on the problems. When agreement is possible, you should try for an understanding of the different points of view. In this way you can help the group move ahead with a good feeling. As a rule you will want to vote only on a matter of personal preference.
12. FOLLOW THROUGH AFTER THE MEETING
Be sure you know what to do before the next meeting-then do it.

Barriers to Discussion

- I. Early Training Has Not Encouraged Discussion
 - A. At home ---parental domination
 - B. At school-- Speak when spoken to , "Answer teacher".
 - C. In community--"Children should be seen, not heard".
 - D. Enjoy listening-- no mental strain and proper member role.
 - E. Depend on experts-- leaders, parents, etc. More courteous to listen.
 - F. Wait to get a new and startling idea to compete favorably with others.
 - G. "If I suggest anything, I'll be put on a committee!"
- II. Little or No Preparation of Group for Discussion
 - A. No feeling of belonging.
 - B. Poor choice of subject (1) "No interest in it";(2)"Don't know enough about it." (3) Too broad or (4) untimely.
 - C. Topic poorly handled. (1) speaker tells all - nothing is left to discuss; (2) not challenging -- creating passivity; (3) incomplete introduction to question; (4) no advance warning so no preparation.
 - D. Questions to group (1) poorly worded, (2) not heard (3) patronizing.
 - E. Feeling of futility (1) subject doesn't lend itself to action; (2) from past experience, "Nothing can be done."
 - F. Resistance to imposed program.
- III. Domination by Others.
 - A. Unskilled leader -- offers little encouragement or opportunity.
 - B. Monopolizing member -- unaware or unwilling to accept proper role.
 - C. Expert -- who creates dependence by being too expert.
 - D. The brass -- in whose presence few people care to stick their necks out.

- IV. Fear of Ridicule
- A. Fear of taking a stand which may be unpopular.
 - B. Fear of deficiency in (1) grammar, (2) physical expression, (3) emotional control, (4) fluency, (5) general appearance.
 - C. Fear of appearing stupid, or not using correct parliamentary procedure.

Handling Difficult Situations

1. Handling the ready-talking interruptive member.
 - a. Interrupt him pleasantly, and ask him to state his point briefly.
 - b. Interrupt him, sum up his contribution, and turn to others.
 - c. Ask him to yield to others.
 - d. As a last resort, request recognition before speaking.
2. Handling the non-responsive member
 - a. If he is reticent, do not force him; eventually ask a question of him and finally bring him into the discussion.
 - b. If he seems to be a deliberate thinker, give him time; ultimately ask a question of him.
 - c. Suggest that those who have contributed turn to others for comment.
3. Handling the too assertive member.
 - a. Ask the person making a dogmatic statement to repeat the assertion and to explain it (frequently, he will make important qualifications or include supporting material not previously presented).
4. Handling the member who is over-anxious to settle the problem.
 - a. Encourage him to use the problem solving pattern.
 - b. Ask him a question or two on steps in the thinking process which he wishes to omit.
 - c. Point out wherein the group avoided trouble at earlier stages by using a systematic procedure.
 - d. As a last resort, handle this person as you would a ready-talking interruptive one.
5. Handling the antagonistic member.
 - a. Divert any caustic remarks from the group to yourself.
 - b. Sum up in a quiet voice and in less charged words the apparent reasons for anger or antagonism.
 - c. Remind the group that frank discussion requires self control.

PARLIMENTARY PROCEEDURE

The Most Important Principles of
Parliamentary Procedure

"Parliamentary procedure is the code of rules for working together in groups. It has evolved through centuries out of the experience of individuals working together for a common purpose. It is logic and common sense crystallized into rules of law." (1) Parliamentary rules are not technicalities to be used to obstruct and confuse, but rules based on principles of cooperative, democratic action. If a person understands the principles he need not memorize rules. Below are listed the most important principles of parliamentary procedure: (2)

1. Parliamentary rules exist to facilitate the transaction of business and to promote cooperation and harmony.
2. The vote of the majority decides.
3. All members have equal rights, privileges, and obligations.
4. The minority has rights which must be protected.
5. Full and free discussion of every proposition presented for decision is an established right.
6. The simplest and most direct procedure for accomplishing a purpose should be used.
7. A definite and logical order of precedence governs the introduction and disposition of all motions.
8. Only one question can be considered at a time.
9. Every member has the right to know what the question before the assembly means before he votes.
10. The membership may delegate duties and authority but retains the right of final decision.
11. Parliamentary rules must be administered impartially.

(1) Alice F. Sturgis, Learning Parliamentary Procedures, McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., New York, 1953, p. 15

(2) Ibid., Chapter 3.

PARLIAMENTARY POINTERS

Members

1. Keep alert. Many meetings seem stupid because the members dream.
2. Study the most important motions so you will know what to do.
3. Remember: Silence means consent. You have an obligation to object if you think something not proper or wise.
4. Make your contribution before the whole meeting, not merely to your neighbor.
5. Make your contribution at the meeting, not merely in indignant comments to a friend after the meeting.
6. Address the chair and get his consent where necessary (see chart).
7. Debate the issue, not the man who presents it.
8. If in doubt ask for information. Use parliamentary inquiry or request for information.

9. If you are shy, get into the debate. You will soon forget your fear.
10. If you are the talkative type, discipline yourself. Listening well is as great an art as talking well.
11. Remember procedure provides for reconsideration of question.
12. Appeal from the decision of the chair if he is dictatorial.
13. If action is taken that does not seem representative of the membership, move to consider and have entered on the minutes for the next meeting.
14. Use point of order if violations of procedure occur.
15. Cries of "question" have no meaning, Debate can be closed only by 2/3 vote if someone wished to speak.

Chairman

1. Guard the spirit of democratic procedure. Work to:
 - (a) Promote free debate
 - (b) Guarantee the rights of minorities
 - (c) Produce the majority will
 - (d) Establish equal rights of members
 - (e) Avoid Time wasting procedures
 - (f) Keep Tone of the meeting impersonal
 - (g) Take definite action.
2. Work out the program before the meeting. If a program committee or executive board exists in your organization, plan with it definite agenda for the meeting. See that responsibility is assigned where reports are necessary, or where information must be found before profitable discussion and action can occur. The usual order of business is:
 - (a) Reading of the minutes of the previous meeting, with correction and adoption
 - (b) Reports of boards and standing committees
 - (c) Reports of special committees
 - (d) Special orders
 - (e) Unfinished business and general orders
 - (f) New business and general orders
3. Preserve order--don't let the meeting get away from you.
4. Refer to yourself as the chair, not as I.
5. If you must debate, leave the chair, or at least ask the permission of the group. If you find it necessary frequently to assert your own opinions, probably you are not the chairman type.

6. Adjust the formality of your manner and vocabulary to the size and purpose of the meeting. Frequently in small groups discussion can be carried on informally, but with formal motions made for the minutes when action is taken.
7. In debate, recognize speakers fairly, giving preference to one who speaks infrequently, to alternate sides, to one who has not spoken, etc.
8. Avoid ambiguous instructions, such as "make known by the usual sign." Say: "Those in favor say aye.....those opposed say no."
9. Always take a negative vote even though the affirmative seems to have carried.
10. State clearly whether the motion is carried or lost.
11. Identify the motion to be voted upon.
12. If in doubt, ask for opinion of someone who knows.
13. Remember: nothing is official until stated by the chairman. The meeting is not adjourned, even after vote, until chairman announces adjournment
14. Insist on relevant debate on clearly phrased motions. Keep the assembly clearly informed as to what is pending.

CLASSIFICATION OF SPECIAL MOTIONS ACCORDING TO PURPOSE

- A. To Change A Main Motion
 - 1. Amend
- B. To Suppress Debate or Hasten Action
 - 2. Previous question (or vote immediately)
 - 3. Suspend Rules
 - 4. Limit debate
 - 5. Take from table (or resume consideration)
 - 6. Make special order of business
- C. To Delay Action
 - 7. Postpone to a certain time (or postpone definitely)
 - 8. Lay on table (or postpone temporarily)
 - 9. Refer to committee (or commit)
- D. To Prevent Action
 - 10. Object to consideration
 - 11. Withdraw a motion
 - 12. Postpone indefinitely
- E. To Consider More Carefully
 - 13. Committee of the whole (or consider informally)
- F. To Change A Decision
 - 14. Reconsider
 - 15. Rescind
- G. To Maintain Rules and Order
 - 16. Question of privilege
 - 17. Point of order
 - 18. Appeal from decision of chair
 - 19. Parliamentary inquiry
 - 20. Request for information
- H. To Close A Meeting
 - 21. Adjourn
 - 22. Fix time of next meeting.
 - 23. Recess

The conduct of formal group meetings often requires the use of special parliamentary motions to meet particular types of situations. Many of them will be employed very rarely, and others are used more commonly, but an acquaintance with all of them is helpful in furthering democratic and efficient conduct of business. Because these motions are special, many use standardized phraseology, many may not be amended, some are in order when main motions are being discussed and may even interrupt a speaker, many are not debatable, and some which are more drastic require a two thirds vote.

Notes on Parliamentary Procedure #1

The accepted authority on parliamentary procedure is ROBERT'S RULES OF ORDER, a handbook compiled by a Col. Henry M. Robert, and based upon the rules of the American Congress and the British Houses of Parliament. Unless otherwise specified in the constitution or by-laws of an organization, it is assumed that Robert's Rules is the standard under which meetings are conducted, and disputes are settled by reference to this volume in any of its many editions.

Parliamentary law can become very complex, and as you know the study and interpretation of it is a private profession for some few men who are always on hand when a legislative body of any importance meets. The purpose of parliamentary law is to facilitate the passage of business with justice to the majority and minority alike. It may be used, and sometimes is, however, to obstruct the passage of legislation and to confuse the members of the group.

You cannot expect to become a parliamentary expert, unless you devote much of your time to study Robert's and other handbooks. But you can equip yourself to act as chairman, as you perhaps already have; and you can become an effective member of a group, by some familiarity with the ordinary parliamentary procedures.

The Main Motion

Business is gotten under way in a meeting by means of the main motion. The main motion is a means of setting before the group the matter upon which action is required.

The preferred form is:

Mr. Chairman, spoken by the member from the floor.

The Chairman recognizes the speaker

The speaker states his motion: I move that....

Another member seconds, or the Chairman asks for a second

The Chairman calls for discussion....

After discussion the Chairman restates the motion

The Chairman calls for a vote and announces the result

The main motion may be modified in three ways:

By motion to amend by addition

By motion to amend by striking out

By motion to amend by substitution

Only two amendments may be on the floor at one time. An amendment may modify but not reverse the intent of the main motion.

Only one main motion may be on the floor at one time.

Except in special cases, The Chairman may vote on the main motion or amendments only when his vote can change the final decision.

Notes on Parliamentary Procedure #2

Disposing of the Main Motion -

Once a main motion is on the floor, it may be disposed of in various ways. One of them is to vote it down; another is to pass it.

There are other ways to treat main motions, some to delay action, some to make for further consideration, some to in effect defeat the motion:

1. To commit or refer to committee

- a. May be sent to some standing committee. The motion is:
I move that this matter be referred to the Committee on....
- b. May be given to special committee. The motion is: I move
that the Chair appoint a committee to....

(probably is wise to suggest number of committee members;
perhaps to require a report by a certain time)

2. To defer action

- a. Motion to postpone consideration to a certain time: Motion:
I move that we postpone further discussion until....
- b. Motion to make a special order of business: Motion: I move
that the motion under consideration be made a special order
of business at....(requires 2/3 vote to pass)
- c. Motion to table. Motion: I move that this motion be tabled.

3. To suppress of limit debate

- a. Motion, or call, for the previous question. Motion: I move
the question. (Often just the call: "question") (2/3 vote)
- b. Motion to limit debate. Motion: I move that debate close
at....or; I move to limit debate on the pending motion to...
minutes. (requires 2/3 vote)
- c. Objection to consideration. Motion: I object to considera-
tion. (requires no second; needs 2/3 vote; must be made be-
fore any discussion begins)
- d. To postpone indefinitely. Motion: I move that we postpone
indefinitely the motion under consideration. (really a mo-
tion to kill - may be used for test of strength).

