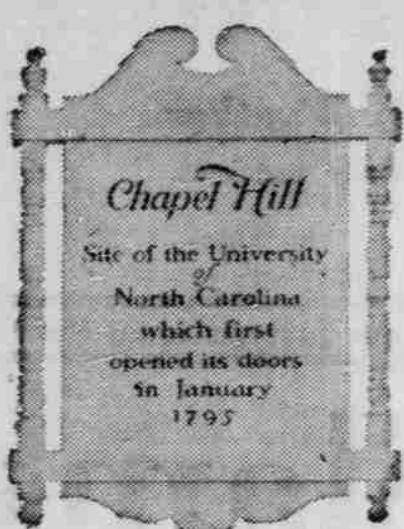


The Daily Tar Heel

70 Years of Editorial Freedom



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On Civil Rights And Reforms

Bob Spearman

The USNSA has made its commitment to the cause of civil rights clear from its beginning. It has long urged that college admissions be predicated without regard to race. It has urged federal legislation to insure voting rights. It has endorsed the student sit-in movement and has conducted various civil rights projects of its own. These include a voter registration project held in Raleigh last summer and a training institute which was run for civil rights leaders. A great deal of time was spent at the 16th National Student Congress in redefining the role of USNSA in civil rights and in articulating new programs.

In the area of civil rights programming, four resolutions were passed by the committee, and all of these were subsequently adopted by a plenary session of the Congress. The first, entitled "Cooperation with Student Civil Rights Organizations", concerned the relationship between USNSA, SNCC (the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) and NSM (Northern Student Movement.) It provided for NSA to aid SNCC and NSM by helping to procure office supplies, food, clothing, and by assistance in fund raising. It also provided for the establishment of a Civil Rights Desk in the national office to supply civil rights information to member campuses and to coordinate NSA civil rights programming. The resolution called for the establishment of exchange programs between segregated and non-segregated institutions and set up a Civil Rights Leadership Institute. This resolution was important in its providing for direct help from NSA to different civil rights groups. It represents, however, much less than what these groups desired. SNCC had pressed for \$12,000 to help finance their programs, but this was rather sharply turned down. The majority of delegates seemed to feel that NSA should undertake programs in the area of civil rights, but they were skeptical of underwriting particular organizations for large sums of money. Most felt that NSA would lose its organizational integrity by undertaking all the projects desired by SNCC.

The second resolution adopted concerned education in Prince Edward County, Virginia. (The public schools in Prince Edward were closed in 1959 to avoid integration, and Negroes in the county have been unable to receive an education since that time. White students have been attending a private white school.) This resolution called for aid from member schools to help a non-discriminatory private school system which has been established in the county. It also provided for the establishment of an adult education program and voluntary summer tutor projects there which would employ students from member schools to serve as teachers.

A third resolution urged schools to establish educational projects among minority groups in the communities surrounding their campuses.

The final such resolution concerned desegregation in public schools. It provided for a series of interracial conferences on the problems of desegregation in education, and instructed the national officers to distribute information on the legal aspects of school desegregation to member schools.

The committee passed four major policy resolutions in the field of civil rights, two of which were adopted by plenary sessions. One of these resolutions failed, and the other was not considered. The one which failed was entitled "The Role of the Students and Universities in Civil Rights". Liberals objected that the resolution was too mild and was more a call to thought than a call to action. Its defeat on the floor stemmed from this opposition in part, but was due primarily to objections that the wording of the resolution was vague or incomprehensible.

The plenary adopted the resolution entitled "Omnibus Civil Rights". This was an endorsement of the Kennedy civil rights bill now before the Congress, but it also called for certain additions to the bill. These included strengthened guarantees for voting rights, and a time limit to end school segregation. In the committee and on the floor additional strengthening amendments urged by SNCC were defeated. (These contained provisions of the so-called Kastenmeier bill, the strongest civil rights legislation ever introduced in the U. S. Congress.)

The final civil rights policy legislation passed was "Cooperation with Student Civil Rights Organizations". This called for member schools to cooperate with SNCC and NSM in a manner consistent with the by-laws and constitution of USNSA. (This was the counterpart policy re-

solution to the program previously discussed, which mandated specific programs which would help those organizations.)

Not considered by the plenary was a resolution entitled "Civil Rights 1963." This resolution would have brought NSA endorsement of various forms of compensational treatment for Negroes and NSA support of campaigns of civil disobedience. It was strongly opposed by a minority in committee, and was not considered on the plenary floor.

