



Notre Dame

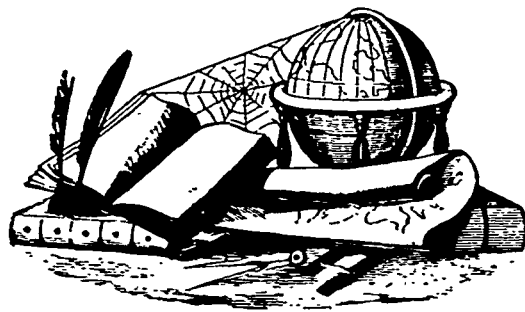
# SCHOLASTIC

September 20, 1968

A Year of Crisis: Dissent at Notre Dame

Interview With Representative John Brademas

Football Predictions: You Can't Win 'Em All



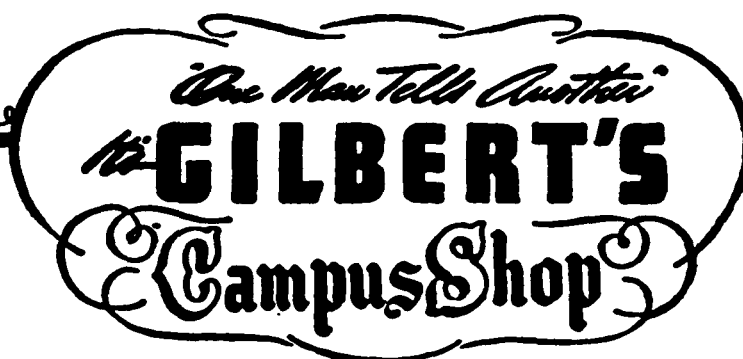
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ON THE CAMPUS...NOTRE DAME

# SCHOLASTIC

Sept. 20, 1968 / Notre Dame, Indiana / Vol. 110, No. 1

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**Turn us on!**

THE doctrine of progress is based above all upon a lack of faith in the present. This year at Notre Dame, we have retained the essential of that doctrine: we have no faith in the present administrative and academic structure of this university. In response to your own dissatisfaction with student life on this campus, whether it be over the rigid imposition of required curriculums, the sterile social atmosphere, or the monastic disciplinary system, we have decided to challenge and question severely the decision-making processes that have allowed such a situation to develop and grow.

We can no longer accept a Notre Dame in which the students are consistently denied an effective voice in decisions which directly concern their lives on this campus. Nor can we be misled by face-saving half-measures insuring student "participation" in important decisions. Too many students live in alienation or indifference, too many students are restless and bitter. Something is wrong at Notre Dame, something that can be solved only by a radical restructuring of this university.

Because of the critical nature of the situation, our guide to action can only be visible, undeniable, even intrusive result. We three have pledged to work together, solidly, perseveringly, towards this end. For the first time in the history of Notre Dame, the student leaders and their respective organizations are firm and united in their resolve to work together for a single, common goal of this type. Action must be our style.

We know too that our deep dissatisfaction is not simply a minority opinion, as the Board of Trustees seems to believe. We are your elected and appointed representatives, and, as such, our opinion is only the public reflection of yours. We know that the overwhelming majority of students refuse to accept a system of life and study which has been imposed upon them against their will, and which is too often alien to their best interests. Our determination to act together is then only indicative of a larger solidarity, that of the entire student body, that of all of you.

*J. Richard Rossie*

Student Body President

*William L. Cullen*

Editor, The Scholastic

*William Luking*

Editor, The Observer

# Editorial

## A Time of Crisis

Nothing can be done for a student if one does not first give him hope. There is no system of education possible which is outside of hope. Without hope comes crisis, and threats to destroy the existing unacceptable structure.

This year at Notre Dame there is such a crisis, because so many students have lost all hope in the present system of life and study at this University.

To get an idea of the extent of this crisis, one only has to look at the signs of student disillusionment as they manifest themselves in all aspects of life at Notre Dame.

To begin with, the religious life of this University is expiring in the grips of a terrible paradox: many, very many of the Catholic students here are either non-Catholic or even anti-Catholic. Some estimates of the percentage of students not attending Mass run 50% and higher. The most lengthily applauded lecture we have ever witnessed at Notre Dame was entitled "In Defense of Atheism." An overflow student crowd responded at the end of that lecture with an unqualified standing ovation of three full minutes. The point is that in an institution which claims to uphold the Faith, there is now very little faith.

Moreover, anticlericalism has grown to a considerable degree on this campus. Whether they be administrators, rectors, or professors, there are very few

religious on this campus who are respected and admired by the students. Most are more often ridiculed or severely criticized.

In the classrooms, students are obliged to sit through hours and hours of courses the organization and direction of which they have nothing to say about. For example, most of the required theology and philosophy courses are insupportably dull and irrelevant. Students are forced to learn things that they don't want to learn. They don't want biblical studies any more, nor are they really interested in St. Augustine and St. Thomas. Great modern thinkers like Marx, Freud, and Sartre, who could perhaps help them resolve some of the contradictions with which they are faced, are too often neglected or seen only from highly critical points of view.

Both on and off campus, drugs and alcoholism are serious problems, much more serious than any spokesman for the University would care to admit. They are the stark emblems of crisis at Notre Dame, reflecting the inability of the present University to respond to the most profound needs of the student.

The most critical sign, however, is the extreme bitterness and alienation of Notre Dame's most sensitive, most brilliant students. Many came to this University idealistically ready to contribute to the growth of a vital organism; but, faced with stagnation and intransigence for their efforts, they have progressively

lost all of their idealism. They have seen that to care issues only into despair, and so they have stopped caring.

What they have done is to move off campus, there is an exodus to get off campus, anything to escape an environment which only seems able to choke and kill all possibility of creative evolution.

Tragically though, those who now have the power to make effective decisions at this University have chosen to react in a way which can only aggravate the already critical situation. You can't legislate people out of despair by ordering them to obey old, meaningless rules. You can't suppress hopelessness by prefects and public statements that all will be well. People will get angry, they will rise up in opposition.

In fact, what all of this points to is that the University in its present form is a failure. For too many of the students it doesn't work, it has never worked. It is a failure.

Change, then, is the only answer. A total restructuring of the present administrative and academic structure of the University. In the coming weeks we shall be investigating some of these critically pressing changes, specifying and developing more thoroughly our position. For, if it is to draw this lost generation of students out of despair, Notre Dame *must* change now.

— William Cullen



# while you were away . . .

. . . George Neagu, the executive director of the South Bend Human Relations Commission was fired from his post by Mayor Lloyd Allen after refusing to resign. Mr. Neagu's biggest problem, the city fathers thought, was that he was a flaming radical. And that sort of fellow was just not the type to fit into the give-and-take of the structure.

The blow-up had been coming for a long time, but most especially since the racial disturbance of the summer of 1967. At that time, he recommended the suspension without a hearing of several policemen involved in a racial disturbance. He also had a history of disagreement with his own Commission, first clashing in 1967 over whether or not he had the right to issue press releases without the prior approval of the group.

The Commission was asked to give him a vote of confidence last September, but was unable to, although it did support his "character and dedication."

Nevertheless, Neagu went on, committing other faux pas like actively supporting Richard Hatcher, the mayor of Gary, during his election campaign on Commission stationery, and encouraging his wife to carry the torch for causes like the South Bend Community School Board sit-in and the anti-ROTC march at Notre Dame in the spring.

South Bend Negroes do not have to resort to taking to the streets yet, however. Neagu's replacement is one Winston Vaz, a Negro who before his appointment to Neagu's post had been active with underprivileged and retarded children. A man interested in getting things done, he is by no stretch of the imagination an Uncle Tom, and he has achieved wide acceptance within the Negro and white communities since he has taken over the Human Relations Post.

. . . much to the surprise of the residents, South Bend had a relatively cool summer, racially. One Negro was shot in the leg at a filling station, but that was more or less accidental. The station attendant had pulled out the gun to threaten some people who had been giving him trouble outside, and this

Negro walked in out of the blue to buy some cigarettes just as the weapon accidentally (really!) went off. Everyone was completely apologetic.

The second week of July saw Milwaukee's Rev. James Groppi and the Milwaukee NAACP Youth Council join the South Bend NAACP Youth Council and its supporters in a march and pray-in to protest police and school injustices in connection with the School Board sit-in of the past spring where a number of Notre Dame and Saint Mary's students and professors, among others, were arrested and jailed.

There was a shooting at the Top Deck discotheque of another Negro, which caused the most tension of the summer. However, effective communications stifled wild rumors about a massacre, and a relatively small incident was kept such.

The proprietor of Tex's Western Bar on West Western Avenue was shot and killed by a sniper, but while Tex's politics was such that no one would be surprised if it was a Negro that shot him, his friends now have a hunch that if the killer is ever caught, he will turn out to be a demented white man.

The one big event of the summer which paradoxically raised the smallest number of ripples was the fire-bombing of the First Unitarian Church. The rear of the structure just south of the University on the corner of Michigan and Howard Street was completely gutted. William Clark, the state arson investigator, couldn't or wouldn't say whether the bomb was "kerosene or gasoline or electrical or TNT or what." All he would say was "it was not an accidental fire." The damage went well into five figures. The really incomprehensible thing was that, while the firemen literally had to fight their way through the crowds and crowds of people who came to watch the blaze — over 2,000 people were there, the police estimated — nearly a week after the fire, the pastor of the church had not received one offer of help. The First Unitarian Church, you see, had offered hospitality to the Groppi marchers, and its pastor, Rev. Joseph Schneiders, and parishioners had a history of being active in radical war resistance,

civil rights and civil liberties work. Not to mention the fact that the vice-president of the church is Simon Boorda, the spokesman for the Communist Party in Indiana.

"I thought the Mayor or somebody would call. . ." said Schneiders at the time. "I mean, one would think the burning of a church. . ." and he trailed off. "The silence is overwhelming." And outside the church on the bulletin board was the sign that said it all: "Fire Bombed In This All-American City."

. . . the Avon ran a Doris Day Flick—"Where Were You When the Lights Went Out?" And it was held over by popular demand. Twice. It was horrible. Remember when the Avon used to show *dirty* movies?

. . . new apartments began rising on Notre Dame Avenue for the use of students beginning in the second semester. A spokesman for Father Jerome Wilson, Director of Financial Affairs, stated emphatically that the apartments are owned and operated by a cooperative group headed by one William B. Farmer, and that the group has complete control over construction, rentals and so forth. He further stated that since the cooperative was not affiliated with the University, the University will receive no revenue from the apartments nor have any direct control over the operation of them. The new dwellings, presumably a test before future construction is undertaken, are equipped with patios, complete kitchens, and a healthy rental charge.

