

Confiscate Article Critical Of Cardinal Spellman

Administration confiscation of a recent issue of the Manhattan College *Quadrangle* prompted the resignation of five members of the editorial board and a declaration of censure from the New York Region of the National Student Association.

Barnard Students Donate Over \$500 In Freedom Fast

The Fast for Freedom, conducted at Barnard November 22 and 23, collected \$576, according to Barbara Rothkrug '68, Barnard co-ordinator.

Three hundred and twenty-eight dormitory students signed up to donate the cost of their dinner November 22. Miss Smith, Director of Food Services, said that she sent a total of \$428 to the bursar, which included money saved from 409 girls who didn't eat that night, whether or not they had signed up previously.

Fourteen girls manned booths at "616" and Jake on Monday and Tuesday. They collected \$148 from "616" residents and commuters.

The Fast for Freedom was sponsored across the country by the National Student Association and co-ordinated at Columbia University by the Summer Community Organization for Political Education. Mickey Shur '66C, chairman of SCOPE, said that over \$1600 was collected from Barnard and Columbia. This amount exceeded last year's figure by approximately \$100.

The funds raised at Barnard and Columbia will be sent to South Carolina to maintain food distribution centers in impoverished areas.

Twenty thousand copies of the November eighth issue containing a signed feature article critical of Cardinal Spellman were impounded by the faculty advisor of the paper. His action was approved by the president of the College and afterwards by the Vice-President of Student Services. Manhattan College is Catholic-affiliated.

The article criticized the Cardinal's alleged bans on fraternity houses on metropolitan Catholic campuses and on the singing of the "folk mass." The fraternity ban, ascribed to the Cardinal by rumor, had actually been made by the Manhattan College administration. The "folk mass" was outlawed by a Council in the Chancery, a Church legislative body for the New York area.

The editors in announcing their resignations conceded that the article had been "in poor taste" and "inaccurate." However, they contend that the administration violated the freedom of the student press by confiscating the issue. Most of the lay faculty agree, though not many of the teaching Brothers.

"It doesn't achieve anything to resign," said Frank Swertlow, former News Editor and now acting as Editor-in-Chief. "It doesn't solve the problem of censorship. I remained to formulate a policy for future relations with the administration." Mr. Swertlow is opposed to any confiscation but sees a need for responsibility in the student press.

Student Exchange Will Continue Program for East Harlem Kids

Barnard Student Exchange is sponsoring a program in cooperation with the East Harlem Triangle Area's Service. Very successful last year, the program consists of entertaining children from East Harlem for a Saturday afternoon.

Margaret Russo '67, director of the program, will post a sign-up sheet on Jake each Thursday. Students participating will have a

Note: December 3 is the deadline for applications to participate in this year's Student Exchange. Applications may be obtained on Jake and submitted to Suzanne Crowell '67.

choice of the age group, 6-7, 8-9, or 10-11, and type of entertainment they prefer. Each group will consist of two college girls and

Proctors' Booth

Student Proctors will operate a booth on Jake November 30 through December 14 to advise Freshmen and Sophomores concerning majors at Barnard. Proctors will also discuss individual courses with members of every class. The booth will be manned from 11 a.m. to 2:00 p.m.

Gildersleeve Will Return Tea Set, Four Candlesticks



A silver tea set and four candlesticks, presented to Virginia Gildersleeve by the Barnard faculty and students on her retirement, have been returned to the school under the terms of her will. The candlesticks, one representing each class in the school at the time of her retirement, and the tea set will be stored in the Deanery and used at all official teas.

Anti-Apartheid Moves Fail Says Expert on South Africa

by Gail Butler

Mr. George Houser, Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa, addressed the African Studies Club last Tuesday on "The South African Crisis and United States Policy."

An expert on African affairs, Mr. Houser discussed the negative shift in South Africa's attitudes toward America during the last decade. He attributes this change to the fact that predictions of a breakdown of white supremacy and a resultant majority rule have not yet been realized.

