

SCHOLASTIC



Movie *Dance* / November 1, 1968

**Election Day, 1968:
A Guilty Helplessness,
and Dread**



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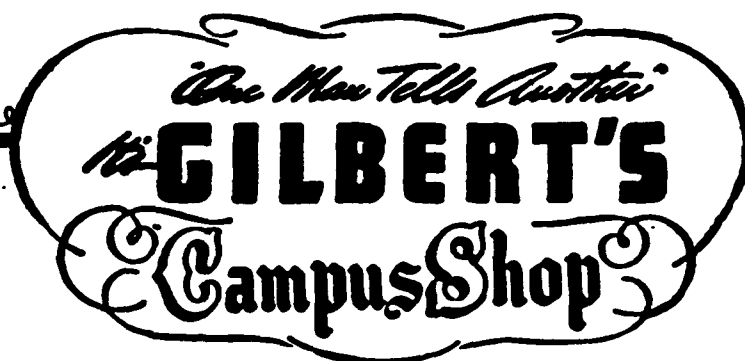
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SCHOLASTIC

Nov. 1, 1968 / Notre Dame, Indiana / Vol. 110, No. 6

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The SCHOLASTIC welcomes letters from its readers on all topics of current concern. Letters should be addressed to William Cullen, Editor-in-chief; Scholastic; Notre Dame, Indiana, 46556.

VISIBLE BROTHER REVISITED

EDITOR:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter I sent to Al Dean in response to his letter in the October 11 SCHOLASTIC. I am submitting it with his permission for publication.

Richard Bizot

Dear Mr. Dean:

I read your letter in the October 11 SCHOLASTIC with a great deal of interest. It provides, it seems to me, an excellent analysis of the 1968 presidential contest, both in terms of the Afro-American point of view and in general terms. No doubt my sense of its excellence is influenced by the fact that I agree with your analysis.

I am not black, but, like you, and like a lot of American voters of whatever hue, I feel "neglected by the choice at the polls." To choose from among Humphrey, Nixon, and Wallace is indeed to choose from "a bad lot." Which is why I will not vote for any of them. But I will vote; I have a right to that. And there is a candidate for president for whom I can vote without disgusting myself — in fact there's a candidate for whom I can vote with great enthusiasm. It surprises me that, in your letter, you dismissed the possibility of voting for "that visible brother, Dick Gregory."

Perhaps you have read his most recent book, *Write Me In*; perhaps you have seen the platform he is running on. Certainly you are aware of where he stands on the vital issues: the war, racism, poverty. And if so, it is unimaginable to me that you would not agree with me that he makes more sense, on these and the other issues, than the other three candidates combined. So why not vote for the best man?

I gather from the last paragraph of your letter that you feel that a vote for the fourth party's candidate will be a wasted vote. Why? Because he will not win? If that's the case, then why do you take Wal-

lace seriously as a candidate? (You devote as much of your letter to him as you do to Nixon and more than you do to Humphrey.) Wallace is clearly not going to win either. For that matter, why give consideration to Humphrey? Every indication to date points to a Nixon victory. Well, then, why do you pass off the fourth party's candidate so quickly?

You could, of course, succumb to the "lesser of evils" theory, and vote, however reluctantly, for Humphrey. But to do so would be, no matter how you look at it, to give your support to an acknowledged evil (one of that "bad lot" you were talking about). Why not, instead, register a protest against a political system which provides the electorate with a selection of evils (or lessers)? That's what Gregory's candidacy is all about.

The vote for Dick Gregory is admittedly going to be proportionately small (though not as small as some may think, particularly in the states where his name is on the ballot). But every person who registers that symbolic protest will be performing a meaningful political act — to my mind, the most meaningful political act possible in election year 1968. To demonstrate one's dissatisfaction with the three major choices — it is apparent that you are dissatisfied — and at the same time to cast your vote for a good and deeply committed man, who has a realistic sense of this nation's problems and imaginative proposals about how to begin to solve them — that seems to me to be an eminently worthwhile thing to do. It has nothing at all to do with "chasing shadows." It has everything to do with being politically visible.

Richard Bizot

A CONCRETE PROPOSAL

EDITOR:

When to my embarrassment I realized that I was wasting 72 minutes a year just going to the library, I cringed at how astronomically sinful must be the figure for time squandered in walking round-about to all the other locations on this campus. So shocked, I headed for the architecture building and came up with these statistics.

Given: There are some 227 major

doorways on this campus; a person standing in any one could be headed for any of the other 226; finally, the shortest distance between two points is a straight sidewalk.

- 1) needed sidewalks . . . $S \sum_{k=1}^{227} K = \frac{1}{2} 227 (227+1) = 25,878$
- 2) average width . . . 6 ft.
- 3) average length . . . 580 ft.
- 4) overall sidewalk area . . . 90,055,440 sq. ft.
- 5) overall campus area (incl. lakes & bldgs.) . . . 74,052,000 sq. ft.

If it were not for the twofold cost of cement and additional real estate, we could transform this school into the most efficient concrete wasteland in the world.

Is 72 minutes out of 525,600 a year too much to ask for a campus which even the men of science would proudly admit to be beautiful?

J. Imbler

PROBING MASSA LINKUM

EDITOR:

Alfred Dean's superfluous ditty on Abraham Lincoln is regrettably insufficient and largely a wasteful effort. It is one thing for Mr. Dean to call for American blacks to "read between the lines, delve deeper and penetrate further" into the pages of history in order to "obtain the truth." It is, however, quite obviously another matter for Mr. Dean to accomplish the same.

One must assume that Dean felt it important to set the record straight as regards "Massa Linkum's" view of the black man. He has substantially failed, and has, in so doing, done his brothers a disservice. It is incredibly myopic to cite Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation as proof or disproof of Lincoln's attitude toward the black man. The proclamation was nothing more than a tactic to end the war, a point which Lincoln not only admitted to, but which he insisted on making clear: "If I must free the slaves to save the Union, then I will free them. And if I must not free the slaves in order to save the Union, then I shall not free them."

It is, I think, clear that most Negroes view Lincoln as a savior not because of any specific action on his part but because of a benevolent mythology which presents Lincoln as a gentle, kind and decent man. Such a view is correct. Lincoln was gentle, and he was kind, and he was decent. But wholly germane to Mr. Dean's proposed argument — and yet completely ignored by him — is the fact that Lincoln was essentially unconcerned about the black man. It was one thing for Lincoln to morally condemn slavery. It was quite another for him to suggest, or believe, that the Negro was sufficient to the task of living in the white man's world. During his debates with Douglas, Lincoln constantly assured his audiences that he certainly did not advocate suffrage for the black man. His only program for the Negro as President was exportation to South America or Africa. All of the test colonies failed miserably, but even at the time of his death, Lincoln still hoped for a successful colonization program. The one time President Lincoln met with a delegation of black Americans, he made it clear to them that he was convinced that the two races could never live together and that separation was the only answer.

My point is this: Alfred Dean was right to warn his black brothers to read with care history written by the white man. And he was right in urging them not to accept a "shallow interpretation" of historical events. But in dealing with Lincoln, he has demonstrated an amazing lack of logical, relevant argument and has simply blazed ahead, shouting irrelevancies and quasi-statements of truth. It is true that the black man cannot depend on the white man to give him the truth. But Mr. Dean works a great disservice when he offers such truth and supplies nothing but weakly stated, poorly presented arguments, easily capable of destruction at the hands of the first intelligent, "super-patriot" white man he throws them at. The arguments are much too important to be so shoddily presented, especially when they are advanced to the black man on his way to real emancipation by another black man who pretends that he has

fully achieved his.

Charles J. Nau, Jr.
148 Farley Hall

REPLYING IN KIND

EDITOR:

That was a very interesting letter, John Hickey, but I would appreciate it if you would answer the question of exactly what the concepts "residence university" and "Christian community" mean for you, and describe *specifically* what the implementation of these ideas will mean for the future of the University. If you would just tell us what you think about these matters, discussion and rational debate about how Notre Dame is to achieve greatness could be taken up much more fruitfully. After all, if I am required to do all these things in one article, why shouldn't you have to do them in one letter?

Yours in phantom opponents,
Thomas F. Payne

BLESS THIS PIT

EDITOR:

The October 4 issue of the SCHOLASTIC showed a picture in its *Just in Passing* section of, "A Notorious O. C. House"; so too am I writing this letter, just in passing.

The house pictured was in the past a wee bit notorious, but this year is nothing of the sort. In the past it was known as "The Pit," but is now known to those who frequent it as This Old House II or The Crown Jewel!

On Sept. 13 when the doors were first opened by the new tenants, the house truly was a pit. However, after many hard and happy hours of work, it has been transformed into a clean house of higher learning!

We the tenants do have good times in our house and have shown others a good time as well. I don't want you to get the idea that we conduct Amish services or the like. But we don't feel that notorious is the correct adjective for our house, but rather something like blessed.

Home Owners
619 South Bend Ave.

PARANOIA PASSES

EDITOR:

Concerning the paranoia of Robert Vadnal's "War on the Young": As was aptly stated in a recent *New Yorker* — The Now Generation has a tendency to become the Then Generation.

Patrick A. Green

"STOP PATTING"

EDITOR:

In reference to Mr. Vadnal's rather emotional article in the last SCHOLASTIC ("War on the Young"), I would like to rhetorically ask whether or not such people as Mr. Vadnal will stop patting themselves on the back for their own selfishness long enough to see the world around them.

History has shown that between the ages of 15 and 25 youth has a propensity to challenge the establishment, no matter what that establishment is or what it stands for, and then settles down to the serious task of becoming part of said establishment. Yet every generation of rebels sees itself as totally unique and the first to seriously threaten the "old folks." And now we have Robert Vadnal calling all people under thirty to arms because, to quote the celluloid demagogue Max Frost, "nothing can change the shape of things to come."

Some of us, Mr. Vadnal, *do* believe that the shape of things to come can be changed. Whether one works through Kennedy, McCarthy, Humphrey or, what appears to be the best chance for change at the moment, Dick Nixon, some of us are going to stay within our society and make it a more decent place in which to live.

Mike Kelly, Chairman
Notre Dame Young
Republicans

FOR BETTER OR WORSE . . .

EDITOR:

If there are so many things wrong at Notre Dame, why don't you and your feature writers, seek and (sic) education elsewhere. Perhaps Russia — Egypt — Vietnam would suit your taste better. You chose Notre Dame; why not accept the rules and not be so critical?

Maurice Bower

Editorial: Election Day, 1968

In this election year, the *Scholastic* declines to endorse any one of the presidential candidates representing the major established political parties. We do so not cynically, but numbly, in shock, for we had once wanted to accept the present American political system, to fit into it, to work within it, we had wanted to remain proud Americans.

But that was before we realized just what it meant that Hubert Humphrey's Administration could have been indicted on charges of genocide in Viet Nam by a Geneva congress of 110 international jurists from forty different countries. America is now forcibly occupying a foreign country with over half a million troops, and justifying it, much like the Russians in Czechoslovakia, in terms of "peace" and "democracy."

That was before we found out how Richard Nixon is planning on preventing World War III by accelerating an already suicidal arms race. America will preserve peace by overwhelming her potential enemies with the threat of war. Mr. Nixon's recent statement espousing a doctrine of nuclear superiority brought back to mind a very old French manuscript we read this summer which declared confidently that there would never again be war since man had just

invented the ultimate deterrent, so horrible it would never be used, the crossbow. Man has never had at his disposal a weapon he didn't use, at some time, in some circumstance. If he continues to create excessive nuclear weapon supplies, he will one day use them.

That was also before we fully understood what George Wallace meant when he favored law and order, before we saw the extraordinary American capacity for bigotry and depravity. The American Independents would impose their own pathological prejudices upon the blacks, the intellectuals, and anyone else they care to qualify as an "established liberal."

This is a year, then, when we cannot stand up for America. At a time when all that was America seems to have died and decomposed before our eyes, we can think of something more decent than submitting to the present system that will give us Hubert Humphrey-Richard Nixon-George Wallace as our next President. We can think beyond what will happen in next Tuesday's grotesque farce, to a saving synthesis of our now-revolutionary thoughts and the great American ideals of liberty and justice. We can think of another America, a New America.

in passing

IN THE LIST of places to go and things to do at Notre Dame, one place seems to be conspicuous in its absence. This is the Halfway House, and though its demise is still shrouded in doubt, a single fact remains: the restaurant and entertainment center *are no more*. Plans to reopen the restaurant and establish a coffeehouse are being discussed, but without much success. Father Miller, rector of Holy Cross Hall, could not be reached for comment.

More important than the fact that the Halfway House has closed and hopes for reopening it are dim is the reason for these occurrences. The Halfway House was transformed from a viable campus service into nothing, due to strangulation by red tape.

The restaurant was operated by *Quo Vadis*, but the University administration managed the operation. It apparently wanted to utilize the experience and technique of *Quo Vadis* while retaining *de facto* and managerial control. This is tantamount to asking businessmen to invest in, to set up an establishment, and then to step aside, allowing another source which is unfamiliar with hiring practices, business hours, and prices to take over.

Quo Vadis was naturally concerned over this usurpation which could easily affect business. Denying them the right to run the restaurant resulted in the termination of the campus service.

As long as the University persists in this policy, it will be difficult to lure outside concerns on campus.

On the entertainment level the same problem exists. The clumsy contractual bureaucracy thwarted an attempt by some students to open a coffeehouse there. A helping hand and less red tape could have prevented the failure of this attempt. The best student talent for poetic reading, folk singing, and general entertainment has moved to Saint Mary's or to the off-campus coffeehouse. Here they find more freedom for the expression of their talents and more student control.

If the University purports to be a residence university and wishes

to arrest the seeming disintegration of this concept at Notre Dame, the administration must work to stop the flow of talent off campus, and make the residence university a place where one can live rather than simply vegetate.

The first move should be an end to the bureaucratic imposition by the administration; the second, an active encouragement of these activities on campus. The process will evolve itself from there to create real activity on campus.

RUGGERS of the world, unite! Rumor has it, especially among certain conveyors of campus news, that Rugby is out to change its image, to cut the grossities, to polish up a bit.

"Foul!" cry the ruggers. It is true that certain blatant public offenses may result in dismissal from the team; but it seems that the guarded image of the satyric man is still in able hands.

Rugby party sites are becoming increasingly scarce; this hasn't prevented the parties from going full force. The dungeon of the LaSalle Hotel saw the gang in formal attire, tux jackets and bare legs, for their Coming Out Debutante Ball, a smashing success.