Now it just so happens that someone we all know and love, Louie Rappelli, of Louie's Restaurant, was planning to build apartments just down the road a few years ago. He planned to construct student dwellings on the corner of Angela and Notre Dame Avenues. The area is zoned "B" residential, which means that structures such as apartments, houses, doctors' offices, small businesses and the like can be legally constructed on the sites. Upon inquiry, it was discerned that Louie's application for a building permit was blocked both by city regulations applied to the building code, and University



pressure for their own apartments. Louie attempted to get around the problem, but was blocked at every turn, until he was finally forced to sell his property. Father Wilson's spokesman had also stated that the University in no way would bring pressure to bear on private developers.

Now about Louie . . .

. . . "the community leadership audience" of the South Bend-Mishawaka-Elkhart-Niles area was exposed to *Focus Michiana* magazine. Published by 1966 SCHOLASTIC editor John Twohey, the large (11" by 14" — bigger than *Life*) glossy cover monthly has been presenting a sophisticated, upbeat variation in the reading diet of the locals who up until now have been relying upon the *South Bend Tribune* for their ideas about their community.

While *Focus* is hardly competing with the *Trib* for total circulation, it hopes to have an impact by presenting intelligent, bright copy aimed at those of the area's 250,000 that actually run the business, cultural, and political affairs of the four cities.

There are sixty city magazines like *Focus* throughout the country, double the number in existence five years ago. Twohey and his staff have been enjoying a response to their magazine that he describes as "very good," so the chances are that their number is not going to slip to 59 in the near future.

Part of the reason there's a nice magazine in a place like this is that those who spent the summer out here in the boonies in scenic South Bend scraping for stories for the magazine included Tom Condon and Dennie Gallagher, last year's *Observer's* best writers by far; Tom Hoobler and Joe Wilson, both grads of the prestigious University of Iowa graduate Writers' Workshop and past editor-in-chief and managing editor, respectively, of the SCHOLASTIC; John Gorman, former contributing editor to the SCHOLASTIC; world-wise philosopher Dick Riley, last year's station manager of WSND, and Barry Lopez, who just left Notre Dame for further graduate work and who had earned his daily bread in New York as a professional magazine editor.



While you were away the intellectual improbables of *Focus Michiana* magazine, new off-campus student apartments, Fr. Groppi's marchers, Sen. Edmund Muskie and the Holy Spirit watched over South Bend.



An interview with

# John Brademas

Democratic candidate for  
Congress



*Representative John Brademas, South Bend's Congressman, was in town this past weekend to campaign for his sixth term in the House. Arrangements were made between his office and the SCHOLASTIC to hold an interview between him and contributing editor Thomas Payne on Sunday night. However, the business of the House, where the Congressman's Elementary and Secondary Education Act was being considered, called the Congressman away before the interview could be completed. Congressman Brademas then graciously assented to be interviewed over the telephone on Monday night. The interview was completed between the fifteen roll call votes held on that day while the House was in session considering the Congressman's bill.*

**Scholastic:** In the early fifties, there was a marked aversion on the part of the American electorate for intellectual political figures, but in this decade we have seen many intellectual persons—men like John Kennedy, Adlai Stevenson, Eugene McCarthy, John Kenneth Galbraith, and you—rise to positions of leadership. Could you offer some explanation as to why this is so?

**Brademas:** When I first ran unsuccessfully for Congress in 1954, I was advised not to unduly publicize my Harvard-Oxford background. Four years later, after the Soviet Sputnik had made Americans more willing to spend money on education, my local political leaders were urging citizens of the Third District to "vote for Brademas because he has a fine education." The electorate itself is much better educated and is increasingly willing to support education. President Kennedy's administration, moreover, brought a new respect for the intellectual and cultural community which was in sharp contrast to the White House attitude during the Eisenhower years.

**Scholastic:** Does this mean that the men in power during the Eisenhower years were non-intelligent?

**Brademas:** Oh, of course not. The problem is: what do we mean by an intellectual? Some writers define intellectuals functionally, describing them in terms of what they do rather than how they do it. Yet there is, as Richard Hofstadter suggests, a distinction between "intelligence" and "intellect" which is even more relevant to our understanding of the intellectual's role in politics. To somewhat paraphrase Hofstadter, intelligence is employed within a fairly narrow range; it is manipulative and practical. It works towards specific goals. Intellect on the other hand is critical, creative and contemplative. It ponders, wonders and theorizes. Intelligence evaluates a situation where intellect evaluates the evaluation.

**Scholastic:** Politics is generally conceived of as an eminently practical business. If this is so, what need does politics have of contemplatives, ponderers, wonders and theorizers in any role except purely advisory?

**Brademas:** Politics—even electoral politics—requires even more than first class technicians, indispensable as these are. We need persons who are willing to raise questions about the policies themselves as well

# THE INTELLECTUAL IN POLITICS

as the methods for implementing policies, who are willing to inquire into the presuppositions on the basis of which policies are made. If our society is to remain open and free, if it is not to falter when confronted with the enormous problems we face, there must be in decision-making positions in our government some men who are deeply concerned with objectives and assumptions as well as with techniques and methods. There must be at least some politicians who do not feel, to quote David Reisman, "threatened with complexity," but challenged and stimulated by it.

**Scholastic:** Ever since protest to the Vietnam war escalated to the feverish pitch that it has on the college campuses, many of the student left have criticised the intellectual community for becoming the intellectual lackeys of the power structure. Would you care to comment on this point of view?

**Brademas:** Hans Morgenthau warns that if an intellectual in government surrenders his proper role, which is to think for the sake of thinking, he becomes at best a practitioner and at worst an ideologue of social action. Thus the intellectual stops being the conscience of society and becomes its agent. We have seen, especially in Nazi Germany and in the Soviet Union, what happens when the intellectual becomes an ideologue and so perverts his calling. But even in a free society, the intellectual may allow himself to be used simply as an apologist for the status quo. Paul Goodman, one of the most radical critics of American society, has warned of the seductions of what he called tokenism, a policy which attacks only the surface of a given problem and fails to get at its roots. In like fashion, the intellectual can serve government as a technician only, helping to make an existing policy work rather than considering whether the policy itself is right. For purposes of economic and political analysis, the Ph.D who works only at a particular problem and the skilled worker in a particular industry play the same role, a role which is not fundamental, but managerial and administrative.

**Scholastic:** Many intellectuals, particularly young intellectuals, feel an aversion to the political process because they believe that it destroys their moral integrity and restrains their freedom to express their thinking.

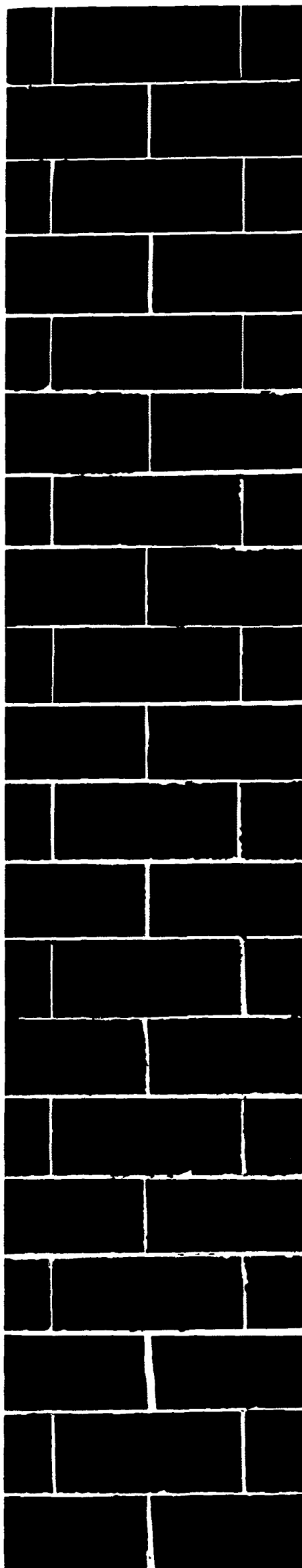
Does anything in your own political career justify these opinions?

**Brademas:** Once in politics, the intellectual will probably not feel as free to criticize as he felt in private life, for he is now, by virtue of his office, responsible for his actions. I use "responsible" in the sense that what an elected public official says and how he votes are likely to have a more direct influence on others in or out of government than do the views of a private citizen. One of the most difficult problems for some intellectuals outside politics to appreciate is the nature of the political process itself. That process is one in which accommodation, negotiation, and compromise are the words characteristically and accurately used to describe what happens. Accommodation, negotiation and compromise are all non-normative words. But they are not the words customarily used to describe the mission of the intellectual as I have defined him. The danger to the intellectual, then, is that he may disdain a process in which advance and achievement are usually the product of give and take rather than of discovery of "truth at large." The intellectual who becomes a member of Congress must remember that he is just that, not a member of a debating society. He is a member of a legislative body with business to do, not simply opinions to voice.

**Scholastic:** We all remember the 1960 Convention when Senator Eugene McCarthy pleaded with the Democratic Party not to reject Adlai Stevenson. Both men are political figures who are also considered to be intellectuals. As a former aide to Ambassador Stevenson and a supporter of Eugene McCarthy, what similarities and what differences do you see in the two men?

**Brademas:** Both of them were men who had a feeling for the complexity of issues. Both of them felt that one of the responsibilities they had as political leaders was to articulate the ideas whose time had not yet come and to hasten their day. Senator Dirksen, you may recall, when the Congress passed a civil rights act a few years ago, justified it by quoting some lines of Victor Hugo to the effect that no power is greater than an idea whose time has come, Stevenson insisted that the highest mission of a politician is to recognize the significance of an idea whose time has not yet come and try to hasten the day.

## Up Against the Wall



IT HAD TO HAPPEN eventually, and we suppose *Esquire* magazine was the logical place for it to occur, but it still disturbs us tremendously. In the September issue of the *Playboy-you-can-leave-on-the-coffee-table-and-not-worry-about-corrupting-the-kids*, Notre Dame was nationally declared one of the colleges "where the action isn't."

One of those clever mothers who edit *Esquire* wrote up a bogus letter explaining that he was the wealthy father of a son with straight A's, and he wanted to find a college that he could send his child to without fear of him becoming a bearded, pot-smoking, radical, etc., etc., hippie. He then sent the letter to organizations like the YMCA, KKK, John Birch Society, Moral Re-armament, Shriners, and other institutions he considered superstraight, for suggestions.

