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member and wife**

Confidential counselling regarding adoptions is available for men and women at these local agencies: Catholic Social Service, Family and Children's Center, and St. Joseph County Welfare Department.



letters	4
editorial	5
born under a bad sign/ john stupp	6
how i helped lose the election/bill wilka	7
markings notre dame's angels/ mary ellen stoltz	8
week in distortion	9
portage county 25, kent state 0/ bob hoiles & mike mooney	10
rotc at notre dame/bill mitchell & steve brion	16
annexation: an interview with lloyd allen	22
should the university be above the battle? /stanley hauerwas	25
a view from the crow's nest/ major francis gould	28
ship of dreamers/don yates	30
life here in the patriarchy /carolyn gatz	33
football/don kennedy	36
coming distractions/tom gora	37
last word	38

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Letters

More fan mail: Us and the Berkeley Tribe

To the Editor:

Congratulations! You have recently reached a new low in campus literary output. The October 30 SCHOLASTIC is the worst to date, and I see little room for further deterioration left.

Distortion doesn't seem confined to the section accorded it, although "The Week in Distortion" is the worst, most biased, yellow-to-pink journalism I have seen in a long time, being eclipsed only by the *Berkely Tribe* (sic) and Dave Lammers.

You did have one good article — "Perspectives" — which this week very obviously did not "necessarily reflect the editorial policy of the SCHOLASTIC."

As far as the abortion advertisement inside the front cover is concerned, the letters to the *Observer* said enough on that kind of journalistic irresponsibility. However, if you haven't learned from the *Observer's* mistake, you demonstrate not only irresponsibility in your publication, but stupidity as well.

Patrick Gooley
335 Fisher

Rofo Star and a white horse: ghosts of issues past

To the Editor:

Having just returned from a three-month stay in Brazil, I was greeted by a stronger than usual barrage of questions about the "genocide" that is allegedly taking place in the northern expanses of that country; several of them were based on the article "The Indians of Brazil: A Continuing Story of the Americas" (The SCHOLASTIC, March 6, 1970). Therefore I was forced, much against my stomach, to read carefully the said sad example of muddled thinking and worse writing.

It would be ridiculous for me to try to contradict or disavow the charges of Mr. Brion as it would be for anyone to take them seriously. I will simply point out a few obvious facts about the article itself, its content and style.

The first page carries a description of slaughter and poisoning of the Beigos-de-Pau (not Beicos, please, the cedilla is crucial) followed by the phrase "The Brazilian Ministry of the Interior," in italics. That that is not a quotation is obvious; that many students will think it is, is predictable; that Mr. Brion does not care if they are misled, is certain.

But let us move on. Let us also skip the unproved and undocumented charge that "Brazil's Indian population is being systematically exterminated by the Brazilian military and small private armies," etc., let us go lightly over the pseudo-historical paragraphs and come to the meager meat of the article itself: the part dealing with the alleged merciless killings. Lo, we find that the initial quotation is not from the Ministry of Interior, after all, but from a Norman Lewis, writing for *Atlas* in January, 1970. We also find that Mr. Brion believes that a great conspiracy of silence exists, agreed to in smoke-filled newsmagazines, intent on keeping Brazilians and Americans alike unaware of what is really going on (John Birchers, attention!) and that he, a new Winston in a new 1984, is fighting to get at the truth "gathered from publications such as *Atlas* or from the foreign press — (you guessed it) *Der Spiegel*, London's *Sunday Times*, Tunisia's *Jeune Afrique*."

The next phrase is a pearl: "The list of atrocities goes on and on; to document them would be to indulge in cheap sensationalism." I honestly do not know what Mr. Brion thought he was indulging in. His only sources seem to be Lewis' article, which he accepts as gospel; a terribly shallow and left-leaning account of recent Brazilian political developments which he ascribes to Dan Griffin and *Der Spiegel*. But, you see, there is really no way you can discover the truth, because the Brazilian press is muzzled, the governments of Brazil and of the U.S. have said nothing, and that is understandable in the face of My Lai, cluster bombs and the American Indian, and the hunger for wealth, and anticommunism, and all those horrible pervasively sick genocidal foreign capitalistic dehumanized fascists and . . .

Enter Mr. Brion on a white horse. With a whip of his mighty pen, the Lady Vivamus, he disperses the Dragons. Rufo grins and Star looks at him with loving eyes. So there.

Dr. Celso de Renna e Souza
Electrical Engineering Department

THE SCHOLASTIC

Editorial

An End to No Decision

"It will be a hell of a lot easier for someone to do this next year," Bill Reishman said after sitting down in front of the troops at the 1968 ROTC Presidential Review, "because it was done this year."