The team may, however, be forced into Michigan exile before they find the freedom to "gator" in peace and impersonate the law for kicks and profit. Yes, the image is safe for now.

Try the Going Back In party. Celebrate the first snowfall in style.

WILL THE REAL Charlotte Casey please stand up? It may sound trite, but after a great deal of sleuthing, the question becomes justifiable.

When SMC students returned in September, one panel of the bulletin boards in LeMans Hall was devoted to a large handlettered sign, "Hear Our Concern." The sign is backed by a Spanish newspaper and receives weekly additional comments.

Last week, the mysterious Charlotte proposed "The new name for peace is . . ." and offered a

prize for the right response. A long scroll was attached to the right of the paper, inviting response of interested observers.

By the end of the week, the scroll was nearly filled. Remarks varied from the inevitable "Peace is love" to a lengthy comment describing "peace as a compromise." The last comment "Peace is Richard Nixon" touched off a witty dialogue ending with "WHO ARE YOU TRYING TO KID?"

Charlotte replied with "Paul (credibility gap) VI says, 'the new word for peace is development,'" and added "I'll buy that."

Short answers won't satisfy Charlotte's challenge. A sign in the corner of the poster invites further dialogue: "For information, see Charlotte Casey, 221 Regina." Charlotte, however, cannot be found in the phone directory. She claims to be a resident on the second floor, which is reserved for weekend guests exclusively.

The paradoxical Charlotte writes notes on bulletin boards. She posts pamphlets urging membership in the C.S.C. ACT, a mission organization. Is she its Procurator? Will the *real* Charlotte Casey stand up?

HOW WOULD YOU like to travel expenses paid to New York, Kentucky, Dallas, and New Orleans? Of course, there are a few strings attached. Those who aspire to the collegiate jet-set must start out as a freshman, typing, researching, editing, and watching one's leisure time tick away on the library clock. For those determined few who stick with the program and prove to have the necessary intellectual wherewithal, four years of drudgery can be parlayed into weekend jaunts with Notre Dame's Debate Team.

Those that follow this How-to-Succeed primer become part of an organization that finished fourth at Purdue's tournament, grabbed third place at Detroit and, last week in Milwaukee, took the first place trophy for its achievements. The debate team ranks "among the best" in the nation, according to Professor Leonard F. Sommer, the director of the team. Since 1945

the team has won ninety percent of its contests.

The road to rhetorical success, although rough at times, has its personal rewards. If an individual's financial need is sufficient a partial scholarship may be provided. An active participant may take part in anywhere from twenty to thirty heated tournaments. The life of a debater involves an inordinate amount of work with less than commensurate glory. More than a few are not at all sure they would do it again. But, then maybe they would.

"WHAT A FOOTBALL GAME this has been today, fans. This is the eighth man to be carried off the field today, and we're only in the third quarter. The young man now being carried to the sidelines made a fine, driving tackle, but it looks as if his shoulder pads gave way; he has apparently dislocated his shoulder. What a tough break!"

Such commentary might be heard if the Sunday interhall games were broadcast. There have been a number of injuries in these contests, not all of which have been minor.

Two reasons come to mind that could account for this disturbing rise in football casualties. Undoubtedly, some of the injuries are the result of an inadequate physical training program. But the bulk of mishaps seems attributable to the lack of sufficient protective equipment.

The equipment issued to the interhall teams comes from the stockpile of used varsity equipment dating back ten to fifteen years. Most of the helmets are leather, with nothing to protect the back of the player's neck. According to one player-coach, the face masks bend on contact. The shoulder pads are old and unsturdy; even the shoes have cracks in the soles.

Perhaps something will be done about the deplorable state of this equipment before it involves loss of life or limb.

The University's lucrative Athletic Department might be able to find in its providence some funds to provide for these underprotected heroes of minor football fame.



aspects of human existence which concern us*

1 RACE 3 PEACE
2 POVERTY
4 YOUTH
5 MASS MEDIA
6 ECUMENISM
7 ROLE OF WOMAN
8 PEOPLES
OF
DEVELOPING
NATIONS

* see Charlotte Casey, 221 Regina



Seen in passing this week:
The SMC "issues scroll";
Interhall football hero;
Coffeehouse bard; A de-
bater; The coffee hour.



on other campuses

TWO WEEKS AGO, the University of Minnesota *Daily* printed an obscene four-letter word as a direct quote in a story about a demonstration on campus. It also printed a picture of the same word written on a poster at the demonstration.

Now, the state legislature is discussing cutting back on the university's appropriation, in an effort to "get back" at the school.

Peter Gruchow, editor of the *Daily*, told the board governing his paper that his editors had decided "after long and deliberate thought" to print the objectionable word.

The Governor of Minnesota and several state legislators have complained to the university president about the decision of the editors. The publishing board, however, ruled against punishing Gruchow because he was "motivated by an ethical commitment to report the news completely and accurately."

GOVERNOR DANIEL EVANS of Washington has gone on record as favoring student membership on the boards of trustees of the five state supported colleges.

Evans said there was a "reasonable chance" that the state senate might approve the nomination of a student to a school's board of trustees.

Two proposals are currently before the state senate. One calls for student body presidents of the schools to sit with the trustees, while the other would have the students elect their representative to the board separately from the student body presidents.

THE QUOTE of the week comes from the *New York Times*:

"Instead of worrying about how to suppress the youth revolution, we of the older generation should be worrying about how to sustain it."
—John D. Rockefeller III.

A VOTE WILL BE TAKEN "within a month" on the question of coeducation at Union College in Schenectady, New York, according to Union's President, Doctor Harold C. Martin.

A faculty committee on coeducation recommended last week that the College begin admitting one woman for every three men.

The student body will not have the final say, according to Dr. Martin. The final decision must rest with the Board of Trustees, which meets in late November and again in January. Presumably, however, were the student body to reject the proposal the trustees would do the same.

The students appear somewhat divided on the subject. Those who favor the proposal feel that its implementation would make Union a more mature institution and provide its students with a broader background. Steven Cole, a sophomore member of the Black Student Alliance, said: "At Union, we're concerned with offering a situation where men may be equipped to handle themselves in society; especially such a complex society as ours. To attempt such a large task, an educational institution must be fully equipped. Presently, without girls, Union is not equipped."

Other comments in favor of the proposal cited the "unhealthy atmosphere" of an all-male college, the "more realistic attitude" that the students would have as a result of the girls presence, and the "added dimension" they would bring to campus life.

A student who opposed the proposal gave this as his reason: "I'd have to clean up my act, and I don't know if I could do it."

COLGATE UNIVERSITY has joined with Williams and Trinity Colleges in announcing plans to exchange students with Vassar College.

The program, scheduled to begin at the start of the spring semester, must first be approved by Colgate's board of trustees.

Initially, it is expected that students will be exchanged at a one-to-one ratio. Twenty to thirty students of each school are expected to participate.

Colgate, located in Hamilton, N.Y., is presently finalizing arrangements for an exchange with Skidmore College of Saratoga Springs, N.Y. Those two schools plan to exchange about 50 students beginning in January. Skidmore's student body numbers 1670, while Colgate's is 1900.

A PLANNING COMMITTEE, headed by University President J. Herbert Hollomon, has issued a book-length report on plans for the future of the University of Oklahoma.

The report is divided into fourteen chapters, each of which contains both philosophical comments and specific recommendations on various subjects through the end of the 1980's.

Hollomon, in commenting on the report, said, "Universities have been copying other universities for years. We felt that we should create a wholly new plan for the University."

"This report gives us something to go on and to use as a guide. We recommend establishment of a clear implementing process to consider moving toward this report's recommendations, taking into account those of each of the panels. We feel that appropriate participation in the implementing process by faculty, students, administration, employees, and the public should be invited."

Of most immediate relevance to the Oklahoma student body is the chapter entitled "The University Community."

In the words of the report "students should govern themselves as much as possible" within the total community.

It is for this reason that the report states the university should be a residential community. But it goes on to state that this does not mean that students should be forced to live in dormitories.

THE Chancellor of the State University of New York warned in Lake Placid last week of "intellectual repression" as the country grows more conservative.

Samuel B. Gould, addressing the 47th annual meeting of the New York State Publishers Association said he feared "days of intellectual repression on our campuses as the mood of the American people grows more conservative and fearful."

"The attention being given the extremists on both sides will more and more overshadow and relegate into comparative oblivion the honest efforts toward the strengthening of a Democratic Society being made by great numbers of students."

"We have always kept our youth in a state of adolescence far too long for their own good. Now we are tempted to hedge them around still further with rules and regulations because we see no other way to ensure order and control.

"While we believe in and plead for intellectual integrity, our society applies constant pressures upon our youth that lead us into conformity and a passion for adjustment."

ALLARD LOWENSTEIN, the man most responsible for last spring's McCarthy crusade, and candidate for Congress, took time out last week from the campaign to give students at Stony Brook a look at the Democratic National Convention.

Lowenstein told the gathering of 150 students about the attempt made by The Coalition for an Open Convention to get a permit for a Soldier Field rally. The group was informed that the Democratic Party had reserved it for ten days. The reason, said Lowenstein, was that the Cook County Democrats planned a birthday celebration for Lyndon Johnson, to which Lowenstein replied, "I don't think even President Johnson took that long being born — though he might want to dispute that."

Lowenstein, whose refusal to back the Humphrey-Muskie ticket has cost him contributions, urged support for local candidates who represent the McCarthy-Kennedy-McGovern philosophy. "Elect — dig in — work — that will make Chicago a cancer to be exorcised, so that we never face that kind of exclusion from the platforms of public opinion.

"If you can't join'em — beat'em, or is it the other way around? TRY BOTH!"

A recent poll of campus editors by the Associated Collegiate Press shows that, while most people in editorial positions on college publications think Richard Nixon will be our next President, fewer plan to vote for him.

Ninety-one percent of all editors think Nixon will win, but only 50 percent intend to vote for him. Thirty-seven percent will choose Humphrey, and 1.5 percent choose Wallace. Dick Gregory drew the same amount of support.

THE LINDA LECLAIR "scandal" of last spring has resulted in changes at Barnard College in New York. For the first time in the College's history, any Barnard student, regardless of age or class,

may live off-campus wherever she chooses with parental permission.

Under the old system, all women under 21 or not seniors, or who did not live within an hour's commuting time had to live in dormitories or in college-approved housing.

The new rules apply to all students, but the College "strongly recommends" that freshmen live on campus for at least one year.

KENYON COLLEGE has adopted a curriculum in which there will be no required courses whatsoever. Instead of the usual program, the Kenyon student will be allowed — not forced — to design a program suited to his own needs and interests.

A Kenyon spokesman said "The backgrounds and interests of today's students are so diverse that no prescribed set of courses will satisfy even the majority. Our undergraduates need guidance and assistance, but not coercion.

"Elimination of required courses will have a salutary effect for both students and teachers. The new curriculum will provide greater flexibility than ever, and we shall be able to move every student on to advanced, independent work as quickly as his abilities and preparation permit."

feiffer

COLORED GUYS,
THEY DONT
WANNA WORK,
THEY MARCH ON
WASHINGTON—
GOVERNMENT
GIVES 'EM
A BLANK
CHECK.



PSEUDO-INTELLECT-
UALS, THEY WANNA
CHICKEN OUT ON
VIETNAM, THEY
MARCH ONNA
PENTAGON—
GOVERN-
MENT
RUNS OFF
T'PARIS
T'NEGO-
Tiate.



CRIMINALS,
THEY AINT
HAPPY IN
JAIL, THEY
CRY TO A
LAWYER—
SUPREME
COURT
SETS 'EM
FREE.



HIPPIES, YIPPIES,
WHATEVER YOU
CALL 'EM, YOU
DONT LET 'EM
TAKE OVER
OUR SCHOOLS,
AN' OUR
STREETS—
TV CALLS
YOU A
FASCIST
PIG.



IT'S NO ACCIDENT THE
COLOREDS, THE
PSEUDOS, THE
CRIMINALS AN'
TH' HIPPIES
ALWAYS GET
WHAT THEY
WANT AN' WE
NEVER GET
WHAT WE
WANT. IT'S
BECAUSE THEY'RE
ORGANIZED!



THE ONLY
PEOPLE
TOO
DUMB TO
GET
ORGAN-
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ARE
US—



THE
LITTLE
PEOPLE!

WELL IF ALL
THOSE OTHER
GROUPS GOT
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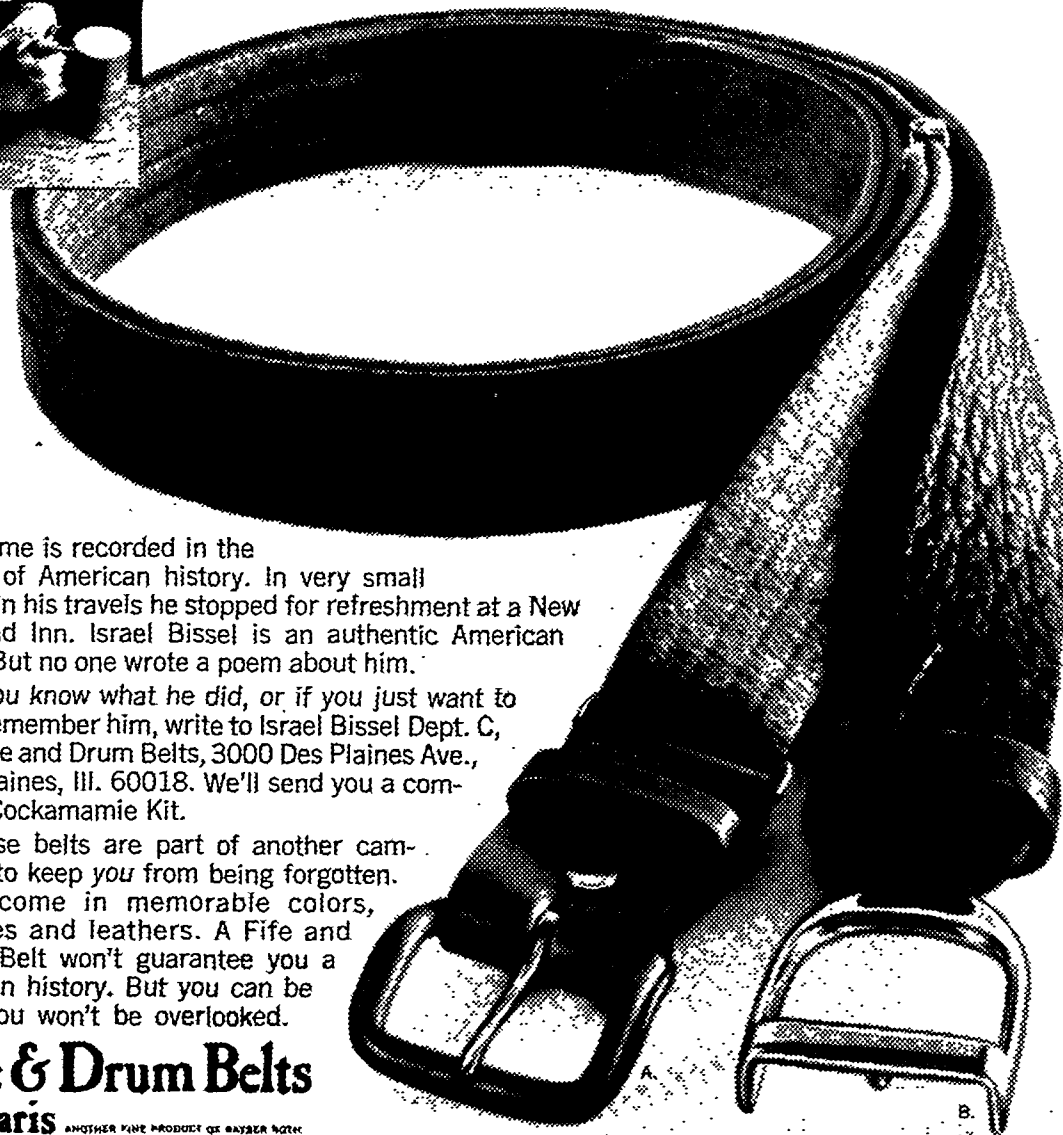


WELL CALL IT
"AMERICA."