Well, it was the Shriners that did it to us. Right up there with West Point, they put the finger on Notre Dame as the kind of place where you should send your son to be safe from insidious influences.

Fun's fun and all, but we've seen this kind of thing happen to Notre Dame too often to really be amused. We've been put down too often. Just think of the plight the freshmen are in when they go home for the first time at Thanksgiving. What do they have to brag about to their friends from other schools when the topic of student unrest comes up? Their insomnia? The Revolution here is long past due, and we should start making some plans for it right now.

And God knows, even if the Administration doesn't, that there are enough grievances around here that demand attention.

For example, drawings of the Stepan Center from 1961, when it was built, clearly show that the area was supposed to be landscaped, with trees and bushes. And six years later, it still isn't.

Tremendous, unnecessary pain has been caused to those waiting for transportation at the circle because there is no john in the bus shelter. Everybody knows this. But still, there is no relief in sight.

If we lose just one more shirt at the laundry, the only thing that is going to stand between us and the Indiana winter is going to be muscle linament. But they still tell us at the laundry that it couldn't *possibly* be their fault. They *never* lose shirts.

The Huddle Cokes are still fifteen cents.

The Bookstore turnstile on the second floor still waits in ambush to wound the unwary.

The dining hall forks are still bent.

They still don't have comfortable kneelers in the Grotto.

The bathing suits in the Rock are still as vulgar as ever.

Kamikaze pilots are still found every year for the snow plows.

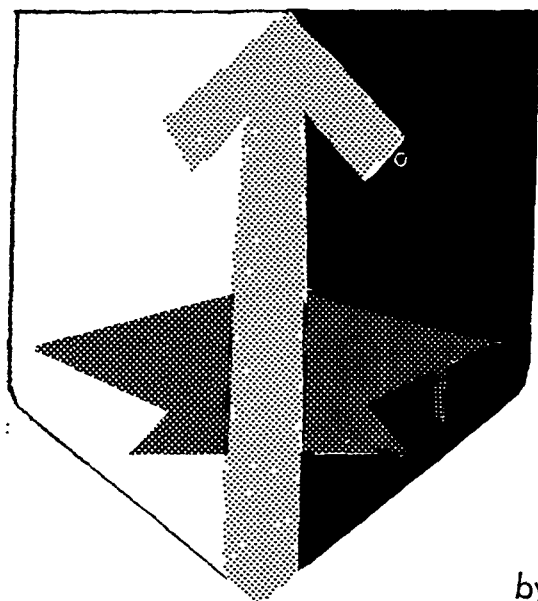
The shoe repair shop is still outrageously bilking the students for work done. Their only answer to complaints is the little sign that hangs up there that says something about master craftsmanship costing money.

The people who cash checks in the Administration Building still take three-hour lunch breaks.

The security guards are still asleep when you wish they weren't and aren't when you wish they were.

Brother Gorch is still in the Student Center.

UP AGAINST THE WALL!



by Kathy Carbine

**P**AYDAY. Yeah, and you spent eight hours a day last summer working so you could get six hours' pay. Tax money that didn't go to Viet Nam went to poverty programs. And then you read about federal funds used for cars, booze, guns and pot by Blackstone Rangers in Chicago, or another melee at a job corps camp.

And you know something's got to be done, because black power is not going to just go away, and neither is poverty, but face it. When you graduate, you're probably going to live as far out in the suburbs as possible, and hope that you can give your kids a good school and a nice back yard before everything blows up. But it won't work. The "For Sale" signs keep creeping nearer. What might work is the kind of approach tried at St. Mary's College this past summer.

The girls at SMC in June and July weren't exactly the trench-coat-and-loafer types. They were girls concerned with "naturals," with their African History class, with going back in the fall to a high school staffed with harried teachers and full of uninterested kids. They were the thirty participants in St. Mary's Upward Bound program.

Upward Bound, financed partly by the host college and partly by the Office of Economic Opportunity, is a program for high school juniors and seniors who have college potential, but lack the incentive and the money to think of college as a concrete possibility. For six to eight weeks during the summer, the participants live on a college campus, take classes specially designed to both stimulate intellectual curiosity and remedy poor backgrounds, and attend the films, lectures and other campus activities. Ideally, school becomes, perhaps for the first time, a place where success is possible and enjoyable. To prevent the idea of college from lapsing back into unreality, a follow-up program of counseling, tutoring, and campus visits is maintained through the years. Help in selecting a college and getting financial aid is provided.

Nationally, Upward Bound has had success. In 1960, only 8% of the disadvantaged high school graduates entered college in the fall. (*American Education*, April, 1967.) Three years ago 85% of the first Upward Bound group entered college, and the freshman dropout rate about matched the national average. (*Time*, May 26, 1967.) But there have been problems, serious ones. Last January, 100 project directors and educational consultants met to discuss Upward Bound's difficulties with "pigment, pot, and pregnancy." The conference, however, found itself split into two hostile segments, black versus white, and resolved few issues.

Focusing on St. Mary's, no "success statistics" are

available because Upward Bound is in its first year there. But Program Director James K. Flanagan, an SMC English teacher, is eager to give his evaluation. "Ours is one of the best in the country. And our Fine Arts setup is the best." Mr. John Cheston, a math teacher, is more reserved. He admits only to being "sort of impressed with the girls." But his faith in the program is more active than vocal — this was his second summer of teaching Upward Bound kids and he's considering a third. And the girls themselves? "If you say something bad about it you'll get beat up" kids Elaine, exaggerating the very real point that they feel an active loyalty to their teachers, to their student counselors, and to the idea of Upward Bound. It's not hard to see why.

To qualify, the girls' families must meet federal poverty standards. In their schools, "the teachers are really too busy to care, and besides I kept getting C's," observed one girl. Some reported that counselors were reluctant to place them in college prep courses. Another confided, "I had a real nice boyfriend; he never hit me or nothing," but the same couldn't be said for all boyfriends.

In contrast, the Upward Bound personnel offer interest, respect, and friendship. The classes are taught with creativity and care. As Mr. Cheston explained it, due to the individual attention "everybody can become a star," and academic stardom is a new and exhilarating experience for these girls. They develop a new self-concept, in a process easily visible and sometimes amusing. A good example is the frank delight the girls exhibited in throwing around new vocabulary words, unfailingly substituting "putrid miscreant" "or gregarious" for more usual terms. But being able to use a word like "incarcerate" was more than fun, to them it symbolized their new status as intelligent, educated persons.

At St. Mary's, less than one-fourth of the participants were white, although whites made up a more sizeable proportion of the applicants originally accepted. Evidently, many South Bend parents gathered that the program was designed primarily for blacks, although nationally only about 50% of the Upward Bound students are black, and made their girls withdraw their applications. Despite this rather ominous start, problems have been few. Karen Preston, a "tutor-counselor" (one of the 12 SMC students who lived and attended classes with the participants), singled out as the most remarkable feature of the program that "a person's color made no difference."

It did, of course, make a difference, but not in a negative sense. St. Mary's College met black culture, and both gained from the encounter. Mr. Flanagan stressed the girls' vigorous, exuberant attitude toward life, which they carried over into academics. He found that attitude new.

In the next nine months, the Upward Bound participants will hopefully become a real part of the St. Mary's community. They can inject a unique feel for life's basic realities to the collegiate atmosphere, and in return the contact with students and campus may maintain their new concept of themselves as college and upward bound. On Wednesday nights they will be eating dinner in the SMC cafeteria and taking classes. Students should find that an interest on their part will be well rewarded, and Upward Bound at St. Mary's can become a program that succeeds. And the sum total of programs that succeed, and person to person contacts that succeed, will mean an end to the black despair and white escape. ■

# If You Think That the Structures of this University Are Impossible . . .

*The old line about the Dome always looking best from a rear view mirror has been honored by constant use since cars have had rear view mirrors. And not without good reason. The Dome being the omnipresent symbol of the University of Notre Dame, it is probably the most smothering example of hide-bound tradition in a place that is smothered in hide-bound tradition. It's understandable if all you want to do is get away from it. But it isn't easy. Stagnation has a way of being inescapable.*

The history of change at Notre Dame is not a pretty one. Four years of Student Body Presidents have taken office with a "let us reason together" attitude. And have discovered after eight months that there has been only one reliable way to bring about significant change: Threaten to blow the place up.

All 1966 SBP Minch Lewis really wanted to do was to eliminate curfews at Notre Dame dorms. This was a pretty radical step, inasmuch as lights out had only gone the way of the dodo the year before. So at the end of a full year of talking, he decided to act. And the Notre Dame student government decided to take its life in its hands by threatening a massive sleep-out.

In 1967, after a full year of talking, SBP Jim Fish wanted residents of the halls to be able to rule their own lives and live as a community. Contingency plans were made for all sorts of demonstrations of dissatisfaction and general secession of the halls from the University if this was not granted.

1968 saw Chris Murphy decide that he wasn't going to leave office without one good solid token of resistance, and Chris thought it pretty absurd that women were not allowed in the dorms except when the Dean of Student's conscience was out to lunch or at football games. So a good, old-fashioned occupation of the dorms by hundreds of dates after the Senior Prom was planned, in conjunction with the passing of resolutions by all the Hall Councils, with threats of general anarchy thrown in.

But none of these demonstrations ever came off. Why, you ask? Well, in the case of Chris Murphy, it was more indecision and ineptitude on his part than anything else. But on the other two occasions, it was because the University pulled a strategic retreat from their positions. They simply decided that they didn't want specific controls they had over the student body enough to risk all the ridiculously bad press of "A Student Revolution At The Great Catholic University."

However, all the furor over hall autonomy that had occurred when that was the big issue two years ago went by the boards just last week when Dean of Students James Riehle said, almost as an afterthought, "Some halls around here have run loose and fancy free. Under

this system [of paid-to-inform-prefects] there will always be the policy of one set of rules for the whole university."

If Riehle's new prefects are allowed to ride herd on the halls, thus bypassing the student judicial system that has evolved in most of them, then one entire year of student power struggles has been wiped out with a word.

This hatchet job is really fairly admirable, if one is a connoisseur of tactics. Also fairly typical. The Administration, faced a year ago with a Student Government quite angry over the fact that the dorms were being run like jails rather than communities, provided for a system whereby the students in the halls were supposed to govern their own living, and judge and punish violators of the good order of the hall. Of course, these judicial boards had no real authority, because all their decisions were subject to inspection and reversal by the Dean of Students. And the conflict in the hall boards that resulted from the Administration expecting them to enforce rules, like the ones on drinking, that they didn't at all agree with, further served to weaken the structure.