But Reishman, who organized 500 Notre Dame and St. Mary's students in the anti-ROTC demonstration, has not been vindicated.

The university simply cancelled the 1969 review, and cut off any continuity of discussion or action on the question of ROTC at Notre Dame.

The question needs posing again.

It might be approached in any number of ways, on any number of levels — ranging from the strictly academic to the strictly moral. This week's cover story attempts to touch both poles, while concentrating most heavily on the more or less academic questions of faculty status for ROTC instructors and academic credit for the program. But it also attempts to open discussion and examination once more, after a silence that has lasted for more than a year now, on the larger and more crucial problems at the core of the ROTC debate.

The present status of ROTC at Notre Dame is unsatisfactory. It would be hypocrisy for us to claim any real neutrality on this question. It is necessary, then, to offer a few limited alternatives to the situation as it now exists.

The ROTC program should not be connected with the College of Arts and Letters. As a direct training program for professionals in a specific and very limited (to say the least) vocation, it is anomalous to a college whose primary concern must be a general and liberal education. The study of military history is im-

portant, but not when it is commissioned and controlled by the same men who make it. Secondly, we urge the implementation and expansion of the resolution born in the Faculty Senate's May 1969 meeting — i.e., that no academic credit be given to ROTC courses *not* taught by "faculty members holding an appointment in one of the regular (that is, non-military) departments of the university." The strictly professional courses administered by ROTC faculty should no longer receive academic credit either in the College of Arts and Letters or in the University generally. This must be done through whatever body is appropriate — whether that be the College Council (though its inaction in this area over the past year offers some grounds for skepticism) or if necessary, a convocation of the whole College, students and faculty.

At the same time, all the myriad of implications entwined in the University's relation to the military through the ROTC program must be faced up to. If we decide that the military training program funnels more men into activities that seem immoral and inappropriate for Notre Dame to participate in, a complete break must be made — regardless of the pragmatic losses involved. This last possibility seems to us closer than ever.

But for now, initial steps are essential. ROTC should be removed from the College of Arts and Letters. Its instructors should be removed from the College and Academic Councils. All academic credit should be removed from its classes.

This course of action does not presume moral judgment over individual lives; rather it speaks to what the nature and direction of this community ought to be.

John Stupp

Born Under a Bad Sign

It used to be not too many years ago that a person could walk into any bar or nightclub in any large city and expect to see a rock band that played eighteen versions of "Gloria" or "I'm a Man," dressed like morticians, and generally carried on in a most unsatisfactory manner. If you were lucky, you might have been able to see bands in their formative years, bands that would later become the source of many talented musicians. Few people were so lucky. Now, however, the exception is the rule. There are musical organizations turning up all over and it is indeed a pleasure to see the increasing number of talented musicians who are working within the rock idiom. A music that was born under a bad sign, has certainly undergone a renaissance of sorts.

Cleveland is no exception. A city that could once boast of the *Outsiders* had certainly little to boast about. This summer I had the good fortune to be able to see a good many bands, and I found to my pleasant surprise, that the improvements of the big recording groups were certainly reflected on the local level. Bands like *Sheffield Rush*, *Parson's Wild West Show*, and of course, *The James Gang* expressed a new freedom and vitality that could embrace a herd of Brian Augers, John Mayalls, and Neil Youngs. The general dichotomy between the Page-Clapton type of music and the Stills-Young type was still present, but now even this dichotomy is beginning to show signs of wearing down. New emphasis on piano, mellotron, accoustic guitar, and flute (coupled with the deemphasis on the Hendrix wave of sound routine) has certainly played a large part in the synthesis of these two main styles.

The change away from the violent rhythms and

shattering amplified progressions might be attributed to the long-term effects of acid on the music scene. The subtleties of inner explorations may have been reflected outwardly through the music, which is now slowing its rhythms into semiclassical arrangements (witness *Pink Floyd's* recent "Atom Heart Mother") and beginning to utilize spatial and silence techniques. The attention to overall tone and harmonics (so characteristic of the big bands of the thirties and the forties) is enabling instrument distribution to be on a more equal basis. There is no more orgasmic reliance on the lead guitar alone, with the result — lower volume, more even tone. Acid may have contributed to this development (*Rubber Soul* being the classic example), but more than likely, we are simply witnessing a new musical maturity — rock musicians are growing into their twenties, and some into their late twenties and thirties. Time has mellowed the original fires without diminishing them.