Although engaged in a most important mission for his country, he still had time to stop for a belt.



His name is recorded in the pages of American history. In very small print. In his travels he stopped for refreshment at a New England Inn. Israel Bissel is an authentic American hero. But no one wrote a poem about him.

If you know what he did, or if you just want to help remember him, write to Israel Bissel Dept. C, c/o Fife and Drum Belts, 3000 Des Plaines Ave., Des Plaines, Ill. 60018. We'll send you a complete Cockamamie Kit.

These belts are part of another campaign to keep you from being forgotten. They come in memorable colors, buckles and leathers. A Fife and Drum Belt won't guarantee you a place in history. But you can be sure you won't be overlooked.

Fife & Drum Belts
By Paris ANOTHER FINE PRODUCT OF RAYZER NGHC

A. 1 1/4" BRAIDED WOOL WITH LEATHER TRIM AND BUCKLE. \$4. B. 1 1/4" SHRUNKEN COWHIDE WITH STIRRUP BUCKLE. \$4.

Available at MAX ADLER CO. — Town & Country Shopping Center

Election Day 1968

At a time when all that was America seems to be dying and decomposing before their eyes, many students can think of something more decent than submitting to the outmoded system that will give them Hubert Humphrey-Richard Nixon-George Wallace as their next President.

Optimistic in spite of all present indications, they can think beyond whatever may happen in the next four years, to a saving synthesis of their now-revolutionary ideas and the great American traditions of liberty and justice. They can think of a New America.



Stop This America

by Donald Hynes

AMERICA. We must have peace, we must have peace with honor, we must have peace with honor without losing face, we must have peace with honor without losing face without letting the communists take over. We must have war.

definition: scapegoat / 'skap-, got / n ('scape: intended as trans. of Heb 'azazel prob. name of a demon), as if 'ez'ozel goat that departs, Lev 16:8 (AV)) 1: a goat upon whose head are symbolically placed the sins of the people after which he is sent into the wilderness in the biblical ceremony of Yom Kippur 2: a person or thing bearing the blame for others.

Communism is America's scapegoat.

STOP THIS AMERICA.

No industrial revolution. Farmers. Vietnamese, with the ashes of their ancestors in the land, their land. Gathering the manure of their animals, of themselves. Waste, to fertilize, to grow, to eat, to waste. The cycle, the land. To grow rice, for rice is what they live on. No MacDonalds, no drive-ins . . . rice, out of the soil with their own hands. American planes. Drop-pings. More waste, but out of the cycle. Waste that is the product of technological progress. Chemicals. Chemicals that defoliate the land. Destroy the land. Destroy the cycle. Destroy the people.

statistic: Prior to 1964 South Vietnam was an exporter of rice to her neighbors. 1969, South Vietnam must import rice for her people.

STOP THIS AMERICA.

1930's fighting the French. 1940's fighting the Japanese and the Chinese. Early 50's fighting the French. 1955 a new enemy. NLF, revolution. Call to their brothers in arms in the North. We have been betrayed in Geneva. Unite the land. Restore it to our people. They plea to the man, their leader. The man is tired of fighting. Second and third generation in arms. He

is old. But Ho responds. Men and supplies for one more war. Infinite war. Never was there no war. The new enemy isn't decayed like the French nor fragmented like the Japanese. The brothers had responded. The brothers were bombed. Are bombed. People dig holes in the ground to escape. Bombs falling on their land, on their cities, on their children. Democracy.

STOP THIS AMERICA.

Diem, dictator, Catholic, solution to opposition was torture and execution. Cardinal Spellman. Ky, general, man most admired in history is Adolf Hitler. Constituent Assembly. Free elections. Everyone but communists, members of the NLF, neutralists, peace mongers. One man, Buddhist-neutralist coalition of support, seeking a neutral peace. People had faith in him. Forced out of the election. No neutralists. Free elections. Johnson, liar. Thieu, general. Democracy.

STOP THIS AMERICA.

Young men, Americans. Going to war. Products of American culture. Mud up to their knees. Dark jungle. Search and destroy. Shooting into a jungle. Battleships firing cannons into a jungle. Planes dropping bombs into a jungle. Planes dropping napalm on a jungle. Fire and brimstone. Search and destroy. Young men, 18-26. Wives, babies at home. First acquired and applied skill of their adult life. Killing their fellow man. Murderers. They are innocent. What do they know about revolution? What do they know about Buddhism and Vietnamese culture? Self-immolation for a land. Laughter. Wierdos. Fighting for a country — a country that is not. Communism. Young men killing. Not making babies.

STOP THIS AMERICA.

Young men, Americans. Going to college. Products of American culture. Time to think, to learn about their country's sin. They wouldn't sin. They won't sin. Jail. Canada. Underground in America. No face, no name. Clergy burn draft cards. Anarchy. People who wear a cross. The Cross. Love. No boundaries, no exceptions the Man said. Love. Don't kill. So they burn. Jail. They counsel, advise. Don't kill. Don't let them make you kill. We must love. Jail. We must war.

definition: jailer or jailor/'ja-lar/n. 1: a keeper of a jail. 2: one that restricts another's liberty as if by imprisonment.

America is a jailer.

Young men, Americans. In the street saying no. Stop this. You're insane, my country, my people, you're insane. Cops. Long hair bloodied. Young bodies broken.

Jail. Young cops. Young demonstrators. Blood. Clubs. Souls infected. Cancer spreading in once pure hearts. Hatred of their country. The beautiful land which they want to love, they must hate. They are hated. Wallace. Ballot in fifty states. Ugly bigot. Chauvinism. America, the land of the free, the home of the brave. Who is brave, who is free? Young Americans who wouldn't sin. They are sinned upon.

STOP THIS AMERICA.

Paris. Peace negotiations. Meetings, thirty or more. You're the bad buys, we're the good guys. No, we're the good guys, you're the bad guys. Let's hear it for the good guys — YEAH! Let's hear it for the bad guys — BOO! Bad guys-good guys, good guys-bad guys. Lone Ranger. Lyndon Johnson. Ho Chi Minh. Small man, Hanoi with slanty eyes, just now a man. Holding up the cover of his dirt hole. Hoping. Faith in someone in Paris, France. Thousands of miles away. Waiting. Bigger man, Main Street with an Aryan or black face, just now a man. Clutching his identification. Registration certificate. First name, middle name, last name. Selective service number. Obvious physical characteristics. Duly registered on the . . . Report (1) *Every change in your address, physical condition and occupational, marital, family, dependency and military status.* Hoping. Faith in Paris, France. Waiting. *How are you going to keep them down on the farm, after they've seen Paris?*

Negotiating in good faith. Negotiating in bad faith. Faith. Listening to their own voices. Others listening to bullets exploding into faces. Women wailing, babies crying, as jelly burns their bodies. Screaming in pain. The pain of the body, the pain of the soul. Screaming in American as a limb is blown off. Screaming in Vietnamese as a home, a hut, is demolished. Paris. France. Folies-Bergeres. Cathedral of Notre Dame. Listening to their own voices. Self-righteous bastards. Rice paddy. Water smelling of excrement. Stained with blood. *Rumor has it that a major peace offensive is under way. We are no closer to peace . . . Rumor has it that a breakthrough is near . . . The other side refuses to concede.* The other side. Whose side am I on? Rumor. Faith. Bodies lying dead. Land lying barren. Babies dead. Young men dead. The innocents. Herod had a cause. We have a cause. They have a cause. Good guys-bad guys. Paris, France. Charges being made, words thrown back and forth. While the cancer of hate infests and multiplies in the hearts of young men.

Forget your causes. Forget your ideologies. Think of people.

For God's sake, for your sake, for their sake,
STOP THIS AMERICA. □

The Search for A Cosmopolitan Myth

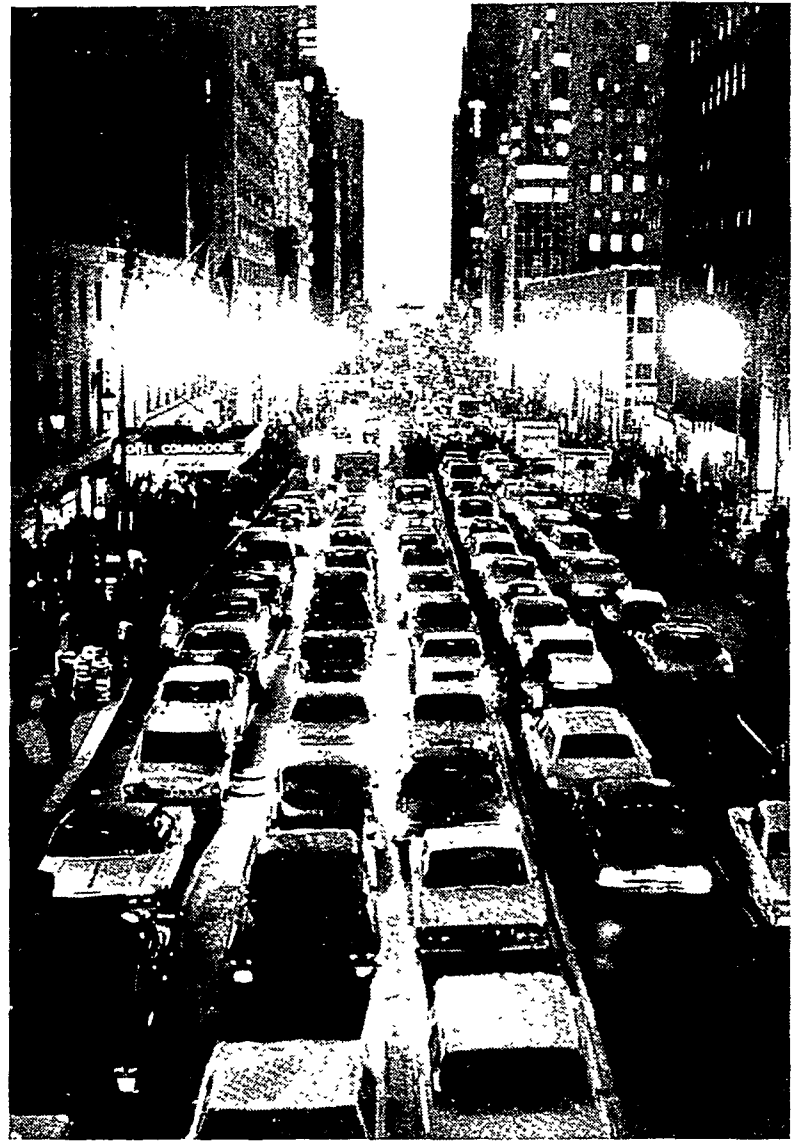
by Bill Sweeney

Every culture experiences a prevailing myth. That myth functions as the unconscious basis of a civilization. The American myth has undergone modifications from generation to generation, yet a romantic attachment to the land has always lingered as a symbol of American mythology.

THE westering myth represented by the image of a pioneer cutting his way through the forests is a striking image of America's past. Throughout much of our national history the center of American life has been rural. Farming was an elevated profession primarily because it nourished a growing nation. Gradually it took on a symbolic form, presenting the land as the central figure of American renewal.

The past century has seen a shift in the American habitat. The vast woodlands vanished and with them the land that America valued so highly. The populace began to move from the farm to the city in unprecedented numbers. The city became a symbol of corruption in contrast to the idealized rural past. Novelists such as Upton Sinclair and Frank Norris recounted the transition of American life and the view they took of the cities was dim. Tammany Hall and the Chicago meat market replaced Davy Crockett as the symbol of American life. Immigrants clogged the cities establishing its most troublesome problem—the ghetto. The city grew in numbers, but the cultural and economic environment failed to keep pace. No new mythology evolved for the uncomfortable urban citizen to identify with. The city almost at once began to sprawl into a limitless suburbia. People sought a middle ground between the corrupt city and the rural ideal. However, suburbia turned out to be a miniature model of the city that spawned it and became scattered by the same lack of organization and planning that was eating away at the heart of the city.