Nevertheless, the structure was still on the books, even if it was tied up in knots by the Administration. And it looked good on paper, and the students felt they had accomplished something toward making Notre Dame a livable, mature, Christian environment. Which is what everybody wants, right?

Wrong. The Administration does not want you to drink or have women in your rooms. That is their most overriding consideration. And they will pay 63 grad students to stop you. It doesn't even pay to think about what all that money could buy in the way of *trained, professional* counselors to be located in the dorms.

It would seem incredible that a communications gap of this size could exist between the students that make up a university, and those who run it. And as a matter of fact, it has not gone without notice by the Board of Trustees. The Board has made an attempt to come to grips with the problem, and they have tendered a solution.

They think we should all sit down and talk it over.

Needless to say, this idea was not met with unqualified jubilation in some circles. The students had been burnt too often by "sitting down and talking it over."

However, much hope is put in the new Student Life Board. First of all, it is tripartite: students, faculty and Administration.

Second of all, except for two ex-officio members from each of the University's three "estates," members will be elected to the Board by their peers. There are six elected members from each "estate."



# You Should Meet Some of the People

by Joel Garreau

And thirdly, the board is structured to legislate. Whatever the majority of the members of the board decide to do on any issue involving student life will become law.

This would sound like a great system. Its Achilles' heel, however, is explained by Philip Faccenda, Fr. Hesburgh's special assistant, "Change is needed. We need new rules. If everyone comes in with clean hands, the Board will work. But they must come in with open minds, and no ulterior motives. If people only come in and talk about past histories (of University politics), everybody will bog down. There is no point in changing the structures if the people won't make them work."

And one has to wonder about the openness of the people on the Board. The elected members, one suspects, will be very conscientious. The Administration members will be largely rectors and prefects, and those who so far have nominated themselves are in fact by and large honest, open-minded, even liberal men. This is a pleasant surprise. And the same will probably be true of elected student and faculty members.

However, the Administration's ex-officio members are the Dean of Students, Fr. Riehle, and the Vice President for Student Affairs, Fr. McCarragher. It's a shame that Fr. Riehle has to be the brunt of all sorts of attacks, but the fact remains that before he received his late vocation to the priesthood, he was a shoe salesman, a dubious qualification for his present position. The C.S.C. order has told him to be the University disciplinarian, and that's exactly what he's doing. And he's going at it with a characteristic rigidity of mind that is not going to lend itself to a smooth flow of change in the Tripartite Board.

Fr. McCarragher would be the last to deny that he is a consummate politician. The man's job is to "keep the lid on," and he's great at it. He can subvert any institution that man can devise. He is not a mean or vindictive man, as some have portrayed him, it's just that maneuvering and politicking are as natural to him as breathing. He's a walking anachronism — a political boss out of the mold of "The Last Hurrah." He protests that he intends to be completely open for the Board business, and what's more, he professes to be enormously pleased that the Board is going to be taking a lot of power over student life away from him. But even if, by a leap of faith, one were to believe that the man was sincere in his desire not to play politics within the Board, one wonders whether he is capable of breaking the habits of decades.

On the student side, Student Body President Rich Rossie and Vice President Chuck Nau are sincere enough men. They really want to see this Board work. However, they would be remiss in their duties if they did not look at the proceeding with at least some cynic-

ism. Their problem is this: they have to be open-minded, but not naive. And this is very thin ice.

The faculty part of the Board is almost impossible to analyze until the balloting for the membership is completed. The faculty is the most internally polarized of the three groups, including both flaming radicals and arch conservatives. It's very difficult to tell how their delegation will shape up. However, the faculty does seem to be taking this Student Life Board very seriously.

Assuming the best — that the Student Life Board is made up of honest, open, rational, nonpolitically motivated people, there is still a problem. Fr. Hesburgh has reserved the right to veto any resolution the Board passes, with appeal of any veto going to the Board of Trustees. And there are some things that for years Fr. Hesburgh has been saying he will not accept at the University of Notre Dame. One of them that he is most adamant about is parietal hours.

It might be valuable to examine a hypothetical situation. It is not at all unreasonable to think that three or four members of both the administration and the faculty parts of the Board might be liberal enough to vote for at least limited parietal hours legislation. There are young, free-thinking rectors, prefects, and professors. Therefore, it is not impossible that the Tripartite Board would vote for allowing girls in the rooms.

Hesburgh would be taking a very dangerous step by vetoing anything the Board passed, because that would mean he would be taking on not only the students this time, but a substantial part of his own Administration and faculty. He would have on his hands one of the biggest fights he has ever been in. It might severely hamper his ability to run the University. Yet, the Board of Trustees will not overrule the chosen President of the University unless they are prepared to accept his resignation. And Fr. Hesburgh has said time and time again he would resign before allowing parietal hours to be instituted.

And so there is a potential for an enormous crisis in the work of the Student Life Board if it is allowed to work free of political manipulation of its affairs.

This gets us back to the original pessimism about the chances for meaningful change at Notre Dame.

The point is that the Administration has made this University what it is now, and it's foolish to expect drastic change from that quarter.

No matter what the governmental structures are at Notre Dame, they will not work well unless they have the kind of people that want to bring progress to Notre Dame. And they don't, at least as far as the Administration is concerned. There lies the problem for those who want to see in Notre Dame not just a reasonably good school, but a true and undisputedly great university.



An interview with

## Michael Zagarell

Communist Party candidate  
for Vice-President

*Last Sunday evening, Michael Zagarell, 23, the Communist Party candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States addressed a group of Notre Dame students in the Law Auditorium. He criticized the administration for what he called its racist domestic policies, its lack of feeling for the poor and for its world-wide "counter-revolutionary" stance. The SCHOLASTIC interviewed Mr. Zagarell immediately following this address.*

**Scholastic:** During your speech you made many criticisms of the system which caused people to eschew political involvement, yet you're very much involved in politics. What's the difference between you, and let's say the hippies who just sort of drop out?

**Zagarell:** We have looked at the system, we're not just emotionally reacting. We don't want to escape from reality, we think that reality can be beautiful; we want to control reality, we want to take it in our hands and bend it, to our needs and our lives. We think that for some people life is very bleak, the power structure is overwhelming. But after studying the system, we've come to the conclusion that the system which will replace it will be a system in which people can determine their own lives. So we're very optimistic. I think that's the difference.

**Scholastic:** Michael Harrington, who was also a Socialist but not a Communist inveighed in his book *Towards A Democratic Left* against not only capitalists but also socialistic commissars. The answer given by the U.S. and Russia for the third world, he claimed, is really the same. What comment do you have on that?

**Zagarell:** Mr. Harrington may talk about solutions

for the third world, but no Socialist that I have ever seen has ever provided solutions. I'm still waiting for them to lead a socialistic revolution.

**Scholastic:** You mean a violent revolution?

**Zagarell:** Not a violent revolution, I don't think that's the question between Socialists and Communists. That's not the difference. We want peaceful revolution and we should like to fight for it. We're fighting for the ballot. We say if it has to be by violence, if the ruling class closes all doors to peaceful solution, brings an army to defeat the peaceful solution, the people are going to have to defend themselves.

**Scholastic:** Could you discuss the relationship of the Communist party to the New Left?

**Zagarell:** We think that the New Left has made some tremendous contributions to the country and I think the direction of the New Left is moving towards Marxism. I think it developed as a left that was radical, that was talking about changes. But I think now it is beginning to discuss Marxism; it's talking for the first time about the working class. We are confident that the direction is towards Marxism and many of them will come to the Communist party.

**Scholastic:** You say that you are the rightful leaders of the working class. How do you explain the appeal of a man like George Wallace to the working class?

**Zagarell:** When someone seriously wants to change America, they appeal to the workers. The American workers want a change. Humphrey and Nixon don't offer a change. Wallace says that he is an alternative. He says that the two parties are corrupt. He makes like he is a representative of the little guy, and he's going to appeal to the workers as long as there is no left appeal. The left has to take the responsibility for the Wallace situation because the left has been talking in generalities and only about students and problems of intellectuals.

**Scholastic:** In the last month the world's attention has been turned to the events in Czechoslovakia. Could you tell us why you think the Soviets invaded Czechoslovakia?

**Zagarell:** We were very painfully affected by the situation, these were our comrades, and we believed in that dream that they were trying to fulfill. But the world situation is sharpening. That is a problem that we must all be concerned with. Czechoslovakia is a critical country for the whole balance of Europe, and what happens there decides whether the Vietnamese and other countries also fighting for liberation will be able to win their struggles. I think the Soviets were saying to Czechoslovakia only one thing: experiment, take only two safeguards, guard the West German border, and take steps against the CIA. There is still big discussion about socialism, but certain right wing elements had openly declared their activities in Czechoslovakia and these are the people that the Czech government should have taken action against, but didn't.

**Scholastic:** Why was the Czech press against the invasion?

**Zagarell:** The press had gone into the hands of one faction of the Communist movement. There were two other factions, one led by Dubcek, the other led by elements further to the left than Dubcek. The press was mainly in the hands of one group and that was the struggle. The struggle was that the Communists should be able to voice their own opinions in the press. ■

# To Say Nothing of Simple Justice

by Kathy Carbine

**S**T. MARY'S administration has begun the year by issuing a challenge to Student Government. To an extent, Student Government has been caught off guard, for the administration's tactics were new to the college.

The tactics? Offering power to the students beyond even their tentative demands, assuming that the student body is both mature and capable enough to handle huge responsibilities. The students, on their part, are finding that their problem is no longer to squeeze what they can from the college, but rather managing what they get.

Understandably, no one's complaining. No one looks at the situation as a hostile confrontation with opposing strategies. Yet, it does seem that the most effective means of controlling a student body is giving them all reasonable control, forcing them to handle their own affairs. If the maturity really isn't there, the resulting chaos will justify administrative resumption of authority. If it is, the administration has taken a load off its own shoulders and made the students happy in the process. To say nothing of simple justice.

A hint of this attitude could be discerned with the first rule change of Fr. McGrath's administration. Last January, smoking in the dining hall was OK'd. A blue haze promptly descended on the hall at mealtimes. One by one the attractive, color-coordinated ashtrays made their way to girls' rooms. They were replaced only very slowly, and the replacements were smaller, less attractive. The first blush of triumph over, the haze thinned. The lesson learned, ashtrays stayed in the dining hall. The oft-predicted problems were minimal. There was a surge of student enthusiasm for the administration. Corny, maybe. But nonetheless effective.