Intellectual development is good for rock music, but it can be a two-sided blessing. Intellectualism for its own sake (the bane of jazz) can be a detriment to the emotional side, the primitive side where rock had its origins, and where finally its main appeal rests. The Gary Burton concert is a good example of music that can evoke intellectual or aesthetic admiration, yet rarely evoke feeling, rarely evoke the power that even a mediocre rock band can elicit. Rock can learn a good many lessons from jazz, and jazz would do well to listen to its younger brother also.

Even in Cleveland things are looking good. They must be good all over.

Bill Wilka

How I Helped Lose the Election

"Can I help you, son?"

The squat man in grey overalls looked up from his house painting as I approached his porch. The greeting was not unfriendly, not friendly — typical of the responses I had received in other parts of Long Island's Fifth Congressional District. But before I could reply he noticed the plastic bag I carried and the legend (insignia) — "Lowenstein for Congress." The paint brush came to a halt and so did I. "But if it's that Lowenstein guy you wanna talk about I got just one word for ya — Rouse! I wouldn't vote for that horse's ass if he was the only guy running. My name's Rosenberg and I'm an R. C. and that's all I got to say." R.C.? That was one label I'd never heard of so I risked a question. "That's for Roman Catholic, and I'm no dove, so beat it."

Covering my retreat with a hasty "Thank you," I moved on to the next doorbell. It too was obviously R.C. — the neighborhood was dotted with houses guarded by a small outdoor shrine to the Blessed Mother. The people of Massapequa Park were most concerned about "the economy," college kids, and New York's new liberal abortion law. For nearly eight years the majority had either supported or tried to ignore the holocaust of Vietnam; the abortion law had aroused their traditional Catholic ire, however, and they were up in arms. "Well, well, birth control and abortion — I mean, that's just like *killing* someone."

I decided not to pursue the issue.

Over 1,000 college students, including 32 from Notre Dame, answered Congressman Allard Lowenstein's plea for help in his campaign for re-election. Their appearance was as diverse as their backgrounds — Jew and Christian, Ivy League and small state college, longhair and straight — but their motivation was common, a spontaneity defying category. They believed in a man and, through him, wanted very desperately to believe in a political system. They were attracted by Lowenstein's candor, by his youthful energy and enthusiasm — qualities they had never associated with a "politician." But there was something more, some intangible feeling about a man who could say "Don't quit — work with me and together we can *make* the system work" and sound authentic. The effect was exhilarating. Here was authenticity, promising affirmation of their hope for a system which had formerly only inspired cynicism.

But this was the year of the "new, new politics": violence and fear — for one's economic safety as well as physical — and finally the campaigns themselves emerge as an issue. Already the victim of extensive gerrymandering, Lowenstein became the target of lies and guilt by association charges — "encourages student radicals . . . chief apologist for Black Panthers in this country." The students, and the candidate himself, slowly came to view the election as involving more than merely the political fortunes of one man. "We are helping to decide," said Lowenstein, "if a particular brand of politics, a politics of hatred, fear and division, can claim legitimacy in our system."

* * * *

On November 4, 1970, Al Lowenstein lost by nearly 9,000 votes; the significance of his defeat remains uncertain. In order for the American political system to work it is sometimes necessary that good men lose elections. The system's success depends on men's willingness to respond to political defeat by trying again in two or four or six years, rather than resorting to revolution at every setback. To acknowledge a system's legitimacy by working within it, but dropping out because one man was defeated by rules you accepted in the first place, would be hypocrisy. Yet when the rules themselves embrace corruption, when moral considerations of the means by which a candidate wins are dismissed as irrelevant and "unproductive and not pragmatic" — when a system prostitutes the ideals upon which its own claims to legitimacy are founded, then the basis of that system and the direction it has taken can — perhaps must — be called into question. We have not reached that point as a nation where such rejection is warranted; the reality of the overall political process is not that bleak. Yet for thousands of students in a few areas around the country, this corruption has become their reality because of the viciousness and moral callousness of a process which claimed to be sensitive to people. And though the examples might be isolated and few, and the number of disillusioned relatively small, their disaffection is significant. Significant because as people they are important, and because they constitute a growing minority of America's young. As political expediency dictates easier and easier "answers," the questions become harder for them to ask: Where do we turn from here? To whom? And why?

Markings

Notre Dame's Angels

THE Angel Flight is the corresponding women's organization of the Arnold Air Society, an honorary fraternity of members of AFROTC. Started on this campus last spring, there are presently eleven Angels. The Angels are oriented towards service; the goals, as listed in the pledge manual are these: "to advance and promote interest in the Air Force; to assist and support Arnold Air Society and Air Force ROTC; to serve the University and the community."