This is the point at which America stands today, confronted by a cosmopolitan society struggling to find its own myth and structure within America. The current political campaigns reflect the uncertainty and the searching atmosphere of politicians in dealing with the city's problems. The antithetical approaches of Mayors Lindsay and Daley most dramatically represent the difficult decisions to be made. The volatile unrest characteristic of the cities is evidenced in both New York and Chicago. Lindsay's approach has been to create an identity in every realm of city life from the cultural to one business community. Minority groups have been encouraged to share in that identity and to share in a government that has become visible for the first time. In a sense Lindsay has become a symbol of the city's

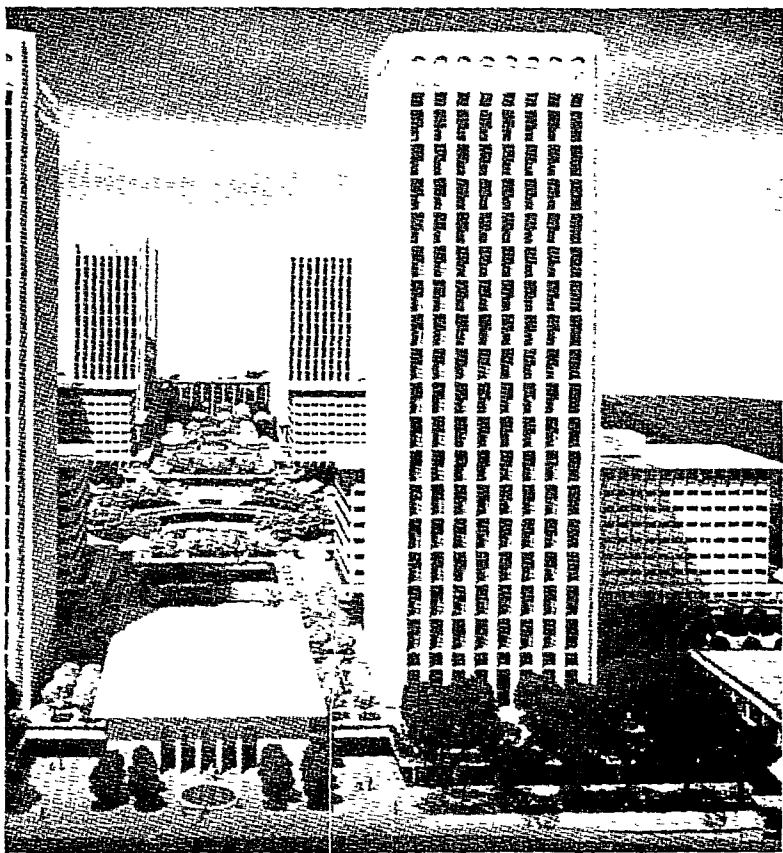


new image. He has succeeded in establishing a kind of cohesive identity to a formerly factious city. In contrast Mayor Daley has sought desperately to cling to the symbols of an earlier era, whose approach to dealing with modern problems no longer seems valid.

The Presidential campaigns have sought to provide some of the answers to the problems of the cities. Hubert Humphrey has proposed his Marshall Plan for the cities and Richard Nixon is in favor of decentralized federal spending and initiative by private enterprise in the ghettos. Eugene McCarthy has said that "the crisis of our cities must be met with the creation of real democracy — political and social and economic." Within these proposals they have sought a new rhetoric to describe the future cities that must be built. The vacuum in which the cities have grown has come to an end. Federal, state and city governments are beginning to relinquish the money necessary for an ordered reconstruction of the urban centers. The task yet remains, however, to create an identity and dispel the image heretofore projected of city life. The people must have a reason to *desire* to live in the cities and an interest in developing a community. These are the underlying problems that confront those who seek to establish a livable cosmopolitan community in the twentieth century. It will take more than simply money. In this sense the rhetoric of campaign '68 has at least set the groundwork for the future reconstruction of the cities by confronting the enormity of the problems eating away at the cities of this nation. But the real task is to go beyond mere reconstruction and to create an environment conducive to the development of a cosmopolitan myth that gives the city dweller a chance for meaningful existence and not merely hopeless entrapment. □

2001: An Urban Odyssey

by John Dudas



THE SCENE IS the urban center in the year 2001. After many long discouraging decades, reason has finally won — the city belongs to the people.

It all began in the mid 20th century, when man found that he was being strangled, stifled, herded, pushed, lost and forgotten in the monstrous anti-community he had created. Even efficiency and productivity, the main criteria used in shaping the modern city, were being stifled. What the environmentalist had been warning of for so long had finally imposed itself upon both the human and mechanical aspect of the urban machine. The system had fallen under a tremendous stress and the pressure was being released first as steam then as fire.

No *one* aspect of the city could be blamed for the so-called urban explosion. And furthermore, no single part of the city was spared the ensuing shock waves. Whether affluent or poor, the urban dweller felt the effects of spontaneity in decisions and carelessness in urban growth. Both the slum dweller and the businessman were strangled by the same air pollution, herded

down the same crowded streets, and lost in the same mass of faceless individuals who had destroyed their real individuality.

The poor suffered the worst, of course. At first they were forgotten and told "to do it on your own," but when the slum cancer spread to the heart of business and commerce, the problem became one of the entire community. Massive renewal projects were initiated and hundreds of small neighborhood communities were wiped away from the periphery of the Central Business District. Urban renewal became urban removal, and what was then a concentrated problem spread quickly as the next urban level absorbed the homeless and in turn became a congested slum. Then someone had the insight to suggest restoration of housing and proper relocation of the homeless. Unfortunately, the new ghettos were socially as deprived as the old ghettos and in many cases even worse. Whatever small-scale community existed formerly was obliterated as families were crowded into huge high-rise apartments, one next to the other with no provision for adequate recreational space or community centers.

Urban renewal finally started to concentrate on the development of a *total* community. At first it was difficult to educate the urban population as to the concept of over-all planning. It was viewed as socialism or even worse, as Communism. Many could not understand how the local public agency could possibly be qualified to provide recreational facilities and community centers or plan the land use pattern of the area. "Let private enterprise do it," they said. But very few private corporations found it economically feasible to build and maintain a park or allow one main thoroughfare to be free of strip commercial centers. Despite the objection, effective land use provisions and zoning ordinances were passed. And gradually the renewed areas began to take on the appearance of *real* communities. How strange it was for those families who had previously lived on the second floor of a zoological-type structure, facing a bar on one side and a bedspring factory on the other, to move into a medium size modest row house unit with a small front yard and a community park in the back. How equally strange to have found that all of the stores and offices were located in the same central area and within walking distance of the house. Adjustment was understandably quite difficult for those people, but within a year they had developed a sense of belonging and identity to the neighborhood community.

Then someone came up with the idea of community and urban participation. This community entity became the political base of the urban area. From here, several thousand people could elect a representative and express their desires and ideas. They had become a part of their city.

At this stage things began to move rather quickly. Urban area-wide planning was no longer put onto the same shelf with totalitarianism and Communism. Even private enterprise appreciated the idea of feasibly located commercial centers with restrictions as to size and amount of businesses. The small businessmen profited the most from the economic planning since the urban area was divided according to scale. The community was of the small scale so that only small-scale establishments were allowed in the commercial center. The urban core was reserved for the major commercial establishments offering not only wide area coverage but also larger scale products.

By this time, few remembered or wanted to remember how it was to live in the sprawling disorga-

nized machine of the fifties and sixties where commerce and industry were located around and in between the "residential" area. A service station on every corner — a supermarket and surrounding asphalt belt on every block: this had been the unrealistic and ugly scene in every American city.

Who would think that the city would finally be considered as a complicated but feasible system? One capable of being planned and administered for its most important entity, the people. One whose growth is projected ten, twenty years in advance and not just by chance.

Yes, some freedom has been lost. No longer can the steel mill or rubber factory build on the site of a natural recreational area, such as a lake, simply because it needs cheap water. No longer does the individual drive his private automobile to the office every morning. No longer does the businessman build a grocery store or restaurant just anywhere because the lot is the right size.

The new city 2001 is designed for people. No longer is 90% of the nonbuilding space in the Central Business District used for the automobile. The Urban Center becomes a more human environment as all inter-building space is devoted to the pedestrian. Intra-Urban Center travel is accomplished by horizontal elevators and moving sidewalks. Automobile traffic is removed to another level or restricted to the peripheral area. The Urban Center becomes more than just a series of canyons — a place "to get to" and "not to be at." Rather it is the commercial, financial, cultural, and social focal point of the city. It becomes a place to enjoy the large-scale facilities only available in a "downtown" area. The Urban Center 2001 is a rational use of prime space.

By this time, industry has been forced to locate in predetermined industrial centers, closely accessible to transportation facilities, and at the same time removed from the residential section by green buffer areas. The process of reorganization took a while simply because factories were phased out as they became inefficient or structurally unsound. Strong zoning ordinances prevented the rebuilding of industrial sites on nonindustrial space. Effective pollution control provided by industrial center air sewers filters and cleans the toxic air and returns it to the atmosphere. Installation costs had been high, of course, but the air-pollution death rate had become a substantial problem, and like the slums, something had to be done. The planners and economists proved the feasibility of having both an efficient and productive plant and at the same time a human environment within the plant. Finally, everyone has been guaranteed a right to a job.

Despite the noteworthy objection of the petroleum industry, gasoline-driven engines, unless absolutely necessary, were banned from private use. The flare and noise of the huge autos of the sixties and seventies were replaced by efficient, comfortable and effective electric-driven transporters. Of course, by now, the transporter is only used on special occasions. Rapid transit is too good to pass up. It is difficult to imagine that just thirty years ago, only very few cities had rapid transit. They would rather devote more and more of their valuable land to the automobile than to developing full-city public transportation. The amount saved on inefficiently used urban land financed and operates the now existing urban area-wide rapid transit.

Planning and zoning have structured an urban area which is large enough to provide for the desired

large-scale amenities of an Urban Center, but with lesser divisions to provide for small-scale amenities which form true communities. The new city becomes more than just a huge mass. It is a conglomeration of communities, solidly identifiable in themselves. Each community consists of several thousand persons, integrated racially, economically and socially. There is a community center consisting of cultural, recreational and social facilities. It is also the site of the Community Council headed by a chairman who represents the community before the District Council. There is a small-scale commercial and office area providing the normal day-to-day needs. There are still some single-family dwellings per community, but for the most part row houses or apartments (low density) are set among large public park and mall areas. There are restricted vehicular movement and limited parking areas.

Perhaps the most important difference between the new city and the old city is the administrative structure. The Urban Region concept replaces the old multi-city or even metropolitan system. Urban space is considered to include both developed land and the surrounding agricultural and resource land. No longer do state lines pose a problem, for the urban complex is left as a system, functions as a whole, bypassing old city limits and extending into the peripheral supply region.

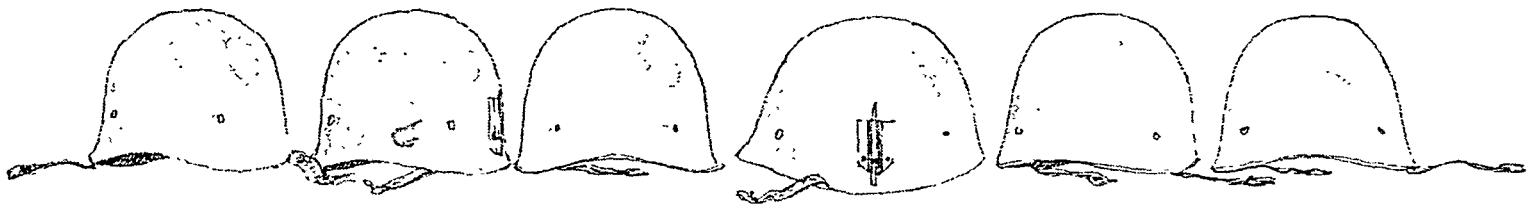
The real cause of urban unrest, the lack of effective representative participation and the strong feeling of alienation have been recognized and eliminated. In restructuring the urban government two vital results were achieved. The total environment was placed under coordinated centralized administration, and at the same time a greater degree of small-scale participation in the structure was achieved by the Community and District Councils. The degree of participation in the decision-making structure has been greatly extended, and at the same time this more effective central government has provided, as in no way before, the full range of services expected of a good government.

We are now an urban society. And, because we have planned, we are also a human society. The false individualism of the few and the antifreedom of the masses has been replaced by a new environment.

Man has placed the environment under his control, and in so doing has shaped it to fit his needs. Even the idea of private ownership is seen in a new context, one which recognizes the basic interdependence of each aspect of the urban area and the necessity to plan for the development of this part in relation to the whole. The private owner has a responsibility to the community, and adequate zoning land use ordinances insure that responsibility.

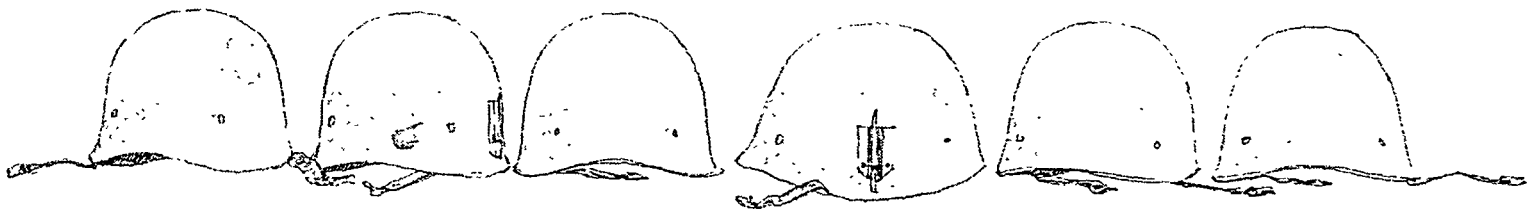
Reason has finally reached a place of dominance. The growth of the city is planned and well ordered, but never so structured as to stifle innovation. Small-scale divisions, fully integrated socially and physically, have created a community where interpersonal relationships are feasible, replacing the anticomunity of the suburbs and inner-city ghettos.

The evolution of our society first from a rural to an urban base and now to an even higher state, the urban community, has been a slow and tedious process. The city of the year 2001, appears to be an inevitable outcome of technology. But, if this technology had not been planned and structured rationally and purposely, the urban complex may have continued to degenerate and ultimately would have destroyed itself. Fortunately, man chose to follow reason. □



Monarch Notes

by Martin McNamara



"... that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights ... that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,"

credibility gap—lack of faith in the government by the populace caused by lack of faith in the populace by the government. The government official cannot justify his actions and/or mistrusts his constituency's interpretation of them. The credibility gap exists because most people are willing to leave the situation in the hands of the "experts" and divine intervention.

self-determination—a doctrine of individual freedom of conscience and of societal order. The basis of democratic government. By agreement, people establish their own life style (obsolete). Democratic government now is one group dictating life styles to other groups (especially in countries of 200 million people or more).

government—(formerly) a political construct to implement the voice of the people. Now a grandiose compromise. The state now concerns itself with interpreting the *letter* of tradition. The eighteenth century was the century of precepts for continental North America; the twentieth century is closed to the deposit of faith.

participating democracy—people have a say in their government (except in the case of a world power, where the politicians have always been right. Here, a citizen must be 150% certain before he transgresses authority).

law and order—a doctrine of the Old West. Now being examined by the President's Posse on Violence, headed by Dr. Milton Eisenhower and Eric Hoffer. The doctrine is necessary to diminish the martial, physical history and climate of the country. It applies to a) anti-war and slum housing demonstrations, b) civil rights riots, c) a movie comedy called *Bonnie and Clyde*, and d) other minority groups. It does not apply to a) police brutality, b) military protection of big industry, c) the Ku Klux Klan, d) the local draft boards, e) professional boxing, or f) other majority groups.

civil disobedience—"that whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

(Quotes from the Declaration of Independence, a revolutionary statement of the new order.) □

Arms and The Man

by John Walbeck

With less than a week remaining in the Presidential campaign, the ratification of the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty has emerged as one of the dominant campaign issues.