Civil Rights issues at the 16th Congress were marked by intensive efforts by SNCC and SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) to throw the weight of NSA's influence and financial resources behind SNCC programs. Ultimately the Congress refused to do this, in part because some people took sharp issue with certain of SNCC's activities and partly because some felt that NSA could accomplish more in the field of civil rights by its own work. Certainly NSA's commitment to civil rights was continued and intensified by the 16th Congress. But it was also clear that the Association was becoming increasingly selective about the methods and actions which it endorsed.

(A final note should be added about NSA financing. Aside from the funds to maintain the national office, almost all NSA financial backing stems from foundation grants. This is true for field projects undertaken by the Association. Thus when certain projects are called for in resolutions, these are almost always contingent upon the national officers' securing of foundation grants.)

Despite the existence of a \$19,000.00 deficit in the Association's economy, it was felt necessary that money be appropriated for new, full-time members of the national staff. The central controversy dealt with the nature of these positions. Most agreed that the two elected positions of Program Vice President (officers of NSA who travel to member campuses) could be abolished.

Dennis Yeager, a PVP who spoke to the Student Legislature of UNC last spring, backed a plan which would have created at least four elected student Government Vice President positions. These officers would not work out of the Philadelphia office, but would have their headquarters on various campuses around the country, and they would make several visits a year to campuses in that area. Their function would be to offer assistance in problems and issues that were facing member student government projects on a regional basis. These persons, elected by the Congress, would have extensive experience with student affairs, often having previously served as student body presidents on their own campuses.

At the other extreme was a proposal by NSA academic freedom project director Neal Johnston. His plan was that all of the new positions would be held by "desk" personnel; that is, national staff members who would work in the Philadelphia office in specialized areas, such as

alter the organization of NSA. They claimed that the Association had concerned itself too much with non-campus issues and that a "power elite" controlled the policies of NSA in this area. Over the period between that Congress and the December meeting, this became an opinion held, at least in part, by most of the Association's leaders.

By the time of the Congress in August, a number of reform "programs" had been proposed by members of the national staff. They all had in common the abolition of the National Executive Committee. This body, composed of the chairmen of the 23 regions of the Association and additional delegates elected from the larger regions, had administrative and policy making powers, in addition to serving as a check on the national officers.

The large size of the NEC and the limited familiarity of some of its members with the functions of the Association made it relatively incompetent in most administrative matters. Also, it had become the opinion of most of the first and second level leadership of NSA that the power of the NEC to pass on a substantial number of policy resolutions served no worthwhile purpose.

To replace the administrative duties of the NEC, all reform proposals included the formation of a National Supervisory Board and a Congress Steering Committee. As they were actually established, the NSB was composed of ten members, elected from four geographic areas, and the CSC was staffed by the regional chairmen.

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Harry DeLung

There are few who would not agree that the most significant legislation passed at the 16th National Student Congress was the structural reform of the National Student Association. A similarly small number were entirely satisfied with the reforms which were finally passed as a result of many compromises.

Two broad objectives were in mind when the national officers and the National Executive Committee met in December, 1962 to discuss the possibility of proposing reforms to the 16th Congress. These were (1) to answer a number of charges from right-wing organizations, most notably the Young Americans for Freedom, and (2) to increase the communication between the national office in Philadelphia and the 400 member campuses.

The only consensus that was reached at the December NEC was that under the present regional structure, there was little or no leadership provided for NSA (and NSA-assisted) programs on member campuses. This was considered to be a major breakdown in the utilization of the first and second level leadership of the Association.

The background on the right charges stems from an effort of the right, which began in force at the 14th Congress, to

student welfare, academic freedom, civil rights, etc. They would spend a comparatively small amount of time traveling to member campuses, and would do so only in regard to what ever area was their specialty.

A compromise was worked out by NSA President Dennis Shaul and other staff members by which three SGVPS would be elected, and two "desk" jobs would be created. In this structure, the regions (such as Carolina-Virginia, Kentucky-Tennessee, etc.) would be abolished, and four large areas would be created. These were the Northeast, the South, the Mid-West, and the Far West, and a SGVP would be assigned to each, except the Northeast which would be administered out of the Philadelphia office.

About midway through the 16th Congress, it became evident that there was still too much division of opinion for this plan to be safely passed by the plenary of the Congress. It was withdrawn and a final proposal was submitted.

This plan, which was adopted by the Congress differs from the first compromise in that it retains the regions as a medium of area programming and communication, the four areas are not formally established, and the number of SGVPS is cut to two. In addition, three "desk" positions are provided for, with the understanding that these persons will be available for more frequent trips to member schools.