Since that first month of Fr. McGrath's presidency, the same principle has pervaded in more and more aspects of student and faculty life. Bluntly put by Academic Commissioner Sally Davis, "With Father McGrath we're in fat city."

Last semester students, faculty, and administration met together and in a months-long project drew up a Statement of Student Rights and Responsibilities. The Statement clarified the rights of students in the community, and in the process closed up loopholes that had formerly been used by administrations to exercise control in supposedly student-run areas. Committees working on the Statement came to appreciate more and more the effectiveness of all three campus power groups working cooperatively. Especially the committee on rights of due process began to speculate on how workable a similar approach would be campus-wide. The key seemed, in committee chairman Theresie Ambrusko's

opinion, "working with various people as individuals rather than as representatives of power structures."

After Theresie's election as Student Body President, various community government structures were suggested and studied. The basic idea behind a community government is that students, faculty, and administration cooperate in formulating and enforcing policy. Over the summer, Theresie and the other St. Mary's delegates to the NSA convention investigated community governments at other schools.

Board of Trustees' approval was won for such a structure to handle student life. A Student Affairs Council was established, to be considered on the same level as the two highest councils of the school, the Administrative Council and the Academic Affairs Council. Only the most important decisions will be referred to the Student Affairs Council, which consists of three administrators, two faculty, and three students (the SBP, SBVP, and one other). Under the Student Affairs Council are five committees, each one made up of representatives of all three groups. The committees will handle Student Affairs, Publications, Residence Halls, Student Development, and Health Service.

Under the old system, the student legislature passed bills pertaining to hours, sign-out procedure, dress, and similar matters. The legislation then went before a student Executive Board, and from there to the Dean of Students, who had final authority. Now, all bills from the legislature will be referred to the Student Affairs Committee (4 administrators, 3 faculty, 6 students), who may pass on it themselves or decide that it is sufficiently drastic to warrant consideration by the Student Affairs Council. In the same way, material from the hall legislatures will be taken up by the Committee on Residence Halls, and if deemed necessary then by the Student Affairs Council.

In student life, then, St. Mary's is about caught up to other schools. But in academics this year it's going to be leaving a lot of them behind. Students will be sitting on academic committees within the next few months, with voting power. While there is some reluctance to grant the Academic Commissioner a seat on the Academic Affairs Council, approval is assured for seating several students on its committees, where pertinent to student needs. In fact, Sally Davis reported, Fr. McGrath suggested the possibility of a need for students on standing committees which report directly to the Board of Trustees. The only thing higher is the Board itself. But don't think that's sacrosanct. Father, says Sally, wanted to know if she'd thought about a student on the Board of Trustees! Well, no, she hadn't, but now that you mentioned it. . .

# City of Big Winds

by Kathy Cecil

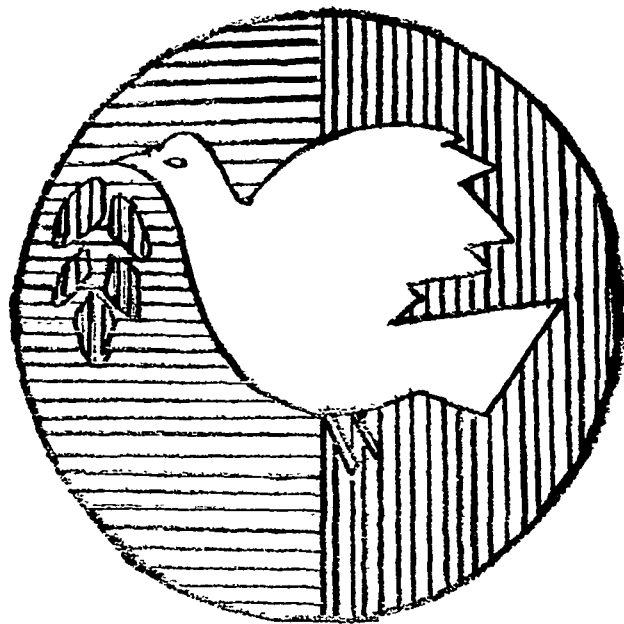
**B**UY A peace button, help bail your brothers out of jail." The buttons I sold were for the mobilization, blue and green, the dove and olive branch, simple, neat, designed to aesthetically please little old women and uptight college coeds with colors to match their summer dresses . . . subtle colors not too garish for the businessman's suit and still suitably ambiguous for children.

Across the sidewalk a spade cat, later labeled a black militant and an inciter of riots by one hassled reporter, sold Eldridge Cleaver and Free Huey buttons. Both of us worked to bail our brothers out of jail.

I came to the city of big winds from the East Village, New York. I had no money, and no shoes until I found a pair for a dollar. All of us were ready to hitch home, so I carried only a bookbag with another pair of blue jeans and a toothbrush. My army jacket carried the badge of the resistance.

That night leaving the coliseum after Johnson's un-birthday party rumors drifted back along the street of something like massacre in Lincoln Park.

The next morning I reported to the Mobilization. I worked for them selling buttons, and dispensing literature. On the way to Grant Park we got caught up in a "stop Humphrey" march which we gladly joined. All morning until two in the afternoon I sold buttons, gave people directions on how to get housing, how to find resistance centers and what the general program of action was. Many adults and delegates wandered through the park to observe more closely the militant army of fanatics that threatened the security of the whole city. Some read the literature. Bobby Seale of the Black Panthers addressed the people in the park along with other members of radical factions. Soon everyone gravitated to the bandshell. I handed out free "Guardians" and looked for someone from the Mobe to take over the button materials before things got rough. Speakers from every corner of the new left spoke at the bandshell. Hayden, angry at the lack of outrage at the news of Rennie Davis's cracked skull, urged everyone to take to the streets, to disrupt. Dave Dellinger was a little more moderate, and during Carl Oglesby's introduction there was some uproar. The police had grabbed a few people on the fringes and the crowd got angry. They tried to protect their people and the police beat them back with clubs and a little gas. Carl Oglesby came back with references to the police and tried to calm the people. His speech was interrupted several times for people to use the mikes to find cars to go to Michael Reese or to find medics for wounded brothers. Everything proceeded. While on-



stage they told us all was well, I watched the police clubbing our people. I was still looking for someone from the Mobe when a line of police started running at the crowd. Our people were not to be calmed then. They responded by attacking the police car. Many people yelled for the throwing to stop because it was hurting our brothers. Soon things cooled.

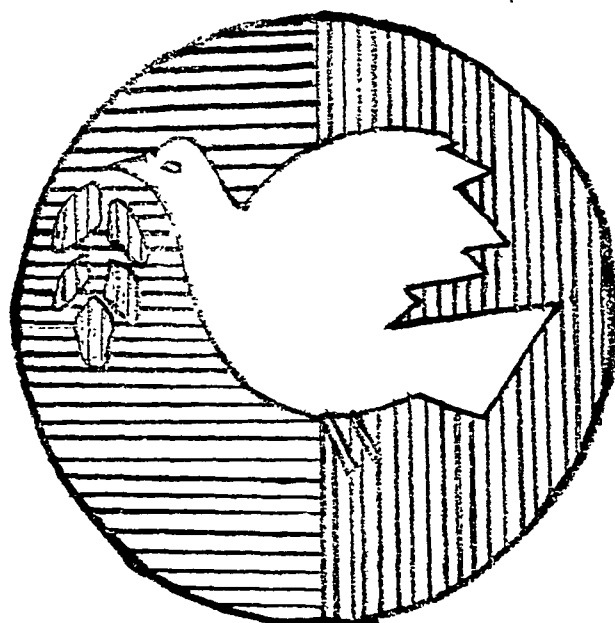
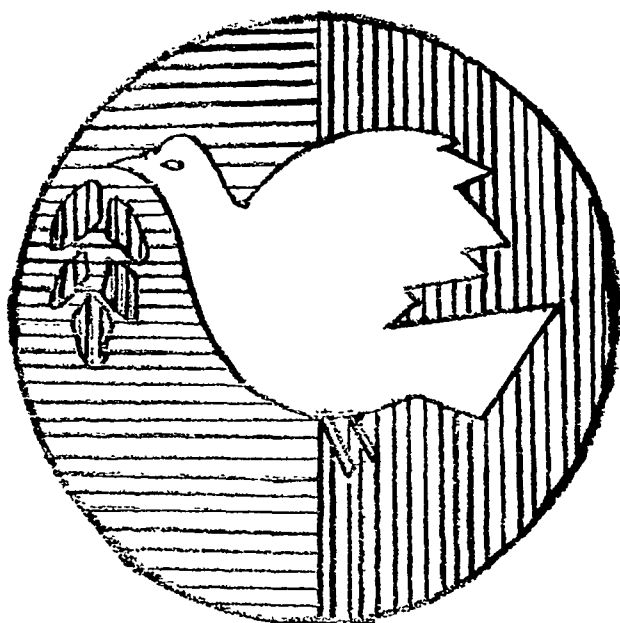
Then came the lowering of the U.S. flag and the raising of the NLF flag. These were the people of the streets, throwing their bodies in front of the forces of politics, knowing well the power that could bring revolution. They are Americans and no one can say without qualification that they are traitors to their country. They see this country on a suicidal road. They are working to save it, to destroy the despicable forces of the present government and the concept of the military-industrial complex. They are working for the people's liberation, and for this they give their bodies. They lower their flag because it represents their country as they are ashamed to recognize it. They fly the flag of their country at half mast or upside down to show the world that this is not how this country will always be, to show that its present shameful and humiliating conduct will have to fall before the will of the people.

When the police, many of them Marine veterans, saw this they attacked the crowd in outrage at what they defined as blasphemy. Many were hurt. The speakers were beginning to conclude, offering alternatives of action. Hayden asked everyone to do their thing in the streets. Ginsberg, hoarsely intoning the om of the universe, asked everyone to come with him on a peaceful march to the amphitheatre. Some left. Most lined up for the march.

"Eight abreast . . . arms locked . . . girls on the inside . . . helmets on the outside . . . everyone have a damp handkerchief or a piece of rag for when the gas comes . . . if anyone provokes police get rid of him; he is probably a plainclothesman . . ."

Everyone lined up quietly. There was much delay. Dick Gregory and the other leaders "negotiated" for our right to leave the park. Everyone finally sat down. About forty plainclothesmen drifted back through the crowd.