Angels across the country do such things as sponsor Brownie Troops, visit the aged, and perform various services for the University and the community. The Benjamin D. Foulois Angel Flight of the University of Notre Dame sponsored neighborhood trick-or-treating for children at the Northern Indiana Children's Hospital. The Angels and Arnolds helped the children make costumes and distributed leaflets in the neighborhood on October 23, explaining what types of food the children could eat and asking for cooperation. After accompanying the children on their trick-or-treating excursion, the two groups sponsored a Halloween party for the children.

According to Nan Kavanagh, the Administrative Officer of the Angels, the organization here was founded to bring about a "more natural working atmosphere by being able to work together and considered equals." The ND branch belongs to Area Conclave E-2, and has the distinction of being the only Angel Flight in the state of Indiana.

The main project of the Angel Flight to date has been that of organizing the group. In order to receive National Recognition, the Angels had to acquire uniforms (which they designed themselves), pay national

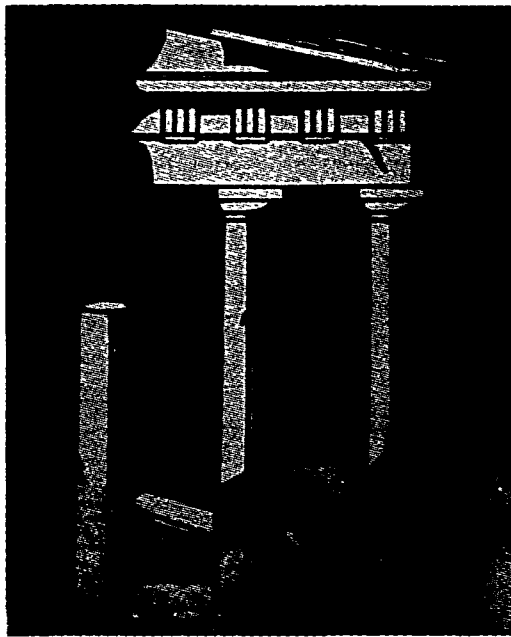
and local dues, initiate service projects and be able to pass national inspection. Once affiliated with the National Organization the Angels became eligible for national awards (National Honorary Angel, "Little General" Title, Angel Flight Scholarships, etc.) and are eligible to receive, for a fee, the services of the Executive Secretary of Arnold Air Society in Washington, D.C.

The officers of the Benjamin D. Foulois Flight for this year are: Commander, Major Aimee Tiemeier; Executive Officer, Captain Sharon Verniero; Administrative Officer, First Lieutenant Nan Kavanagh; Comptroller, First Lieutenant Mary Patt Glass; Information Officer, First Lieutenant Mary Beth Deneffe; Operations Officer, First Lieutenant Chris Karrenbauer; and Liaison Officer, First Lieutenant Johanna Ryan. Prospective members are contacted during rush, which will start in February, 1971. The girls attend various orientation sessions to learn about Arnold Air Society and Angel Flight history and those accepted attend an initiation ceremony.

The Area Conclave has chosen the better treatment of Prisoners of War as their project. The Angels at Notre Dame are also working on the Air Force Ball, a dinner at Thanksgiving for those members who will be staying on campus, and a Christmas party on the local level.

The members of the Angel Flight believe that a military organization can be of community service, service to the University and service to their country. They are service oriented, and support AFROTC and Arnold Air with the philosophy that a *security* force is necessary to protect the country and its citizens.

—Mary Ellen Stoltz



The Week In Distortion

All You Ever Wanted to Know About . . .

Sex! sex! sex! Sex behind us! Sex before us! Sex, the inescapable reality! Being thoroughly infuriated with their disobedient student body, the Administration of Holy Cross College threatened to close down the University if the students didn't begin immediately to obey the ban on inter-dorm visitation between men and women's dorms. That's quite the solution to University problems. That's quite a problem—wonder have they thought about trying to concentrate upon such problems at Berkley or San Jose or Wisconsin. Maybe if one concen-

trates *real hard* on such problems, the others will go away.

Renewing the Faith

The U.P.I. promulgated a story last week dispelling the conjured fear that the new Marxist Chilean government would immediately banish freedom of the press entirely. That awful spectre of totalitarianism has not arisen in Chile to date. Does anyone want to make comments on the subject of "free world" paranoia and the great monolithic Communist threat?