Less tangible alterations in the character of the Association included a feeling that more decisions should be made by the Congress plenary, and less by the officers and staff of the organization. This led to the abolition of the "referral" practice by which the plenary could refer any legislation that it did not act on to a smaller body. It is significant that neither of the new administrative bodies, the NSB and CSC, have any formal policy-making powers.

In the interest of allowing more time for consideration of legislation, the plenary limited the amount of policy resolutions that may come out of all of the five committees to 30. In the past, as many as 150 resolutions had been reported to the plenary.

As every Congress or legislative body has its conservative and liberal years, this year was relatively conservative for the National Student Congress. However, most observers do not attribute the passage of reforms to this characteristic.

It became apparent in 1962 that the suggestions for change

offered by the Young Americans for Freedom were not made in good faith. At the YAF's national assembly at Madison Square Garden, a resolution was passed urging conservative students to participate in NSA and try to change its structure and policies. This decision was soon reversed by the executives of YAF who refused to cooperate in any way with the National Student Association, and have, in fact, urged that campuses disaffiliate from NSA.

There is little doubt that the structural reforms were entirely due to the work of moderates and liberals who were seeking to improve the one and only national union of students in the United States. It should, however, be encouraging to conservatives to note that despite the official position of the YAF executives, many conservatives exerted strong leadership at the Congress. An announced Gold-water-supporter from Cornell came within one vote of being elected chairman of the 1964 NSA Coordinators' Conference.

To some, the most notable characteristic of the 16th Congress was the often-claimed separation between those delegates who had their first concern in the interest of NSA, and those who were seeking only to use NSA as a vehicle for their own causes. It became evident by the end of the Congress that the future of the Association rested on those students of all political persuasions who were, and are willing to let their particular causes be subsidiary to the goals set forth in the Preamble of the Constitution of the United States National Student Association:

- To maintain academic freedom, academic responsibility, and student rights;
- To stimulate and improve democratic student government;
- To develop better educational standards, facilities, and teaching methods—to improve student cultural, social, and physical welfare;
- To promote international understanding and fellowship;
- To guarantee to all people, because of their inherent dignity as individuals, equal rights and possibilities for primary, secondary, and higher education regardless of sex, race, religion, political belief, or economic circumstance;
- To foster the recognition of the rights and responsibilities of students to the school, the community, humanity, and God;
- And to preserve the interests and integrity of the Government and Constitution of the United States of America.

Court Will Be Knocked For Justice

The Supreme Court has made what will obviously be another unpopular decision. The Court instructed the Federal Appeals Court of New York to consider a contention by Vito Genovese, leader of the nationwide crime syndicate Cosa Nostra, that notes of pre-trial interviews with the government's main witness were wrongfully withheld from the defense during the trial.

The granting of the hearing does not automatically give Genovese freedom or even a new trial, as he is currently serving a 15-year sentence in federal prison in Leavenworth, Kan., but says simply that the handling of the case by the Justice Department merits investigation.

The Court's mandate will be well publicized due to all the recent storm over

Genovese stemming from the Vallachi hearings, and opponents of the Court will use this as they use anything they can to prove that it is anti-God, anti-Country and pro-big time crime.

The real point is, of course, that the Court must protect the most evil members of our society from infringement of their rights if it is to protect the most innocent member. There is no double standard; one for the innocent and one for the guilty. If the Justice Department can't get Genovese legally, regardless of how evident his guilt is, then the should not be permitted to get him in any fashion.

It is a shame that in our country such an obvious fact as this will be ignored and the Court's detractors will use this latest decision as further grounds for attack.

Facts Behind The Image

That apparently elderly graduate student from South Carolina, who wrote recently to correct what he considers to be the false and stereotyped image of his fellow South Carolinians, undercut himself without realizing it.

"Most South Carolinians are very warm, intelligent people who would no more dream of forcing someone to concur with their particular religious or political beliefs than they would laugh at him for his own ideas," he wrote, apparently oblivious of the segregation laws in his state which force whites not to mingle with Negroes in certain situations under pain of fine or jail.

Does this not amount to "forcing someone to concur with . . . particular religious or political beliefs . . . ?"

And if, as our correspondent alleges,

most people consider "conservative segregationists" to be "a bunch of red-necked, ignorant, cornbread-dippin', bigoted cotton-pickers who haven't got enough sense to come in out of a shower of burning kerosene from the shanty we just blew up," then whose fault is it? Certainly we have not heard lately of any liberal integrationists burning shacks or blowing up shanties.