These **motions** provide you with a range of options for securing the postponement of further consideration of a motion on the floor. They require only a majority to pass unless the 2/3 vote is specifically noted, or if particular conditions obtain. In case of doubt, look at your ROBERT'S RULES if you have one, or let the group help you decide.

Notes on Parliamentary Procedure #3

Privileged Motions -

This is a class of motions which provides for meeting special problems and which usually take precedence of whatever business is on the floor.

1. To fix the time of the next meeting.

A motion intended to set the time of next meeting for those groups which do not have fixed dates. It is used to perpetuate groups not well organized, and may be used to prevent the dissolution of a group formed for some special purpose. This motion takes precedence over all others, even that to Adjourn. Can be amended.

2. To Adjourn.

Takes precedence over all other motions except the one above discussed. It is not debatable, nor amendable.

3. Take a recess.

Not debatable, but may be amended. Takes effect immediately if passed.

4. Question of privilege.

The motion is: Mr. Chairman, I rise to a question of personal privilege.

May relate to such matters as: The organization of the assembly; the comfort of its members in lighting, heating, ventilation, etc.

5. Call for orders of the day.

This is a demand that the assembly conform to its program or order of business. Requires no second. May remind the chair of a previously passed special order of the day motion, or of any violation of the prescribed order of business.

NOTES ON PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE #4

The following are some miscellaneous motions which have not been discussed so far. Some are classed as main motions; some are classed as incidental motions; some are just motions.

1. Division of the question.

Sometimes the question(or motion) on the floor is made up of several distinct sections or divisions. If you think each of these sections could better be discussed and voted upon separately, you make a motion to Divide the question. The motion must indicate clearly how the question should be divided. It is not debatable. If passed, the motion is then discussed and voted upon in the sections suggested by the motion.

2. Division of assembly.

This is a simple request for a careful count of the vote on any motion. What you are asking is that the chairman shall require the assembly to rise, or to show hands, so that a careful check can be made. It comes when you think a voice vote is so close that the outcome is in doubt. It needs no second, but must be made before another motion is on the floor.

3. To Reconsider

This motion may be made only by someone who voted with the winning side. It requires a second, which may be made by anyone. It is debatable when the motion to be reconsidered is debatable. Majority vote.

4. To rescind.

This motion may be made by any member. It is debatable. The effect of this motion is to remove from the minutes whatever action has been taken. It requires a two thirds vote to pass it if it is made at the meeting as the same action to which it is applied. If the motion is made at the next meeting only a majority is required.

NOTES ON PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE #5

1. Parliamentary Inquiry

This is not really a motion at all. It is simply a means for getting advice from the chairman. As a member of the group, you always have the right to rise and ask parliamentary advice from the chairman. The form is; Mr. Chairman. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. Needs no second. Is not debatable. May interrupt a speaker.

2. Request for information.

This one is like the parliamentary inquiry, except that you may direct it to someone in the group, usually the speaker or the one who has just spoken, through the chairman. This is a request for information of any kind on the subject under discussion. The form: Mr Chairman. I rise for information. (This is a question to the chairman) OR: Mr. Chairman. I should like to ask a question. (the chairman will then ask....if he will yield for or accept a question; and if so, you direct your question to the chairman.) Needs no second. Not debatable. May interrupt a speaker.

3. Appeal from the decision of the chair.

This is a way of asking the group to overrule the chairman, when you believe his decision is wrong. The form is: Mr. Chairman. I appeal from the decision of the chair.

You may state your reason; the chair may state his. Then he calls for a vote like this: The decision of the chair has been appealed from. Those in favor of sustaining the decision..... Those opposed. The vote of the group will then decide the dispute. Needs no second. Is not debatable.

4. Question of order.

This motion is a way of reminding the chairman that business is out of order, or that he is allowing debate when there should be none, or so on. The form: Mr. Chairman. I rise to a point of order, or just, Point of order.

Needs no second. Is not debatable.

5. Withdraw a motion.

If the mover wishes to withdraw his motion for any reason, he will simply ask permission of the chair to do so. The chairman will inquire if there is any objection; if not the motion is withdrawn. The seconder need not be specially consulted; he can object when the chairman asks for any. If there is objection the chairman will put the question to vote; if passes the motion is expunged from the minutes; if defeated, the motion remains on the floor. The form: Mr. Chairman. I request permission to withdraw my motion.

NOTES ON PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE #6

.Motions Listed by Precedence

<u>PRIVILEGED MOTIONS:</u>	<u>Second</u>	<u>Amendable</u>	<u>Debate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
Fix time of next meeting	Yes	Yes	No	1/2
Adjourn	Yes	No	No	1/2
Recess	Yes	Yes	No	1/2
Privilege	No	No	No	Chair.
<u>SUBSIDIARY MOTIONS:</u>				
Lay on table	Yes	No	No	1/2
Previous question.	Yes	No	No	2/3
Limit debate	Yes	Yes	No	2/3
Postpone to certain time	Yes	Yes	Yes	1/2
Refer to committee	Yes	Yes	Yes	1/2
Committee of the whole	Yes	Yes	Yes	1/2
Amend	Yes	Yes	Yes	1/2
Postpone indefinitely	Yes	No	Yes	1/2
<u>MAIN MOTIONS:</u>				
Main motion for general bus.	Yes	Yes	Yes	1/2
Take from table	Yes	No	No	1/2
Reconsider	Yes	No	Yes	1/2
Rescind	Yes	Yes	Yes	2/3
Make special order of bus.	Yes	Yes	Yes	2/3
<u>INCIDENTAL MOTIONS:</u>				
Question of order	No	No	No	Chair.
Appeal decis. of chair	Yes	No	No	1/2
Suspend rules	Yes	No	No	2/3
Object to consideration	No	No	No	2/3
Parliamentary inquiry	No	No	No	Chair.
Request for information	No	No	No	Chair.
Withdraw a motion	No	No	No	1/2

ANALYSIS

A good organizer needs to have a clear understanding of the situation with which he is dealing. We believe the following articles go a long way in providing a good analysis of the university scene.

The time of his life during which the student attends a university or college is a period of uncertainty, change, and attitude- and value-formation. One would hope, then, that the university experience would be liberating and fulfilling for the individual, that here he would find exemplified the very essence of democracy: the concepts of individuality--that individuals care of overriding value and worth--and of individual freedom and power--that individuals can participate directly and significantly in the decisions which shape their lives. And, hopefully, this would mean the beginning of what democracy is a means to--the full development of the individual's capabilities and creativities.

But instead, the student is rarely stimulated by his experience at the university, a fact attested to by the high rate of dropouts. The reasons for attending a university are often perceived by the entering student as the securing of a diploma, the accumulation of skills and knowledge which can be turned into money, and the making of contacts "valuable" during later life--and only rarely does even an occasional professor (and certainly not the university itself as an institution) broaden the student's horizons and help him to redirect himself.

The doctrine of in loco parentis (that the university acts towards the student in place of his parents) only infrequently means direct intervention in student life, since such intervention bares the anti-democratic nature of the university too clearly. More importantly, in loco parentis means a pervasive collection of regulations which the student accepts all too readily and which deaden his sensibilities as a human being and his conception of himself as a truly democratic individual; he goes about his narrow academic business, restricted social life, and meaningless extracurricular activities and manipulations. He is not even told what democracy really means, nor is it discussed, if at all, in any terms relevant to his life. There is no demonstration of real democracy in the university: not in his student government proceedings and elections, or in the functioning of the Administration of the school, or in the control of the university as a whole, or in the machinations of faculty politics. There is no concerted effort made to discover and bring out the best in individuals and to make them aware of others as concrete human beings rather than as psychological data. Is it a wonder that democratic men are not the result of such experiences? Is it a wonder that few university graduates become part of a dynamic community of men controlling their institutional environment? Is it a wonder that adults are "produced" who lack sensitivity toward themselves and their human and natural environment? What else could be expected from a "doctrine of unfreedom"?

It is this poverty of democratic vision and implicit denial of individuality and humanness which we must combat in the university--as throughout the society to which the university is subservient. It must be made clear that any social regulations handed down by the Administration--not only firings of student editors or censorship of their papers--are incompatible with the conception of the Free Man espoused in this society. We must challenge total faculty and administration control of curriculum--just as we must protest any kind of control over speakers from the outside--because we believe students are mature enough to make decisions responsibly on matters which affect them so directly. In short, we must proclaim--and act on--the doctrine that students are a vitally important part of the university community and should therefore have an important part in controlling its decisions.

Much must also be said about the kind and quality of education available at the university. Too often it is fragmented, rarely related to human values and to one's total life, lecture-oriented rather than allowing students an opportunity to present and discuss their own views, concentrated on teaching marketable skills rather than teaching men qua men, concerned solely with students in classrooms. The total educational experience must be an object of university reformers: not only course content but the entire tone of the university--the relationships among the individual members

of the community (faculty, administration, students, and staff) and their conceptions of man, the physical plant and its meaning for the human beings it houses, the institutionalization and integration of knowledge, and methods of imparting knowledge and of learning.

In short, there must be a strong emphasis in the university on the effect on each individual of the entire university community and of the actions of its individual members. Do those actions have the liberating, democratizing effect which has been stressed here? Do the institutional arrangements within the university tend toward the same effect and toward allowing individuals to act in this way?

...

University reform can be realized only through a mass movement on the part of students at a university and throughout the country. It is not enough for a number of prestigious student leaders to go, hats in hand, to the administration to ask for changes; what is necessary is for a substantial portion of a student body to be willing to take strong action in support of a particular demand. Students must come to feel that the paucity of real education, the rejection of individuality, and the lack of human content in their university lives call for strong and direct action; their willingness to accept the potential sanctions would only serve to emphasize the great gap between the "is" and the "ought".

Perhaps the term "mass movement" seems out of place here; if so, it is because of the lack of education for democracy, the lack of emphasizing what democratic participation means, which pervades our entire educational system, from first grade through graduate school, and throughout life. We must seek ways of making students really care about the fabric of their lives, about something more than their own narrow interests, and then making them act.

Three things are necessary to create this kind of concern:

(1) First is knowledge of all which has been described. Some of this knowledge is common to students: they know that social regulations exist, and they feel the restrictiveness personally. They know that there are ridiculous and intellectually restrictive academic requirements. They know that most student governments are farces. And when something spectacular arises--such as the firing of a professor for political views, or the arbitrary suspension of a student leader, or the stopping of publication of the student paper--they know that what has happened was wrong.

There is also inarticulated knowledge--or, rather, feeling--of the more subtly restrictive aspects of in loco parentis. The denial of responsibility for their own affairs, plus pent-up adolescent energy not directed constructively, is much of the cause of the *annual spring riots and other seeming irresponsibilities* which periodically beset campuses and occasionally make front-page national news. What irony that it is precisely the unwillingness to accord students their rightful responsibility that plays such a large part in causing irresponsible acts, which are used in turn to "prove" inherent irresponsibility! This energy, directed at the doctrine that university students are children rather than adults, can and must be redirected through education by university reformers of students about their rightful role in the university--and by impelling them to action.

And, lastly, this education must be integrative in the sense that it shows the interrelationships among the various aspects of unfreedom and shows also how deeply each of these is tied to the doctrine of unfreedom itself--in loco parentis.

(2) Students must believe that through their actions they can win significant successes in the fight for reform. This is a circular problem, for as long as masses of

individuals insist they can do nothing and therefore refuse to organize themselves, they will be unorganized and therefore ineffective. The solution is simply effective organizing, which is an individual problem relating importantly to particular conditions. The main points here are two: (a) it is mandatory that students be organized; (b) certainly the most blatant violations of students' rights can be redressed through student action as, with massive action, can more subtle manifestations of in loco parentis.