Undoubtedly, as the campaign rambles on to its logical conclusion, and promises to harden into altercations, it is to be assured that I.C.B.M.'s will replace I.O.U.'s as the burning issue of the hour. The Democrats intend to place special emphasis on Vice-President Humphrey's sponsorship of the nuclear proliferation treaty and his role in creating the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Mr. Nixon's reluctance to sign the treaty because of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and his insistence that the United States should be second to none in military posture, they feel, can be exploited into the major issues of this campaign. Taking off his gloves and casting aside the "politics of joy and happiness," the Vice-President charged that Mr. Nixon's alleged description of the first proposals for a nuclear test-ban treaty in 1956 was "a cruel hoax" and "catastrophic nonsense." He attributed Mr. Nixon's inaction as the determining factor of the Senate's refusal to ratify the treaty limiting the spread of nuclear weapons. The heart of Mr. Humphrey's rebuttal was a point-by-point reply to Mr. Nixon's contention that the Democrats had yielded ground to the Russians in the deployment of a number of crucial weapons system. The Vice-President concluded that the Republican candidate was playing the "numbers game" just as he did in 1952 when Mr. Nixon adopted the stance about the "numbers" of Communists and other security risks employed in the Federal Government.

Responding to this and the Vice-President's sudden gain in the polls this past week, Mr. Nixon has suddenly decided to abandon his above-the-battle ambivalence. In a nationwide radio address the Republican Presidential candidate promised that he would urge the ratification of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty as chief of state, and develop new inspection systems to monitor the agreement. Softening his position that the United States should greatly accelerate her efforts to widen her strategic superiority over the Soviet Union, Mr. Nixon conceded that "a dampening of the arms race would provide both resources and time to cope with pressing domestic problems." Nevertheless, Mr. Nixon maintained that the United States cannot negotiate a reduction to offensive and defensive weapons without first augmenting her lead in the arms race, "Our search for peace will require patience, skill and determination. Negotiations on the limitation of weapons will span months, even years. But they will not take place in a vacuum, as both sides — in the absence of effective agreements — continually labor to improve their offensive and defensive capabilities."

Any objective analysis of this issue must return to the Johnson-Kosygin Summit Conference of last year. At the Hollybush luncheon, the participants took up the problem of arms control, and Defense Secretary Robert McNamara overwhelmed Premier Kosygin with a penetrating rationale for arms control containing awesome classified information. Included were the details on Soviet and American missile strength, the fatalities each would suffer in a nuclear exchange, and the revelation that the United States possessed missiles with multiple warheads that could

elude any Soviet defense and enable one missile to destroy as many as ten cities. Mr. McNamara's thesis was that an expensive and futile upward spiral in the nuclear arms race was being prompted by Russian deployment of an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system, and he urged the Soviet Premier to open early negotiations to halt it.

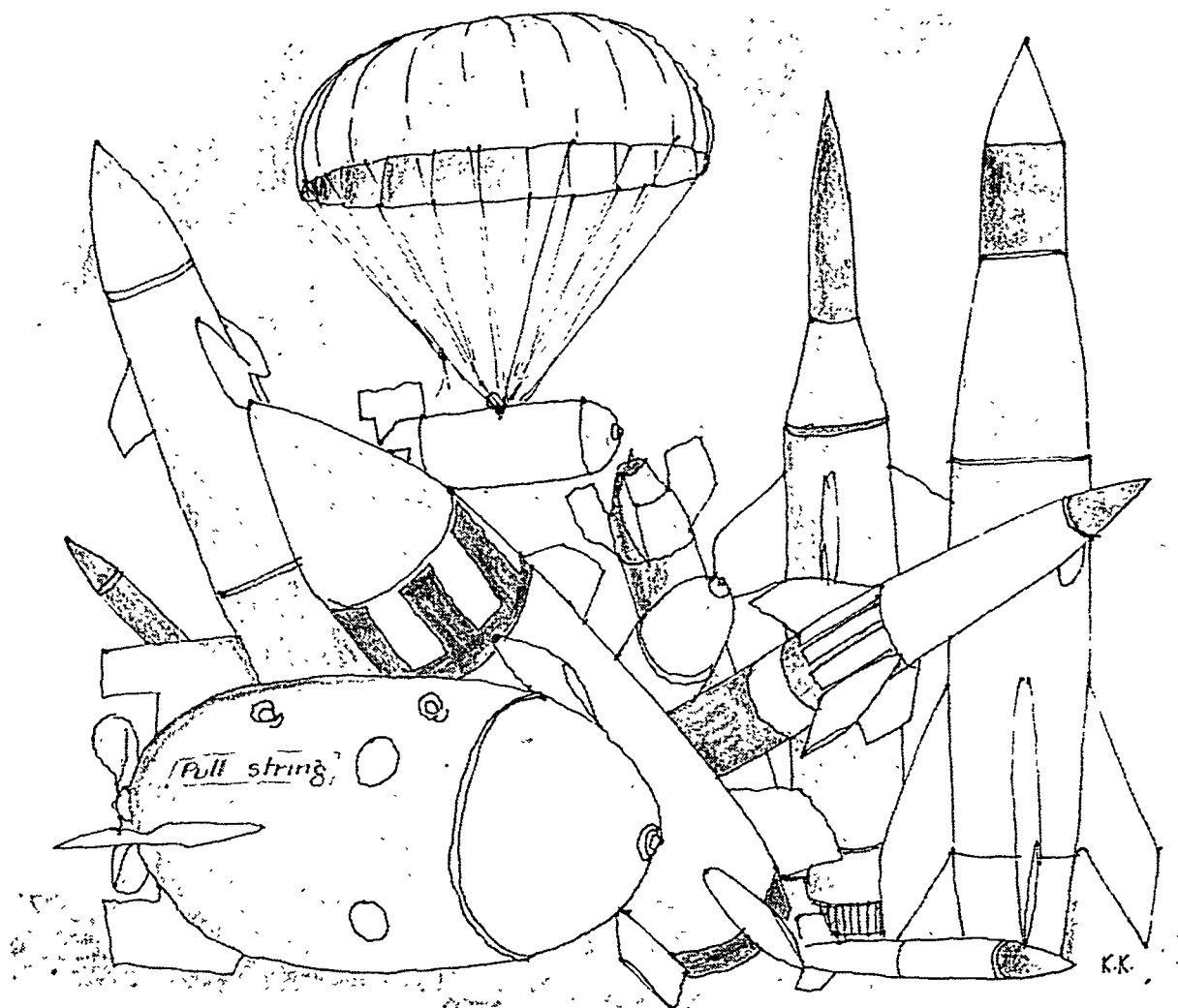
The Kosygin-McNamara encounter was an outgrowth of similar disagreements between the Defense Secretary and the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the effect of responding to Soviet ABM deployment with a forty billion dollar missile defense for the United States. The Joint Chiefs agreed with an earlier McNamara decision to develop MIRV's (Multiple Independent Re-entry Vehicles) and to produce Poseidon and Minuteman III missiles to carry them. However, the Joint Chiefs claimed that a Soviet-oriented ABM system could save millions of American lives in case Armageddon ensued. In opposition, the Secretary of Defense argued that the offense had the advantage and an American ABM system would only force the Soviets to increase their capability to sufficiently overwhelm its adversary's defenses. Instead, MacNamara advocated deferring deployment of American ABM's in favor of talks with Russia. This "diplomacy not deployment" policy finally won the approval of President Johnson and led to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

One concept — which Secretary of War Stimson fathomed as early as 1945, and which Bernard Brodie analyzed in detail in 1946 and the Killian Committee communicated to Congress in the 1950's — is that military superiority has little significance for the two super powers. The United States, McNamara writes, now has 4,500 separately targetable nuclear warheads, three to four times as many as the Soviet Union. Only 400, delivered on the Soviet Union, would inflict 74 million fatalities and destroy three-quarters of Russia's industry. But "even with our current superiority, or indeed with any numerical superiority realistically obtainable," McNamara hypothesizes, "the blunt, inescapable fact remains that the Soviet Union with its present forces could still destroy the United States, even after absorbing the full weight of an American first strike."

Similarly, the implication is that a Soviet three-to-one superiority over the United States would not alter the current balance of power, especially when half of this country's 256 submarine-launched Polaris missiles are always on station in underseas invulnerability within range of all the Soviet Union's important cities. Notwithstanding, the possibility that the Soviet Union might achieve nuclear "parity" with the United States deeply disturbed the Joint Chiefs of Staff members of Congress, Mr. Nixon, and thus created political repercussion.

In choosing between the candidates in regard to this issue, these factors should be considered:

(1) Vice-President Humphrey's reluctance to admit that despite the nuclear proliferation treaty the Soviet Union continues to give an unbalanced emphasis to its defense posture. Recent Soviet developments in the area of strategic systems — notably ABM's and FOBS (Fractional Orbit Bombardment System) — give credence to her continuing search for increased security. Soviet naval activity in the Mediterranean appears to be an attempt to regain prestige as a result of Mos-



cow's inability to forestall Israel's victory over the Arabs in June, 1967. Although modest in size compared to the U.S. Sixth Fleet, Soviet naval craft includes guided missile carriers, a number of submarines, lesser warships, and support units which could intensify the situation in the Middle East. These politico-military developments were accompanied by a substantial increase in defense expenditures projected in the budget announced for 1968. An increase of 2.2 billion rubles, coming on top of two smaller increases in 1966 and 1967, will raise publicly announced defense expenditures from about 12.8 billion rubles in 1965 to about 16.7 billion rubles in 1968.

It is curious to reflect on Defense Secretary Clifford's interpretation of the speech given by William Foster, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Last week Mr. Foster derided talk emphasizing nuclear superiority and urged a beginning of discussion with the Russians on missile limitation. Mr. Clifford stated that he and Mr. Foster might agree on the same goal of arms reduction, but with the qualification that "I proceed more cautiously than he, and with a recognition, perhaps greater than he, of the dangers that are involved." Despite the fact that this statement could be an indication that the Secretary agreed partially with Mr. Nixon's position, it may be a hint of the possibility that the Soviet offensive-defensive threat may be increasing beyond the highest level projected for 1972.

(2) As the Vice-President has not been precise in explaining what specific steps can be undertaken in disarmament beyond ratification of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, Nixon has not chosen to reveal in what way a Republican Administration could provide greater security than that of the present Administration. As previously noted, even if the Soviets deploy a substantial number of ABM interceptors by 1972, our strategic missile force alone could destroy more than

two-fifths of their total population (more than a hundred million people) and over three-quarters of their industrial capacity. Any improvement of our defense network must take into account such factors as: system reliability, delivery accuracy, ability to penetrate enemy defenses, and cost. Against these criteria of evaluation, Mr. Nixon has been at best vague.

Finally, any critique of the two candidates' must rest on one's subjective judgment of their ability as decision makers. Most essential to any diplomat or poker player is an intuitive sense on how to read his cards and those of his opponent. Vice-President Humphrey fails in the first qualification; Mr. Nixon in the second. In his exuberance, very seldom does the Vice-President sit back and look at his cards and wait for the most opportune time to play them. Like all "good" men who put their heart on their shoulder, he will inevitably lose his shirt. On the other hand, where the Vice-President might sell himself too cheaply, Mr. Nixon tends to play over his head. When the stakes are as high as survival, one does not lay down his cards with every hand.

The prudence of following a middle road between the two becomes all the more evident with the publication this week of Senator Kennedy's account of the Cuban missile crisis. A precedent of both firmness and flexibility was set for nuclear statescraft. Being somewhat of a gambler myself, the statement, "I supported McNamara's position in favor of a blockade. This was not from a deep conviction that it would be a successful course of action, but a feeling it had fewer liabilities than a military attack," seemed plausible. But most of all, I appreciate the closing sentence of the book. "It was a triumph for the next generation and not for any particular government or people," because at last a restless man for whom words did not come easily captured into prose a lesson of his generation as well as preserving for one day longer ours. □

"I was for Kennedy, but after his death I switched to McCarthy. Nixon's a Republican. I don't like Wallace, so I guess I'll have to vote for Humphrey."

by John Dudas and David Hirschboeck

The Notre Dame Social Science Training and Research Laboratory in conjunction with the students of the American Political Parties class of Professor Donald Kommers conducted a pre-election study in South Bend the week of October 17th. Twenty-five students were each assigned several residents in the city. The exact results and formal analysis by project coordinators Professor Fahey and Mrs. Katz of the Social Science Training and Research Laboratory had not been completed as of this writing. Speaking with the participating students, we found that the typical citizen response did not reflect a rational analysis of the candidates and the issues.

FOR MOST PEOPLE, the apparently neurotic process of elimination indicated above is the only means possible to choose among the three contenders for the presidency. Inevitably, everyone's first choice was not that of the three political parties (that is, if you can consider the Wallace movement as a political party). Robert Kennedy was undoubtedly the most frequently mentioned as the original favorite of the Democrats. Most Republicans were split as to their original favorite, but Richard Nixon did not take first place.

The attitudes towards the candidates were relatively reserved, and reasons either pro or con were rather weak. For example, when one respondent was asked why he was voting for Hubert Humphrey, he answered, "He is a smart man." When asked to clarify his reason, he answered, "I think he is very well educated." Another was asked if there was anything about Richard Nixon that might make him vote against him. "Nixon is not for the working man, because he is a Republican."

The respondents' party affiliation still plays a very important part in his decision-making process. Professor Fahey observed that in the national elections a person will vote consistently on the same party ticket from one election year to the next. This is mainly a result of the great confusion caused by the candidates on the various issues. Party identification provides a type of security for the voter. On the local scene, on the other hand, issues become more pronounced and immediate, and party identification tends to take a



second place to the issues. In South Bend for example, the electorate votes Democratic on the national level and Republican on the local level.

The importance of party identification is reflected in the following exchange between an interviewer and respondent.