Several hours passed while they negotiated. Word came back on the bullhorns that no progress was being made. Everyone became aware of the possibility that the police would try to keep us in the park until dark. Then they could rush the crowd, get small groups in the dark and beat them without fear of press coverage. Everyone became restless. People began milling around. The bullhorns informed us that negotiations had com-



pletely broken down. Everyone broke up, planning to head for the street in front of the Conrad Hilton. We began walking south and discovered the National Guard on every bridge. One of the people I was with questioned a Guardsman as to what would happen if he attempted to walk past the barricade. "Well, I guess I'd have to shoot you." We proceeded to the next bridge and the next. One newsman told us that the bridges were blocked for a mile up Michigan Ave. At the fourth bridge everyone was getting a little impatient and a few people began asking the Guard how the hell they were supposed to get out of the park. No answer. They milled around in front of the bridge. Several talked of rushing the Guard. A few walked forward to test the reaction. Gas flew. People fell on the grass and the pavement, unable to see, holding damp rags to their noses and mouths. It was beginning to get dark. The medics rushed around with water. People screamed instructions to their brothers.

"Don't touch your eyes . . . breathe quickly through your mouth . . . walk, don't run, you'll trample your brothers. . . ."

Several minutes later, with the gas clearing somewhat and word drifting back through the lines that there had been a confrontation, people congregated and walked to the fifth bridge which we crossed. They headed for the streets. A fantastic cheer rose as we saw the Poor People's Campaign with mule-drawn wagons coming down the street. The Poor People's Campaign had a parade permit which we had been denied. Everyone fell in behind them.

I was directly behind the first wagon. Young blacks pushed people back for fear they would frighten the mules. And a black without adequate P.A. addressed our people. He told us that while they sympathized they could not endanger their own march. The police lines were closed in front of all of us. We would have to stand back and let them march through. The crowd was angry and restless but agreed that some of our brothers should get through. The wagons moved slowly through police lines which immediately closed behind them. I confronted a line of policemen directly in front of me. One short, fat helmeted man knocked his club softly in his hand. "Come to me, honey. Come to me when it starts." None too encouraged by this, we still decided to remain firm in our stand at the front. We sat down. But fearing crowd movement, we rose after a few minutes. Our little friend on the police force then stuck out his hands and pushed me down. Some of the people with me were immediately hostile and began shouting at him. Then total uproar. Several busloads

of police had been unloaded at the back of the crowd and had simply run in swinging. Hearing the commotion at the rear, the police in front of us let loose. I found myself one of a squirming mass of people thrown in a heap in the middle of the street. One girl, her body pulled in several directions, screamed. One boy yelled for them not to break his glasses. I tried to get up and was thrown down again. I saw the police pulling people from the sides and throwing them on top of us. The blows on my body were dull. I cried, trying to stand up. My head throbbed from blows and my back was sore and bruised. I had no shoes on and I limped as I tried to head for the curb near the park. I concentrated on walking. Two policemen began to hit me as I left. I fell and felt them hit me several more times as I tried to move. Suddenly they stopped and I made it to the curb. One more blow then and I completely blacked out. One of the medics pulled me away from the police to a medic truck.

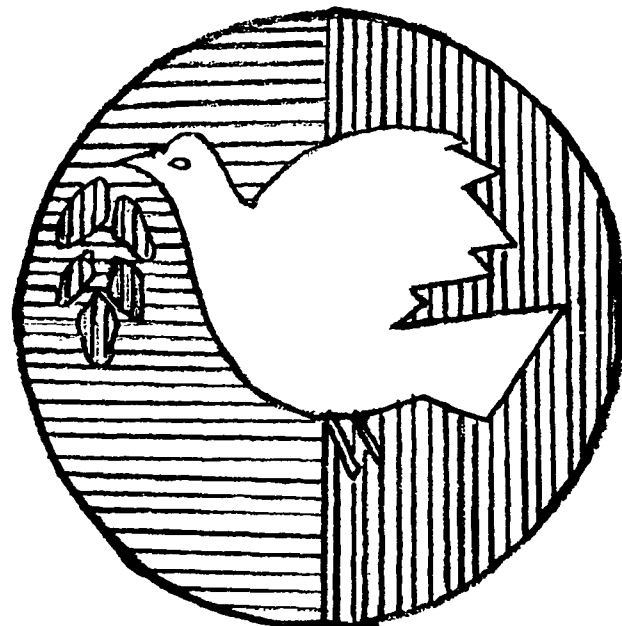
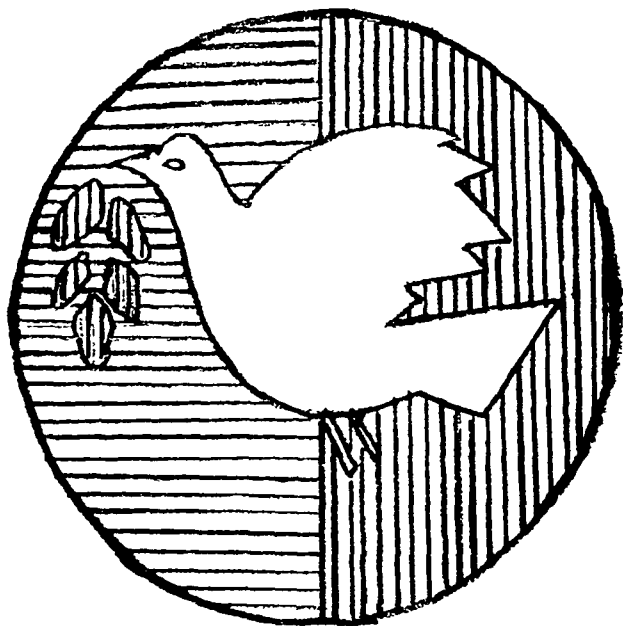
I was there until five in the morning because the Guards told me I could not leave the park. I finally got to a phone and called friends in the resistance until someone could come and pick me up.

As I waited for them, a clean Gene college kid in a suit came over to ask about the trouble in the streets. He was a McCarthy worker on the floor of the convention. He sat in total dejection.

"I gave up a semester of school and worked for months with no food or sleep travelling all over, ringing doorbells and what the hell for . . . we didn't have a chance . . . we were just bulldozed right off the floor . . . our delegates beaten and arrested . . . our workers not let in because of Daley's stooges packing the rafters . . . I don't think I'll take to the streets . . . next election . . . we'll start work now and get those bastards good." He offered me his car to help find people and then went slowly up to bed.

The next afternoon we returned to Grant Park. There were stations with free milk and sandwiches. We heard Gene McCarthy tell us we could choose to work in the system or not. We heard Robert Lowell and others. Then came the announcement that our brothers in the Wisconsin delegation were having a confrontation with the police at 18th and Michigan in a peaceful march of that delegation to the amphitheatre. All were routed back down Michigan to the park by the National Guard. Upon return to the park everyone stormed a hill leading to a statue. The previous day one of our brothers had mounted the horse and his arm had been broken when a policeman pulled him down.





Pierre Salinger spoke to us here telling us to stay in the democratic process. He was promptly booed down. "He was not in the streets with us; he has no right to speak." He was allowed to speak. No one pretended to hold his view, no one who was in the street. A doctor then spoke to us or rather a med student. He informed us that Daley had pinpointed the medics as the leaders; anyone wearing white or ministering aid was immediately subject to attack. He asked that the medics be protected. Then Dick Gregory spoke. He told us he lived on Fifty-fifth St., and no one could tell him he couldn't walk home if he wanted to and bring a few friends home for dinner. "If anyone gets arrested, tell them that you were coming to my house for a party," he said, then went to talk to the police. Another round of negotiations and lengthy debate ensued. Finally the line began to move, three abreast on the sidewalk, stopping for lights . . . an orderly march. We learned they would not let us get past Eighteenth Street, for that was getting into Disciple turf, the black area right before the Rangers turf and one major fear was that the blacks and the demonstrators would unite.

The march stopped. People on bullhorns announced that Gregory was making progress. Some of us sat down. Some urged people to leave their cars and join us. Word came through that Gregory had been arrested. Some dampened rags for the gas attack. A few left. Word came down that the delegates were being arrested. As the line formation tightened up, one girl ran from the front of the line, sobbing and screaming that they were beating the delegates as they arrested them. "Their hands are up and they're beating them, they don't have a chance and they're beating them."

"The dirty bastards." There was forward movement but it was calmed by the marshals and everyone returned to the lines. "OK, our brothers are being arrested. If you aren't prepared for arrest, please return to the park . . . some of your brothers and sisters are already there . . . if you are willing to be arrested get in single file and move forward slowly . . . remove pins and pierced earrings. . . ." I moved forward, a dampened handkerchief in my hand.

During the first few arrests after those of the delegates the police realized that a great many people were prepared for arrest. The order came, "Gas them." The gas cannisters were thrown into and at the foot of the crowd. One boy, bit by a cannister, bled from one eye. People fled from the gas, ran right into more gas. "Walk . . . don't run . . . be careful of your brothers and sisters . . . don't panic . . . take care of one another

. . . don't touch your eyes . . . breathe quickly through your mouth . . . the medics have water, they will wash out your eyes . . . head down . . . gas rises quickly . . ."

The gas cleared. The people stopped. "Wait, the gas is clearing, let's go back." With red and swollen faces we stumbled back. But there was more gas and the Guards moved forward, their bayonets out now, using the butts to hit those who stumbled, fell, or did not fall back from their advance. The medic trucks were the target of many cannisters.

We reached the park. An effigy of Daley burned from one tree, then went out. Everyone sat down coughing and looking for people lost in the uproar. Word came on the P.A. that Humphrey was looking down at the park from his suite. A roar rose from the park. They yelled until they had no voices left. They screamed in impotence and fury. The college kids never exposed to this kind of march who had left the convention floor for a peaceful moment and were gassed and hit; kids from both coasts who came with no money, hitching and sleeping in the park; and organized radicals willing to fight, they all came. They want an end to the cursed war that drains our country, killing off its youth overseas and in the ghettos. Adults weary and disappointed in the convention, disillusioned by their beating by the police as they tried to reach hotel rooms, all took refuge in the park now from the gas. And they all cursed Humphrey.

Know man that whichever pig is president he'll never rule this country and keep it in one piece if we are not heard . . . number two war criminal . . . take a shower so the gas smell gets out of your nose but know that if we the people are not heard you will smell instead blood on the streets. You will not always find us non-violent. We no longer feel it makes our point to be arrested and beaten in masses and not fight back. We are here because we gave your system a look and now we expose it in all its rot and filth and we threaten you now, for we will change this country, we are giving our bodies everywhere for just this purpose.

The scream should have terrified that man. He should have shaken with dread to confront the power of people totally enraged and sickened and to know that they are the people he presumes to rule. But he said instead that the police overreacted as did the press and there was not as much trouble as the papers would have us think.