It must be recognized that a democratic university cannot be created without a basic change in the attitudes and values of the society which controls the university. But some aspects of the problem can be worked at successfully; and through the process--both because of victories won and because of the meaningfulness of the process itself--the morale of the students will change and improve, and will lead to greater possibility for victories.

Social change is, after all, a long-term process; and while students may feel that it is too long term for them to concern themselves with during their brief four years' stay, if they understand that the issues being fought here are different only in particulars from the issues being fought elsewhere in the world and that the university is far from unconnected with the rest of society, then they will understand that if they are going to fight for their and others' rights, then they will have to fight in the university as well as after they graduate.

(3) The most important factor in involving students in university reform is the inculcation of the basic principles of democracy emphasized at the beginning of this paper. I will not reiterate them here; suffice it to say that students must feel that they have inherent worth as individuals and are rightly a part of a social force which strives to realize just common demands. We must break through the force of societal teachings that this is not a proper conception of man. And we must break through the institutional arrangements, common throughout the society, which thwart whatever democratic tendencies exist because of democratic rhetoric.

This aspect of what in loco parentis means--a continued restriction on the individual's conception of himself and his fellow men--must be constantly stressed, partly because the issue must be constantly articulated as a value issue and partly because students' self-conceptions are the greatest hindrance to an effective program of university reform activism.

A STRATEGY FOR UNIVERSITY REFORM

—by Paul Booth

The student's devotion to correcting injustice and righting what is wrong in society has recently begun to disrupt the orderly functioning of universities in the same way that it has disrupted political power relations in the Deep South and business-as-usual in the urban North. The issues of democracy and individual freedom have been related to the campus, and there is no telling what will become of it. This paper is written in the hope that the nascent movement for change on the campus can be directed at the crux of the matter—the new roles of the university in society, the distribution of decision-making power within the universities, and the consequent manipulation of students to fit the current schemes of the educators who hold sway.

At Berkeley the issue of freedom of speech is inflammatory. The President of that university, from whom we will hear more in the course of the present paper, is a widely respected "educator" and, as president of the nation's largest higher educational operation, is to be taken seriously. The Kerr Directives, the basis of that institution's policy on political expression, and the target of the recent student protest which saw sustained rioting by thousands of undergraduates, have succeeded in eliminating organized student political activity from the campus. Kerr's university has been assigned the purpose of "making students safe for ideas" but those who have them are limited strictly (and probably unconstitutionally) from propagating them. Yet, while this may be a hot issue among students, for whom ideas are the meat of their primary preoccupation, the university is engaged in vast research and production operations to which controversial ideas are either incidental or irrelevant. Over the years, and especially in the last fifteen, the university has been taken over, the ivory tower has been subverted from within, and the change has been so rapid that our reactions are predictably undirected, often anti-social, and generally miss the point.

The point is that the values that have traditionally animated higher education, and that evidently still figure importantly in institutions elsewhere in the world (the values of higher learning, of research motivated by the passion for truth, of visionary debate and intellectual engagement with the problems of society) have been demoted during the ascendance of the research dollar and the training function for the professions.

IVORY TOWER?

Our universities and colleges have a tradition of detachment from politics. The free academy has taken centuries to evolve to its present incomplete status, and our administrators and trustees are very jealous of their academic freedom. Of course, academic freedom is seen in its negative sense, a kind of wall protecting the educational institution from the outside world. Too often the experience in town-gown relationships has been that the student or professor has antagonized the citizenry, and the citizenry has retaliated by limiting the freedom of operation of the academic community. And traditionally, the most expendable aspect of the university operation under fire has been the active criticism of social institutions.

Today, college presidents do not feel that political activity is a major function of their colleges. They express this in the phrase "society's investment in learning", describing the training and research functions as the justifications for higher education. In the recent book *The Uses of the University*, Kerr elaborates on that theme:

The university has become a prime instrument of national purpose. This is new. This is the essence of the transformation now engulfing

our universities. Basic to this transformation is the growth of the "knowledge industry", which is coming to permeate government and business and to draw into it more and more people raised to higher and higher levels of skill. The production, distribution, and consumption of "knowledge" in all its forms is said to account for 29% of the gross national product, according to Fritz Machlup's calculations; and "knowledge production" is growing at about twice the rate of the rest of the economy. Knowledge has certainly never in history been so central to the conduct of an entire society. What the railroads did for the second half of the 19th century and the automobile for the first half of this century, the knowledge industry may do for the second half of this century: that is to serve as the focal point for national growth. And the university is at the center of the knowledge process.

He sees the university's relation to the rest of society as not only the research function implied above, but a training function, to wit:

The vastly increased need for engineers, scientists, and doctors will draw great resources to these areas of the university. Also, some new professions are being born. Others are becoming more formally professional, for example, business administration and social work. The universities become the direct port of entry for these professions. In fact, a profession gains its identity by making the university a port of entry....The life of the university for a thousand years has been tied into the recognized professions in the surrounding society, and the universities will continue to respond as new professions arise.

The function of the academic community to provide social vision is being lost in the shuffle. The university places itself at the service of the status quo, and farms out its talent to defense and industrial establishments. Unfortunately our research has been oriented around specific problems set by governments and corporations rather than to the needs of the academic disciplines. At the same time, teaching has become training at our large factory-like universities. Even at the small college, where research and teaching are less guilty of that charge, the function of vision, of political debate, is disregarded.

Vision is the debate and formulation of directions in which society should move. It is a discussion of how society should be changed, and is thus a disruptive element in the polity. And it is the only justification for the autonomy of the academy. The academy is the only social location in which vision can be institutionalized, for vision is fundamentally farsighted. It is in the university, not in government, where discussion of the effects of automation can take place. And it is a severe critique of our colleges to note that such discussion is hardly taking place.

The academic environment is hostile to the active criticism of social institutions. As stated above, this is partly because of the hostility of society to intellectuals in politics. But that cause is much less a part of the sixties than it was a part of the McCarthy Era. More important for our consideration are the direct financial dependence of universities on government and the corporation and the ideology which celebrates this relationship. The strategy for reform of our universities rests on our analysis of these two problems.

It has been frequently demonstrated that government and the corporation are major benefactors of our private academic communities. The ideal in this kind of relationship would be government and companies making resources available to the universities without any stipulations. Unfortunately, there are stipulations, both explicit and implicit. The two types of stipulations are the politically exclusive, which

generally apply to left nonconformist thought and activist, and the academic directive, which apply to research and instruction activity. It is not the purpose of this paper to attempt to estimate the extent to which donors are dictating the areas of research and the directions of study which they feel are needed. It can merely be stated that such occurs, that the defense department is quite explicit about the problems it wants investigated, and it buys research time from the universities. It has been suggested that the net effect of the treatment of the academic community as a community of consultants has been an underemphasis of pure and basic research, and overemphasis of engineering. In any case, the great influence of these purchasers must be acknowledged.

It has been amply demonstrated that government and the corporation are the major source of funds for the academy. What Kerr does not say is that at the same time as the rest of the country has moved toward a managerial operation, this trend has been overwhelming in the universities and colleges. The university is a functional part of the production process in society, not an Ivory Tower, and the decisions about what to research, what to teach, and on what to expend intellectual energy, are no longer made by the intellectuals, but by the people who write the paycheck. These are the major decisions in higher education, but it is clear that the managers, and their views of people, are influential even in such secondary areas as student political activity and social life.

The most familiar example of the warping of priorities has been the underemphasis of pure and basic research, and overemphasis of engineering, due to the Defense Department's treatment of the higher educational community as a community of consultants. At the University of Michigan, students have started to mobilize around a whole series of grievances including housing, cost-of-living, student wages, etc. It is clear to them that they are the victims of a system of operation which is responsive to the research "sector" and not to students.

ON-CAMPUS ISSUES

A cursory examination of five issues which seem to be characteristic of the student's situation in the new universities can yield insights into appropriate responses.

1. Bureaucracy on the campus. The past decades have seen the professionalization of university administration, to confront the need to run these institutions in a businesslike manner. We have research administrators, and training administrators, who are otherwise known as "educators". These are the people who file us on IBM cards and otherwise treat us with disdain, like elements in a production process. The President of the University of Michigan, when confronted with a list of student demands, said that the idea of students making demands upon their administration was "repulsive" to him. To combat this dehumanizing influence, the most advanced of us have put their minds to "beating the system". At Berkeley, they have a Counter-catalogue to do just that. But the system will not be willed away with counter-catalogues, and bureaucracy will be with us (or rather, against us) as long as the shots are called by the hipster agents of big corporations and conservative foundations.

2. The departmentalization of the intellect. The Technocrats who are in the saddle see students primarily as inputs to be trained--imparted with the skills demanded by those who are paying. The faculty are preoccupied with research work, as we know. When they finish fulfilling their contracts, they turn to the job of training more skilled manpower to fill more contracts. When they think about social change, they think it is brought about by technique and technology, not by the acts and movements of men.

The training function is pursued with great skill and sophistication, to the

detriment of liberal education. It is damned difficult to get a decent liberal education any more--there just isn't much money in it. We all know this and recognize it, but we have thus far been powerless to defeat the trend. Once again, the greatest observed success seems to be achieved by standing outside the System and running your own curriculum--Self-education. We are not involved in resource-allocating decisions, and they go against us.

3. Real Academic Freedom. It is not enough to demonstrate for a right; that is basically defensive. It is not enough even to carry on ideological debate, to sketch the outlines of the Good Society. Such effort will atrophy from isolation unless it is tied to actual confrontation with society--the actual taking up of causes is the most important learning experience. It is the style of most educators and deans to discourage such activity by subtle influence; it takes a very cocky one to emasculate such activity by edict. But Kerr is just cockier than most; the feeling that serious commitment of time and energy to social change is inappropriate for students is commonly held.

4. Freedom of Personal Development. In Loco Parentis is the form in which the university bureaucrat impedes the personal growth of students. It is the doctrine by which they justify social rules. Paternalism comes easy to universities; managing our lives is certainly consistent with training us and directing us into the professional niches society has set out for us. It too can be combatted, if we will only organize.

5. The politicization of the curriculum. In the long-run, however, we must face the fact that the student's major involvement at the university is the curriculum, and his alienation is most important when it is from dead curricula, archaic approaches, and value-less and controversy-free classes. The task of making higher learning controversial once again instead of a rote process is another one for which we must organize, and we must develop programs for combatting stillness in the classroom. One promising idea is that of readers' guides to introductory texts, like SDS' forthcoming Radical Guide to Samuelson.

A STRATEGY FOR RECONSTRUCTING HIGHER EDUCATION

The most appalling feature of most campuses is the lack of community, the difficulty to build bridges to fellow-students. This problem is compounded at giant universities of cold dormitories. More forbidding than the dormitories are the Administration Buildings, the strongholds of what amounts to nothing less than the enemy. The academy has become so crucially important to the smooth functioning of the status quo that only with great difficulty can we expect to bring about any redistribution of power in universities, or even any major victories on any of the five key issues cited above. Nonetheless, the difficulty of the task is no reason to put off the job.

What is needed is a power model of the university. I am not prepared to offer one at this time; but in its absence, I think the following notes on strategy for the collective organization of students may be relevant.

The first strategic notion we must take to heart is that time and again students' interests are overlooked or undermined, and anybody who has lived in a dorm can testify to the prevalence of gripes. We all have gripes, but the most common understanding of the problems is that some personal failing is at the root of the problem--not being able to beat the system. The first job in moving toward university reform is the mobilization of the gripes into grievances.

There are legitimate grievances for practically every aspect of college life,

and it is at best a hit-and-miss affair to organize around specific grievances. Where the problem is not basic to the functioning of the university, as most residence hall problems would be, it is possible that part of the educational value of collective action will be lost. That is, if the residence deans bow to student demands, the activists will learn a great deal about the power of concerted action, but nothing about the opposition of the prevailing order to the basic interests of students.