"What is there about Richard Nixon that might want to make you vote against him?" "I don't like the Republican platform." "I'm a Democrat." Furthermore, when asked how he was voting for Senator, Congressman and Governor one voter said, "Whoever the Democratic candidate is." He did not even know who the contenders were.

The respondents were asked to indicate the degree of their identification with one of the three parties. Most responded as being independent leaning toward one or the other party or were moderate supporters of their party. Few wished to fully commit themselves to their party no matter how strong their previous responses were. For example, the gentleman just mentioned considered himself a moderate Democrat.

A perfect example of inconsistency between issues and candidates was reflected in the following interview:

"I'm going to read a series of statements to you and for each statement I would like to know if you 1. Strongly Agree, 2. Agree somewhat, 3. Undecided, 4. Disagree somewhat or 5. Strongly disagree."

1. "An American citizen who burns his draft card as an expression of opposition to the war in Vietnam is a traitor."

"Strongly Agree."

2. "The police should be allowed to use any methods they regard as necessary to put down violence in the nation's streets."

"Strongly Agree."

3. "Riots are caused mainly by lack of employment and wretched living conditions among Black Americans."

"Strongly Disagree."

4. "The actions of the police were unnecessarily brutal in their handling of demonstrators during the Democratic Convention in Chicago."

"Disagree Somewhat."



5. "Many Americans are still deprived of basic civil rights and liberties."

"Disagree Somewhat."

"What do you consider to be the most important issues of the campaign?"

"Vietnam and Law and Order."

"Who are you voting for?"

"Humphrey."

"Why?"

"Because I always vote Democratic."

The previous respondent displays a fairly consistent position, one which would tend to indicate a rather conservative philosophy. Hubert Humphrey has obviously had very little success in presenting his liberal position to this particular voter. She knows where she stands, but not where her candidate stands. If she were more aware of the positions of each candidate she probably would break with tradition and vote for George Wallace, someone who more accurately reflects her point of view.

The problem of inconsistency is even more pronounced when a person's stand on a particular issue changes from question to question. For example most people are confused about Vietnam. A typical pattern reflecting this confusion went like this:

1. "We Americans should use all the military power at our disposal even if it means massive bombing of North Vietnam, in order to finish the war and bring our soldiers home."

"Strongly agree."

2. "The United States should seek a negotiated settlement to the Vietnam war preferably within the framework of the Paris negotiations now in progress."

"Strongly agree."

3. "The United States should immediately withdraw its troops from Vietnam and let the Vietnamese run their own affairs."

"Strongly agree."

Obviously the United States cannot immediately withdraw from Vietnam and "use all military force at our disposal" at the same time.

Another issue which brought about a great deal of

dualism and inconsistency was that of civil rights. The typical respondent will avoid taking a strong stand on this issue. He does not want to appear as a racist, yet he definitely confuses the issues and his final stand is all but clearly pro-civil rights.

Questions concerning the black American are placed in two different sections of the interview. One respondent answered as follows to the questions of the two different sections.

First Section.

1. "In the past few years we have heard a lot about civil rights groups working to improve the position of the black people in this country. How much real change do you think there has been in the position of the black people in the past few years; a lot, some or not at all?"

"A lot."

2. "Within the past few years, the attitudes of white Americans toward the black Americans has changed to be . . ."

"More favorable."

Second Section.

3. "Riots are caused by lack of employment and wretched living conditions among black Americans."

"Disagree somewhat."

4. "The government in Washington should see to it that white and black children go to the same schools."

"Disagree strongly."

Others may agree strongly with the fact that "racial discrimination is the main reason for the condition in which black Americans find themselves" and also agree strongly that "the black man and white man are given equal opportunities to succeed in American society."

This pattern reflects more than just inconsistency, it reflects a basic lack of understanding of the most important issues facing the voters today.

Like the question of Vietnam, this issue has become so twisted and confused, partially by the news media and by the candidates themselves, that the average voter is lost and cannot develop a consistent stand even if he wanted to.

Besides this great confusion of the issues there is a lack of basic interest in the candidates themselves. Very few respondents felt strongly about any of the candidates and many felt a complete lack of interest in the campaign altogether. Most reflected their disdain for the unpopular method of selecting the candidates. They felt alienated from the political system itself and inevitably many would remark, "I don't think that people like myself have a lot to say about what the government does." Many suggested nationwide open primaries to "let the people decide."

Assuming that the presidential candidates were chosen on a nationwide primary basis, would public understanding of the issues and how they relate to the candidates become more sophisticated or would the result be even more confusion?

Undoubtedly, the conservative framers of the Constitution foresaw this basic problem when they did their utmost to discourage complete popular participation in the process of selecting the president. The electoral college was supposed to provide for an intelligent, effective, rational selection of the *best* man. Due to the evolution of more democratic processes, the electoral college is simply a formal verification of the popular choice.

The question then becomes, should the President be chosen popularly from the primaries up, or should his selection be made by a special group of elite, the Congress?

□

The New Left And the 91st Congress

by Philip Kukielski



These liberal Democrats are facing tough fights in Senatorial races. All except O'Dwyer, a McCarthyite, are incumbents fighting for their political lives against strong Republican opponents. They are: Nelson, Wisc.; O'Dwyer, N.Y.; Church, Idaho; Clark, Penna.; Morse, Ore.; McGovern, S.D.; and Fulbright, Ark.

Every "Late Show" devotee will tell you that the surest way to defend against an Indian attack is somehow to incapacitate the chief and then watch gleefully as the war party makes it for the hills. What many liberals are now wondering is whether or not this hackneyed script will become the disillusioning screenplay for the Left in 1968. Without the leadership of McCarthy and Kennedy, will November 5th find the Congressional New Leftists retreating in disarray?

ALTHOUGH ALMOST OBSCURED by attention given to the Presidential campaigns, the election of the 91st Congress may ultimately prove to have a greater impact on American politics than the selection of a president. The new Congress will have to decide on such politically volatile issues as the approval of a new Chief Justice, the fate of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and the amount of money to be allocated for war expenditures and poverty programs. In the back of every political prognosticator's mind is the possibility that the new Congress will select the next President should the election be thrown into the House of Representatives.

Thirty-four seats in the Senate and all the seats of the House of Representatives will be filled according to the results of the November 5th elections. In the hopes of directing leftist sentiment on the national level, members of Senator McCarthy's campaign staff met in September at Martha's Vineyard to compile a list of 81 candidates they deemed worthy of support.

Wayne Morse, nearly a national institution and once considered unbeatable in Oregon, faces an unusually tough fight for reelection. The obstacles Morse must overcome include a widespread Nixon sentiment, his hard-line dovish stance on Vietnam, and a People for Pack-Wood organization that boasts of close to 40,000 "volunteers." Morse is counting on his Senate seniority and the fact that 55% of the registered voters in Oregon are Democrats to counter the Republican surge. If Morse returns to the Senate, he automatically becomes chairman of the Committee on Education and Public Welfare; his defeat would mean Oregon must wait another 15 to 20 years before being in line for another chairmanship. Even old enemies agree that "there is hardly anyone in Oregon who hasn't both loved and hated him (Morse) at one time." Morse's success will be determined by his ability to woo the estranged "lovers" in Oregon before election day.

In election year '68, voter logic is proving contorted enough to make Aristotle roll in his grave. In Arkansas, for example, odds-makers indicate that George Wallace seems likely to receive the state's nod for the presidency while dove, J. W. Fulbright, is a favorite to retain his senate seat. Fulbright handily won his bid for renomination over a field of three other contestants by sweeping 53% of the primary vote. The chairman of the influential Senate Foreign Relations Committee will face a little-known Republican, Charles Bernard, in November and seems almost assured of reelection.

George McGovern's declaration to run for his party's nomination this summer enhanced his political stature nationally, but actually proved to hurt his image in the prairies of South Dakota. A Democrat in a traditionally Republican state, McGovern must rely heavily on crossover votes for reelection. As a Senator interested in international and urban problems, he is often at odds with largely rural and isolationist interests in his home state. Staging a whirlwind campaign after Chicago, McGovern has been able to recoup

a commanding lead of nine percentage points in the latest polls over former Gov. Archie Gubbrud. On political material McGovern identifies himself only as the "Courageous Prairie Statesman" conspicuously neglecting reference to Humphrey. And on that note he seems likely to win.

Being "liberal" and a "dove" are far from the best credentials for a Senator running from the state of Idaho. Senator Frank Church, who can boast of both these shibboleths, faces a tough fight for a second term as Senator. His opponent, Rep. George Hansen, has attacked Church's stance on Vietnam with such virulence that he makes Curtis Lemay look soft on Communism by comparison. While Hansen calls for the use of sufficient force "to bring North Vietnam to its knees," Church has been able to gain support from more moderate Democrats and Republicans which could prove to be the margin of victory in a close race.

Two other "doves" seeking reelection are Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania and Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin. Nelson's dovishness is far from a liability in a state that went for McCarthy in the April primary and the incumbent will hopefully prosper well. In a race confused by a tradition of ticket splitting, Clark, a backer of McGovern in Chicago, faces a close fight with Rep. Richard Schweiker for a third term in the Senate.

In this year of political disillusionment, Paul O'Dwyer has become the "Cinderella" of the New Left movement. Faced with what seemed to be the impossible situation of defeating the hand-picked Kennedy man, Eugene Nickerson, and the one million dollar campaign of Johnson supporter Joseph Resnick, O'Dwyer looked destined to finish a distant third in the primary. But the Irish liberal was politically astute enough to play Resnick and Nickerson against each other and ride McCarthy's coattails to an impressive victory. A liberal's liberal, O'Dwyer has consistently been an outspoken supporter of civil rights, an end to the Vietnam war, and Jewish nationalism. Jimmy Breslin comments: "O'Dwyer handled the kind of civil-rights cases that didn't even get into Negro weeklies." Regarding his support for Israel in the late forties O'Dwyer admits, "I did transfer money on an arms deal, but I'm not sure that's a good thing for a senatorial candidate to admit. But, ah hell, use it if you like." To win in November O'Dwyer must draw a large portion of the Jewish vote heretofore claimed by incumbent Jacob Javits. O'Dwyer's refusal to support Humphrey has cost him the use of the New York Democratic machine which he desperately needs to unseat a firmly entrenched incumbent. O'Dwyer's reluctance to compromise his principles for party orthodoxy could make the man from County Mayo "odd man out" in November.

In Nixon country, ex-Governor Harold Hughes wages a heated battle for the Senate seat vacated by retiring incumbent Hickenlooper. In the era of the intellectual Left, Hughes proves an improbable liberal. The ex-Governor was a truck driver before entering politics and never finished his college education. A recently converted dove, who delivered the nominating speech for Senator Eugene McCarthy at the Chicago Convention, Hughes advocates an unconditional bombing halt in North Vietnam. Hughes has proved to be the most popular Democratic vote-getter in recent history and is banking heavily on crossover votes for victory. Campaigning in shirt sleeves and shooting from the hip, Hughes hopes to establish a politically amalgamated base of support that will protect him from the expected Nixon tide in November.

California seems to be one of the few states this year where a liberal's opponent is doing all the work for him. Before campaigning began, conservative Republican Max Rafferty was favored to defeat an uninspiring liberal, Alan Cranston. Luckily for Cranston, Rafferty began early to speak out on the issues with a vigor that resembled lunacy. Rafferty dismissed the Supreme Court as "a bunch of political hacks, ideological reformers, poker-playing cronies of the President, and child-marrying mountain climbers." The Republican called a bombing halt in the North "perilously close to a policy of treason. Rafferty has advocated shooting looters, more capital punishment, and abolition of most foreign aid. Draft card burners receive condemnation as "creeps, cowards, unwashed, long-haired Communists." Interestingly enough, Max enjoyed a 4-F deferment himself, during WWII for "flat feet." Rafferty's outspokenness has been enough to make even the most conservative Republicans blanch, while Cranston's low-keyed intellectual approach has been building an army of disaffected liberals and moderates. Cranston has been able to parley his opponent's ability to place his foot in his mouth into a comfortable lead in the polls.

In Ohio, Democrat John Gilligan is faced with a far more elusive Republican in the person of William Saxbe. Gilligan, a Notre Dame graduate, has been frustrated by his problems with campaign funding and by his inability to pin Saxbe down on the issues. Saxbe has proposed a "marketable" position on Vietnam that advocates continued bombing, but complete withdrawal of American troops within six months. This dove-hawk position enjoys wide popularity and rivals "Nixonese" for sophistical, political rhetoric. Gilligan had hoped to base much of his campaign on television spots, but the lack of political funds seems to preclude the use of this tactic. Gilligan admits that "it's generally conceded that Humphrey is in terrible shape in Ohio." With the Democratic conservatives, angered by the defeat of Frank Lausche in the senatorial primary, threatening to bolt the party, liberals may have tough sledding in Ohio.

In Illinois, State Attorney General William Clark, faces the impossible situation of fighting both Senator Everett Dirksen and the will of Mayor Daley. As a result of Clark's dovish stance on Vietnam, Mayor Daley has refused finances and labor for Clark's campaign. A somewhat belated endorsement by Senator McCarthy probably comes too late to save Clark's chances in November.

On the House level, the races are almost too numerous to mention. Liberals led by Bayard Rustin and Senator Philip A. Hart have banded together to form the Democratic Study Group Campaign Fund which will endorse 150 House liberals of both parties. Among those candidates worthy of mention are: Allard K. Lowenstein, McCarthy's New York State Campaign Manager; David Hoeh, Chairman of McCarthy's New Hampshire campaign; John (Mr. Education) Brademas of Indiana; John Dow of New York; and George Brown of California.

If current predictions are at all correct, the 91st Congress will be considerably more conservative than its predecessor. In the Senate, Fulbright alone seems assured of reelection, five liberal incumbent seats are in question, and odds-makers see Hughes as the only good bet to pick up a vacated seat. However, recent changes in the political picture make the liberal prospects far from gloomy and November 5th promises more than a few surprises. □

"if fascism came to america it would be on a program of americanism" ---huey long

by Thomas Payne

Four years ago, George Wallace ran in the presidential primaries of Wisconsin, Indiana and Maryland and tapped a reservoir of popular resentment which few had suspected was there. This year out of the same sinister crucible of implacable resentment has come the Wallace Campaign, a political phenomenon resembling a cross between William Jennings Bryan's Silver Crusade and Benito Mussolini's March on Rome.

MANY persons hold that the Wallace movement more closely resembles a populist crusade than a fascist movement. Historically, fascism is a conservative social movement, however radical. Populism is similarly a conservative social movement, and the debate over whether the Wallace Campaign is a fascist, political phenomenon or a resurrection of the negrophobic populism of the late 1890's is to some extent made irrelevant when one considers their common reactionary nature and the fact that by the thirties, American populism had degenerated into American fascism.