Undoubtedly there are many "warm, intelligent" people in South Carolina, just as there are all over the world. Until they make their presence felt more strongly, however, they will continue to be lumped with the ignorant maniacs who have been able to perpetrate acts of violence unhindered by restraints, legal or verbal, from their more rational fellow Southerners.

Known Communist Talks At Statehouse???

The Greensboro Daily News

The North Carolina Council of Women's Organizations plans to meet at Raleigh's new Statehouse this year; and on November 13 they are to hear a talk by Mrs. G. M. Frolova of the Russian embassy in Washington.

Obviously, the ladies of the council have little fear that Mrs. Frolova will contaminate their minds and we suspect they are right. But the appearance at the Statehouse of a Russian embassy official, presumably a "known Communist," does raise a few delicate questions. The Statehouse, as everyone knows, is the home base of the General Assembly and the General Assembly has recently declared North Carolina's college campuses off limits to "known Communists."

By what twist of legislative logic, then, do the legislators countenance the appearance of Mrs. Frolova at the Statehouse?

Deputy Attorney General Ralph Moody has been most emphatic on the point. On page two of his recent memo to the attorney general regarding the Speaker Ban, Mr. Moody severely reproved the state's "institutions of higher learning" for disregarding a 1941 statute. That statute provides, among other things, that "It shall be unlawful for any public building in the state . . . to be used by any person for the purpose of advocating, advising or teaching a doctrine" that the government should be overthrown by force or violence.

Of course no one knows in advance what doctrines Mrs. Frolova will teach November 13. But the recent Speaker Ban, though it applies only to state-sup-

ported college campuses, treats all "known Communists," whether embassy officials or ballerinas, as potential wreckers of the American Way. (One of the milder inanities of the Speaker Ban — as well as Section 14-11 of the 1941 statute—is that it imposes on guardians of state property the nigh impossible task of finding out in advance what visiting speakers want to say.)

To come to the nub of the matter, however, we wonder whether Sen. Thomas White and other legislative managers of the Statehouse are getting themselves into hot water with Mr. Moody by permitting the use of the Statehouse for a "known Communist's" speech. Is one to conclude that the legislators who run the Statehouse "pay no attention to these statutes," in Mr. Moody's words, while any college official who allows a Communist to speak on a state-owned campus risks harsh condemnation?

We have no wish to disrupt the program of the Council of Women's Organizations, who can no doubt weather the talk of a lady Communist. But there is a matter of consistency to be established here — which, upon being established, would doubtless show once again the silliness of this tissue of repressive laws.

But it does seem that the legislators who lord it so mightily over the free colleges and universities of this state are exempting themselves from the very rules they lay down for others. If Caesar's wife should be above suspicion, all the more should Caesar — his night-glowing license plate notwithstanding.

"Dear Gen. DeGaulle: Adenauer Has Retired. Macmillan Has Retired. Just Thought I'd Drop a Line To Ask How Are Things With You?"



LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Bad Of Us

Editors, The Tar Heel,
I believe the legislature of North Carolina made an error in

the subject matter of the gag law. What it should have attempted to gag is the writers, students and other guilty parties that allow such bad taste and an "udder" obnoxious article as appeared by Curry Kilpatrick (sic) in the Sunday edition of the Daily Tar Heel, headlined, "Moo U. Goes Down To Udder Defeat, 31-10." Some other acts as seen this weekend were the efforts of the Carolina cheerleaders leading such yells as "Castrate State," and "Screw Moo U."

The past few years, N. C. State's football team and student body won victories in their ball games with UNC. This year, only the Carolina football team won a victory while the student body lost as it only resserted itself as an impudent, non-conformist group of persons (if one can call them persons) which can act with no better judgment than a five year old child.

Are these the "Carolina Gentlemen" which we wish to have run the affairs of the state in the future? Or should we not turn to the real "Carolina Gentlemen" which seem to reside at State, Duke and Wake Forest?

Bill Robinson
UNC Law School

Indecency

Editors, The Tar Heel,

After reading John F. Hollingsworth's letter in Sunday's paper, a protest that has been smoldering within me for a long time was aroused. Now that I've thought about it for several hours, I am red-hot about the whole thing.

I feel that UNC males are being forced to be exhibitionists—a forced showing of the body in public—and certainly the men's room is public when 30 people are in there at a given moment.

If every student would write a letter home about it, perhaps their children could be saved from indecency — FORCED INDECENCY.

John Leder
10 Remney Lane