In order to teach that lesson, it is probably necessary to get involved in one of the key issues. In order to identify key pressure-points in the academic system, a good clue is the presence of some co-opted student outfit rationalizing the established order. Where the issue is campus democracy, the substitute is student government. Where the issue is personal freedom, the substitute is student courts. Where the issue is academic content, the coverup is the curriculum study committee. The consciousness that these issues require collective action by students is more advanced than the grievance mentality, but it often cannot be reached without solid experience on much smaller issues.

Given the absence of orderly processes for reconciling differences between organized students and the administration, it is inevitable that student movements have frequently taken to mass action. At the University of Connecticut a riot occurred in 1962 over censorship of the student newspaper; at Seton Hall a similar action in the Spring of 1964 had overtones of liberal attitudes toward internal Church issues. At Trinity College a recent demonstration against liquor restrictions involved the singing of "We Shall Overcome" under the President's window. At Berkeley the demonstration on free speech was massive and continued over 24 hours. None of these and similar incidents have been followed up by the development of strong student organization (Berkeley may prove the exception). Short of revelations to the contrary, we should take a leaf from the community organizing theories of SDS--strong organizations are based on active, small units which gain experience by dealing with smaller issues, and expand their scope through those experiences.

There is a limit to the change that can be wrought within the university without going to the root--changing the terms of the bargain between higher education and its economic providers. This paper will not explore the problems of changing this bargaining relationship. Suffice it to say that a movement for university reform will confront these problems easily once it finds the real limits of on-campus action.

* * * * *

The struggle for university reform has merely begun. In the absence of a university which instills the values of social engagement, that struggle itself will serve as a "school for democracy". The crucial lessons of the maldistribution of power in American society, and the manipulation of the weak, these are there for the learning. What has made past efforts at university reform so frustrating has been the absence of strategic thinking, and of the commitment to the long and difficult job of organizing the students themselves to demand university reform. That commitment is now being made, by a few people in a few universities. And the potential remains as large as ever.

AK: 1 - Thesis to committee for Student Rights

DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE OF INGHAM COUNTY --- FOR RELEASE: SEPT. 25, 1965

Information concerning the resolution of the Ingham County Democratic Committee and the Young Democrats of Ingham County on the denial of readmission of Mr. Paul Schiff to Michigan State University by the central administration of that school after Mr. Schiff was accepted by the Department of History of that school as an accredited candidate for the Masters degree.

Over the past school year several "campus controversies" have made major news headlines. Perhaps the most publicized of these was the Free Speech Movement on the Berkley campus of the University of California. The basic issue of the Free Speech Movement is the right of students to advocate political and non-academic issues on the university campus.

A similar problem has arisen at Michigan State University this past Spring Term. A group of about 70 students formed an organization called the Committee for Student Rights which raised several major questions concerning both on and off campus issues. Among these were: housing discrimination in East Lansing, inadequate library facilities at MSU, the rapid growth of the university, the role of faculty and administration in a large state-supported institution, and the problem of quality education in a rapidly growing institution. CSR used three primary means of informing the student body of their stand on these issues. These were the student newspaper-the State News-speeches and discussions on campus, and a one-page mimeographed handout entitled Logos. The University does not recognize CSR as a chartered campus organization.

During Spring Term, 1965, Paul Schiff, a graduate student from New York who was not at that time enrolled at MSU, was ordered out of Wilson Hall on the MSU campus by a Resident Assistant (RA) because

he was distributing literature in a manner which the RA believed to be contrary to university policy. Schiff is also editor of, and a contributor to, Logos. In several issues of Logos Schiff stated that CSR would refuse to respect certain university regulations in order to demonstrate to the university the seriousness of the issues with which CSR is concerned. For example, in the April 23 issue of Logos Schiff stated "IN THE INTEREST OF A FREE ACADEMIC AND POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE AT MSU, CSR WILL REFUSE TO RESPECT THIS REGULATION (prohibiting door-to-door distribution) AND APPEALS TO THE FACULTY COMMITTEE ON STUDENT AFFAIRS TO RESCIND ITS DECISION BEFORE IT CAN BE IMPLIMENTED."

Mr. Schiff came to MSU from Rutgers University with the intent to do graduate study in Economics. By the end of Winter Term, 1965, he had completed the course work for a Masters degree in Economics with a minor in History. During Spring Term, he decided to change his major emphasis and applied for admission to the Department of History as a Masters candidate. In early June he was accepted by the History Department as an accredited M.A. candidate. Several days later he received notice from the Office of Admissions that his application for readmission had been denied. That is, he was accepted by the History Department but not accepted by the central administration of MSU. Mr. Schiff applied for a hearing regarding his readmission. The hearing was denied. The administration, upon subsequent questioning by Dr. Robert Repas, professor of Labor and Industrial Relations, and Dr. Charles Larrowe, professor of Economics, issued a statement through Dean of Students John Fuzak regarding the status of Mr. Schiff. The position of the administration is that Mr. Schiff advocated the disruption of the organization of the university, and that this constitutes grounds for denial of his applica-

tion for readmission. Mr. Schiff, supported by the Lansing Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, has filed suit against the university in order to readmit him. The suit is now pending in Federal Court. Although many guarantees of civil liberties contained in the Bill of Rights are involved in some way in this action, perhaps the principle issue is the right of an administration to usurp the power of an academic department, disciplining a student academically for a violation of non-academic rules.

With this background in mind, a resolution was prepared by Tom Steinfatt, MSU graduate student and chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the Ingham County Young Democrats, and was passed without dissent at the July meeting of that organization after some discussion. The resolution was then introduced by Jim Dart, Chairman of the I.C.Y.D.'s, at the September 15 meeting of the Ingham County Democratic Committee which is composed of all dues-paying Democrats residing in Ingham County. The resolution was again discussed and passed without dissent with an amendment added by Representative H. James Starr of Lansing. Following is the full text of the resolution and amendment.

Since the right of any person to distribute literature, to state and publish what he believes to be true less than libel or slander, and to advocate action less than criminal action in an attempt to demonstrate what he believes to be true, is at worst a cloudy right and at best an inviolatable right,

and since the exercise of a right in such a status can in no way be construed to be cause for denial of further rights of a person,

and since the right to obtain a graduate education at a state university, providing that academic qualifications have been met, is such a further right,

and since the administration of Michigan State University did invoke the exercise of a right in the aforementioned status as sufficient cause for denial of readmission of Mr. Paul Schiff to Michigan State University,

and since said administration did subsequently and summarily deny Mr. Schiff the right of a hearing on the aforementioned denial of readmission,

be it resolved that the Young Democrats of Ingham County / Democratic Committee of Ingham County deplore(s) the action of the central administration of Michigan State University in the denial of readmission of Paul Schiff, and strongly recommend that the administration of Michigan State take immediate steps to readmit Paul Schiff to Michigan State University as a graduate student with all the rights and privileges connected with this status,

* and be it further resolved that the administration of Michigan State University recognize in the future the right of all persons connected with the university to dissent.

Jim Dart

Jim Dart
Chairman, Ingham County
Young Democrats

Tom Steinfatt

Tom Steinfatt
Chairman, Public Affairs
Committee
Ingham County
Young Democrats

for the Ingham County Democratic
Committee and the Young Democrats
of Ingham County.

* the following is the amendment.

organon

one september 1965

'DEMOCRACY' AT MSU paul m schiff

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ORGANON is published 'monthly' by the COMMITTEE FOR STUDENT RIGHTS
(CSR), p.o. box 651, east lansing, michigan.

price 15¢

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'It is required of any man
that he should share the passion
and action of his time - at the peril
of being judged
not to have lived.'

- Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes

THE TIME IS NOW an editorial

The first issue of most new journals usually contains an editorial justifying the birth of the new publication: "We felt it was needed because . . ."

The emergence of ORGANON needs no elaborate justification. This campus needs a publication that talks about the humanly meaningful. We hope that this will be it.

ORGANON means relevancy (it doesn't really, but this is what we want it to mean): hopefully it will provide a forum for the expression of ideas about anything relevant to the life and the experiences of the University community.

If meaningful discussion and greater awareness are to be promoted, ORGANON cannot be monolithic. A variety of ideas must be joined and debated. ORGANON will be as diverse in viewpoint and in forms of expression as this community makes it.

Each essay, critique, rejoinder, poem, short story, book review will be signed by the author, and will represent his views alone. Students, faculty members, university employees, administrators, and other interested persons are encouraged to make this publication both relevant and diverse.

Heated polemics will not be taboo; we ask only that a bit of light be exuded too.

Some people feel that MSU is "democratic." They point to the fact that the Board of Trustees is elected by the people of Michigan. But most students don't vote in this election. Even if they did, and even if they voted in a solid bloc, their collective impact would be insignificant. The kind of "democracy" that is practiced at MSU sounds like the kind that people in colonies "enjoy."

Imagine that this were Michigan State Colony (MSC). How would it be governed?

The basic feature of any colony--be it in Africa, Asia, or hypothetically in Michigan-- is that the people in the colony are denied the right to govern themselves. At an imaginary MSC, students would be ruled by others--by a colonial administration. Perhaps the faculty would enjoy a status comparable to Indians in colonial Africa. The colony would have to serve the interests of the administrators and the people "back home," the taxpayers and legislators, not the students.

Natives do get restless; they don't like to be ruled by others. Sometimes they become so unmanageable that the colonial administrators are forced to make some "concessions." A typical step is the establishment of a Native Council: it would have no real power, of course--but the illusion is what counts. At MSC there might logically be a Student Government--with perhaps an administrative "advisor" attached to it. Undoubtedly the administrators would try to give the Student Government a good image, perhaps by claiming that it "is in the hands of the few real student leaders."

As was the case in most colonies, at MSC the administration would attempt to "bribe" the "student leaders." The administration would make the students realize the limitations of their positions--make them realize that the taxpayers don't tolerate disruptions of the status quo. They would encourage the student "representatives" to please the administration, **rather** than serve the students. They would impress upon the chieftains the idea that students have their place, and that they were not to try to determine what constitutes an education. The rewards for such subservience might be nice offices, telephones, secretaries and important-sounding titles; administrators would let it be known that a spirit of "cooperation" can be rewarded with good job recommendations or admission to top graduate schools.

But such concessions are merely a facade for the basic colonial policy toward natives: repression. The need to preserve "law and order" is the rationale for stifling all opposition to colonial rule. And at MSC we would no doubt witness similar (but perhaps less harsh) measures: arbitrary suspensions and expulsions; rules made by non-students which govern only students; denial of due process; an atmosphere of suspicion and fear induced by selective intimidation; and above all, One Man--towering over a confusing facade of rules and procedures--making the actual decisions.

These conditions, when they are exposed to public scrutiny, are justified by the doctrine of noblesse oblige: "The natives are not ready for democracy; we are helping them prepare for it." By virtue of their superiority (so the doctrine proclaims), colonial administrators are obligated to impart the "right" values and attitudes to the unfortunate and uneducated natives. At the Colony there would be a similar doctrine. It would probably have a Latin name. It's more sacred sounding that way; and a bit more subtle.

But the doctrine of noblesse oblige is now thoroughly discredited: colonialism never fulfilled its self-proclaimed responsibilities. Independence movements formed in all colonies.

Colonial administrators always tried to squelch these movements before they became well-organized. They would paternalistically seek to discredit the independence leaders by "warning" the natives not to become misguided by the "irrational agitators," who were said to just want to "cause trouble".

Administrators would assert that these "disruptive" elements (who might initially constitute a tiny fraction of the native population), were "using" the issue of independence (which everyone--including the administrators--was in favor of) to make the colonial administration look foolish, and to create doubts against their "constituted authority". The administrators would encourage the "responsible" natives to bring their "problems" to the "duly constituted" Native Council.

At our hypothetical Michigan State Colony we could well imagine how the administration would deal with students seeking the rights of citizens under civil law, and a real voice in political, social, and educational decisions affecting their lives.

Colonies are rapidly disappearing.

WE WANT A UNIVERSITY the berkeley fsm

(Editor's note: Part I, "The Moral Impetus" is reprinted below. Part II, "Free Speech and the Factory," and Part III, "The Factory and the Society" will appear in the October issue).

