

Roy Innis:

Racism And The First Amendment

On Thursday of last week, at the request of SICC President William Birenbaum, Roy Innis, executive director of CORE, appeared on campus to speak on the topic of "Shockley and Racism."

After introducing Innis to the audience, Birenbaum started off the discussion by asking the following "lead" question.

"You have agreed to meet Shockley face to face at Princeton on December 4th. My question to you is, why are you doing that?"

Innis answered in the following manner:

"If you look at the First Amendment, its mystique and historical function in American Society, you can see that this is possibly the most critical of the early legislation put together by the people who started this country. Although I don't agree with everything they did, they were pretty hip to understand the importance of the first Amendment, free speech.

The question comes up, if you try to abridge the First, who will be the abridger. Will it be you this time, and the next time will it be the John Birch Society, or next will it be Eastland, or Faubus, or any of the more current breed of the overt, open racist? Who's going to determine the censoring next time?"

For the blacks, we need to understand that we have got a lot of problems with the American Constitution. It has jammed us. It has defined us as less than men. But we need to take issue with those parts that affect us, and we need to be honest enough to praise those parts that we can maximize.

I was a student at City College not too many years ago — I used to be a young man once — and possibly the most disgraceful episode of my education at City College was when the shoe was on the other foot. It was the communists, you know, the progressive people, people with different ideas who were

being banned, not a racist like Shockley.

A man named Dr. Wilkinson, a very bright fellow — he was supposed to debate the president of the college, and a professor from the History Department, and one from Political Science. And I said good. It was my first chance to see "pros" deal with this communist. I wanted to see who would come out on top.

One week before the debate a furor arose. The president chickened out. The professors chickened out. And the excuse was that they would not be seen debating on the same stand with a communist.

It was pretty dumb and I'll tell you why. Assuming that my mind was empty, neutral, wide open on that subject and being a kid from Harlem, a so-called ghetto, it's a very good chance on that subject I could have had an open mind. I didn't have all the facts on the case on either side. They tried to cancel. And this thing affected me so deeply. And it affected my education, terribly. I was unable to really have respect for my college.

They tried to block Wilkinson and they couldn't. It was too embarrassing for them. And they were forced to let him come because the Marxist Discussion Club refused to go along and cancel that debate. So Wilkinson was coming and the only substitute for the professors and the college president was a kid from Brooklyn College who was a former member of the communist party who was kicked out. Now this student comes in here to debate this very sophisticated professor. Let me assure you, Dr. Wilkinson was one of the smartest men in this country, one of the smoothest debaters you'll ever hear. And let me assure you Wilkinson

trounced this kid. He gave him some whipping, intellectually.

The danger was, right or wrong... I'm not going to determine whether Wilkinson's philosophy was right or wrong... but I want to tell you that if for one moment you had an audience that could be swayed, then Wilkinson would have converted every one of them, all right, and that's what happens when you play around with the delicate mechanism of the First Amendment.

And black folks gotta understand that — that we are on the firing line on this one. You got these dudes like Shockley, you got Jensen, and you got another fella named Herrstein. And this is one of the most modern variety of these dudes. They have had them before. Every generation there are a bunch of them... going all the way back... listen to those German Anthropologists.

Let me tell you this, that people believe these guys in two ways — they believe them openly and consciously, or they believe them quietly, subliminally, covertly — but they do believe them. And let me tell you, I will take Shockley, Jensen and these guys any day of the week and twice on Sundays. I believe that at least if it's on the table, I can deal with it. I got confidence in myself and my folks to deal with it.

It's the other folks who don't want this debate. Some of our friends. Let me divide them into two categories: Here you got some nice folks, some decent people, who, up in Harlem for instance, didn't want this debate because they honestly have a revulsion against Shockley and these types of people. They don't have respect for them intellectually. I think they're wrong. I think they're making a very serious mistake.

You have others who are very dishonest. They have their own doubts

about the humanity of black folks. But they are missionaries. You see, they are Albert Schweitzer types. They suffer from what I call the Schweitzer syndrome, the missionary syndrome.

You see, Schweitzer would want to protect us. He would devote his whole life and sacrifice his whole career to protect us from the lion. He would hide us away from the lion. But he wouldn't give us a gun or spear to get the lion.

Well, there are two ways of dealing with the lion — you can hide or face him as a man. And we demand — black folks demand, this year — to face our own detractors and our enemies as men, and not to hide like sniveling cowards behind the coattails of our Marxist friends.