The African "white backlash" which presents an especially



Mr. George Houser

strong reactionary front south of the Congo has halted the progress of independence movements by attempting to "turn back the clock," he remarked. As examples, Mr. Houser cited the dissolution of the African Federation and the failure of the Angolan national revolt. According to Mr. Houser, after ten years of development the independence organizations have little *de jure* power.

Imbalance of Power

The apartheid policy pursued in the Union of South Africa especially emphasizes the imbalance of power. Mr. Houser said that apartheid, under which 3½ million Caucasians rule 13½ million non-whites, is described by white politicians as "an ideology of separate development." Mr. Houser pointed out, however, that the natives view the system as a network of restraining laws which hinder free economic development.

Mr. Houser noted the cruciality of the African problem as a fringe issue in American politics. The United States' economic interest in the Union of South Africa comprises about 20% of the area's foreign aid. In addition, America's own racial problems focus attention on the African apartheid situation.

Sympathy for Struggle

The American Committee on Africa, which Mr. Houser directs, is an example of the degree of American involvement in the African issue. Dedicated to the "outspoken sympathy for African struggle for freedom and equality," the committee concerns itself primarily with efforts to rectify the situation in non-independent Africa.

On the other hand, Mr. Houser noted that American disillusionment with African potential and the feeling that the countries are

not ready for independence result in a growing lack of concern for African independence movements. In view of this paradox, Mr. Houser questioned where the United States would stand in the event of an all-out war for liberation.

Peace Corps Reps Discuss Opportunities

by Margaret Noberini

In order to discover the best way to introduce Barnard students to the Peace Corps, Peace Corps representatives Fred Madison and Claudette Sarsfield met with students Tuesday at 4 p.m. in Barnard Hall. According to Mr. Madison, there is a great lack of knowledge about the Peace Corps.

One of the main topics discussed was the activities of the returning volunteers. Mr. Madison stated that 53 percent of all returning volunteers go to graduate school. The schools seem to appreciate the fact that the Peace Corps has increased the motivation of the students and that such students have great success in graduate school.

Education Opportunities

Another opportunity open to Peace Corps return volunteers is in the field of education. Some states, including California and New York, accept these volunteers as teachers although they may have taken no education courses in school. Washington, D.C., also has a tentative program of this sort.

In discussing the qualities of Peace Corps volunteers, Mr. Madison said, "Peace Corps represents two years of your life and you would be naive not to think of what Peace Corps does for you."

Idealism Plus Realism

Miss Sarsfield added that idealism is not enough in a volunteer, but must be combined with realism in order for the volunteer to be successful. She also said that the Peace Corps offers tremendous experience, giving the volunteer an opportunity to travel and to be exposed to different cultures.

Another appeal of the Peace Corps, according to Mr. Madison, is that "We have an activist program for somebody who wants to do something."

Concerning the qualifications needed for acceptance into the Peace Corps, Mr. Madison said that about 80% of college graduates who apply are accepted.

Mr. Madison ended by saying that the problem of the Peace Corps is to "get at people who have misconceptions about Peace Corps."

The Peace Corps will sponsor a booth on Jake starting next Monday.

English Dept. Revises Old Requirements

Professor David A. Robertson, chairman of the English Department, announced Monday the revision of major requirements in his department.

The changes, effective immediately, reduce the number of required courses and broaden the range of courses from which such courses may be chosen.

Point Reduction

Previously, the department required a term's work in Anglo-Saxon literature chosen from three courses given by Professor W. Cabell Greet. This has been eliminated, bringing the number of points down from 28 to 25.

The emphasis of the literature requirement has been shifted from pre-19th century literature to more modern works. Under the old requirements, students had to choose three courses out of 10 covering older works. Now students may count courses in modern American and European poetry and prose towards the major requirements.

Broader Range

Instead of taking three half-year courses numbered 56-69, students may choose from courses 53-69. A second set of three half-year courses may be taken from numbers 70-88 instead of numbers 70-80.

The junior-year course in literary criticism and the junior and senior year English conferences are still required.

The changes affect all students, including graduating seniors.

Placement Office Sponsors Several Job Conferences

During the coming weeks, the Placement Office will sponsor several job-opportunity conferences for the benefit of juniors and seniors.