PREFACE Dr. Neal Blumenfeld, Berkeley psychiatrist

The questions involved in the FSM struggle have been discussed at different levels and with varying degrees of heat versus light. I would like to comment on some of the proposed answers, and offer some of my own.

The first group of commentaries on the conflict might be termed delusional--the wishing away of a real problem, and the substitution of fantasies congenial to the commentator. Thus, a student protest can become not a student protest, by denying either that there were students (they were communists or "outside agitators"), or that there was a protest albeit minimal as in the case of the "unsuccessful student strike." A somewhat more subtle line involves admitting that the students were students, but then undoing this admission by stereotyping them as atypical, or as dupes. A similar effort is put forth by those offering "psychological" explanations, of how students were rebelling against their parents, or that this is another rather tiresome example of the conflict of generations; this makes the students "dupes" of their own "inevitable," "uncontrolled," or selected (by the theory spinner) inner motives. Both dupe theories spare the commentator the trouble of answering real people with real issues.

The other group of commentators recognizes the existence of students with grievances, but has curiously sidestepped the issue of moral protest. These commentators blame individuals--Kerr, Strong, or Knowland--and thus minimize both the issues and the accountability of everyone involved; or they blame the bigness of the system, the administration, the military-industrial complex. While there is some truth in all of these notions, they tend also to minimize the problem of individual moral responsibility under any system. Some (the ACLU) have understood the civil liberties issues involved; but they have not stressed the idea that civil liberties issues are basically moral issues involving human dignity. When any system infringes on this dignity, and does not have a just method for handling grievances against the infringement, the rules of that system may well be broken in a

protest. The failure to mount such a protest because of fears or embarrassment about rule-breaking can be an abdication of moral responsibility. The faculty protested "within the rules" about the loyalty oath: they would have perhaps been both more moral and more effective to have called an "illegal strike".

It is intriguing to speculate on why the moral issue is so frequently ignored or derided. Perhaps it seems too simple or embarrassing to talk about human dignity. Perhaps it also sounds futile or naive to mention moral protest. After all, "you can't fight city hall," or can you? Perhaps it is too disturbing to recognize that there are people who can say: "I have not given over my whole conscience to any system--I reserve the right to protest (and if necessary to break the rules of the system in that protest), when the system trespasses upon basic rights." This not only frightens staunch supporters of the system, it shames those who were aware of the injustices but were silent or ineffectual. Some of the bitterest attacks on the FSM have come from the unsuccessful ex-radicals of the 30's. For if people are to admit that the students of the civil rights movement and the FSM have been making a just protest in a courageous and effective manner, they will then have to admit their own moral compromises, evasions, and failures. This is painful for anyone, but particularly for older people, who would then have to admit that in a moral sense they have been "wrong" most of their lives; and that in this sense their lives have been wasted. Furthermore, if one becomes aware of moral issues, he can be confronted daily with painful decisions between principle and expediency--and compromises are so much easier if either there are no such issues, or if they are "hopeless," or too "complex," to act upon.

I don't think the denial of the moral issue would be so great if the FSM had not been so successful. Then the students could have been soberly lectured, and the lecturer's conscience could have been salved. But the combination of being both moral and successful is an unforgivable one; it not only creates acute problems of conscience, but of envy as well. "We had to submit, why didn't you?"; and nagging thoughts of "Maybe I really didn't have to be so conforming and fearful--maybe I could have been more free and more an individual." The combination of fear, rage, and envy elicited by the FSM is illustrated by the remark of someone who threw an egg at the police car sit-in. After relieving himself of his feelings and eggs, he cried: "We want a car too."

Not only is there envy of the individual freedom and courage,

but of the vitality and sense of community evident in the FSM. In a society where people retreat to their private lives because of feelings of futility and alienation about public life, a vital sense of participation is lost. People feel "alone," but are awkward and uncomfortable in public groups. The loneliness is not really made up for by big-game rallies or panty raids. Yet during the past months, students have not only been talking to each other, but to the faculty; rumors are that even various departments of the faculty have spoken to each other. I would suggest that individuals who have participated in acts of moral courage have come to know the boundaries of their human dignity, and thus of their identity; and that only such unafraid individuals can feel free in being with others. They can both give and take, inspire and be inspired, without the inhibiting self-consciousness of those fearful and uncertain identities. I would further suggest that such groups of "free" people are the only meaningful groups; and that in the acts of becoming free enough to belong to such groups, and by actively participating in them, the individual finds his most meaningful life.

I believe the FSM is such a group, and that in being so it has profoundly disturbed the consciences and aroused the envy of people of all ages. The charges of immaturity levelled at the students conceal, ironically, the opposite recognition: that while the rest of society, in fear and/or apathy, resign themselves to their private cubby-holes and the fruitless pursuit of meaning through consumption or thrills, the FSM through the assertion of individual dignity and group vitality has found meaning and become truly mature.

This has resulted in an astonishing reversal of the generations; moral leadership has been assumed by the young. This is not only distressing to older people, but awesome and embarrassing to the students. It has perhaps led them to playing down the moral issue at times, and presenting themselves as "tougher" and more cynical than they are. Their discomfort at being in the unusual role of mentors has led them at times to ask the faculty to reassume the mantle of benevolent authority, and ease the fear of being too presumptuous. However, the history of the faculty from the oath fight down to the present indicates that they only depart from their private worlds in order to take public action when extreme pressure occurs, and with great difficulty. And, unfortunately, they too are subject to feelings of guilt and envy when confronted with the students on moral issues. So perhaps at this point only the students have the idealism, passion, and commitment

best suited to press for necessary changes. If this leads to further conflict (including one with the faculty); it need not be accompanied by handwringing or fears of "destroying the University." If the University survived the moral tragedy of the oath crisis, it can surely "survive" the moral courage of the FSM. "Survive" is a miserly word to use here; the University can be invigorated by a moral struggle. The present conflict has already wrung admissions, including one from Max Rafferty, that educational reform is long overdue. Any further superficial disruptions of order are a small price to pay for gains in the human dignity of the University community and the people who comprise it.

Moral Impetus, The Factory, and The Society

The FSM

I. The Moral Impetus

Our stand has been moral. We feel, that to a great extent, our movement has accomplished something which so many of the movements of the past few generations have failed to accomplish. We have tried, in the context of a mass movement, to act politically with moral justification. We have tried to be sensitive to each of our supporters and the individual morality he has brought to the movement. This is what has been unique about our movement.

Although our issue has been Free Speech, our theme has been solidarity. When individual members of our community have acted, we joined together as a community to jointly bear the responsibility for their actions. We have been able to revitalize one of the most disparted, misused, and important words of our century: comrade. The concept of living cannot be separated from the concept of other people. In our practical, fragmented society, too many of us have been alone. By being willing to stand up for others, and by knowing that others are willing to stand up for us, we have gained more than political power, we have gained personal strength. Each of us who has acted, now knows that he is a being willing to act.

No one can presume to explain why so many thousands have become part of the Free Speech Movement. : All we can say is what each of us felt: something was wrong; something had to be done. It wasn't just that student political rights had been abridged; much more was wrong. Something had to be done about political rights, and in actively trying to cope with political rights we found ourselves confronting the entire Berkeley experience. The Berkeley campus has become a new place

since the beginning of the semester. Many are trying to tell us that what we are trying to do may destroy the University. We are fully that we are doing something which has implicit proportions so immense as to be frightening. We are frightened of our power as a movement; but it is a healthy fear. We must not allow our fear to lead us into believing that we are being destructive. We are beginning to build a great university. So long as the students stand united in firmness and dignity, and the faculty stands behind us, the University cannot be destroyed. As students, we have already demonstrated our strength and dedication; the faculty has yet to show it can do its share. Some faculty members have stated that if what they call "anarchy" continues, then they will leave the University to seek employment elsewhere. Such faculty members who would leave at this point would compromise themselves by an antiseptic solution to a problem of personal anguish, rather than stay and fight for a great university. There is reason to fear these professors, for they can destroy the University by deserting it.

And sadly there is reason to believe that even after all of the suffering which has occurred in our community, the overwhelming majority of faculty members have not been permanently changed, have not joined our community, have not really listened to our voices--at this late date. For a moment on December the Eighth, eight hundred and twenty-four professors gave us all a glimpse--a brief, glorious vision--of the University as a loving community. If only the Free Speech Movement could have ended that day! But already the professors have compromised away much for which they stood on that day. They have shamed themselves in view of the students and their colleagues all over the country. The ramparts of rationalization which our society's conditioning had erected about our professors' souls were breached by the relentless hammer-blows of conscience springing from thousands of students united in something called "FSM". But the searing light of their momentary courage became nakedness to them--too painful to endure. After December the Eighth most faculty members moved quickly to rebuild their justifications for years of barren compromise.

We challenge the faculty to be courageous. A university is a community of students and scholars: be equal to the position of dignity you should hold! How long will you submit to the doorkeepers who have usurped your power? Is a university no more than a physical plant and an administration? The University cannot be destroyed unless its core is destroyed, and our movement is not weakening that core but strengthening it. Each time the FSM planned to act, it was warned that

to act was to destroy. Each time, however, the campus community responded with new vigor. Too many people underestimate the resilience of a community fighting for a principle. Internally, the health of the University is improving. Communication, spirit, moral and intellectual curiosity, all have increased. The faculty has been forced to take the student body more seriously; it has begun to respect students. Furthermore, it has gained the opportunity to achieve a profound respect from the students. Those professors at Cal and other universities who love to teach, should be looking to Berkeley as the nation's greatest reservoir of students who embody the vital balance of moral integrity and high intellectual calibre. If the University community can maintain its courage, stands firmly together in the face of attacks from without, it will survive. Those who fearfully warn that we are destroying the University, are unwittingly weakening the FSM and the University. In the final analysis, only fear destroys!

STUDENT PROTEST: WHY?

rob stern

Even the most unwilling must now admit that The Student Movement is here to stay. Yet this apparent fact raises a multitude of questions. Among the foremost is: just what do these "bearded upstarts" want? The answer lies much deeper than the myriad of causes they seem to espouse. It lies, basically, in the demand, common to all student protest groups, to be allowed the full range of adult rights and responsibilities.

Why is the university the target of so many student attacks? Not only are students demanding adult rights which universities commonly deny them, but students are viewing the university as a symbol or a society with which they are dissatisfied. To many it appears essential to change the university now in order to have any hope of affecting the society in the future.

These matters of rights, responsibilities and concerns are related to the problem of defining the role and responsibility of the university as educator. Immediately, a university must be differentiated from a technical school. Even in the broadest sense of training doctors or lawyers, mere technical training must not be the basic aim of a university education. Regardless of the curriculum followed, the university graduate must be more than just a craftsman. It is the responsibility of the university to ensure this. For the role of the university must be to continually present challenges to its students. A fledgling doctor or lawyer unable to cope with the variety of moral or intellectual problems that face an adult, has wasted his education. A graduate, having lived through four years of constant challenge, always forced to make decisions on moral and social levels, will be better equipped to handle himself, than one who must wait until graduation to question and be questioned.

What do we mean by "constant challenge?" We are speaking, ideally, of a dynamic environment, which permits a maximum presentation of the possibilities available in all areas of interest--with maximum freedom from censorship. One can never train for the full range of one's responsibilities without free access to one's rights.

All of this discussion is predicated on a simple postulate: that there is no status quo which is above being questioned. Students are the logical ones to do such questioning: not only are they least entangled with questions of "respectability" or "propriety", least en-

dangered by economic threats--but they are students. No status quo in any area should be free from the student's examination.

It may be tempting to laugh off student criticism as the foolish voice of youth. But the raison d'etre of student protest groups is that they care. It is the youth of today who must live tomorrow, and they are the very ones who should care most about the condition of the world they are inheriting. Students not only should care, but they have a right to care. In our often ignored Declaration of Independence it is clearly stated that it is the right of all concerned to change a situation they consider wrong and oppressive.