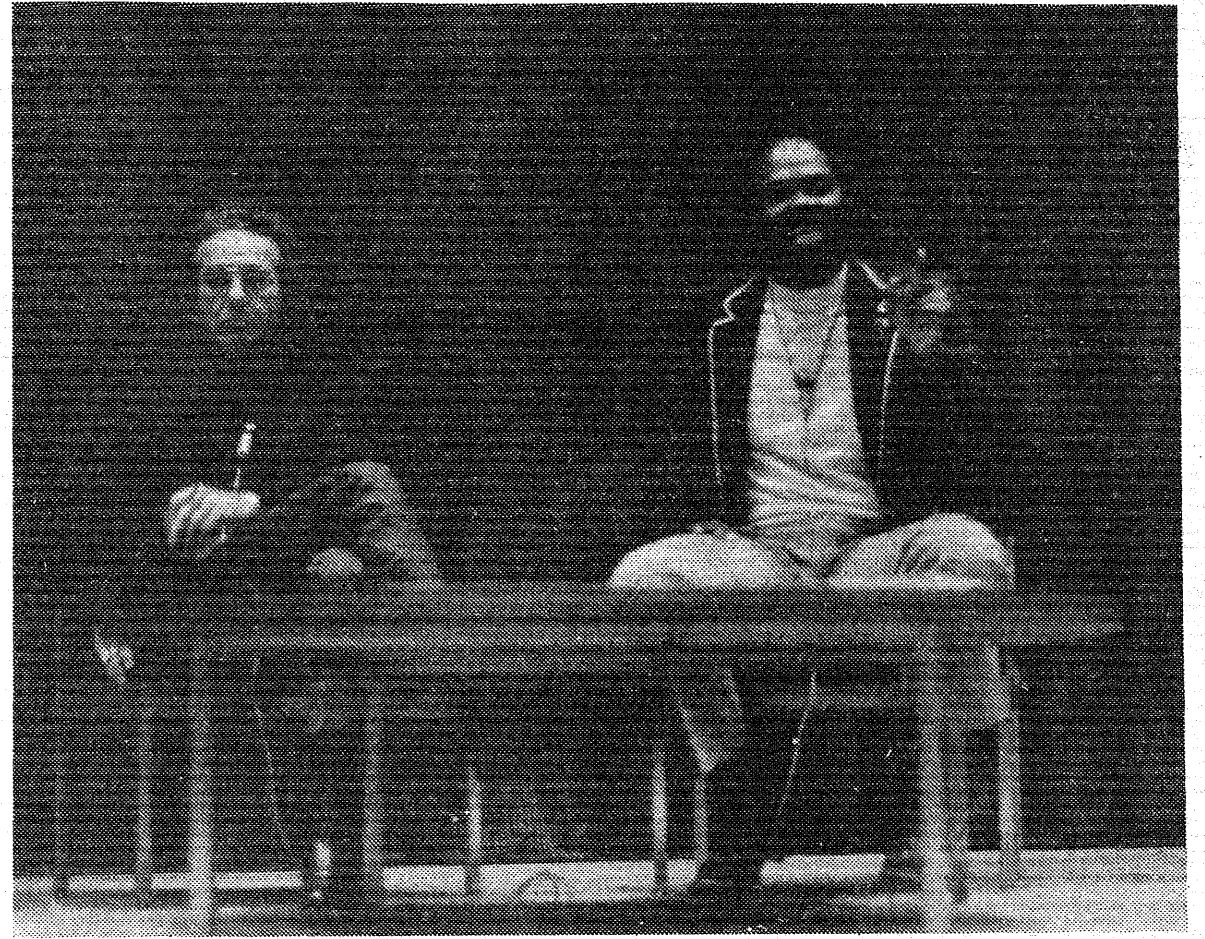
That's why I decided to take Shockley on up at Harvard. I wanted a very prestigious forum. I wanted to whop that dude publicly. I wanted to leave him as intellectually dead as a duck in a frozen pond.

You know why, because it's important first of all for black people. We got to show young black people that there are black men someplace who can stand up to any white man on any set of terms and defeat him in battle.

And secondly, it's important for my white friends. Many of them who mean well, but who might have some serious reservations about me, and don't want to see me hurt.

One last little tid-bit. I had a buddy of mine. I used to be in medical research before coming to CORE. This buddy of mine was from one of those fancy Ivy League schools, a very nice kid, from up in Westchester. And we hung around, etc. And this was back in the late fifties, early sixties. And this fellow named Coons published some book from North Carolina Press, the University of North Carolina, stating that black folks, our progenitors, came out of the tree 200,000 years after your progenitors came out of the tree.

Now it didn't bother me because I said to myself: "Man, you guys are slow. You guys had a 200,000 year head



start and you did... I can't use the uptown word for it... I mean you guys haven't done very much in that time."

But my buddy was very concerned and I said, "Look, this guy should be debated. He should not be censored." He had to be dealt with, not because he published his thesis — you can take issue with that if you want to — but because he was intellectually irresponsible not to realize how it would be used by the racists in the United States Congress.

But my buddy was very much against this guy being heard, and when I kept insisting, he said to me: "Are you really certain you want to debate that discussion?" And I said, "Yes." And he said to me: "You might lose."

Now, understand what he's saying.

My buddy — he's a good kid, no one can call him a racist. He's not a conscious racist, an overt racist. But he said to me that we might lose. What he was saying to me was, "Man, I dig you too much to want you to lose. I don't want you to be inferior to me, even though I might, deep down inside of me — dig deep enough — believe it."

What I said to him was that that kind of concern for my interest was detrimental to me, and that if he is my friend he would never stand in the way of me defending myself.

So I want you to consider that first of all — from the point of view of whites. Today you censor Shockley, tomorrow Shockley and his type do the censoring. And they are in control in this country in general. Understand that. Shockley has access to the U.S. Congress.

Shockley offered to debate me in Congress. He said: "I can get you any committee room and get you an audience of congressmen to hear this debate. I can't offer him a debate in Congress, which means that Shockley has the ear of these guys."

So whether Shockley talks to you or not, he's going to talk to the guys who make the decisions in this country. So we'd better talk to him here, so that some of it can get back to the congressmen and all those folks with the ovens for blacks and all those folks with the concentration camps and the "disgenic" machinery. Let us talk with Shockley any place we can talk with him because he's not really that good. He might be good in transistor physics, but he is not really a geneticist. He's not a psychologist. He's not an expert."

Statement of the Progressive Labor Party

Q. How far will Birenbaum go to allow a platform for racism? Around school recently, you see administrators scurrying around putting up posters of the First Amendment, posters announcing Roy Innis, William Douglas, and William Birenbaum speaking on the First Amendment, and distributing letters to different clubs and members of Student Government asking them to meet with city officials to discuss Shockley's right to speak. Last Thursday, Birenbaum cancelled classes and gave staff one hour off to listen to a 25-minute talk by Innis (followed by a closed one hour talk to black students, faculty, and staff which included a slanderous attack on the Progressive Labor Party for organizing to stop Shockley.) A woman who defended PL was shut up by Innis. Watching Birenbaum and Innis being super buddy-buddy on stage was nauseating, but one must consider that Kennedy-man Birenbaum and Ford Foundation-supported Innis have a lot in common. Both are pimps for the ruling class and both reap the benefits of racism. For example, CORE received \$175,000 from the Ford Foundation after Innis said that LBJ and Nixon could be friends to black people and that Uganda's fascist head Amin should be an honorary member of CORE after expelling 40,000 Asians from Uganda and saying that Hitler had the right idea. Birenbaum, on the same hand, paves the way for Shockley to speak.