A College Career Conference, "Planning for Graduate Study in Social Work," will be held Monday, December 6, from 5-7 p.m. at the Brotherhood-In-Action Building, 560 Seventh Avenue. Speakers will discuss financial assistance, admissions criteria, applications procedure and opportunities for field work.

Juniors and seniors are invited to meet with a representative of the Teaching Intern Program of Colgate University Wednesday, December 8 at 2 p.m. in Room 106, Barnard Hall. The intern program combines academic work, an independent study period and practical teaching experience. It is salaried and scholarships are available to cover additional expenses.

Education Program

There will be a meeting for juniors applying for the Education Program from 1-2 p.m. today, in Room 100 B. Freshmen and sophomores interested in high school teaching are also welcome.

— Letters to the Editor —

Curric Poll

To the Editor:

Thank you for calling attention in your issue of November 18th to the proposals for a study period at the end of the term.

However, I would like to mention that a poll to determine student sentiment on this question will be conducted by the members of the Curriculum Committee rather than by the Student Opinion Committee, which is inactive. Also, our aim for this semester is to achieve a five-day study period for next semester, rather than the elimination of gym classes on the Thursday before exam week. Any change in the academic calendar would, of course, be accompanied by a change in the gym schedule, since it is considered laboratory work.

Ann Chamberlin '68
Curriculum Committee

'Bulletin' Unethical

To the Editor:

We have followed your admonition and thought about the Bulletin editorial "A Matter of Ethics" (Nov. 15). It seems to us that you are guilty of the very sins of which you accuse Spectator. Bias and misrepresentation violate a journalistic code as sacred as that of moral decency — that reporting shall be unbiased and based on the facts as collected from the most reliable sources available. May we illustrate this with examples from your editorial?

Concerning Professor Wolff's allegations of misrepresentation — in what way if any did the substance of his story as given to Bulletin differ from the Spectator account of his remarks?

Concerning the account of the proposal for extended senior curfews now before the Faculty Committee on Student Life, one should ask who was indiscreet? Was it the newspaper which confirmed what was no rumor in the dorms or was it the student officers who must have provided the necessary confirmation and details?

The Bulletin treatment of the present violation case is a further example of excessive bias. The headline was highly unfortunate. But where was the smut in the factual account? As to indiscretion — is Spectator to blame for printing what the student involved was willing to tell them in an interview? While Spectator refused to deny the accuracy of their report, by printing a letter from her, didn't they acknowledge what she maintains was her original position? And how can Spectator be blamed for the rumors that inevitably circulate?

Both Spectator and Bulletin are

newspapers. Spectator makes an attempt to print what they see as news on both sides of Broadway. Bulletin seems to consistently attempt to refute what it sees in Spectator.

We say in turn to you — Think about it.

Two Sophomores
(names withheld)

Revon 'Distorted'

To the Editor:

May I avail myself of the invitation, in your issue of November 22, to make some observations? I have read with interest Mr. Revon's comments in the Barnard Bulletin and in the Columbia Spectator. Much of what he says is true, yet I do not agree with his interpretation, mainly for the reason that I consider it conveys a distorted view of things.

When approaching the French, or any other, situation I think it best to divest ourselves of sentimentality. As Americans we have the same reason and right to think primarily in terms of our national interest as others have to think of their own. The two may or may not coincide.

For the rest I think it desirable to understand other peoples' point of view. One need not agree with it but it may help avoid needless mistakes and frictions. What matters in the French case is above all the fact of recovery. What is equally important to realize — but often forgotten or not known — is that the bases of that recovery, the unexpected reversal in the demographic situation and the economic upturn, are both developments which antedate the Fifth Republic. So was the decision to develop nuclear weapons.

What the Fifth Republic, or General de Gaulle, has done is two things. He has provided the country with political stability, a result highly popular with the bulk of the French people. The suspicion of centralized and unchecked power is traditionally strong in France, but the political fragmentation of party politics seemed an unsatisfactory solution. The Fourth Republic, like the Third, abdicated because it found itself incapable of dealing with certain situations. Here lies indeed a crucial issue for the future of France; it will not be solved by merely negative criticism.