It might be objected that such a "system" could work in a private school, but not at a state university. The reply to this is that, if anything, these protest groups, and the ideas they represent, the environment they envision, are all the more essential at a state institution. Through the state universities, students from a broader social and economic spectrum would be infected with the desire to question, rather than simply accept. Not only would this be more to the advantage of the students, but also to the advantage of the states. No state in the Union is presently in a position to shun the energy of questioning youth.

Such an atmosphere would be feasible at MSU: it is necessary to create one. Those most affected by innumerable current problems--the student body--should be encouraged to face this reality NOW.

Questions can never be answered if they are never raised. And they will never be answered if the critic is derided or slandered with any number of pre-fabricated labels, tacked on by those who need to rally "patriotism" to combat democracy. Now is the time for students to be looked upon, not as the uncouth bastard children of some "alien" East-coast ghetto, but as those disturbed enough about their society's problems to question now, rather than pay in their own blood, later, for acts they could not question.

on other campuses -

BERKELEY STUDENTS SENTENCED

More than 750 Berkeley students have been convicted for having participated in the Sproul Hall sit-in last December. Sentences handed down by Judge Rupert Crittenden were stiff, calculated to prevent future civil disobedience from occurring. Judge Crittenden also set high bail figures, seeking to deter appeals.

The sentences ranged from 15 days to four months for several of the Free Speech Movement leaders (including Mario Savio). The students were given terms of probation as alternatives to jail sentences: for periods of up to two years, they would be prohibited from "participation in sit-ins, lie-ins, walk-ins, or eat-ins." More than 60% of the defendants refused to accept these restrictive terms, and many are now in jail for lack of funds for bail during the appeal process.

Judge Crittenden, the author of many opinions favoring low bail figures, set bail at \$550 for most of the students and at \$1,100 for several of the leaders. The total bail needed to free all of the students amounts to nearly \$500,000 (or a non-refundable sum of \$50,000 for bail bonds). It is possible that some of the defendants will serve jail sentences far exceeding their sentences, for the appeal process will take up to 18 months.

The court's handling of the case did not escape criticism. The 7th Congressional District Democratic Council (which includes Berkeley) attacked the sentences as "more severe than those given to civil rights advocates by Southern judges." The Council also stated that "the high bail set for appeal makes a sham of the judicial system. . . Dealing harshly with such idealistic young people will not curtail their civil rights activity."

If Judge Crittenden, the Administration of the University of California, or the State District Attorney thought that severe penalties and exorbitant bails would deter or eliminate student political activism, they may be in for some surprises. As one defendant told the court at his sentencing: "The actions of this court have not been successful. In fact, the actions of the court have breathed fire into the Free Speech Movement."

RUTGERS DEFENDS MARXIST PROFESSOR

Last April a Vietnam teach-in was held at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, similar to those held on college campuses across the country. One of the speakers at this teach-in was Eugene Genovese, 35-year old associate professor of history at Rutgers.

In the context of a speech that urged the withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam, Genovese declared: "Those of you who know me know that I am a Marxist and a socialist. Therefore, unlike most of my distinguished colleagues here this morning, I do not fear or regret the impending Vietcong victory in Vietnam. I welcome it."

Almost immediately, the State's right-wing groups initiated a well-financed, well-organized campaign to have Genovese fired. As the campaign spread, the Republican candidate for governor seized upon the issue when Democratic Governor Richard Hughes refused to take action against Genovese, and has made it "the issue" in his campaign.

In August, amidst considerable commotion over the issue, the Rutgers Board of Governors met to discuss the question and found that Genovese had not been in violation of any university regulations governing the behavior of tenured faculty members.

But neither Governor Hughes nor the Board of Governors were unequivocal in their support for Genovese. Hughes stated that in April, when Genovese spoke, "a lot of people were questioning U.S. policy," but that after President Johnson's July 28 press conference, it was "clear why the U.S. must remain totally committed to Vietnam. There is no longer any room for critical comment."

Similarly, the Board of Governors asserted that while in April "there was considerable confusion in the public mind about our role in Vietnam, and many people advocated the withdrawal of American troops, then still in the role of advisers (sic), " today "the meaning of a 'victory of the Vietcong'. . . is interpreted as a victory over American troops."

Less ambivalent support has come from other quarters: Three history professors--the department chairman and two ex-chairmen--have reaffirmed their faith in Genovese as a scholar and teacher, while a large number of students have organized a Committee for Free Speech.

book review -

THE TYRANNY OF TESTING by banish hoffman

The problem of testing is far too serious and far too difficult to be treated wholly in a spirit of fun. Two facts dominate the problem. One is that testing must take place. And the other is that, except in the simplest situations, there is no satisfactory method of testing--nor is there likely to be. Human abilities and potentialities are too complex, too diverse, and too intricately interactive to be measured satisfactorily by present techniques. There is reason to doubt even that they can be meaningfully measured at all in numerical terms. Yet measurement, assessment, estimation, guesswork-- call it what you will--can not cease (pp.29-30).

We must test--even though it is likely to be meaningless. And if we must test--in order to compare abilities, aptitudes and achievements--we must discover the "best" alternative means among the unsatisfactory methods available. A paradox resolved?

The Tyranny of Testing is 217 pages of dramatic conflict: the author-protagonist is Banish Hoffman, professor of mathematics at Queens College (N.Y.); the antagonist is the Educational Testing Service--the most prestigious (in terms of success and respect) of the relatively new test-preparing corporations. The point of conflict? The merits of the multiple-choice system of testing. The author, in attacking this system, focuses attention on the best-known; nationwide tests which influence (and often determine) the direction of individuals' lives--the colleges or graduate schools they will be admitted to; the amount of scholarship money they will receive; the jobs they will be offered upon graduation.

Hoffmann has learned that mere "subjective" (that is, general and reasoned) argumentation will not suffice to dent, much less puncture, the armour of the multiple-testers: they easily and disdainfully respond to such swipes with "scientific proof" of their products' reliability and validity--Statistics. Hoffmann's tactic is to compel

substantive dialogue by challenging the legitimacy and purpose of specific test questions--by demonstrating their defectiveness.

This tactic had the effect of securing specific defenses of specific questions, which in turn exposed basic weaknesses (inherent as well as human) in both the tests and the institutions which prepare them. Intentionally "difficult" questions are frequently ambiguous or value-laden. Supposedly "easy" questions penalize the perceptive student because a "wrong" answer proves to be the right answer upon closer inspection. Students who take the test seriously--that is, as tests of knowledge or aptitude, rather than as tests in "psyching out" the test-makers--become suspicious (and perhaps cynical) after encountering several "tricky" questions of the types described.

The testers, in defending such questions, often cite Statistics showing that the majority of the "best" students (those scoring highest on the test) answered the questions "right"--as proof that they were good questions. When the test-makers actually talked about the questions themselves, they sometimes exhibited an appallingly superficial knowledge of the fields in which they were testing, or, at best, offered rationalizations based on contradictory and fallacious logic.

The inadequacy of this study lies not in what is said, but in what is not said. In summarizing the more general defects of multiple-choice tests, Dr. Hoffmann reveals an elitist strain that characterizes the entire book, and is substantially responsible for its narrow approach:

The tests deny the creative person a significant opportunity to demonstrate his creativity, and favor the shrewd and facile candidate over the one who has something of his own to say. Unlike essay examinations, they are mainly concerned with predetermined intellectual snippets, and not with the crucial ability to conceive, design, and actually carry out a complex undertaking in an individual way.

They penalize the candidate who perceives subtle points unnoticed by less able people, including the test-makers. They are apt to be superficial and intellectually dishonest, with questions made artificially difficult by means of ambiguity because genuinely searching questions do not readily fit into the multiple-choice format.

Only briefly and tangentially does Dr Hoffmann mention what I would regard as the crucial strike against increasing reliance on multiple-choice tests- their "pernicious effect on education." Dr. Hoffmann's failure to stress and develop this criticism is in part traceable to his elitest conception of the problem, and in part to one of his initial assumptions: "testing must take place." For it is a mistake to accept this idea *prima facie* without examining the purpose of any given test.

Examinations that test knowledge accumulated in a particular course (as opposed to general competitive examinations like the S.A.T.) do more than measure performance: for better or worse, they play an educational role. Students invariably learn to study course-work in order to "do well" within an expected or announced test format. Different types of tests demand different study processes, and thus different "educations" may be imparted. The nature of the test will also have a marked impact on the teacher's understanding of the student, on the student-teacher relationship in general. Finally, the nature (and purpose) of the test will reflect the quality of the educational institution and the attitudes that predominate among faculty and students.

This aspect of the question of testing has been cogently (and bitterly) analyzed by John Weiss, associate professor of history at Wayne State. In discussing the consequences of the mass lecture system (and, by implication, of "mass education"), he wrote:

The student is bereft of all opportunity to communicate his own grasp of the subject through extensive essays and essay examinations. This is not simply a matter of ignoring the rare creativity of genius, it is a practical concern having to do with the daily work of all students. Examinations are merely graded in a mass system because there is no time to go over them carefully and demonstrate to the student in writing his own strengths and weaknesses of knowledge and understanding. If the individual students' mind and understanding is not revealed, discussed and guided or enhanced at the junior college level, then teaching has not occurred. The whole system is simply and endlessly pumping out useless energy. The student level of performance is checked, but not raised. Improvement, when it occurs, will be a chance by-product

of irrelevance. In any sensible educational system, such utter failure would be recognized as a teaching failure. It is not so recognized because the administrator is concerned with efficiency and the teacher with scholarship. In the midst of a mass education system we all become cynics and anti-democrats, because we have only the students left to blame ("The University as Corporation," New University Thought, summer, 1965).

The effect of Weiss' approach is to see the "problem of testing" as a "problem of education." Multiple-choice testing not only has inherent weaknesses as a method of evaluation and comparison, it not only discriminates against the more creative or perceptive student--it is an integral component of the mass education system, which seems more interested in turning out a product than in encouraging each individual student to develop his potential.

The possession of knowledge should imply responsibility. Students and faculty who are aware of the implications of their participation in a bastardized form of education have a responsibility to do more than remain conventionally cynical (even if it entails a personal sacrifice). As Dr. Hoffmann comments, the professor who reluctantly accedes to true-false testing (or other anti-educational expedients),

mocks the intellectual content of his course, and no amount of pleading that he has too many students can cover his betrayal of his academic ideas and obligations. If classes are too large, the remedy is to reduce their size, not to give true-false tests. When the professor bows to expediency and uses these tests he does worse than give the tests an aura of respectability: he undermines a major argument for the reduction of class size.

IN COMMEMORATION OF AN ERA

The id is closer to the surface they say --

Much closer than ever before to the taughtness

Of striving and propriety.

Pulsations of vitality channeled by tradition are seen

Reduced to thin polarized lines

Pretending purpose.

Concussions of death

Pretending purpose

Know equal effect

On well documented evidence of Plastic Progress.

Cluttered heaps of human refuse

Lie in more prominence than

Had been thought would be allowed.

Be it acknowledged that

Our virtue has always been tidiness.

w canfield power

2. Do not make a speech on vague generalities. The people are there to make one of the most important decisions of their academic lives. They want to know how to deal with their problems.

3. Do not make wild promises of what CSR can or will do for them. Be honest and tell them that their group can achieve no more than what they are willing and prepared to fight for in the way of freedom and security. Wild promises have a habit of coming home to roost after the campaign.

4. Draw heavily on material collected on dorm problems. Start from the point of their own common experiences, and the chances are that you will get through to the group.

5. Do not talk too long. When you begin repeating yourself--or preferably before--sit down. Encourage discussion from the floor. If articulate spokesmen emerge from the group, encourage them to answer the questions from the group, and make your own presence as minimally felt as possible. Group discussion, with as much individual participation as possible, is the heart of the meeting.

6. Answer questions from the group honestly and to the point. If you don't know an answer, do not cover up with vague generalities, guesses or false information. Tell them you do not know, and that you will try to get the needed information as quickly as possible. Be sure you follow through with the information. This builds confidence in the organizer and in the organization.