Editorials supporting Shockley's right to speak have found their way onto the pages of the N.Y. Slime—the mouthpiece of US capitalism. If the bosses support Shockley's right to speak, shouldn't we at least think twice about it?

Q. Why racism? The ruling class reaps in billions of dollars in profits from racism—through wage differentials, higher employment among blacks, cutbacks, etc. Theoreticians like Shockley lend academic respectability to these attacks and provide the justifications for them.

Racism only benefits the rich—and not the black, latin, or white workers or students. For example, the rulers' mouthpiece in Newark, Tony Imperiale, is trying to divide whites and blacks to prevent the lowest housing project Kawaida is

Towers. It's in the interest of whites to break with Imperiale and for blacks to break with the Metropolitan Life-supported landlord Baraka, and to join together to fight racism in order for the housing project to be built. Clearly racism only benefits the rich.

Q. What can we do? Racism certainly doesn't end at SICC with Shockley. For example, the textbook Psychology and Life used here says that blacks are BOTH genetically and culturally "inferior" and a possible solution is sterilization (sound familiar?). The Progressive Labor Party feels that we need to organize a fighting anti-racist movement of blacks, latins, and whites that will stop government backed racists and racist practices that will ultimately lead to a fight for socialism—where workers and students will run things in our own interests and the ruling class will be pushing up daisies instead of pushing racism. Let's join together to stop Shockley and to carry this anti-racist momentum to fight racism in our own backyard.

WE DEMAND EQUAL TIME ... Break the President's Monopoly ...

A central issue in the Shockley question has become whether the President can use his power of position to present his own view and only his own view in a campaign which has known no limits. He has:

- 1. Mobilized powerful figures to present his view;
2. Unilaterally cancelled classes and all other campus activities for this purpose;
3. Instructed administrators, chairpersons and program directors to confront each staff member with a petition in support of his position;
4. Required all AID center members to "counsel" students and faculty to "implement the law";
5. Pre-empted the total resources of the college to duplicate and circulate propaganda supporting his position at the expense of teachers and students carrying on the academic functions of the college.

This monopolizing of information and channels of communication makes a mockery of the First Amendment. Thus have those in power always hidden behind the mask of Free Speech while denying a voice to the powerless.

We radicals have often been accused of being outside agitators. In fact, President Birenbaum has called on his own outside agitators in order to divide black students from white students, so that his power could remain inviolate.

This campaign did not begin until President Birenbaum sensed his position was weakening on campus. The movement to stop Shockley had won the support of the following campus organizations:

- Day Session Student Senate
Evening Session Student Council
Black Student Union
Puerto Rican Organization
Student Womens Group
Faculty Womens Coalition
Student-Parent Cooperative
Advocacy, Interaction and Develop-

ment Center ... and others

President Birenbaum's surprise weapon was a media figure who was previously unavailable to a student group unless it produced \$3000. How did Pres. Birenbaum get Roy Innis so quickly? Did any money change hands? We demand a full disclosure.

Not since the gloomy days of Joseph McCarthy has a campus in NYC been subjected to the kind of red-baiting played in this campaign. The core of the protest against Shockley has been identified as a "handful of Marxists" throughout the President's propaganda offensive. Omitting the dozens of organizations and thousands of individuals who have constituted the Stop Shockley movement.

WE DEMAND

- 1. Use of the auditorium on Monday, Nov. 19 at 4 p.m. to present the other side of the Shockley Birenbaum question;
2. Cancellation of classes and other campus activity for this purpose as was the case for the President's presentation;
3. Equal access to the reproduction and distribution mechanisms on campus in order to publicize this event.

SICC MAYDAY COMMITTEE

ED. NOTE:

DUE TO THE TIMING OF THIS SPECIAL EDITION, THE REGULARLY SCHEDULED NEWS FERRY (NOVEMBER 27) WILL BE PUBLISHED LATE IN THE WEEK OF NOVEMBER 26, OR EARLY THE WEEK FOLLOWING.

Free Speech for Shockley?

Staten Island Community College Community Against Racism Committee is an ad hoc multi-cultural committee, established by resolution of the Day Session Student Senate, made up of organizations and individuals on campus who are committed to preventing William Shockley or anyone else from perpetuating racism at SICC. You can find us at our table or in C-132. Join us!

Much of the debate regarding the President's invitation to William Shockley to speak on campus has centered around the doctrine of Free Speech. In the conviction that freedom of speech needs to be examined critically, in its social and historical context, lest it degenerate to the level of myth and slogan, this pamphlet was written.

... The best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market.

—Oliver Wendell Holmes (Dissent in Abrams v. U.S.)

The "marketplace of ideas" is brought into nearly every argument for allowing the admittedly repugnant views of William Shockley to be given a public platform. Unfortunately, though, we rarely, if ever, encounter such a marketplace in everyday life. The institutions in the United States which shape public opinion are themselves the most glaring examples of monopoly where a few corporate giants control book and magazine publishing, the daily press and, most importantly, the mass media.

Education has historically served this ruling class, from kindergarten's indoctrination in following orders, to high school's distortion of history, to the production of workers in the community colleges and of apologists in the graduate schools. In fact, with minor exceptions which actually prove the rule, there is not a marketplace, but a monopoly of ideas in this country. And those ideas are the ideas of the ruling class.