From a Bumper Sticker:

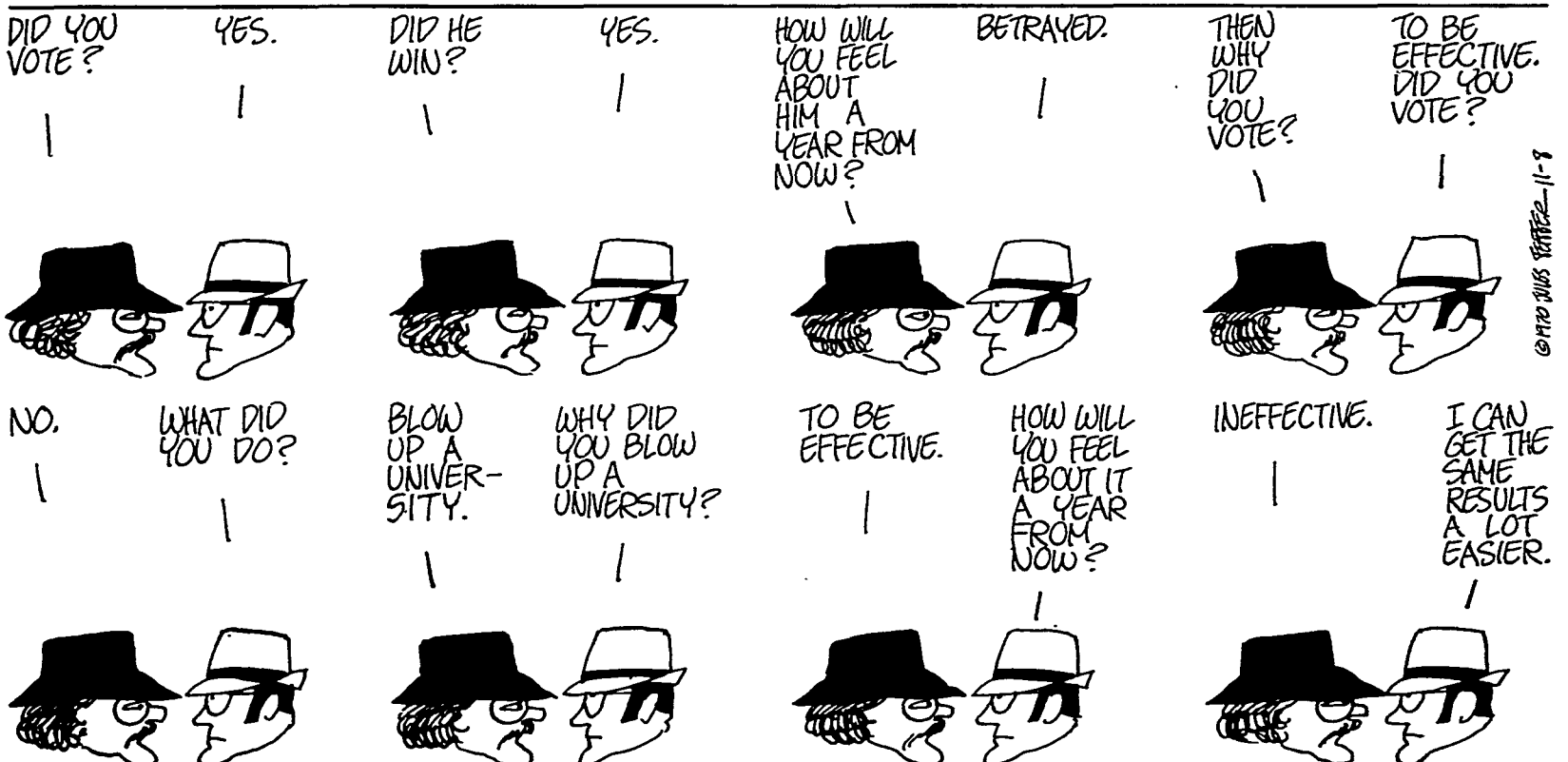
No news is Agnews.

Life in the Real World

Censorship, that pernicious little bugger, always lurks in the halls of academia, no matter how much disenfectant is applied. If it's not nibbling away at content, it's shadow pinches away at advertizing. Such is life in the real world. Such is life in Chile we all thought—those dirty Commies.

And From a Freak in Transit:

"Wow, I've got something in common with President Nixon. I got stoned in San Jose, too!"



Portage County	25
Kent State	0

The crowd on top of the hill parted as the Guard advanced and allowed it to pass through. When the Guard reached the crest of Blanket Hill by the southeast corner of Taylor Hall at about 12:25 p.m., they faced the students following them and fired their weapons. Four students were killed and nine were wounded.