Fascism and populism, as mass movements, are the response of the middle class to threats to its status emanating from both the top and the bottom of the social scale. The core of populism was the resistance on the part of the small Midwestern and Southern farmer to the financial system of America's new industrial order which threatened their way of life. The populist was interested in protecting the small entrepreneur from abuse at the hands of the monopolist and banker and from submergence into the ranks of the proletarians. In a very similar way, Hitler and Mussolini came to power by appealing to the lower-class owners of small property, civil servants, aristocratic land owners and industrialists — all established classes whose status and traditions were threatened by the rise of the industrial proletariat and its demands for economic reform and political egalitarianism.

By the second decade of the twentieth century, the reforms of Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt had stripped most liberal reforming elements away from populism, leaving only the hard-core militants. By the 1930's, the populist program of economic reform was no longer advocated by such men as William Jennings Bryan, Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, but Gerald L. K. Smith, Fr. Coughlin, and the American Fascist Party. Fr. Coughlin's Nye-Sweeney bill for economic reform embodies the old populist notions. Along with these economic reforms, American fascism of the thirties espoused virulent racism and anti-communism, a pro-German foreign policy and a sort of plebiscitary democracy on the model of Huey Long's dictatorship in Louisiana. That the Wallace campaign is in the populist tradition does not preclude its being in the fascist tradition.

There are many comparisons to be made between the Little Corporal from Germany and the Little Man from Barbour County, the first being that both relied upon a frightened lower middle class for mass support. Lower middle-class America feels itself threatened by Negro demands to be admitted into the schools and unions and regards with horror the prospects of living in a racially mixed society. Wallace appeals to this

fear of loss of class and racial status.

Some argue against comparing the mass appeal of Wallace to that of Hitler and Mussolini on the grounds that the economic threat to the status of lower middle-class European society was real, while the threat to the American lower middle class posed by the Negro revolution is neither real nor based in economics. This argument misses the point. The civil servants, small farmers and holders of small property who flocked to the swastika and the fasces were not disturbed by the prospect of penury but with a prospective loss of status. Submergence into the proletariat, even though likely to be profitable in the long run, was the occasion of as much panic to the European middle class as race mixing is to the established classes in America. Wallace acknowledged his appeal to the racial threat for mass support when he said, "Let 'em call me a racist. It don't make any difference. Whole heap of folks in this country feel the same way I do. Race is what's gonna win this thing for me."

Those who were attracted to European fascism felt themselves trapped between the monopolistic capitalist and the rising proletariat. Wallace's followers similarly feel themselves trapped between an oppressive government which would integrate their schools, unions and neighborhoods giving their money to the shiftless, and the rising expectation of the Negroes and other underprivileged. Wallace plays on their fear of the Negro by indirection. As one Alabama Senator was quoted, "He can use all the other issues — law and order, running your own schools, etc. . . . But people know he's telling them, 'A nigger's trying to get your job, trying to move into your neighborhood.'"

Fascism sets up a true national; for the fascist there is the true German, the true Italian, and the true American. This true national is set upon by the anti-national conspiracy which is the cause of all the trouble and from which the fascist leader will deliver the nation.

Wallace uses the same word to designate the true nationals as Hitler did. For Hitler they were *Volk*, for Wallace, "the folks," the "barbers, beauty-shop operators, taxicab drivers, steelworkers, and truck drivers" whom he so cherishes. They are threatened by a conspiracy, not so much a Negro conspiracy, for the racist image of the Negro is hardly compatible with Hitler's scheming Jew, but a conspiracy of "left-wing, pinko liberals," anarchists, government officials with briefcases, and communists who manipulate the Negroes. Wallace, of course, will deliver his people from the conspirators.

Aside from ending school and union desegregation, running over anarchists, etc., the Wallace platform has little to offer domestically. And this is one of the main areas where the Wallace revolt differs from the populist revolt and more closely resembles the fascist revolt. Populism had a specific program for ending the economic oppression of the capitalists; Wallace, through heroic and violent acts, promises to free "the folks" from the federal tyranny and the Negro threat. Beyond these Wallace has no program. George will definitely do it. But what "it" is, is unknown. He could



describe his movement as Mussolini did his when he said, "Fascism is not a program, but purpose, will and heroic act."

Fascism, populism and the Wallace campaign are contemptuous of the institutions of liberal democracy. Fascist intellectuals held that politics, especially parliamentary democracy, was nothing more than a simple conflict among narrow power elites who cloaked their private interests in the rhetoric of idealism but were not animated by any higher sense of responsibility to people or principles. True leadership, even true democracy, fascists argued, can exist only when the nation, by mass acclamation, thrusts up a national leader who intuitively understands their real needs and sweeps aside all obstacles in order to achieve national goals.

Wallace has like-minded notions about true democratic government. His rapport with "the folks" is sensuous and mystic, and he fears being estranged from them as he fears being cut off from air. When it appeared that the refusal of the Alabama Senate to let him run for a second term would cut him off from "the folks," he became positively frantic. Wallace feels that the established liberal democracy has betrayed his "folks." He puts it this way, "The leaders of both major parties have been guilty of the same high crimes and misdemeanors — both parties have encroached on states' rights, on property ownership, on private enterprise."

The Wallace answer to this betrayal is delineated in the following short discourse on political theory: "Hell, we got too much dignity in government now, what we need is some *meanness*. You elect one of these steelworkers guvnuh, you talk about a revolution — damn,

there'd be shootin' and tearin' down and burnin' up and killin' and bloodlettin' sho *nuff*. Steelworker wouldn't have to think about it — he'd just go ahead and do it. Anyway, I been tellin' folks for years that there'd be fightin' in the streets one day between rightists and leftists, between whites and blacks. Hell, all we'd have to do right now is march on the federal courthouse there in Montgomery, take over the post office and lock up a few of those judges, and by sunset there'd be a revolution from one corner of this nation to the other." The reader will recall that Mussolini came to power after a similar revolution.

Throughout the Wallace campaign, there is the underlying strain of violence. Hitler said, "The first rule of life is defend yourself! Peace is the frightened cry of the weak and unfit." Wallace has said, "Life's basically a fight. People enjoy fightin'. That's the way folks are. Niggahs hate whites, and whites hate niggahs. Everybody knows that deep down."

The populist tradition is also a violent one, but the violence is of a different sort. Populists used casual, irregular mob violence to insure the triumph of the popular will, for instance, by stopping foreclosure sales. Pre-fascist Italian landowners used the same casual violence to control their peasants. What fascism added was the institutionalization of violence. Wallace comes very close to advocating the institutionalization of terror and violence when he urges that police be allowed to run the country. He also came close to it in 1967, when, after his wife delivered a speech promising massive resistance to federally imposed school integration, Wallace toyed with the idea of assembling a kind of state-wide vigilante posse, "so when the troops come, we'll have a few folks waitin' for 'em."

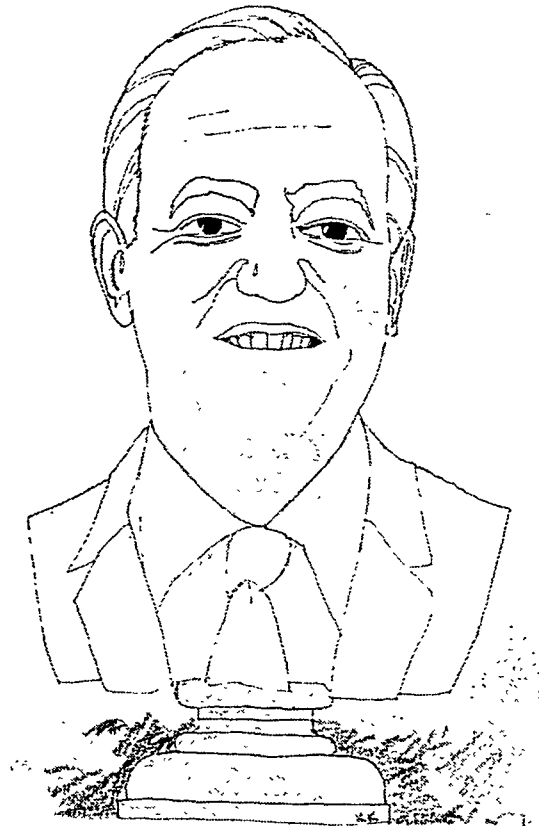
In Alabama under Wallace, as in Germany and Italy under Hitler and Mussolini, violence is the prerogative only of those on the right side of the conflict. Wallace campaigns this year on a platform of law and order, but when pressed to punish the bombers of Negro churches in Alabama, the governor of that state said, "Well, I've gotten sick and tired of that kinda talk. The folks have already heard too much hollerin' about law and order."

Wallace's opposition to the Communist conspiracy at home leads him to oppose it abroad. The following exposition of the assumptions underlying a Wallace foreign policy should prove enlightening: "Yeah, you know they maneuvered us into fighting the enemies of Communism back during World War II. The Germans and Japanese were a mighty brave people. . . . Hell, we should have been in those trenches with the Germans fightin' them Bolsheviks."

The threat which the Wallace campaign poses to liberal American democracy is nowhere better illustrated than by the Alabama example where Wallace appropriated the state to gratify his ambitions. He subverted the constitution by running for a third term in the guise of his wife's candidacy. He assimilated virtually the entire governmental structure of the state and has virtually eliminated the opposition. Those senators who opposed permitting him to run a third time have all been defeated. Kenneth Hammond, one of those senators, has charged that Wallace was following "the same cycle as Adolf Hitler." Another dissenter, a sober, conservative segregationist, has said, "*Mein Kampf* is the Bible of Alabama politics. It's the textbook for the prejudice and propaganda. And when George starts nationwide, you just watch him, he'll pick an enemy — maybe a new one — and he'll run against that enemy." □

Humphrey's It

by Joel Garreau



Just as the "All-America" city of South Bend has mystically, over the past three decades, voted exactly as the nation as a whole has, so the Notre Dame community has managed in the past to reflect ordinary student opinion. And it looks like Humphrey's it.

IF IT WERE UP to Notre Dame students, Hubert Humphrey would be our next President. This is the conclusion of a poll conducted Monday and Tuesday by the SCHOLASTIC in the Library, Huddle, and both dining halls. One hundred undergraduates were interviewed in the poll, and the results, which have an estimated probability error of four percent, show that half the student body, or 50 percent, would vote for Humphrey. Richard Nixon received 30 percent of the vote, a low ten percent were undecided, four percent would refuse to vote in protest, and Eldridge Cleaver, Dick Gregory and Eugene McCarthy would each receive two percent of the vote through write-ins.

Another interesting fact brought up in the poll was that every student interviewed who was eligible to vote (18 percent) had already gone through the bother of getting an absentee ballot form and intended to vote. One-third of those voted for Nixon, and two-thirds for Humphrey.

Except for the four percent who indicated that they would not vote in protest, practically every undergraduate under 21 approached said that he would in fact vote if he were eligible, and did so with a surprising amount of conviction. Even those who favored a particular candidate for no other reason than because they felt he was "the lesser of three evils" (32 percent) were emphatic in their desire to vote for that candidate, if they were old enough.

There was little uniformity concerning the reasons for voting for a particular candidate. The closest thing to a common denominator was in the pro-Humphrey

people who were voting for him because of his liberal policies. "The other candidates are calling for simple answers to difficult questions," one man said. "Humphrey is the most practical, pragmatic choice," said another, "... the most flexible. I dislike the polarization of extremism."

Others disliked Nixon. "He wouldn't be able to unite the country," said one. "Nixon has been out of politics too long to be effective," said another. "He hasn't really spoken out on the issues yet," was another complaint, "I don't really know what he would do if he was President."

Some, surprisingly enough, want to put Humphrey in the White House because they feel his would be an extension of the Kennedy-Johnson administrations. "I like the way he'd handle the war," said one. "I don't think we should change basic foreign policy philosophies," another commented, "I'd hate to see the Administration switch hands at this point."

Others associate Nixon with the Eisenhower-Dulles policies, and do not wish to return to that. They often debunk the idea of the "New Nixon."

Nixonites stress the fact that they think it is "time for a change." They also seem to like his foreign policy, and by the same token can't stand LBJ's policies and see Humphrey as an extension of those.

Their reasons for voting for Nixon center around the arguments "he is more reasonable" or "I like his policies." One man had a novel reason. He felt that if Nixon didn't win, irreparable harm would be done to the two party system, especially coming on the heels of the Goldwater debacle.

The protest votes came out of two philosophies. The more moderate simply could not in conscience vote for any of the three major candidates, while the others were attempting to register their disappointment with the whole American political system. □

Quality and Community

by James Fullin

... A deep conviction was expressed that Notre Dame must continue to strive to build a true community that is united in its commitment to basic human values, that such an undertaking is especially important in view of the violence and alienation that are so characteristic of today's world ...

Edmund Stephan, Chairman
University Board of Trustees
May 15, 1968

... Residentiality has long characterized some of the best universities in the world. However, proximity in living is not enough. A positive climate conducive to community is more than residentiality.

Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, CSC
University President
Scholastic, October 11, 1968

We know that "proximity in living is not enough" in considering "residentiality," but what is enough?

Thomas Payne
University Student
Scholastic, October 11, 1968

AS IF IN ANSWER to Mr. Payne and others chasing the bright, elusive butterfly of "quality" in their life styles on this campus, a steering committee was formed two weeks ago to plan and operate a Student Development Center. Even as its structure and methodology are planned, its exact purpose and potential remain hazy or at best multifold.

The Center will be based with the University Counseling Service in Room 313 of the Administration Building. It will be directed by Dr. Sheridan McCabe, Rev. Daniel Roland, CSC, and Rev. Joseph Simons CSC, and aided by a dozen or so trained graduate and other students sophisticated in group process. This semester the directors plan to operate a number of psychological training groups (T-Groups) for interested Notre Dame and St. Mary's students, from which 20-25 will be selected for more intensive supervision and training as group leaders next semester. Further plans depend on this year's success, but could include T-Group training for student government leaders, prefects, and section leaders, for example.

The basic technique of the Student Development Center will be the T-Group, sometimes referred to as encounter — or sensitivity-training-group. A modified version of this technique was used in the experimental freshman orientation program at Farley this year. An article of this size can only sketch the theory of the T-Group, and the interested reader is referred to what Fr. Boland calls "the Bible," a 498-page volume entitled *T-Group Theory and Laboratory Method*, edited by Drs. Bradford, Gibb, and Benne.