On the subject of racial differences (which is Shockley's topic, however it is dressed up), the official ideology has remained basically the same for four hundred years: "People of color are inferior." This view was held personally by the most revered figures in American history, including Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. It is perpetuated daily by those presently in power. More importantly, though, the infection of racism pervades every institution of American life: law, housing, education, economy, health care, mass culture. It is reflected everywhere, from unemployment rates

to ghetto schools to television commercials.

WILLIAM SHOCKLEY IS NO DISSENTER. His message is, in fact, that of the monopolists. We should remember, too, that he was not invited to speak by some student group; he was invited by the President of the College. Freedom of thought and discussion can only be created by breaking the monopoly, by destroying it, not by allowing it to hide in some fictional "marketplace of ideas."

Another classical defense of Shockley's right to a platform is the uncertainty of knowledge:

... On every subject on which difference of opinion is possible, the truth depends on a balance to be struck between two sets of conflicting reasons

— John Stuart Mill, On Liberty

We accept no such definition of truth. Where the truth has not been discovered, the widest possible latitude must be given to those who seek it. Where it is known, though, opinions and practices which contradict it are simply falsehoods. Where such lies are propagated in the special interest of those in power, they must be struggled against in the name of humanity.

What is the truth about human potential? It is our ability to determine our own destiny, to plan our own future, to make our own history. This holds true regardless of physical characteristics, and is accepted by anyone who claims to be a humanist. Ideologies which dispute this fact are not dissenting opinions; they are lies! They testify falsely to the very nature of humanity.

When societies and governments engage in practices which hold back this potential, when they oppress, exploit or otherwise prevent self-determination, they act in contradiction with the very essence of humanity. Not only their words, but their actions are lies.

The truth is restored to history by expanding people's options, by struggling against exploitation, by fighting racism. This is not inconsistent with the motto of the State University of New York: "Let Each Become All He Is

Capable of Being." It is, in effect, the proclaimed mission of this college. Yet, the President of the College, who subscribes to a belief in racial equality and is reputed to implement this belief through programs which facilitate the realization of human potential, invites here a pseudo-scientist whose thesis is the limited potential of Third World people. Is this not a contradiction? Moreover, isn't Shockley's presence itself an interference with the mission of this college?

Still, argue some, ideas are pretty harmless things. It isn't like Shockley was personally going around sterilizing black people, they say. We say that ideas have consequences, that the separation of thought from action is a device designed to protect the rulers' interests.

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3 Scientists to Debate Shockley

Three members of America's scientific community will be lined up in opposition to Nobel Prize winner William Shockley when he appears Tuesday, November 20, at Staten Island Community College to present his embattled theory that intelligence is linked with racial gene differences.

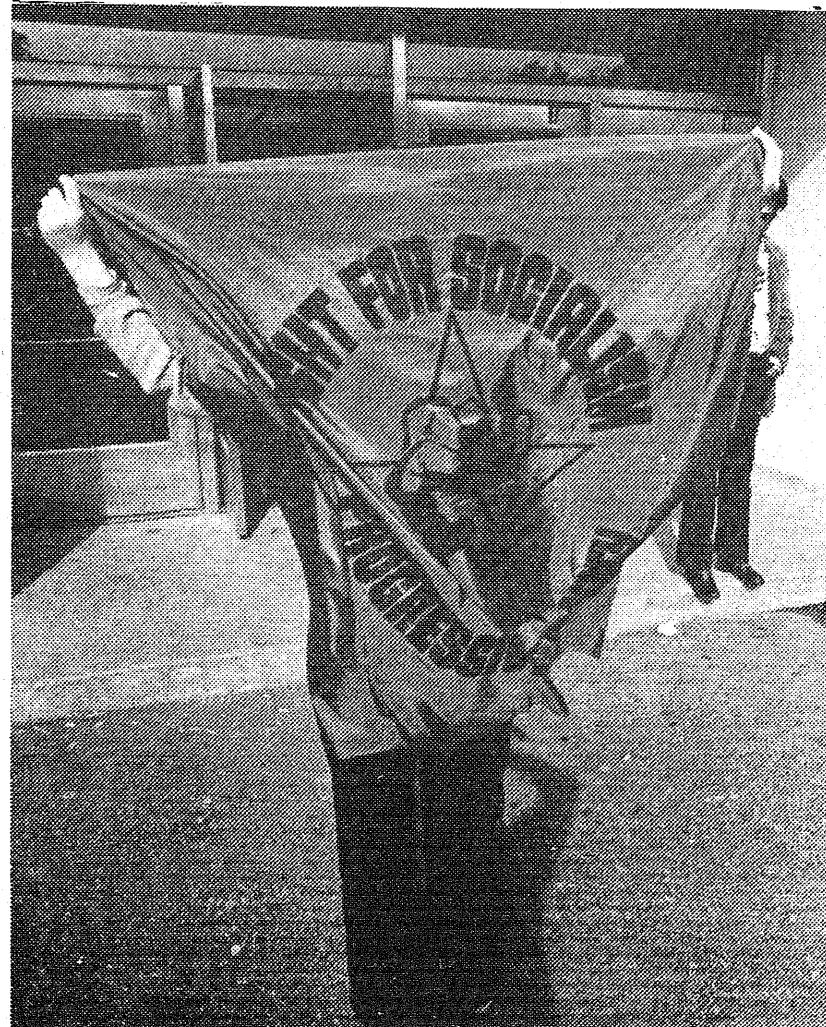
Dr. Shockley, Nobel laureate for his work in developing the transistor, will be at the college in one of the Presidential Seminars arranged by Dr. William M. Birenbaum, president of SICC. In presenting his controversial views on his new field of interest, genetics, Dr. Shockley will face rebuttal from a panel of three who will share the platform with him. They are:

Dr. Thomas G. Bever, professor of psychology at Columbia University, who spelled out some of his opposing views last Sunday night (November 11) in a confrontation with Dr. Richard Herrstein of Harvard on William Buckley's "Firing Line" TV program.