(From the FBI report on the killings at Kent State University.)

THE terms are precise and cold and brief. The cataloguing of four deaths, nine injuries in the ongoing program of what some call repression, others law and order. Kent State University, May 4, 1970. Within the span of that first week in May in which these killing occurred, other students would be killed at another university, this time in the Deep South, this time black students. While the Kent State deaths remained vivid, the Jackson State deaths faded from memory very quickly; the difference, of course, is that at Jackson State, black students were killed and white America has a convenient memory block when it comes to the deaths of black men. Now that white majority must form a new memory block: the students killed at Kent were white, the pure products of America, so they must build a block to blind the mind's eye to the death of their own children. That blindness will be bought with little effort; even death itself fits easily within the ongoing program.

The climax of one portion of that program began to unfold last week as motions for indictment of seven students and nonstudents allegedly involved in last May's incident were placed before the Portage County Grand Jury. If no cause is found for delay, the trial of these seven will begin immediately. Previous Grand Jury action had found grounds for bringing indictments against a total of 24 students and nonstudents,

and one professor. The remaining 18 will soon follow the first seven before the Grand Jury and then to trial. No National Guardsmen were indicted.

Many students felt that any Portage County Grand Jury investigation would be little more than a witch hunt; to these students, the results of the investigation confirmed their expectations. Without a doubt, crimes against Ohio statutes were committed by students and nonstudents on the week end of May 3, 4, 5. What disturbs those concerned is the apparent effort, in their opinion, to indict not only the guilty, but to pass a condemnation on an entire generation, on that generation's leaders at Kent State, and on the university which is the focal point of that generation's activity. This opinion, unfortunately for everyone concerned with Kent State University or the generation under fire, is not unfounded.

The Grand Jury report is fascinating in the range of its indictment. Not only does it cover what it found as the legally indictable circumstances of that weekend, but also:

- paid particular shocked attention to the type of language used against the National Guard.
- outlined what would be acceptable practice for the University by way of negative commentary on current University practice.

- indicated (in 78 words) that a recent Jefferson Airplane concert on campus which employed pictures of last May's shootings as part of the light show was indicative of the fact that "the administrative leadership has totally failed to benefit from past events"

- included under the same heading of nonimprovement-by-the-administration, permissions granted to the campus Yippies for three recent demonstrations, the first drawing "some 250 persons" the last two "no more than a handful of spectators" (all attendance estimates in the Grand Jury's words), and all three peaceful from beginning to end.

But the most important factor in the opposition to the report is the manner in which the Grand Jury findings differ so radically from the findings of the Scranton Commission and the FBI.

The pivotal differences are those concerning the actions of the National Guard that Monday. Regarding Guard activity immediately preceding the shooting, the Grand Jury reported, "Fifty-eight Guardsmen were injured by rocks and other objects hurled at them as they moved across the 'commons' to Taylor Hall Hill and down to the practice football field, and were then forced to retreat. . . . The testimony of the students and Guardsmen is clear that several members of the Guard were knocked to the ground or to their knees by the force of the objects thrown at them . . . (this and all subsequent quotations of the Grand Jury report drawn from the text published in its entirety by the *Kent Record-Courier*, 10/16/70)." Scranton Commission investigator George Warren examined preliminary FBI findings and reported before the Commission (*Akron Beacon Journal*, 8/22/70) that a total of 20 Guardsmen reported being hit with "missiles" in activities preceding the firing (on May 4), while another 14 reported being hit that day but could not remember when. There exists the possibility that there were injuries that were not reported. The FBI report itself states (*Beacon Journal*, 11/2/70), "No Guardsman claims he was hit with rocks immediately prior to the firing, although one Guardsman stated that he had to move out of the way of a three-inch 'log' just prior to the time that he heard shots . . . only one Guardsman, Lawrence Shafer, was injured seriously enough to require any kind of medical treatment. He admits his injury was received some 10 to 15 minutes before the fatal volley was fired."

THE Grand Jury asserted that the Guardsmen who fired were "surrounded." The FBI clearly disagrees, stating flatly, "The guardsmen were not surrounded. Photographs and television film show that only a very few students were located between the Guard and the commons, they could easily have continued in the direction in which they had been going (*Beacon Journal*, 11/2/70)." The FBI added that the indications suggested that the closest threatening student was "60 feet" from the Guard (*Congressional Record*, October 13; S 17813).