7. Try to get as many individuals as possible to commit themselves at the meeting, to indicate that they will become involved in some aspect of activities in the dorm.

8. After the meeting, try to get personally acquainted with as many people as you can.

H. BEYOND THE FIRST MEETING

What develops after the first general meeting will depend largely on how successful the organizer and the organizing campaign have been. If it is not feasible at the first meeting to establish a permanent dorm organization (and this should not be forced upon the group), the meeting should conclude with the announcement of a second meeting expressly for the purpose of forming an organization in the dorm, and to work out a strategy to meet the problems that exist.

The organizer has no detailed blueprint for success: his job is to convince people that whatever their difficulties and problems, they can only be solved by an organized effort, and to help them establish their organization.

POINT OF VIEW - by Paul M Schiff

(note: this was written as a response to a State News editorial (July 6), entitled, "Schiff Gets the Shift." The State News has refused to print this and any other points of view and letters to the editor on this subject).

I would like to commend Susan Filson for her editorial on my case in the State News, July 6. In particular she raises the all important question "of whether it is legitimate for the University to operate completely outside the normal processes of civil law."

Unfortunately, the editorial does contain several errors, and more importantly, does not develop all of the implications of the basic question which it raises.

Briefly, let me correct some of the inaccuracies: Mrs. Filson writes that I distributed LOGOS in Case Hall "last winter." I have not been told this, and it would surprise me since I was a registered student at the time, and thus subject to University discipline. I was supposedly "escorted out of the dorm by the head advisor" of Case Hall; I was never escorted out of any dorm by anyone. I have not been president of the Socialist Club since winter term. I have never been accused of "repeatedly violat(ing) University regulations" (but since the only charges that have been presented against me have been verbal, it is conceivable that this is now the charge against me).

In describing "the straw that broke the University officials' backs," Mrs. Filson writes of "Schiff's direct violation of a regulation regarding the distribution of printed material in dormitories." Further on she comments: "The question is not whether Schiff violated University rules. He did. The question is whether the University has the right to make rules without setting down written penalties for breaking them."

I am in complete agreement with the final point raised, and of course do not regard this as a proper "right" of the University. But Mrs. Filson seems to ignore or excuse other administrative practices which are "not normally granted under civil law."

For "one of the basic tenets of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence" is that a man is innocent until proven guilty. Mrs. Filson, like the administration, has arbitrarily pronounced me guilty.

Further, it would be rather difficult to imagine a jury delivering a "guilty" verdict if the charges against the defendant were never clearly spelled out in writing; or if the rules that he was accused of violating were not written down and accessible to the society in which they were enforced; or if the rule was non-existent at the time of the alleged violation.

All of these points are very relevant to the action taken against me: I have not been notified of the charges in writing; I have not even been told which particular regulations I have allegedly violated and where they are written down and accessible to me; and there is the possibility that the one rule which I might have "broken" did not go into effect until weeks after the act of "violation!" And, finally, my request for a hearing before a faculty committee was denied. I plead not guilty.

Mrs. Filson also writes: "We do not question Fuzak's assertion that Schiff was not turned down because of political beliefs." This may be true. But, I ask, what guarantee is there of this? If the administration can arbitrarily get rid of someone without according him the benefits of due process granted in the society at large, who can be sure what the administration's real motives were? Assuredly, the administration has learned the expediency of denying that someone's "beliefs" had anything to do with the action taken against him - but the administration at MSU acts as if it has the right to get rid of someone for any reason (for example, "a pattern of disruptive behavior").

One should also bear in mind that "beliefs," if they are to be socially meaningful, must be openly expressed and acted upon. Thus, typically, "beliefs" are - and should be - the bases for patterns of behavior.

While I have taken exception to several of Mrs. Filson's statements, and have attempted to demonstrate that her analysis was not sufficiently rigorous, I do believe that she and the State News are to be praised for their civil libertarian conception of the question of arbitrary administrative power and practice.:

MSU—Painful Political Maturing

By J. RUSSELL GAINES

MICHIGAN STATE University's student newspaper, the State News, yesterday suffered the loss of all of its editors except the editor-in-chief, Charles Wells. Four editors walked out in protest against the suppression of news regarding the Paul Schiff case, currently pending in the MSU Faculty Committee on Student Affairs at State.

The walk out seems indicative of State's current move toward political and social maturity.

The totalitarianism of its administration is being challenged. Students are starting to question policies there as they started to question policies here long ago.

Michigan State at present has a great deal of power over its students. Its Board of Trustees, which has the power to govern and punish its own students, maintains its own police force, the MSU Department of Public Safety, all of whose members are officially Ingham County deputy sheriffs.

An example of MSU power was shown last month when five students were arrested for passing out leaflets on Viet Nam. Charges against them were trespassing in the Student Union and violation of the Fruit Peddlers' Ordinance, Regulation 3992 which prohibits circulating or selling any literature which contains commercial advertising on MSU property.

IN ADDITION, the Head Advisor of Pec Residence Hall has begun proceedings against a student, George Fish, aimed at his dismissal from the university. The charges against Fish are that he passed out Logos, the official voice of the Committee for Student Rights, in dinner lines there.

Logos, however, is free literature without any commercial advertising. There is no ordinance governing this action.

In fact, the only charge which could conceivably be trumped up

against him would be one of "asocial conduct," a catch all used mainly for ejecting homosexuals, transvestites, and other alleged "social misfits" from the university.

This "asocial conduct" charge serves as another example of the administration's high-handed policy. The State News last year commended MSU detectives for a job well done. They had lain in wait for homosexuals in campus bathrooms. Such tactics seem hardly worthy of an institution which calls itself a university.

The injustice of MSU legal actions includes violation of protection from double jeopardy. Two years ago MSU coeds were arrested at a "grasser." The girls were given late minutes for all the time they spent giving testimony to police. Those found guilty were given additional punishment by the civil authorities.

Thus, not only were the innocent punished along with the guilty, but the guilty parties involved drew punishments both from civil and university authorities. And this was not an isolated case. It can happen to any MSU student who violates a city, county, or state law.

THE MSU administration's fear of communist infiltration of the campus is as notorious as its infringement on students' rights deserves to be. In 1963 Robert Thompson, a communist, wanted to speak on campus to the students. He was denied this right.

In the end, he spoke in the backyard of a fraternity house. This is again not a particular case alone but is representative of the MSU policy toward communist speakers on campus. They are simply not allowed.

Allegedly, there has been some revision of this policy. Now communist spokesmen are allowed to speak on the conditions that they will not advocate violation of any city, state, or federal law and

that the organization which sponsors them will take full responsibility.

Although this seems a step in the right direction, this new ruling has not been tested, and thus cannot be considered an established policy. Since the Thompson affair there have been no university-recognized communist speakers on campus.

The attitude of MSU President Hannah toward communists among student groups most eloquently exemplifies the fear of "reds" on campus. Last March Hannah charged that there were three "trained communist-oriented agitators" on campus. In late spring last year he said that radical student groups were inspired by "Peking-brand" ideologists.

His latest pronouncement, which came on the steps of the Union in a message to alumni was that there was a small group of radicals getting their orders from Moscow and Peking via New York.

If members of this "small radical group" were getting their orders from both Moscow and Peking there would, no doubt, be sufficient chaos in the organization itself to annihilate it from within.

THE ISSUE which brought about the editor's walkout from the State News—Paul Schiff's rejection by MSU and accompanying censorship—has been the one which has raised the most student complaints.

Schiff withdrew from State by not returning in the spring last year. He had completed his required hours for a major in economics with a B+ average. He applied for readmission to the graduate department in history for the following fall term. His grades in undergraduate history courses had been a 3.5+ average and so he was admitted by the history department.

He was denied admission, however, by the administration. Be-

cause of his undergraduate political activism, he felt that his rejection from the university was for nonacademic reasons. It was on this ground that he appealed.

The case went to the Federal District Court in Grand Rapids. Out of that court came an instruction to the university to give him a hearing.

He received, as per court order, the charges against him in writing. This document was presented to the Faculty Committee on Student Affairs along with witnesses against Schiff. This week he presented his own document refuting the arguments against him and introduced witnesses in his behalf. The committee is now deliberating the case.

There is one very important factor in this case. The hearing given Schiff was a closed one. The public was not allowed. Reporters and involved observers were also kept out of the hearing room.

The closed hearing, according to MSU policy, is supposed to be for the student's benefit. Yet Schiff's request to have an open hearing was denied. The reason for this denial could be that the administration wishes for the entire matter to be Herkos Odenson.

They are suppressing the facts or, at least, this is the impression. The university's denial of an open hearing to Schiff hints that there is something of questionable validity going on.

THE WALK OUT of the editors of the State News was highly justified. Unlike The Daily, the State News is under the thumb of the university administration. Professional men head the newspaper, most of whom depend on their positions for a livelihood. Thus, at the call of the administration—which comes in time of any danger to the MSU image—information which is damaging is not published. This is what happened last night.

Louis Berman, a member of the MSU faculty, is the final authority on what goes in the News and what stays out. It was he who kept the Schiff story out. If there had been something dubious about the source material for the story or the slant created within it, his veto would have been at least partially justifiable.

But the story was to be only the official university charges against Schiff and his written rebuttal, both unedited and left completely untouched.

The censorship of this article shows either that the publishing of the Schiff documents could have been damaging to the university or that the MSU administration's document was insufficient to justify its position.

This is not the only instance in which there has been deliberate censorship of articles on Schiff. Although there have been mild editorials and news stories on the Schiff case, no letters to the editor have been published about it. The News has an abundance of material to work with in this area if they are at all interested in presenting the opposing sides of the question.

If this is the service which the State News gives the university, there should either be no paper at all or it should be acknowledged as the official sheet of the administration.

THE TOTALITARIAN nature of the Michigan State University administration is clear. Yet the dissatisfaction of the students is also mounting. The political maturation of the students in such organizations as the Committee on Student Rights, leads one to feel that the MSU administration must respond to the challenge offered by the students there.

MSU is coming of age. The tyranny invoked by its administration is being gravely considered by the students. It must, in time, change.

THE ORGANIZER

Various personality tools are of primary importance in the development of a good organizer. This does not mean that the organizer must confine himself to the dubious business of exuding charm or squirting his "personality" all over the place. It simply means "being yourself" and maintaining a sustained interest in people.

These personality tools can be re-inforced with a changeless faith in what you are doing. A strong faith and belief in the purposes and goals of student freedom has sustained many organizers in the face of great opposing odds.

A. The Native Quality and Capacity to Like People

This means more than back-slapping, telling jokes and having a beer with the boys. It means that a person must be deeply concerned with the problems of other people. It means that you really enjoy meeting new people and exchanging views. It means that you are not strained, uncomfortable or ill at ease with people who are comparative strangers to you. It means that you feel that you can learn something from other individuals in the course of an exchange of views, and that you do not have an exclusive monopoly on knowledge and know-how. It means that you can keep an open mind about people who are different from you, and you can judge each individual on the basis of merit. It means that you have the capacity to grow in maturity and out-look with each new experience in human contact and relations.

B. Ability to Adapt

A good organizer must be able to adapt himself to his immediate surroundings, and not feel superior or out of place. If he is not able to do this, he will certainly make every one uncomfortable and unwittingly create resistance to organization. In adapting yourself, you put people at ease and it aids you in getting across your point of view.

C. Patience with People

In selling the idea of CSR to a contact or a group of potential students, the Organizer must be prepared to employ great patience. An Organizer that shows impatience with a prospective member has committed half of his effort to go down

the drain. Impatience with people on the part of organizers has killed the effectiveness of more organizing campaigns than any other single personality trait. Avoid heated rambling arguments. The more heated the argument the more the resistance is created in the mind of the prospective member.

D. Self-Organization

The first task of an organizer is to organize himself--what he intends to do--how he intends to do it--what appear to be some of the superficial problems--what are the native assets and liabilities of the situation--what are the resources at hand--what techniques and methods should be used in a particular situation.