Dr. Marc Lappe, a geneticist on the staff of the Institute of Society, Ethics and Life Sciences at Hastings-on-Hudson.

Dr. Frances E. Welsing, psychiatrist, assistant professor of pediatrics at the Howard University College of Medicine, and author of "The Cross Theory of Color Confrontation."

At the 8:00 P.M. SICC seminar, to which admission will be by ticket only, each of the participants is expected to speak for 20 to 30 minutes, with a question-and-answer period following the panelists' presentations.



Eleanor Holmes Norton: Human Rights Comm. Confers With Students

NYC Commissioner of Human Rights met with six students actively involved in the Shockley controversy last week to, as one student put it, "hear how students feel about the Shockley controversy."

According to Martin Black, AID Director and one of three staff members assigned to convey the Commissioner's invitation to a cross-section of students, Holmes called SICC President William M. Birenbaum based on reports she had received of potential disruption over the Shockley invitation to the President's Seminar series.

Although clarifying that he knew nothing of the talk itself, it was held in closed session with students only, he was responsible, along with Dean Henry Harris and Presidential Assistant, Ernesto Loperena, for reaching interested students and providing college transportation to and from the meeting.

According to Black, representatives of the Day Session Student Government, Evening Session Student Government, Black Student Union, Puerto Rican Organization, Student Women's Coalition and Ad Hoc Committee for Preservation of Free Speech were notified and asked to respond.

Holmes had invited a group of 15 to 20 students, however, only six responded. Though Black declined to name the students who refused the invitation, he listed the attendants as Leona Sanders (Chairperson, DSG), Anne Shraml (Secy. ESG), Orchid Johnson (Pres. BSU), Walter Gholsen (editor, Black Press) and Glenda Ernst (representative of the student Women's Coalition).

Due to the short timing involved, News Ferry was only able to reach Leona Sanders and Orchid Johnson. Both declined to comment at this time. However, Dagmar Wiley did consent to release her written commentary on the meeting (sent as a memo to President Birenbaum). Following is the full text of the Wiley memo (dated November 15, 1973):

Commissioner Norton invited only students, because she wanted to hear how students feel about the Shockley controversy. We, the students agreed, that this has turned into a very emotional issue, but not into a black-white confrontation.

All other than myself said that the time to invite Dr. Shockley was not right, and felt that it would have been better to invite Bobby Seale first.

There was some talk about manipulation, about which I cannot talk one way or another, because I am not familiar with how this College is run, where funds come from, how they are distributed and so on.

Commissioner Norton asked, what our personal stand in this was, and the answers ranged from interest in the welfare of the students to the issue of freedom of speech.

After some discussion of the interests of the different groups, we concluded, that the faction, responsible for the present unrest is the Progressive Labor Party, none of whose members to our knowledge, are black.

Commissioner Norton pointed out, that Dr. Shockley's safety was not the College's responsibility only, but also the city's, and that certain precautions had to be taken. The suggestion of plain-clothed policemen was dismissed, because some students felt, that they would be recognized too easy. To have the campus swamped with the police force would also not be wise, because it would invite open confrontation of students with the police. Ms. Norton also pointed out, that on many occasions, when violence had been expected, nothing happened. The students agreed, that it would be best to call the police only if absolutely necessary.

One suggestion by a student was, to give the responsibility for the safety of all present next Tuesday to the Progressive Labor Party.

It was also expressed that many students did not come to this meeting, because they had been advised that

Commissioner Norton would only try to persuade them to support freedom of speech.

Mrs. Norton left her post as assistant legal director for the American Civil Liberties Union to join the Lindsay Administration as City Commissioner on Human Rights in April, 1970. She is a 1960 graduate of Antioch College, received a masters degree (1963) and law degree (1964) from Yale University. After her graduation from Yale she served for a year as a law clerk for Federal District Judge A. Leon Higginbotham.

Since 1965 she has been a member of the staff of the American Civil Liberties Union. As part of her duties at the ACLU she has been involved in a wide variety of cases. In early 1968 she defended George Wallace's right to use Shea Stadium for a political rally; more recently she has been active as counsel for women employees of Newsweek Magazine who have brought charges of job discrimination.

As part of her many private and civic activities, Mrs. Norton holds positions as vice president of the Studio Museum in Harlem and membership on the board of directors of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the Workers Defense League and Antioch College.

She served on the National Staff of the March on Washington in 1963; on the Mississippi staff of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee during the summer of 1963; as counsel for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and as a volunteer lawyer for the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee in Mississippi in 1966.

She has published articles in The Nation, Dissent and various professional journals and has taught at New Haven College and Pratt Institute. She was awarded an honorary doctor of laws by Cedar Crest College in 1969.

The Day Session Student Senate

October 31, 1973

THE DAY SESSION STUDENT SENATE, COGNIZANT THAT: William Shockley, a physicist, is scheduled to appear on the campus of S.I.C.C. on November 21, 1973, in the auditorium, to either deliver a speech, or enter into a 'debate' with a prominent figure of stature.

AWARE THAT: this man professes an ideology that IQ test can measure intelligence, that the results of these IQ tests prove that racial minorities are mentally inferior, that this inferiority is due to inheritable traits through the genes, that in light of this, racial minorities and some poor whites should be subjected, by the government, to sterilization, infanticide, and seclusion from the "gene pool", or intermarriage.

HORRIFIED THAT: examples of this plan are being implemented already by several state governments and by the federal government.

CONCERNED THAT: there is an appearance, as if by the iron will of unbeatable finality, that there is no way to stop this man from coming, that students, faculty, staff, and all concerned persons are impotent to stop this man from coming, to struggle in their own defense, to ever lift a hand to strike a blow at what they know to be oppressive.

RECALLING THAT: the argument for William Shockley's appearance here is supposedly the freedom of speech, but understanding, in the opinions of the Supreme Court, the freedom of speech can only be exercised in a free market place of ideas.