M. Lecanuet, one of the candidates in the presidential elections, has been enlarging on the economic backwardness of France. He has a point, for much remains to be done though much has already happened. It is on the basis of sound economy and finances, plus governmental stability, that French standing has recovered and risen. That it has risen in the world at large would

be difficult to deny, however much our press may tell us that France is isolated.

We have been surprised and to a degree annoyed by the methods employed by General de Gaulle. This is understandable but does not justify the distorted picture conveyed by much of our press, not excluding the New York Times. How well is it known for example that, proportionately, France contributes far more than the United States to foreign aid? How many people are aware of the fact that France has not converted a higher proportion of dollars into gold than some other countries? The French insistence on sovereignty is often criticized, but is that not very much the same position as that taken by the British and ourselves? How different is de Gaulle's policy of rapprochement with the eastern European countries and the U.S.S.R. different from our own policy? The list could be extended.

That there are differences is well enough known. The record of de Gaulle's past judgment and performance is impressive. This does not make him infallible, but neither does it mean that French policy is necessarily mistaken whenever it does not coincide with our own. Might there not be more point, rather than exchanging brickbats, to looking at the larger domain or common ground? Is not "the power of positive thinking" an American invention?

Rene Albrecht-Carrie
Professor of History

Participation Needed

To the Editor:

We find it surprising that two democratically elected officers of representative institutions — Undergrad and Judicial Council — should prefer to endorse a group like the Committee on Student Life which is neither democratically elected nor representative, rather than a group like the Columbia University Reform Committee which is responsive to all student opinion. We are not trying to sabotage the Committee on Student Life, but we would like to point out that it was not elected by the student body, but chosen by the administration, and it is not at all responsible to student opinion, since all its meetings, at least in the immediate future, will be held in secret; the proceedings will not be published; and no member may quote a statement made in session by any other member. It has only the power to recommend reforms, not to implement them. So if there is anybody on campus interested in reform that is likely to be "unpredictable," it is the Committee on Student Life, not the Columbia University Reform Committee, which is directed by students at least as responsible as those on the Committee on Student Life.

We object strenuously to the statement: "We would rather rely on single-issue oriented discussions than on undirected and unpredictable protest, regardless of the merits of the cause." What is at stake here is not merely single issues, but a general need for student participation in making the decisions which affect them. We cannot believe it desirable to disregard the merits of this cause.

Frances Mueller '67
Irene Sharp '67

Larson Outlines Concrete Proposals for Ending War

(Editor's Note: Bulletin received this letter from Professor Larson before Thanksgiving recess, criticizing its editorial on Vietnam. Although the letter is extremely long, we feel it merits publication in full.)

To the Editor:

No serious opinion about the war in Vietnam could rest upon either of the "two basically different philosophical approaches to political problems" mentioned in your editorial of November 8. Neither approach is possible and it is absurd to suggest that the objectors are "idealists" concerned only with moral issues, while the supporters are "real-politicians" concerned only with hard political facts.

First. Supporters of the war typically see it as a confrontation of the forces of good (democracy, freedom, self-determination) and the forces of evil (communism, slavery, foreign domination). Or they believe that the US government has a moral obligation to honor its commitments to the Diem government and its successors, to help friends and allies, to defend the free people of Southeast Asia, etc. It is a calumny upon our governmental leaders to suggest that moral questions do not enter into their policy deliberations — for were that the case, they would not be irresponsible leaders, but outright liars. What the critics deplore is not the absence of a moral position, but the presence, the detectable influence of an insupportable moral position.

Second. Your writers forget that the objectors to the war include many long time realpoliticians and past supporters of the containment policy — Morse and Morgenthau are conspicuous ex-

amples, but one could cite many others. Not all of the objectors are pacifists. Not all of them are members of the student New Left. Not all of them are clear and sound thinkers, nor all of them folk singers. If one looks to the published arguments of the objectors, it is clear that the majority of writers oppose the war not only because it is unjust (for what is unjust can sometimes be expedient — especially if it is done swiftly and is fully executed before anyone other than the victim realizes what has happened), but also because it is a political and very possibly a military blunder of serious magnitude. It is important to protest this blunder not only because of its cost, thus far, in human suffering, but also because it is symptomatic of blind and anachronistic principles behind our foreign policy, which, if they are not checked, will lead to even greater suffering — not only in Asia, but in Latin America and this country as well.