The people will not tolerate the war criminals in office much longer. The streets belong to the people and finally they are ready to give their bodies in the fight. "In revolution one wins or dies." Venceremos. ■



You probably won't believe  
this, but we're printing a  
**Pez Retraction**

NOTRE DAME, IND. Sept. 20 . . . Editors of the weekly student magazine here have announced that PEZ candy, contrary to previous reports, is *not*, repeat *not*, a dangerous drug. In the SCHOLASTIC of last November 10, an irresponsible young student journalist published the now-famous article slandering the good name of that product (one of Vienna's most important exports) and, by association, Walt Disney, the Topps bubble gum company, Murray the K and Jerry Blavat, the American and National Professional Baseball Leagues, Crest toothpaste, Captain Video, and all else good and holy.

Rumors of an official protest by the Austrian Embassy are as yet unfounded.

When asked, "Is nothing sacred?" author Tom Henahan protested that his article was, after all, only a joke. But the New York law firm of Walter and Conston, U. S. representatives of Pez-Haas Incorporated, failed to see the humor in his work and whisked off a letter to SCHOLASTIC editor Mike McInerney in June, several days after McInerney's graduation from Notre Dame. After a summer of relaxed contemplation, the current SCHOLASTIC staff decided to publish a retraction rather than spend their fall semester facing a lawsuit.

Even as they prepared to publish this retraction, however, spokesmen from the magazine editorial board were reluctant to describe their action as a surrender or an admission of guilt. They were quick to deny the lawyer's accusations that the article was detrimental to PEZ sales. "That was the best free advertising they ever got," claimed one of Henahan's fellow associate editors. Bill Cullen, the current editor-in-chief, reported that many students of his acquaintance mentioned that they hadn't heard of PEZ since childhood until the notorious article appeared, and some had never known the candy at all. Another staff member claimed that PEZ sales at Darnell Drugs, South Bend's leading retail PEZ outlet, were never higher in the last five years than during last November. "We are printing the retraction only to avoid the inconvenience of a lawsuit and to clarify the frivolous nature of the article. On the other hand, I like my article and don't take back one (censored) word of it," announced an irate Henahan this morning.

\* \* \*

Unlike my article last fall, this is no joke. We really got a letter last spring and we are reprinting it here for your enlightenment. There are only a few things to say:

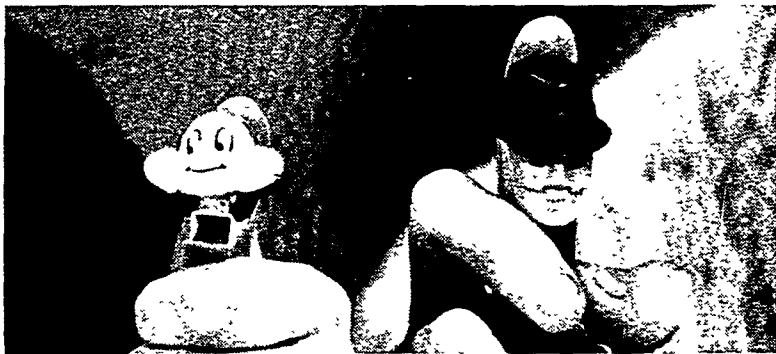
For those of you who need reassurance: PEZ won't damage your mind. It may louse your teeth up a bit, but not any more than any other candy. Please don't

let the SCHOLASTIC stop you from buying your usual weekly supply of PEZ, for we'd hate to see our friends across the ocean go out of business on our account.

For those of you who are hip to what's going on: Sorry to waste one whole page of your time on this silliness, but if you've read this far, you're probably at least as amused as we are.

For those of you who weren't around last year and wonder what's going on: It's too long a story to go into now; if you're really curious, they have back issues of the SCHOLASTIC on the second floor of the library.

Bye now,  
Tommy



**CERTIFIED MAIL**

To the Editor of  
SCHOLASTIC,  
The Student Weekly  
University of Notre Dame  
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

May 24, 1968

Gentlemen:

Our client, Pez-Haas, Inc., which distributes PEZ products in the United States, sent me your issue of November 10, 1967, which was sent to them by one of their dealers.

The dealer points out that an article in this issue "The PEZ Peril" was found to have a detrimental effect on the distribution of PEZ products.

The article which seems to be authored by your features editor, Mr. Henahan, is apparently meant to be a satire although obviously with the intent of ridiculing people who buy PEZ products.

Apart from this damaging intent, it is probably intended to be funny although in a somewhat heavy-handed way.

It contains *inter alia* the following sentences:

"But now, with this PEZ, they all act like babies, . . .".

"PEZ (an abbreviation for polylysurgic ethyleneacid from Zambia) is legal, sold as candy to children . . .".

"However, in individuals past the age of puberty, PEZ causes regression to childhood behavior."

"Concerned about the effect of PEZ on the mind, the body and the teeth, . . .".

"PEZ has been shown to be an effective maturity-preventive medicinal that can be of significant value when used in a conscientiously applied program of mental hygiene and regular professional care."

These examples may suffice as *partes pro toto*; they are—to say the least—derogatory and damaging.

The purpose of our writing to you is—without waiving any rights or claims in connection with the publication of this article—to apprise you of the circumstances and to explore with you the possibility of a remedy or at least amelioration of the condition created by the publication of your article.

Expecting to hear from you at your early convenience, I am,

Very truly yours,  
OTTO L. WALTER

OLW:rh

# FOOTBALL PREVIEW — 1968

In a season that promises explosive offenses and new records from proven superstars such as Bradley, Hanratty, Keyes, and Simpson, Notre Dame faces its toughest schedule of the decade.

Having consulted the stars, the clairvoyant sports staff of the SCHOLASTIC returns to the limb of prophecy in an attempt to foresee the next ten Saturdays of Notre Dame football.

## Oklahoma

The summer sounded like a roll call at the Bronx Zoo with its Agnews and Muskies. Now, the month of September brings a Warmack to South Bend. A Warmack doesn't leap and scream like a Muskie or an Agnew, but it passes and pitches to a halfback named Eddie Hinton. Together, Warmack and Hinton led Oklahoma to a 9-1 record and an Orange Bowl victory over Tennessee in 1967. Oklahoma's chief asset is the speed of their offense. Look for a lot of option plays with Hinton doing most of the outside running. Oklahoma could tell the story of the 1968 season. With Bob Olson, a doubtful starter, both the linebackers and the secondary will be inexperienced. The Sooners' option plays will put the pressure on the linebackers for the entire game. Oklahoma should score two or three touchdowns, but the Irish offense should be able to outscore the speedy Sooners.

## Iowa

Corn crops have been good in Iowa but somehow football players have not thrived. Last year the Hawkeyes followed Purdue on the schedule and felt the power of a recovering Notre Dame offense. This year finds Iowa in the same unenviable position. The Hawkeyes' defense is no match for the Notre Dame offense. Passing will mark the day with Gladieux and Seymour the main targets. A defeat by Notre Dame will be the beginning of another disappointing season for the Hawkeyes. "Win One for the Gipper" will work this week even if it is a little corny.

## Purdue

LeRoy Keyes comes to Notre Dame as everybody's candidate for this year's Heisman Trophy. Mike Phipps, although performing in the shadow of Keyes, should be one of the best quarterbacks in the country. If Notre Dame only had to face the running of Keyes, the outlook might be brighter. Notre Dame's major weakness is in its defensive secondary. Tom Quinn looks adequate at safety, but in the spring game last year the other prospects did not look as good. They still don't. Notre Dame's improved defensive line should slow Purdue's running game, but the Boilermakers will take a heavy toll through the air. Notre Dame will go into a game as an underdog for the first time in four years and "Win One for the Gipper" won't work this time despite the home field advantage.

## Northwestern

Two Illinois teams travel to South Bend on successive Saturdays to rescue the state's reputation after Mayor Daley forbid Tom Hayden to play football in Lincoln Park last month. Northwestern was just beginning to recover from its brain drain when Ara Parseghian put his bags on the South Shore and headed South. The Wildcats did show promise last year, but this year they will have their troubles in a stronger Big Ten and playing Notre Dame will not ease their schedule. Even Mayor Daley will not be able to stop this march, as the Irish offense overwhelms the Wildcats.

## Illinois

Homecoming will host the Illini who follow their Chicago neighbors into Notre Dame Stadium. Last year's win should be repeated this year with the home field giving Notre Dame an overwhelming margin. Like everybody else this season, Illinois should put a touchdown or two on the scoreboard, but by the middle of the season the defense should be organized enough to keep Illinois honest. Illinois has the same problems as Notre Dame on defense, but lacks a quarterback of any quality. Plan on a happy Homecoming, folks.

## Michigan State

The traditional pomp and pageantry will pervade the atmosphere before the annual Notre Dame-Michigan State game this year. Vandals and Visigoths will invade East Lansing bearing fair and ill tributes to each team. The barbarians will lay siege to the ticket counters, or more correctly, to the ticket scalpers. But football purists will lose some of their enthusiasm because both teams have suffered grave wounds at the hands of the *almost* inevitable enemy, graduation. The defensive squads have been hit especially hard. And the loss of secondary specialists Tom Schoen, Tom O'Leary, and Jim Smithberger may leave the Irish defense with more holes than the Russian argument for Czech occupation. The outcome of the game may well depend on who assumes the duties of plugging these holes. If Bob Ferraco's passing is equal to his best efforts of last year (when he played as a sub for Jimmy Raye), the Irish may have to play their linebackers deep to squelch excessive air yardage. But if Parseghian can put together a solid secondary, the Irish linebackers should be able to shift their emphasis to stopping the hard-running Regis Cavender—a task not too small for the Red Army.

With both defenses unproven, as many as seven players may find their way across the goal line. But with M.S.U.'s Jimmy Raye gone and Notre Dame's Terry Hanratty present, the Irish should manage four of the seven scores.

## Pittsburgh

But while Navy's hopes for improved football fade, Pittsburgh exudes an unfamiliar hope this year. Not since the years of Mike Ditka has hope run so high at Pittsburgh. A look at last year's season would not seem to justify such optimism: one victory, that an upset against Wisconsin, and nine losses comprised the 1967 Pittsburgh results. What then is the cause of the optimism? Well, it seems that the Panthers have come up with a large group of sophomore phenoms. For the first time in a long while, Pittsburgh coaches were able to encourage a large portion of the state's more than ample football talent to remain in Pennsylvania. Thus, eleven of the first twenty-two players may be sophomores. Last year's famed freshman team of Pittsburgh was scheduled to meet the Notre Dame freshman team, but the game was postponed due to a monsoon in South Bend and finally cancelled when the snow arrived. Thus, a preliminary confrontation was prevented.