FIRMLY BELIEVING THAT: a university should be a place where people can gather without distinctions of administrators, faculty, students, to learn, through authentic dialogue with others, in a world of ideas and actions that must either be struggled for or against.

INFORMED THAT: with daily increasing velocity and strength, the students, faculty, staff, and other concerned persons are militantly outraged at the thought that William

Shockley is coming to S.I.C.C. to disseminate the age-old racist ideas of white supremacy.

THOROUGHLY AMAZED THAT: S.I.C.C., as an institution which purports to strive to emphasize the importance of all students to aspire to the highest educational goals regardless of race, class, or sex, is being used as a forum, which confers "sanctity" on the speaker, for William Shockley to address a large portion of the population of S.I.C.C., the racial minorities, to tell them that they are mentally inferior! A clear contradiction of the purposes of what the college professes to do, never mind what it should do; therefore,

DECLARES THAT: Once and for all, this institution is a monopoly of ruling ideas, and the ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling class, therefore precluding the practice of free speech, and recalling the theories and practices of Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany, and their rebirth in William Shockley, echoes the words of Karl Marx, "Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice. He forgot to add: The first time as tragedy, the second as farce." Hitler was the tragedy, if we let Shockley speak, it will be the farce; hereby,

PROCLAIMS THAT: William Shockley should be stopped from speaking, 'debating', or otherwise propagating such debasing, infuriating, and utterly false theories, on this campus, and, in the pursuit of this objective,

RESOLVES THAT: a committee of volunteer students, faculty, staff, organizations, and any interested parties, be formed, to coordinate strategies to implement the above proclamation, the chairperson of which shall be elected by the Senate, immediately, and

FURTHER RESOLVES THAT: monies n.t.e. \$200.00 be allocated for the use of this committee at its discretion.

Joe D. Hamill
Dino Lagravinese
Helen Bracy
Thomas Nugent
Ed. Jagacki
Chris Johansen

Office of the President...

The recent Student Senate "proclamation" urging no free speech for Dr. Shockley at SICC bespeaks of an urgency about the issue on our campus.

It was in recognition of that spirit of urgency that I asked for the advice of the Senate about how it would now propose to restrict free speech and publication policy on this campus on November 8, 1973.

I am astonished that you have not responded in any manner.

I am also amazed, given the importance your "proclamation" attaches to the question, that:

a. The Senate has not taken adequate steps to post the proclamation;

b. The Senate has taken no steps to convene those to whom it is responsible through meetings of the Constituent Groups;

c. The Senate has not implemented the referendum provisions of its own constitution.

These puzzling omissions do not reflect positively upon the Senate's respect for the people whom it purports to represent or upon its ability to govern.

William M. Birenbaum
November 15, 1973

RESOLUTION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE UNIVERSITY FACULTY SENATE

November 13, 1973

WHEREAS: The Staten Island Community College Association has approved and scheduled a "conversation" debate between Professor William Shockley and Dr. Mark Lappe, Dr. Thomas Bever, and Dr. Frances Weisprung for Tuesday, November 20, 1973; and

WHEREAS: The faculties of the City University are committed to the principle of academic freedom and the right of all persons to express their opinions openly and without fear or threat of intimidation; and

WHEREAS: It is essential that the University not be prevented from providing an open forum for the free exchange of all ideas and opinions;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That, the Executive Committee of the University Faculty Senate fully supports the right of Messrs. Shockley, Lappe, Bever, and Weisprung to speak at Staten Island Community College; and

FURTHER; That, the Executive Committee of the University Faculty Senate commends President William Birenbaum of Staten Island Community College for his determination to insure through all appropriate and necessary means that the rights to free speech and academic freedom of the abovementioned individuals are in no way abridged or denied.

(Ed. Note: The above resolution was presented by a member of the Chancellor's Office of CUNY. It contains two errors. The corrected name of one of the speakers is Dr. Frances Weising and the SICC Association did not individually approve a "conversation" between the speakers, it did approve a budget for the President's Seminar series in September which included a list of intended speakers, amongst them, William Shockley.)

Office of the President...

Thank you for your note of November 13th, reporting that the Evening Session Student Government voted to uphold the Open Campus Policy at SICC.

However, your brief note leaves unanswered several questions:

1. By what vote was the decision taken?
 2. Why was it your conclusion that upholding the Open Campus Policy in the case of William Shockley would be "detrimental to the welfare of students"? That is, do you mean the Open Campus Policy should not always be upheld, and if not always, then when?
 3. I regret that your government has not responded to my letter of November 8. Why has it not done so?
- I do not understand why you have not responded to my offer to assist you clerically, mechanically or in any other manner should your Government choose to consult its constituents through referendum on this issue.

William M. Birenbaum
November 15, 1973

Office of the President...

TO THE FACULTY AND STAFF:

The next President's Seminar at the College will present Dr. William Shockley on November 20 in the Auditorium at 8:00 P.M. Dr. Shockley is the Pontiaff Professor of Engineering Science at Stanford University and co-winner of the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1956 for his work with transistors.

More recently Dr. Shockley has ventured out of his original field into genetics. His work has led him to formulate his "80 per cent IQ Geneticity Assertion," which states that variations in individual IQ's from the population mean of 100 are 80 per cent caused by gene differences, and that there is but one chance in 2000 that the 80 per cent figure is significantly wrong. The corollary, of course, is that environmental factors play only a 20 per cent role. (In his work Shockley has considered only Caucasian populations, and thus his conclusions do not resolve racial questions.)

Obviously, if Dr. Shockley is right, many of modern society's most cherished assumptions are wrong. Open to question is the value of education, and much of our social policy and programs directed toward the improvement of man after he is born. The consequences of Shockley's thought in the field of genetics are, of course, potentially subversive of everything I personally believe, the work to which I have devoted my life, and the very purpose of our College. It is for these very reasons that I want to know more — through direct conversation — about what and how he thinks.