We cannot choose between considering moral questions and considering political and military facts. Even the generals in Vietnam are not allowed to do that (witness the fate of Ky's public execution program, and the commendable efforts of US military leaders to reduce civilian suffering, sometimes even at the cost of military advantage). No responsible citizen of this country can ignore with impunity either the moral facts of the political and military facts within which alone the moral dilemmas arise.

Your writer concludes: "Positive suggestions are needed." Either your writer has not kept up with the very considerable (See LARSON LETTER, Page 3)

Piano Recital Inaugurates Keyboard Concert Series

by Eleanor Sternberg

A new series of keyboard concerts for the 1965-1966 year began with a superb piano recital by Walter Hilse on Thursday evening, November 18 in Wollman Auditorium. The next in the series will feature pianist Gordana Lazarevich on February 10, 1966.

The program opened with Bach's "Capriccio on the Departure of a Beloved Brother." It was immediately apparent that Mr. Hilse has an amazing ability to communicate to others his keen musical perception and understanding. Clarity of lines was brought out by his astounding technique. Especially beautiful was the third section of the piece, the "lament," in which a great sense of proportion and control was evident. The piece closed with a rousing fugue imitating the post-horn, which confirmed the brother's departure.

Schubert's "Sonata in B Major" followed. This is a difficult piece to play in every way. Thematic sectionalization of tonalities remote from the original key center presents difficulties in musical analysis. A most thoughtful and controlled performance was again presented. Mr. Hilse conveyed all the Schubertian qualities of the piece. The unsophisticated, boyish rhythmic lilt is hard to achieve and it is rare that one hears it brought out so well as it was in the Scherzo. The Andante embodied

all the melodic poignancy of the mature Schubert.

The often-neglected "Variations on an Original Theme" of Brahms was the third composition. It too was played with a characteristic clarity, but one felt at times that the playing was too controlled, too "earthbound." The climactic double-forte octave passages sounded forced at times, as if the tone were at its loudest too soon and did not arrive there naturally.

One sympathized with Mr. Hilse's having to perform on so poor an instrument. The bass register did not come through very much throughout the concert. However, Mr. Hilse's fine tonal perception compensated for the instrument and acoustics. The concert was so good, one felt it was a privilege to be in the audience.

The Sonata in A Major, opus 101 of Beethoven followed. It too presents structural problems and these were handled well. The first movement was treated with much lyricism. The second movement, the march, was a great contrast and was played with a dazzling brilliance which generated much excitement. The fugue in the last movement, a veritable masterpiece, was wonderful, but at times one felt as if there were some loss of control. Mr. Hilse did not seem utter master of the music as he had for the most part previously.

Barnard Bulletin

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Larson Letter . . .

(Continued from Page 2)

body of published opposition or she thinks that, somehow, by adding together the different voices of (a random list, this) Morse, Farmer, Fulbright, Norman Mailer, Harold Taylor, Robert Lowell, Norman Thomas, James Reston, Alexander Calder, plus—why not? — Simone de Beauvoir and Dr. Spock, one gets the voice of Joan Baez. (Miss Baez' suggestion: "You must listen to your own heart and do what it dictates. Because your heart is the only thing which can tell you what is right and what is wrong." True, they are both on the side of the angels, but does that sound like Hans Morgenthau?)

Your writer wants "concrete suggestion about how going home [from Vietnam] is to be achieved." She can find them in any responsible daily newspaper. If the brief reports or scornful dismissals of, say, the **Oakland Tribune** should arouse her curiosity, she can find more detailed discussions of the same proposals in a number of familiar periodicals available at any newsstand. If still dissatisfied by the absence of "concrete" and "positive" suggestions from the opposition, she might (after a brief review of the firm, full and candid statements of the administration) consult more specialized or more partisan publications (say, **San World**, **I. F. Stone**, **Viet Report**, **Minority of One**, etc.). Still unsatisfied, she might try more library work or writing to an interested organization for further bibliographical information (**The Universities Committee on the Problems of War and Peace**, Detroit, Michigan, is one such source).