Regarding the danger to Guardsmen's lives, the Grand Jury found "that those members of the National Guard who were present . . . fired their weapons in the honest and sincere belief and under circumstances which would have logically caused them to believe that they would suffer serious bodily injury had they not done so." The FBI investigators found that "most of the guardsmen who did fire do not specifically claim that they fired because their lives were in danger. . . . As a general rule, most guards add the claim that their lives were or were not in danger to the end of their statements almost as an afterthought (*Beacon Journal*, 11/2/70)." In a chilling observation, the report adds, "We have some reasons to believe that the claim by the Guard that their lives were endangered by the students was fabricated subsequent to the events (*Congressional Record*, October 13, S 17814)."

There is no conclusion in the FBI report as to who must bear the "blame" for the Kent State University deaths, though the cataloguing of the violence by both students and Guard is enough to indicate that any blame must be borne by all of the violent, that is, both students and Guard. The Scranton Commission was clear in this mutuality of guilt, citing the "plainly intolerable" activities of the student and nonstudent demonstrators and calling the shootings "unnecessary, unwarrantable and inexcusable."

The Portage County Grand Jury chose an entirely

Bob Hoiles is a junior at Kent State University majoring in journalism. He is a correspondent for the Portage County bureau of the Cleveland Plain Dealer. Mike Mooney is a junior English major. He is a staff writer for the SCHOLASTIC. Both live in Ohio, close to the Kent State University campus.

"We have some reason
to believe that the claim by the guard
that their lives were endangered by the students . . .

different position from the other two. It condemned the "deliberate criminal conduct" of the demonstrators; it noted in the "sharing (of) responsibility" a letter signed by "23 concerned faculty" distributed May 3, that called the presence of National Guard "an appalling sight," took strong issue with the policy of the State and Federal government, and called on officials to use their power to bring about understanding rather than to "inflame the public . . .;" it exonerated the Guard of any responsibility, following Ohio statutes that frees law-enforcement agencies of any prosecution for deaths occurring through their action in riot conditions.

Finally, the Grand Jury found, "that the major responsibility for the incidents occurring on the Kent State University campus on May 2, 3, and 4, rests clearly with those persons who are charged with the administration of the University. . . . The administration at Kent State University has fostered an attitude of laxity, over-indulgence, and permissiveness"

THIS condemnation of the University administration is highly ambiguous. It might be seen as merely the expression of disapproval by the Grand Jury of University practice; but it might also be seen as the first step in an effort by the citizens of the Kent-Ravenna area to gain a tighter, more restrictive hold on Kent State University. Roughly one quarter of the report is concerned with a detailed condemnation of University "laxity." The condemnation of Kent's rather liberal speaker policy, of the student disciplinary code, of the fact that last term "only five students were dismissed for non-academic reasons" may be seen as the opening move by local citizens to gain tight control over the University by first discrediting the institution's administration in the eyes of the public.

The Kent State University students newspaper *The Daily Kent Stater* commented editorially (10/21/70), "The condemning of the administration's policy of allowing freedom of speech and freedom of thought on campus . . . pointed out how far the Jury was mentally separated from the present college life. They still saw the college *in loco parentis*, that is replacing the parent. This concept was rejected several years ago by the University. . . . The jurists had little knowledge of college education and obviously little understanding of college life."

A "gag rule," only recently overruled by a U.S.

District Court, prevented those who testified before the Grand Jury from commenting on that Jury's report. Student Body Vice-President Thom Dickerson, not constrained by the rule, called the report "absurd," and regarded the gag rule as "violation of our constitutional right." On the indictment of Student Body President Craig Morgan, Dickerson commented, "His indictment is a political move. He was indicted as a student leader. He was indicted because he was on national television making Portage County justice look bad." Morgan had appeared on the nationally-televised David Frost Show.

Jim Nuber, assistant to the Student Body President, said of the indictments, "They polarized the students and the community. I think the Grand Jury report was used as a political tool. Obviously it was political, it was anti-student. Craig Morgan is not guilty and if he is, ten thousand other people at Kent State University are guilty, too. He (Morgan) worked here all summer



. . . was fabricated
subsequent to the events
(Congressional Record October 13, S 17814)"

to help avoid violence this fall and he's indicted."

"The indictments" Nuber added, "are an extension of the lack of communication in and between the University and the local population."

THE most notable characteristic of the Kent State University student body had been political apathy. A faculty member was quoted in *I.F. Stone's Bi-Weekly* as describing the students as "the insurance salesmen of tomorrow." Stone himself saw Kent as "a campus where you meet activists who never heard of *The Nation* or read the *New Republic* and students who think themselves avant garde because they read *Time* and *Newsweek* (*I.F. Stone's Bi-Weekly*, 11/2/70)." That apathy remains, but a new dedication to non-violent action is beginning to grow on the northeastern Ohio campus.