Dr. Shockley's work in genetics has earned him the disapprobation not only of liberals, but of a comfortable majority of his science colleagues.

William M. Birenbaum
November 15, 1973

AID Staff Resolution

November 12, 1973

WHEREAS: the stated objectives of the Advocacy, Interaction and Development Center include:

- 1) Advocacy of the interests of all our students;
 - 2) Interaction amongst peoples, helping them to understand and relate to one another in the best way possible;
 - 3) Development of programs designed to serve real student needs, and
- BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED: that the AID Center formally urge the President of the College to cancel his invitation to Dr. Shockley.

- 1) Opposed to the interests of our students, most particularly our Third World students;
 - 2) An obstacle to healthy interaction among the peoples represented on campus;
 - 3) In disregard of the needs of our students, black and white, to develop a healthy appreciation of their intellectual potential.
- BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED: that the AID Center formally urge the President of the College to cancel his invitation to Dr. Shockley.

(Passed: 12-4-3)

Shockley? News Ferry Resolution

(Continued From Pg. 1)

ideology while rendering its opposition ineffective. Historical examples of the use of racist ideas to justify genocidal policy abound. They include the Nazi Holocaust, the extermination of the Native Americans, and the war-time incarceration of Japanese-Americans. In considering this question today, we must consider the historical possibility that black people "may very well come to be treated much as the American Indian: confined to reservations or perhaps even eliminated through genocide" (S.M. Wilhelm, Who Needs the Negro?, p. 3).

In Louisiana and Alabama, government-funded clinics have actually sterilized, involuntarily, black women during recent months. In Detroit, the life expectancy of black males has actually declined during the last year. School segregation in the North has actually increased since the Supreme Court banned it in 1954. No, the ideas of a William Shockley are not "harmless" at all. They legitimate and provide a pseudo-scientific cover for the most inhumane of social policies.

There is no justification for such an ideology to hide behind the First Amendment freedoms. To do so is to perpetuate racism, the denial of freedom, by advocating freedom, a contradiction if ever there was one.

Many people agree with what has been said thus far, but are concerned with the social consequences of preventing Shockley from speaking. Foremost among these is the possibility of violence. We do not welcome violence either, and hope it will not be necessary.

These possible consequences, though, must be seen in the context of the everyday violations of human dignity which comprise racism. Violence in the black community is committed routinely through "business as usual" in this system. It is reflected in higher rates of sickness and disease, of unemployment, of illiteracy. It manifests itself in dilapidated housing, poor schools, and a criminal justice system which allows the New York City police to kill blacks at a rate over triple their proportion to the population.

The cost to whites of maintaining the status quo should also not be overlooked. We should remember that racism serves only the interests of a tiny ruling class among whites, that

News Ferry Resolution

WHEREAS: The most recent blatant attack by the so-called Pro-Student administration on the Day Session Student Senate in particular and all other concerned people came in the form of an unsigned Front-Page "News" story in the latest issue of the News Ferry

WHEREAS: The News Ferry is a campus newspaper which does not disclose in print the names of its publishing board members; a newspaper whose staff is funded by the SICC, Inc. and whose Chief Editor is on the college payroll

WHEREAS: The article, posing as a news story, in fact attacks certain individuals and groups with innuendos and out-of-context quotations

WHEREAS: The article purposely misrepresents the facts as follows:

1. The meetings referred to as May Day Committee Meetings on Shockley in fact were meetings of the SICC Community Against Racism Committee whose budget was \$200.00, not \$400.00
2. Peter Riggi's objections to forming the SICC ARC were based on the fact that a Teach-In Committee against Racism already existed and that there were no specific guidelines set up about how money would be spent.
3. Joe Hamill is in fact the sole author of the Day Session Student Government resolution and at no point did Joan Badden state that the May Day Committee was responsible for the resolution.

THEREFORE: The Day Session Student Government proclaims that the News Ferry article in the defense of free speech uses the yellow journalism tactics of the McCarthy period and is part of an administration campaign to smear, discredit and undermine popular opposition to Shockley's appearance on this campus along with the credibility of the Student Senate.

Michael Pizzo
Dino Lagravinese
Chris Johansen
Marva McKeythorn
Thomas Nugent

Helen Bracy
Joe Hamill
S. Campbell
John Barone
Joseph K. Mendez
Ed Jagacki

this class has historically perpetuated racism as a means of keeping the working class divided among ourselves, that progressive social change for everyone depends on the destruction of racism.

Law and order are always and everywhere the law and order which protect the established hierarchy; it is nonsensical to invoke the absolute authority of this law and this order against those who suffer from it and struggle against it.

— Herbert Marcuse
(Repressive Tolerance, p. 117)

"... those who have reaped the benefits of racism have been the wealthy dominant ruling class."

Finally, it is argued that Shockley's views will be aired in a debate, that questions may be asked from the floor, that there will be ample occasion to refute his arguments. We present the

evidence of history to argue that white supremacy and racial inferiority are no longer debatable issues. They have been disproven throughout the history of the world, from the ancient times of Timbuktu to the modern times of over liberated Africa, from the construction of the pyramids to that of the Tan-Zam railway. They have been disproven by the very survival of blacks for 354 years in a country which has lived off their destruction. Do we still debate the geocentric theory of the universe? Do we debate how many angels dance on the head of a pin? Do we debate the continuation of feudalism? Of course not. Neither should we submit to the demands of the powerful to debate racism. It is, and should be, a non-debatable issue.

What, then, is the meaning of a public platform for William Shockley? It is legitimation of the most pernicious of ruling class ideology, of ideas which have no basis in fact, of ideas which have historically been used only to hold back progress and to justify oppression. No advocacy of any "freedom" can be used to protect such lies. Free Speech for Shockley is a Fraud on the People.