The proposals that are to be found in opposition sources are various. Some call for minor changes of policy — cessation of bombing of North Vietnam for something more than that absurd five days — say, a month or six weeks — or cessation of US troop and air build-up in South Viet-

nam for some similar period, expression of willingness on the part of the US to negotiate with NLF [National Liberation Front —ed.], Johnson's calling for an extraordinary meeting of the UN General Assembly, etc.

Any or all of these proposals would be a marked improvement over present policy, but they are all stop-gap and none has, I think, any great chance of advancing anyone's interests unless the US government is prepared to reverse itself on the fundamental question of the status of the South Vietnamese "government". What is required is a genuine willingness on the part of our government (which we can, I suppose, count upon to be as little sentimental about Marshall Ky, when the chips are down, as it was about Diem — Madame Nhu did have a point, however unbecoming it was for her to speak of injustice) — a genuine willingness on the part of our government to return to the principles of the Geneva Agreements of 1954. Those Agreements would allow the people of Vietnam to determine their own future without the intervention of the US or any other foreign power. It seems to be assumed on all sides that a return to the Agreements would mean unification of Vietnam under the domination of Hanoi. But is that not preferable to continuation of the war?

Lest I be confused with Professor Genovese, let me point out that I certainly would not welcome a victory on the part of the Viet Cong — I think that the worst possible outcome for everyone. What seems desirable to me is not unification in spite of US efforts to prevent it, but unification with the approval of the US. It is apparent that Vietnamese leaders (North, South and neutral) want unification. Marshall Ky's announced war aim (cf. **NY Times**, Nov. 12, 1965) is not that of the US — viz., preservation of the independence of South Vietnam — his war aim is to get rid of all Communists, north, south or on the 17th parallel. (Ky has also recently

re-affirmed his absolute unwillingness to negotiate with Hanoi —NB: not just NLF — under any circumstances. How realistic are the "realpolitikers" in Washington? They, so they say, aim to bring about negotiations in a war which could have reached the negotiations stage (cf. **NY Times** or any televation set on Nov. 17 and 18, 1965, for governmental admission of this fact, vainly cited by the opposition for many months now), a war which could have reached the negotiation stage before we entered it in full force, but which is such that neither side can have any reason to negotiate as long as the US has taken over the show. Is this an example of clear and positive thinking?)

Our choice is between continuing this war which cannot be won short of destroying the entire population of South Vietnam (and though we have the power to do that, it is doubtful that we have the will, and had we the will, it is doubtful that the rest of the world would let us exercise it) and allowing a state of affairs in which it is likely that Ho Chi Minh will dominate a unified Vietnam.

The second alternative is preferable for a number of reasons. I shall mention a few of them and try to relieve some familiar sources of public doubt.

(1) It is impossible to defend today a view which was perhaps sound 10 or 15 years ago, viz., that Communism is a monolithic enemy representing absolute evil and hence any success of any Communist anywhere is contrary

to our interests and evil, too. There are many varieties of Communism today, not all of them evil. We find it possible to get along with some Communist governments and very much in our interests to see the Communist world split into factions which serve to check and control each other. The only serious question in the present case concerns the particular character of Vietnamese Communism.

(2) Ho Chi Minh is by no means "a lackey of the Chinese Communists." Both the character of Ho and the long history of Vietnamese-Chinese relations make it highly implausible to suppose that Vietnam would, under Ho, become a Chinese satellite. I agree with Morgenthau that Ho is a natural candidate for a Southeast Asian Tito and that it is in the interests of Vietnam, the USSR and the US to create a situation in which there is a new balance of power in South-

east Asia. An independent Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh would constitute a far superior check on the extension of Chinese power than would the presence of American troops in an artificially sustained South Vietnam.