An organizer who has organized himself in his general plan of operation before going into the actual campaign saves himself an undue amount of lost motion. Nothing is more frustrating than a planless organizing project that wanders off in several nonsensical directions with the organizer suspended in mid-air.

(See yellow sheet)

The Contact

In making initial, individual contacts we are concerned with two important immediate goals, namely: 1) To seek out potential leadership in the dorm, which will aid in furthering the organizing drive. 2) To obtain detailed information concerning the immediate problems and group grievances within the dorm. This information will assist in conducting the campaign.

I. In most dorms there are key individuals who maintain a greater influence within the group than others. These are the people we must contact first.

The ability to seek out and instinctively weigh the quality of potential dorm leadership is perhaps one of the greatest tests for a skillful organizer.

In making contacts during the initial stages of the organizing efforts, the organizer should be primarily concerned with the quality of the contact rather than the quantity.

A great deal of time should be spent in developing the confidence and understanding of the potential leadership in the early stages.

II. The second immediate goal to be achieved in making the initial contacts is

mation will become the major ammunition in the day to day campaign to organize the group. Without this material concerning the immediate dorm problems and conditions, the organizer is too often placed on the defensive in conducting the campaign.

An organizer cannot engage in too many abstract generalities on the glories and wonders of the student movement. He must come down to earth, and as quickly as possible translate the overall organizing program in terms of day to day practical experience of the particular group. By nature, most people are interested in their own immediate problems and are far more receptive to proposals for action when you talk and plan from the point.

CSR

In certain respects, a good organizer is a good salesman. His product is student freedom, and like all good salesmen, he should know his product before attempting to sell it to someone else. He should understand the real fundamental values of CSR and be able to translate these values into the practical aspect of dorm life, academic problems, and disciplinary troubles.

The next stage of the campaign is that of building a hard, functioning core of CSR support within the dorm. This is to become the dorm organizing committee and should represent a cross-section of potential leadership in the dorm.

The organizer should make every effort to have representation from each house. Several meetings should be held with the organizing committee prior to the all out campaign. It is very important that this committee understands the general pattern of the campaign, the stakes in security and the calculated risk involved.

First General Meeting

The first general meeting should be called in the name of the organizing committee. A temporary chairman selected to conduct the meeting should announce the general purpose of the meeting to the group, and should be urged to state his

people". Associate yourself with the problem by using "We".

2) Do not make a speech on vague generalities. The people are there to make one of the most important decisions of their academic career. This decision must be made soberly by the group.

3) Do not make wild promises of what CSR can or will do for them. Be honest and tell them that their group can achieve no more than what they are prepared to fight for in the way of freedom and security. Wild promises have a way of coming home after the campaign.

4) Draw heavily on material collected on practical dorm problems. Start from the point of view of their own common experiences, and the chances are that you will get through to the group.

5) Do not talk too long. When you begin repeating yourself, sit down. Encourage discussion from the floor. This is the meat of the meeting.

6) Answer questions from the group honestly and to the point. If you do not know the answer, do not cover up with some vague generalities. Tell them that you do not know, but that you will get the needed information as quickly as possible. Be sure to follow through with the information. This builds confidence in the Organizer.

7) Try to get as many as possible to sign membership papers at the meeting.

8) After the meeting, try to get personally acquainted with as many as possible.

CSR PROGRAM

The following recommendations were approved by general meetings of the Committee for Student Rights (CSR). These proposals represent specific improvements which should be made at Michigan State University as soon as reasonably possible.

1. Students over 21 may live in housing of their choice, subject only to local, state, and federal laws. To be implemented immediately.
2. Juniors and seniors, regardless of sex or age, may live in housing of their choice with parental consent, subject only to local, state, and federal laws. To be implemented immediately.
3. Senior women, and those women over 21, living in residence halls, shall have no hours; junior women shall have no hours Friday and Saturday nights. Hours for other women shall be 12:00 midnight Sunday through Thursday, 1:00 A.M. Friday, and 1:30 A.M. Saturday. To be implemented immediately.
4. Overnight permissions for female students shall be:
 - a. GENERAL: A female student may stay overnight anywhere for no more than three consecutive days and nights.
 - b. GENERAL WEEKEND: Same as above, but valid only Friday through Monday morning.
 - c. SPECIFIC: A parental note shall accompany each overnight, except for home. Duration shall be determined by the parent or guardian. The note need only mention the duration of the overnight.The form letters sent to parents shall specifically use the terms "General", "General Weekend", and "Specific", and shall contain no inference that any type of permission is of an extraordinary nature. To be implemented Spring term, 1965.
5. All University regulations that discriminate against female students shall be abolished no later than Fall term, 1968.
6. The University shall respect the students' civil rights and liberties on and off campus; any entrance into a student's living quarters unauthorized by said student shall be in accordance with state and federal laws, especially those regarding search and seizure. To be implemented immediately.
7. All students, while not on University property, in University approved supervised housing, or involved in University sponsored activities, shall be subject only to local, state, and federal laws. To be implemented immediately.
8. Any student or students may distribute any written or printed material in accordance with local, state, and federal laws, on campus, and no permission need be sought to distribute except in classrooms and study halls. To be implemented immediately.
9. Suspension procedures that state that suspended students may not remain in the "Lansing-East Lansing area" unless it is their natural home, shall be abolished. Suspended students may frequent both the area and the campus. To be implemented immediately.

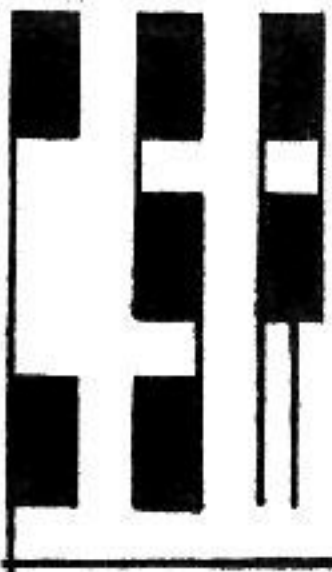
10. Rules and maximum punishments shall be specific. Disciplinary actions shall be for specific offenses, not for such vague reasons as asocial and/or anti-social behavior and/or attitudes, or, a generalⁱⁿ ability to adjust to the University. The specific rules, regulations, policies, and punishments shall be written in a comprehensive form, made available to all students, and shall be sent to all prospective students. To be implemented immediately.

11. No files shall be kept which:

- a. Contain evaluations or reports made by fellow students, including Resident Assistants;
- b. Are not completely open to the student at all times;
- c. Are available to anyone except faculty and authorized administration, directly or indirectly, unless specific, written consent has been given by the student.

Academic records — which merely contain a transcript of grades and letters of recommendation used for admission to MSU — shall be available to the student at all times. To be implemented immediately and retroactive to presently enrolled students.

12. Improvements in the MSU library shall be initiated immediately in accordance with the suggestions contained in the report of the Faculty Library Committee (the Sullivan Committee).



Committee for Student Rights P.O. Box 651 East Lansing, Michigan

September 27, 1965

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

In response to the case of Paul Schiff vs. Michigan State University, the following resolution was prepared and passed by the Ingham County Young Democrats at a July meeting. It was later passed by the State Young Democrats and the Ingham County Democratic Committee.

"Since the right of any person to distribute literature, to state and publish what he believes to be true less than libel or slander, and to advocate action less than criminal action in an attempt to demonstrate what he believes to be true, is at worst a cloudy right and at best an inviolatable right, and since the exercise of a right in such a status can in no way be constructed to be cause for denial of further rights of a person, and since the right to obtain a graduate education at a state university providing that academic qualifications have been met, is such a further right, and since the administration of Michigan State University did invoke the exercise of a right in the aforementioned status as sufficient cause for denial of readmission to Mr. Paul Schiff to Michigan State University, and since said administration did subsequently and summarily deny Mr. Schiff the right of a hearing on the aforementioned denial of readmission,

BE IT RESOLVED that the Young Democrats of Ingham County Democratic Committee of deplore(s) the action of the central administration of Michigan State University -

in the denial of readmission of Paul Schiff, and strongly recommend that the administration of Michigan State University take immediate steps to readmit Paul Schiff as a graduate student with all the rights and privileges connected with this status,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the administration of Michigan State University recognize in future the right of all persons connected with the university to dissent."

Jim Dart
Chairman
Ingham County Young Democrats

Tom Steinfatt
Chairman
Public Affairs Committee
Ingham County Young Democrats

COMMITTEE FOR STUDENT RIGHTS
P.O. Box 651
East Lansing, Michigan

February 10, 1965

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Committee for Student Rights (CSR), a newly-formed group at Michigan State University, has adopted a platform of 10 recommendations for changes in University regulations which if adopted would lay the groundwork for a complete modernization of the "in loco parentis" policy at MSU.

In a meeting held Feb. 7 in the St. John's Student Center, about 75 members of CSR voted to adopt 10 of the 13 recommendations proposed by the 15-member steering committee.

The 10 recommendations deal with specific problems arising from the University's current stands on such matters as student housing, off-campus enforcement of University regulations and procedures for punishment of violators on- and off-campus.

An additional recommendation, to which the Greater Lansing branch of the American Civil Liberties Union has indicated it will give support, would remove University restrictions on distribution of written or printed material on campus, subject to federal, state and local laws.

Current regulations require that any student or students wishing to distribute such materials must first be granted permission to do so by an official of a residence hall or the University housing office.

Most of the 5,000 copies of the first issue of CSR's pamphlet, "Logos: The Voice of CSR," were distributed in residence halls Feb. 3, without permission of housing authorities. No disciplinary action was taken by the administration.

About 7,500 copies of the second issue were scheduled for distribution Feb. 11.

Logos, which in the first issue concentrated on satirizing the University's "in loco parentis" policies, turned, in the second issue, to reprinting the recommendations adopted Feb. 7 and to publicizing CSR's speakers bureau and other information services.

The committee has as yet made no attempt to earn official recognition from the University. It has not applied for a charter from the Student Organizations Bureau of the All University Student Government, and has been called by John A. Fuzak, University vice president for student affairs, a "junior high effort attempting to gain attention and recognition without going through the proper channels.

CSR cites the case of an earlier group whose goals were similar to its own as a defense for not seeking a charter.

The "Federation for Student Rights" failed last fall to win a charter from the Organizations Bureau. Its petition was never reported out of committee, on the grounds that its proposed charter would overlap with those of AISC itself and of the now-defunct Basic Action Party.

CSR was organized during January from the remains of this "federation," with the help of a number of other students interested in seeing some more concrete representation of student opinion than the existing student government provides.

Despite the fact that an AISC reevaluation committee is currently studying a possible revision of student government, the members of CSR feel that only a completely new organization can accurately represent student thought to the administration.

A "declaration of purpose" was adopted by CSR members at an early organizational meeting, and was published as a guest column Jan. 26 in the Michigan State News.

The statement reads in part:

"We state our firm belief in 'the doctrine that man is meant to live, not to prepare for life': democratic participation, not 'training for democracy'; the understanding that there is no conflict in being a man and being a student; an atmosphere in which there is no True Value, but one in which there is an unencumbered search for values; a society in which the Administration serves the vital and changing needs of students and faculty, not one in which the scholars are subordinate to 'The University.'

"Inherent in this doctrine is the conception of the student as a human being fully capable of assuming responsibilities in the here-and-now, quite prepared to suffer the consequences of making mistakes; not as a child to be pampered, and spanked when he is naughty; not as an incidental and troublesome element injected into an otherwise smooth-flowing process; not as an apprentice training to take his place in a strictly defined society."

Michael Hooten, Tuskegee Institute, Ala., junior and chairman of CSR, has said, "Anyone is a member of CSR, anyone who is interested in students' rights."

At the moment, CSR's recognized membership is growing rapidly, and local organizations are forming in living units to help support CSR's goals. Student groups have asked CSR speakers to present programs and have otherwise indicated support of the committee's policy of opposing "in loco parentis."

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Enclosures.