In Opposition:

To: President Birenbaum

"If those Negroes with the fewest Caucasian genes are in fact the most prolific and also the least intelligent, then genetic enslavement will be the destiny of their next generation."

"The preponderance of the world's intellectual community resists the fact that nature can be cruel to the newborn baby... some features of racial differences are the acme of unfairness."

"My research on IQ and race give the estimate that for Negro populations, with average IQ's in the 70 to 90 range, each additional 1 percent of Caucasian ancestry raises average IQ by 1 point."

"As a step in such research, I propose as a thinking exercise a voluntary-sterilization bonus plan... At a rate of \$1000 for each point below 100 IQ, \$30,000 put in trust for a 70 IQ moron, potentially capable of producing 20 children, might return \$250,000 to tax payers in reduced costs of mental retardation care."

ABOVE ARE QUOTES BY WILLIAM SHOCKLEY

WE THE STUDENTS, FACULTY AND STAFF OF S.I.C.C. OPPOSE THE RACIST VIEWS OF WILLIAM SHOCKLEY AND OPPOSE HIS PRESENCE AT S.I.C.C. WE DEMAND THAT YOU CANCEL HIS INVITATION TO SPEAK ON OUR CAMPUS.

(Ed. Note: The petition above was originated by the Day Session Student Government sponsored "Teach-in" Committee. According to Joan Badden, that committee's chairperson, somewhere over 900 signatures were received before the petition drive was halted. Badden explained that the drive was an early move to convince President Birenbaum to "dis-invite" Shockley. After he made it explicit he would not, the committee halted petitions.)

In Support:

We want Shockley to speak at SICC because we believe in freedom of speech.

If he is not allowed to exercise his right under the First Amendment, how can we expect to have this right ourselves?

WE ALSO WANT TO GIVE PEOPLE THE CHANCE TO CONFRONT SHOCKLEY AND TRY TO PROVE HIM WRONG PUBLICLY. HOW CAN WE DO THIS, IF HE IS NOT ALLOWED TO SPEAK HERE?

(Ed. Note: The petition above was originated by Dagmar Wiley, a student and part-time assistant at the Advocacy, Interaction and Development Center. Wiley, on her own, initiative, formed the Ad Hoc Committee for the Preservation of Free Speech and has coordinated the petition campaign to support Shockley's right to speak.

She estimated well over a thousand signatures have been received to date, and more are expected.)

ESG Resolution

Lorraine Ercolano, President
Evening Session Student Government

On Friday, November 9, 1973, the Evening Session Student Government voted to uphold the Open Campus Policy at S.I.C.C. Nevertheless, it is the belief of the Evening Session Student Government that the presence of William Shockley on our campus will be detrimental to the welfare of the students. It is for this reason that the council unanimously passed a resolution demanding that you rescind your invitation to William Shockley.

(Ed. Note: We were unable to procure the actual resolution as of our deadline date. The President's response, however, is directed toward the above.)

Free Speech on Campus

At the November 14, 1973 meeting of the instructional staff, the following motion was adopted:

"Whereas free speech is the very first principle of an academic community, and Whereas recent events in America have underscored the need for a vigorous defense of First Amendment rights, the instructional staff of Staten Island Community College:

1. Affirms the long tradition and the existing policy of our college which allows any speaker, having been invited to speak here, to have a public platform for the expression of his or her views;

2. Establishes a committee of volunteers to work to assure that freedom of speech is defended on campus and that reasonable discussion is encouraged.

Pursuant to item two of this faculty resolution, I have been asked to coordinate the formation of the volunteer committee for freedom of speech. If you wish to serve on such a committee, please hand deliver this form to Dr. Les Keyser in A 326.

Thank you
Les Keyser

Black Faculty Resolution

November 8, 1973

Dear President Birenbaum

We the concerned black faculty of Staten Island Community College, while cognizant of and supportive of the first Amendment rights of every American citizen, and all the privileges thereof, nevertheless feel that forthcoming appearance of Dr. William Shockley on our campus is inappropriate and unfortunate at this time for the following reasons:

1. We feel that Dr. Shockley's appearance at this time would only serve to reinforce the already confused concept that some people in our community hold toward blacks, namely the whole question of IQ, and race.

2. We question the validity and educational value that a man of Dr. Shockley's background and philosophy could contribute to our student body as a whole.

the President...

I wish to acknowledge the statement dated November 8, sent to me by the Concerned Black Faculty in the College.

I appreciate that you are "cognizant of and supportive of the First Amendment rights of every American citizen, and all the privileges thereof..."

The First Amendment and a free learning center are the irrevocably interconnected bulwarks of all American citizens who join in the battle against racism and prejudice.

1. Education stands for expression, not repression. There is only one way to eradicate the confusion of ideas a Shockley implements—to face those ideas squarely and to expose them.
2. "The validity and educational value of a man of Dr. Shockley's background and philosophy..." are not the main issues. The main issue is that he is widely recognized for conclusions that are subversive of best scientific evidence notwithstanding his credentials. In his case, his Nobel credential in physics and his Stanford professorship in engineering make it imperative that his intellectual authority be publicly and substantially challenged.

3. The disrepair of our national institutions may largely be attributed to the past failures of our citizenry and its leaders to stand up, be counted and speak out. Ultimately, facing Shockley and what he stands for can only underscore the strength of our college as a free center for learning, and in the process contribute to the solidarity of our people, Black and others.

Therefore, I call upon the Concerned Black Faculty to stand fast for the First Amendment in this College, which is so vital to the free expression of the Truth here; to teach which is the true obligation of every faculty member when confronted with ignorance; and to show unity and solidarity in behalf of your own causes, which I and the overwhelming majority of SICC's citizens share.

Finally, together, we may solve our most urgent problems only in an atmosphere of peace and calm deliberation. All of us here, serving the people of New York City, are obliged to use our influence in behalf of these goals.

President William M. Birenbaum
November 16, 1973