(3) Nor need we fear that the US would, in allowing this development, prove itself a "paper tiger" and cause our allies to lose confidence in our treaties and agreements. In the first place, Americans have generally misunderstood the meaning of Mao's phrase (cf., e.g., D. S. Zagoria, "China's Strategy" in the current issue of **Commentary**). What Mao means was not that the US was weak and cowardly, reluctant to respond to challenge, but that in the long run, the US could be worn down and overcome. A well reasoned withdrawal from Vietnam would not tend to substantiate Mao's thesis, nor need (See **LARSON LETTER**, Page 4)

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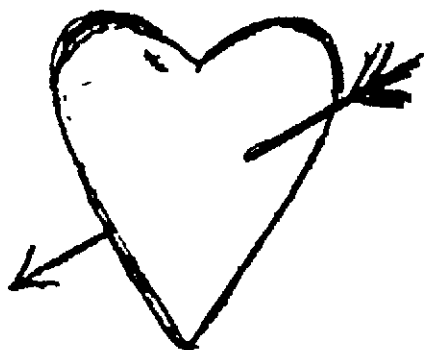
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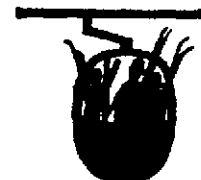
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Larson Letter . . .

(Continued from Page 3)

it mean either loss of face or loss of diplomatic power. De-Gaulle provides the most instructive example here. His settlement of the Algerian war was retreat and it involved admission of far more drastic and consequential mistakes and failures in French policy than the wildest critic could find in current US policy in Vietnam. But it was also the first step in France's impressive recovery of international power and authority. Too many Americans think that because Khrushchev backed down when Kennedy stood firm in the Cuban missile crises, all crises can be resolved in our favor if we are but firm. A foolish view. What our national interest requires in Vietnam is not a prolongation of this senseless, hopeless and immoral adventure, but a retrenchment along more realistic lines.

(4) The "commitments" which we have to the South Vietnamese "government" are not to be compared in their legal or moral status to the commitments which we have to sovereign governments in Southeast Asia and elsewhere. They are nothing but "agreements" with ourselves. Diem was discovered in the US by the CIA, his government established and maintained by the US. When it appeared that, contrary to the repeated predictions of the US military advisers in Vietnam, Diem was unable to win the war or even keep from losing it; when it appeared that in spite of massive US aid, Diem was unable to generate popular support and totally unable to control the anti-war sentiment within South Vietnam, the US consented to Diem's fall. We have since dealt with a succession of absurd and unsavory "governments" which no longer even pretend to represent the people and which Washington no longer pretends to take seriously.