Despite all the confidence in Pittsburgh, the Panthers will encounter a more experienced team whose veteran passing combination may leave Pittsburgh's youth in confusion. Only overconfidence can trigger an Irish defeat.

## Georgia Tech

Some people never learn lessons from history, only from experience. Georgia Tech just did not get the message written so clearly by Charles XII of Sweden, Napoleon of France, and Hitler of Germany as they trod through Southern Russia in midwinter. After all, there are some things you just do not do: challenge Robin Hood to an archery match in Sherwood Forest, visit Al Capone's home for a game of poker, or hold an "open" political convention in Daleyville. There are certain biases inescapably present and inevitably inextricable. But like we said, Georgia Tech just does not understand what November 15th in South Bend is like. You just cannot put football players in pyrex containers and ship them north. And so unless they purchase a boatload of axe-handles from Uncle Lester to compensate, Georgia will find that Notre Dame has the game iced up.

## Navy

Well, Hoss Cartwright is gone; and the Ponderosa will not be the same for a while, maybe never. The Naval Academy is finding it increasingly hard to lure talented football players to Annapolis. The primary reason is obvious enough: too few high school whizzes are willing to trade their professional aspirations for four years of mandatory service on Uncle Sam's crew team. They have seen Heisman Trophy winners like Joe Bellino relegated to running back punts in the American Football League after a four-year leave of absence from the gladiatorial combats. Constantly visited by college scouts and coaches, the twelfth-grade flash is aware that he is not going to pay his way through college no matter where he goes. Why should he contract to prolong his military service after graduation?

Without a quarterback prospect in sight, the Middies will merely watch as Notre Dame provides the explosive activity.

## Southern California

Everybody knows, of course, that Orange Juice is back—And this orange juice is neither slaker nor slacker. Few people will deny that O. J. Simpson is probably the most exciting player since 1965 when Bill Zloch floated passes that looked like leaves falling from the press box.

But in all fairness to O. J. Simpson, the best player in football—this year or last—one brick does not make a building and one glass of orange juice does not make a screwdriver: Southern California may well have difficulties this year. Three of the country's top twenty-two players graduated from this team last year, and players like linebacker Adrian Young, defensive tackle Ron Yary, and end Earl McCullough will have to be conspicuous by their absence this year. An Irish defense, matured by nine games, should hold Southern Cal to a couple of touchdowns while the offense explodes often enough to provide a hard-fought victory.

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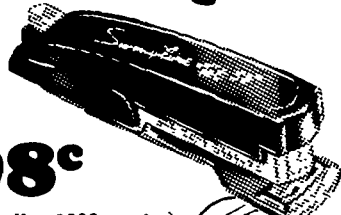
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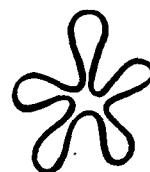
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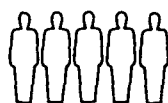
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## Paris Peace Talks

All summer the masquerade continued.

Greetings were extended. Accusations were leveled. Starched collars were ironed and larynxes oiled.

A stalemate was reached.

It seemed that neither side truly intended to negotiate a settlement.

Then, a few weeks ago, two American newspaper editors disclosed that they had acted as emissaries for the North Vietnamese government this spring, carrying Hanoi's statement of intent to negotiate in Paris. That statement noted that, previously, Hanoi had demanded a halt to the bombing of North Vietnam by the Americans before the parley could begin. However, due to the rise of world hopes following Johnson's melodramatic enjoinder, they would attend, provided it was understood that nothing could be settled until the U.S. reciprocated by ceasing the bombing.

And it is a reciprocation. For, as revolutionaries, the "enemy" are opposing the status quo. Thus, bilateral cease-fires are to the disadvantage of the revolutionary forces, since the establishment thrives and oppression continues while the negotiations take place. The anti-establishment power base is destroyed because the status quo constitutes the establishment offensive.

Having recognized that they cannot defeat the "enemy" militarily, the American people have taken the untenable position of demanding a "negotiated end" to the war without making any concessions. What they really want is a "negotiated victory" in the name of what they have been led to believe is freedom.

It is high time that "our" Paris delegation woke up and recognized that, as both the interventionist and establishment forces, they must take the initiative. They must end the bombing they have clumsily pretended to be a *defensive* maneuver. B52's can never "search and destroy" supply lines inching through the jungle. They can only obliterate innocent hamlets.

And it is just as important that the American people forget the "bad guy" tag stuck on the Viet Cong, wrongly assuming that world communism is a one-dimensional monolith. It is just as important that they dispel their fear of a yellow-skinned threat to God and country.

It is just as important that their politicians stop bandying around misleading terms like "honorable peace" and "camouflaged" surrender.

We are in dishonor now.

World opinion is against us. Why can't this nation get up the courage to admit that it has been wrong and not perpetuate the blunder? Has France lost its international prestige in 1968 because it pulled out of an immoral situation in Vietnam in 1954? Has it ceased to be a "world power" because its sphere of influence and economic shot-in-the-arm rebelled?

No.

We must pull out our military, allow free elections and accept the coalition government that ensues.

For we can never eliminate the National Liberation Front. We can only try to understand its appeal.

Revolutions are fostered by two things: social injustice and denial of national identity. And the communists in Vietnam have aligned themselves against both evils.

By making ourselves the symbol of exploitation and intervention to the Vietnamese people, we are, in effect, forcing their dependence on Russia and China.

Instead of allowing the national hero, Ho Chi Minh, with his huge mandate from the Vietnamese people (North and South) to establish a Titoist national government, our attacks force him to seek aid from Vietnam's traditional enemy, China.

And our military intervention gives the communists a million propaganda opportunities which could eventually polarize the inevitable communist government to hard-line anti-Americanism.

Our massive use of firepower instead of counter-insurgency tactics encourages the notion of America as an imperial giant.

Napalm, fragmentation and delayed-action bombs convince the people of our inhumanity.

People are relocated like sheep; defoliated land is barren for years.

The atrocities of the "enemy" are irrelevant. The fact is: We commit them and they are used against us.

Why do the people turn to communism?

Because they have been led to believe that there are only two systems to choose from.

French colonial aristocracy and the present Saigon government represent capitalism. (Some alternative to communism that is!)

This is the government that, this summer, jails Truong Van Dzu, the presidential candidate who came in second in their "free" election, because the communists may use him as a rallying point (being a "dove").

This is the government that closes down the daily Saigon Post this summer for daring to print an article on government corruption.

This is the government that, on the same day, removes token officials from office for "corrupt practices."

This is the government that suckles the system of absentee ownership.

This is the government that is the "puppet" of U.S. industrialists.

This is the government that complains about defections and apathy in its army and sympathy for the "enemy" among its constituency.

Are we going back to Diem's blood purge?

Meanwhile, on the home front, money sorely needed for domestic programs is channeled into the war effort, the nation loses faith in the credibility of its politicians, young men die, and people get used to it.

They are our puppet?

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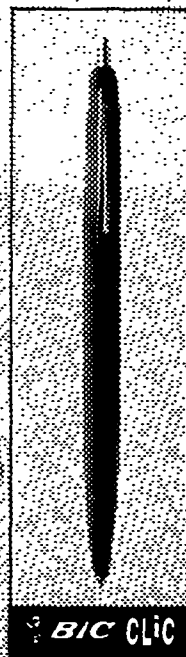
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# **Be a Part of the Changes in Notre Dame . . .**

The SCHOLASTIC is the only undergraduate weekly magazine in the country, this year in its 101st year of publication. Its staff, composed entirely of Notre Dame and Saint Mary's students, represents one of the largest co-ed organizations on either campus. Every week we talk about campus, local, and national issues for our 10,000 local and national subscribers, including both ND and SMC's campuses and 200 other campuses across the country.

This year we need writers, photographers, and artists more than ever. Right now, we have only one junior editor. Next year every editorial position on this magazine will be open to staff members that join this year.

If you have time for only one worthwhile extra-curricular activity, consider the SCHOLASTIC. Come up to our offices on the 3rd floor of the Student Center any time after 8:00 p.m. on Sunday or Monday night or call 7569.

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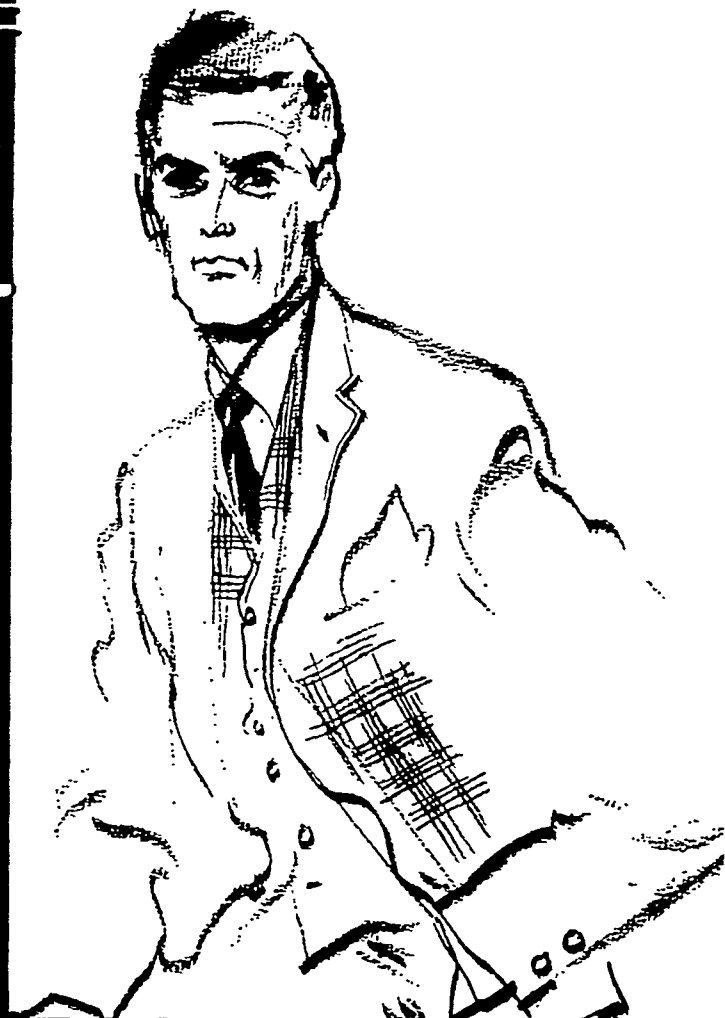
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