The T-Group is a psychological laboratory whose

members are both participants and observers. The group initially meets without organization or agenda, and naturally attempts to fill in this void by groping attempts to establish behavioral norms. Through the subtle influence of the trainer the group remains conscious of its own interactions. As the meetings progress, the member comes to a greater awareness of the disparity between his self-concept and the image he portrays to the group. A competent supervisor can insure that this experience is not too shattering. Once each member is assured that the reactions of the group towards his behavior are constructive rather than threatening, the stage is set for a growing atmosphere of mutual trust and helpfulness. In this atmosphere the member becomes both sensitive to the needs of other individuals and free to reveal his inner feelings about himself and others without fear that they will respond in an irrationally defensive manner.

The trust developed in the laboratory situation should spill over to improve the quality of membership and participation in other aspects of the T-Group member's life. The group's reaction to one member's behavior should help him integrate his self-concept with reality, while his observations of their behavior should provide insights into diagnosing and altering external situations which impede the autonomy and growth of himself and his group.

The psychic forces unleashed in the T-Group situation can have tremendously creative effects on individuals and their social environments, or they can be exceedingly harmful, depending largely on the competence of the trainers. Fr. Boland cites instances of both successful and disastrous programs at other universities, and stresses the extensive training and background of the Student Development Center staff. He warns sternly against "fooling around with these things," and adds that even with the best counseling, T-Groups are not for everyone.

This perfunctory examination of the structure and methodology of the Student Center leads to the question of purpose. The answer depends largely on whom one asks. One student, who became involved with the program through the NSA activities in the field, sees the Center as a possible answer to "student stress" — the cumulative anxiety produced by social, academic, and psychological pressures on the student. Fr. Boland sees the center as a training ground for leaders eager to foster true Christian communities at the hall section level. Both promote the theme of improving the quality of the ND-SMC community through greater openness, deeper trust, and concerned involvement with the interests of the entire community.

Perhaps the Student Development Center will actually provide the long-sought "positive climate conducive to community." Notre Dame and St. Mary's students willing to aid in this attempt are urged to contact Fr. Boland at the Counseling Service. □

"Cutty Shark" and Other Delights

by Louie Rappelli

Over the sounds of pots and pans banging in the kitchen at Louie's Restaurant Monday, the proprietor, Louie Rappelli, recalled the Student Union's Michigan State trip.

TALK ABOUT TAKING A TRIP. Luigi finally took his trip. We got up at 7:30 in the morning — shave, bath — I'm supposed to be picked up about quarter after eight. By God, they were on time. It was so early in a way I was kinda hopin' they'd miss it. But, there we are. So cold. So I pile in the car with the rest of them. Everybody moves over. We go to the station only to find out something derailed or something. Son of a gun, we had to wait for the trains — about a hour we waited. So I says "Let's go out for a cup of coffee." So we piled in the car again.

Over to the bus station we go. What a joint. Hmmm Hmm. They had coffee and everything else all over the place and that was the restaurant. There was more people sitting there, I don't know what for but it wasn't the bus by the looks of them. The place stunk, if you want to know the God's truth. Well, everybody's running for the john, okay, so about 20 or 30 minutes, we said we'd better head on back and get the train . . . and we did. Pile in the car again.

We get to the train station, we still had to wait about 20 minutes, and everybody was going wild. Kids all over the place, screaming and hollering somebody forgot something, had to go get that stuff — 7-Up — we needed it. Quite a few looking at me, I don't know, they act like I was a stranger there. I had my shirt, tie on, and a hat and everything. I had my American shirt on, you know, with the collar bit, and the tie, and well finally the train starts comin'.

Somebody over the loudspeaker says "get set leaving on track 3" or somethin' like that. Well, I follow the gang. We ended up on the platform. We all piled into the train. We take the last car in the back there.

Well, anyway, here we are. No sooner then we sat down and someone handed me a nice tall glass with some booze in it. Yeah, the train starts out. So I sit over there with Chuck Nau and his girlfriend and this one chap taking pictures of the whole thing. And I says "Chuck," I says, "how about a nice big tall glass of booze?" He says "No, no, no" he says "It makes me sick to my belly." Well, I didn't want to force one down him, — I thought maybe the kid'd get pretty bad.

Pretty soon there comes a sweet, pretty young girl, I don't remember her name, plunked on my lap, and this guy's jumpin' up, taking pictures, and I'm just . . . well, I'm . . . tell her sooner or later, I says "Look, honey," I says, "you have to get off. Enough is enough."

I says, "Enough for you, honey, we gotta' give all the girls the chances on my lap."

Finally, I go back to the bar, I run out of alky in my glass, go back to the bar, I says "Gimme a Cutty Shark (sic) and some ice and some water in there, and he did. Little water and a lot of scotch, a little ice." About a half hour out, momentum's growing, what I mean by that, everybody's drinkin'. Speakin' louder, grabbin' more drinks.

Pretty soon someone comes, I got one glass in my hand, but he shoves another one in my hand. Finally, the music starts comin' in half-way decent. So, everybody's talkin' and one thing and another. Another little girl jumps over there and I don't know who she was. But she wanted me to do the Twist, uh, I don't know the exact name, but you gotta get up there and shake it up, like . . . ah . . . like you don't know any better. And I did and I says "Okay," and finally, that was over and I sat down and a car conductor comes over. One of the conductors, you know. And he sits down there.

This guy is my age and he's calling me "That's it, Dad, shake it up." We tried to get him to do the same thing, but he refused, he didn't have the courage. Guess he's old fashioned, I don't know. Anyway, we slipped a drink to him and shut him up a little bit there.

Well, we're gettin' pretty close to the stadium, Michigan State, there. And everybody's startin' to grab their coats. And grabbin' their drinks. Off, we get off of the train. I don't know who he was, but one kid, when he stepped off the train, the ground was about two feet from the last step and he fell down on his . . . Lord, the poor kid. His pants all dirty and everything. Some old guy grabbin' my hand, watchin' so I don't fall and everybody else. And I don't know who he was but probably an official.

There we are at the stadium. Mama mia, things were going, people were screamin' and hollerin'. Everybody had their tickets and up we go to the seats. We get at the wrong seats. Somebody comes up there, one of the ushers, and says, "You all gotta move" . . . there was about seven or eight of us. So we moved someplace else and down further. Well, here we are. The kick-off's comin' out now.

Michigan State, I don't know where they got that idea of that quick kick, but, Lord, they did set us up pretty. I think we lost the game then, with the kick-off. It was too quick and they scored on us too fast, and they shook us all up. Well, they finally scored on us. And everybody's a little down in the mouth and I says "Don't worry. We'll take them on, just give us a little time. Boys just gotta warm up." And meanwhile, my voice is startin' to hoarse up there from screamin' and hollerin'. I believe they finally scored another one, those . . . little bas . . . those little boys



Special Scholastic Correspondent Louis Rappelli

out there. And everybody's gettin' worse . . . down in the mouth again and I says "We'll get them at the half."

In the meanwhile there's some little ole' gal and a younger one come by. And I'm right in the front and the poor things says to me says "Would you please be kind enough to move?" And I says "I certainly was." And she almost fell, and I had to grab her. And she wasn't bad. . . . Well, anyway, the old lady was with her and that ended that up.

So finally the half and I says to the boys "Let's go down and get a hot dog." And while I was down there I meet my buddy, of all the people I meet, Nicola, and his brother, with a pan full of chicken. In they come, they look at me and I look at them and the only thing they could say "Have some chicken." They were pretty stewed. They were feelin' good, anyway.

I meet three of the boys that were on the train and they were tellin' me that they were a little bit tired of their dates. So, I . . . there's three young ladies from St. Mary's just close enough so that I was sort of talkin' to them and I says to the boys, I say "Well, there's three girls there. If you don't want what you got, trade it." He says "We don't know 'em." And I says "Well I know 'em." Which I did. So I introduced them. So I left them all there and back to the stadium I went.

And we're all gettin' ready for the half kick-off. Finally the half kick-off comes. And I don't remember now who's scorin' and who ain't, because everybody's disgusted. I'm screamin' and hollerin' sayin' "We've got plenty of time." I'll be damned, boy, the time was goin' fast. But another thing, we got really gypped, at Michigan State, if you want to know the gospel truth. I don't remember exactly where but about the fourth quarter when that long pass on just on the, I think it was right on the goal line, and he got tackled before that ball even got near him, I believe. And that god-damn referee called it a fall, and he didn't do nothin' about it. I got pretty damn mad, I went down there, and I called him a name. I don't know if the son-of-a- . . . but I don't think he paid attention to me either. Cause he kept on running. I tried to get his attention oh probably about another four or five times. And it was really disgusting. I still don't see how these ref-

erees got away with it because I'm sure we had TV on it and they could have re-run it, and I'm sure if they ever did, do, I'm sure we should have won, and but unfortunate, they're the boss. So the game ends, and we lose. A lot of heartbreaks and a lot of happy people.

We stayed there 'til most of the crowd got out. Well, we had a couple of hours, an hour or so, before the train. So one of the young ladies that was with us said, "My sisters go to this college. Maybe we can get a car, go out and get a bite to eat and something to drink . . . So, I follow the crowd. And I tell you there was some beautiful br. . . young ladies over there. I was born too soon. But anyway, we walked for, must have been a 15-minute walk to her dormitory there. And she gets some special passes and we have a hamburger deal for us and we get to eat in their big dining hall, lovely. We had our hamburger and one thing or another and our pop.

But all the booze was . . . I never knew that that place was dry. It was dryer than all, by God, and we had to go walk to the train.

Everybody's down in the mouth a little bit. Then as we approach the train, after another 15-minute walk, Lord did I walk that day . . . there's one of those Colonel Sanders' trucks there and everybody was buying chicken. But going there, we see somebody stretched out there, and somebody was throwing a coat on him, he must have been loaded to the gills, completely out. I don't know if the poor guy made it on the train or not. Everybody had to get back quick.

Well, we get about halfway back to South Bend, and I think we're running out of booze. Somebody gets the idea, buy some. So we stopped at some little town, I don't remember which one it was, come to find out that thing is dry too. So back on the train the kid comes. And the train starts off again.

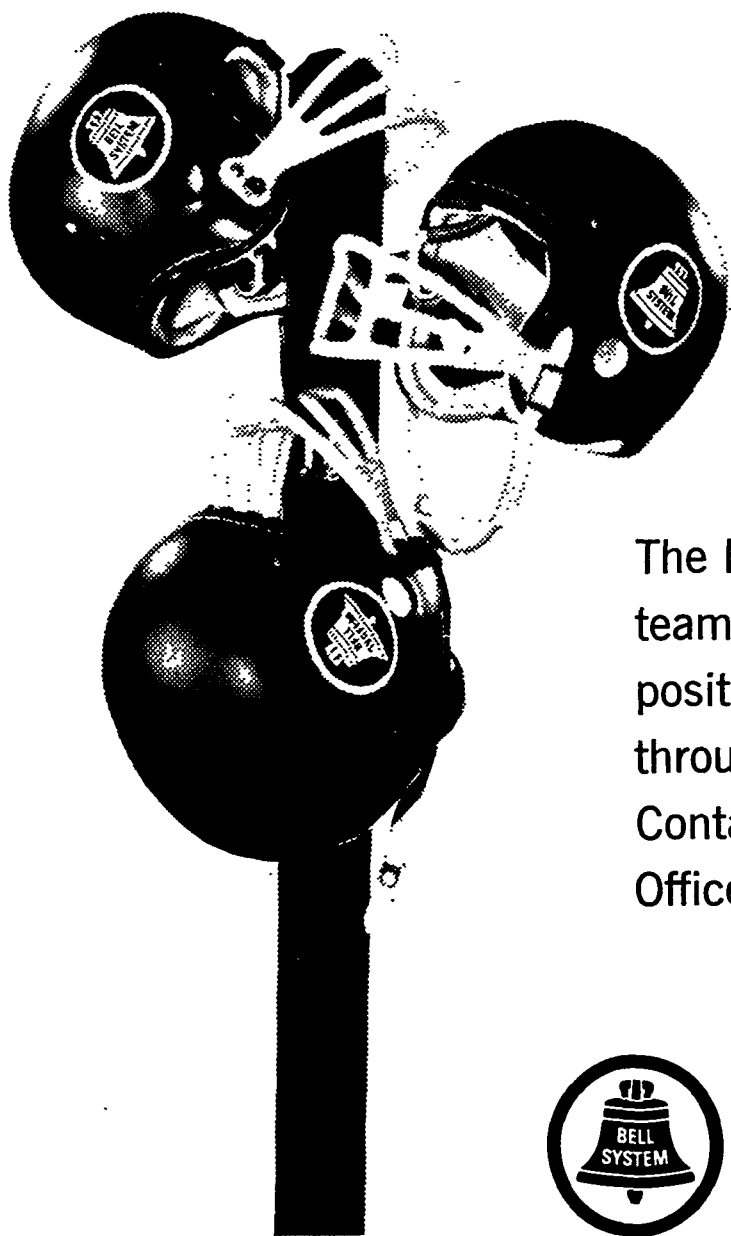
And everybody kept going wild and I don't know who she was but she kept nudging me to do the Twist or . . . what the hell's the name of that . . . well finally, a couple more of the conductors come in and they sat down. I guess their end run was coming up there. And then everybody shoved a glass in front of them. One of the conductors was about 40, about my age, and he was really ah . . . finally, he started doing the Twist himself. And I got kind of jealous and I says, "Jesus Christ, you're trying to take my whatchamacallit, my girlfriend away." And the booze was running low now and we're getting towards South Bend.

I finally get back to the restaurant, I'm all dressed up. The joint was empty. I thought maybe somebody got mad at me. Well, I figured that most of my customers were still on that train trying to get back. And I beat everybody here. My wife looks at me, she says, "Well, did you have a good time, Baldy?" I says, "Yeah. But don't get mad at me cause there was some guy taking pictures and some girl accidentally sat on my lap." Because she was kinda giving me that dirty look.

But finally I took my dress clothes off, my dress American shirt. Back to my Italian shirt, my apron. My Italian tee shirt. My little old soiled hat. And my soiled apron. Back in the kitchen.

I tell you. That's the first time I ever took one of those train trips like that and I promise you'll never forget it the rest of your life. Because these boys and girls of today really know how to enjoy themselves. I was thinking if the old people really want to take a trip to a ball game they should go on a student trip. Because them boys has got the med . . . the material to make a trip worthwhile. All in all, I thought it was very exciting and I shall never forget it. □

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