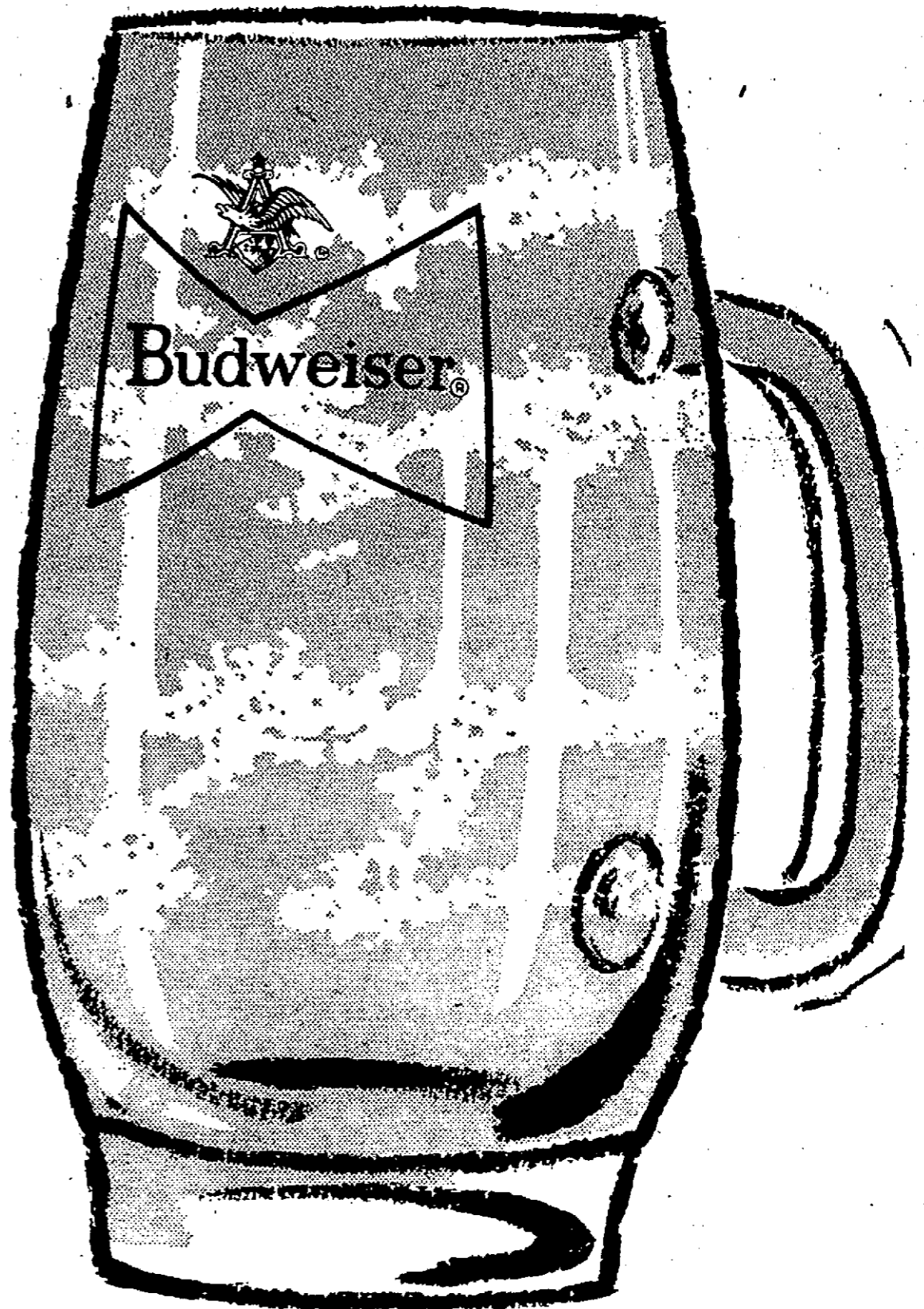
(5) It is at best double-talk to say that we have a moral obligation to continue the war in order to defend the freedom of the South Vietnamese people. It is extremely doubtful that the South Vietnamese people have a

political system worth preserving. It is certain that we do not discharge our moral obligations to the Vietnamese people by bombing their villages and destroying their means of livelihood —yet there is no other way (so the military experts tell us) of waging war against a guerilla army. It should be noted that a guerilla army, the size of, the Viet Cong, and in control of three quarters of the territory of South Vietnam, could not have continued its operations for so many years without wide spread support from the people. The US is going to have a hard time indeed destroying this force. Remember that just last week Washington announced that in spite of greatly increased casualties, the Viet Cong forces had increased in number (this fact is quite independent of the increase in the number of North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam).

(6) There can, of course, be no thought of the withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam without the guarantee of a general amnesty. The innocent people whom we have encouraged and goaded into this war have already suffered more than their share and their safety must be assured. The question of how such assurance is to be attained is a matter for negotiations. Here again concrete and positive suggestions have been made by people whose opinion should carry weight — e.g., L. B. Sohn, Professor of International Law at Harvard.

This letter does not propose to provide a complete analysis of the Vietnamese crisis. I suggest, however, that the struggles of those "moral and ethical" people who find themselves "caught in the middle" between extremes which, if occupied at all, are occupied by careless thinkers, will be aided by a consideration of at least some of the serious proposals which have been made and widely publicized for many months now. Certainly any responsible commentator on the Vietnamese situation must take the trouble to read the proposals that are available.

Sue Larson
Associate Professor of
Philosophy



how did
this
happen?

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