The majority of students at Kent State University are committed to keeping their University open, to keeping it peaceful; but that is not to move toward a new passivity or the old apathy. In a speech on October 20, Kent Student Body President Morgan said,

But we ask each student, if he can find it in his conscience, to take the risks inherent in becoming involved in the greater issues which threaten tragedy to our tradition of freedom and equality. It is not the easy decision, and we must be prepared to accept additional threats and bully-boy tactics, but since the year 1776 Americans have always chosen personal freedom over personal security. If you are with us, then let us join hands and begin work today. If you are uncertain, frightened, or confused, please think about it. We—and the country, perhaps all mankind—need the fruits of your efforts.

Twenty-one hundred students signed a petition urging that Kent not be closed down by activities of "those not associated with our University," and avowed "concern . . . with current problems facing our country, as well as the world. But we are dedicated to work peacefully toward that solution (*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 10/24/70)." Yet, out of a student body of 21,000, the *Daily Kent Stater* has received only one letter in support of the Grand Jury findings. A protest rally in October against the indictments drew 3000 students—about 2000 more than last May's demonstration—and all was peaceful. Even the Yippies have co-operated by keeping all of their rallies non-violent. In addition, students are working hard on the proposed Life Center, a project similar to the Institute for the Study of Non-violence started in California by Ira Sandpearl and Joan Baez.

But the students are not alone in their opposition to the Grand Jury report. Dr. Robert W. Morse, retiring president of Case Western Reserve University, in an interview published in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (10/18/70) termed the killings "an act of assassination against American youth." Dr. Morse added,

I still cannot bring myself to believe that Middle America's sons and daughters at Kent State were shot down in an open field on their own campus. Kent State, . . . is an unforgettable horror.



"The point is
it stopped the riot . . .

The Kent State Faculty Senate, Graduate Student Council, and Student Senate joined on October 20 in a call for a Federal Grand Jury "so that all available evidence can be considered, including the reports by the FBI and the President's Commission on Campus Unrest." Their statement pointed out that the Grand Jury report "exempts from prosecution the National Guard and ignores state officials whose decisions and actions we believe contributed to the slaying of the four Kent State University students (*Beacon Journal*)."

On October 23, the Kent Ministerial Association and the KSU Campus Ministry joined in the call for a Federal Grand Jury investigation. Their statement cites three "areas of inadequacy" with the Grand Jury report:

"First, the report fails to take with sufficient seriousness the findings of the Scranton Commission which points to the wider responsibility for the events than simply the students, faculty and administration of Kent State University . . .

"Second, the report misunderstands university life by assuming a greater degree of administrative control over faculty and student life than is possible in a university dedicated to the spirit of free inquiry. . .

"Third, the Grand Jury's statement that the administrative leadership has totally failed to benefit from past events is both unfair and false. . . ." (*Kent Record-Courier*)

Dr. Kenneth Clement, a member of Kent's Trustees, felt that the report was unbalanced in putting the blame on administrative permissiveness. He said that he "fully supports" Kent State President White "in his efforts to insure the rights and freedoms of students and to maintain the integrity and order of the university (*Beacon Journal*, 10/16/70)."

For the most part, the community of Kent stands firmly behind the Grand Jury report. In interviews conducted by the *Akron Beacon Journal* (10/17/70) several citizens of Kent commented as follows. "I think it (the report) shows what the townspeople were thinking." Kent State should "weed out the bad ones." "Education is fast sinking to the bottom of offerings at Kent State." "I think it's a very good report, a report that's more accurate than anything I've seen to date."

One irate lady wrote the *Beacon Journal* (11/1/70) to say,

Thank heavens there are still a few people left who are not afraid to stand up and say "no" to these spoiled "little children" who, when they don't get their own way, throw a temper tantrum in the form of a protest march, moratorium, or whatever suits their purpose at the time.

Perhaps it's not too late if we will all stand up and be counted against this form of lawless delinquency.

My sincere admiration goes to Judge Jones and the grand jury. Stand firm.

But another letter published on October 24 read,

After gaining renewed hope for America through the findings on Kent State by the FBI and the Scranton Commission, the report of the state Grand Jury has left me in total despair.



"Are you

. . . you can't argue with that.
It just stopped it flat."

This landmark decision by the Grand Jury might give rising impetus to much greater police and National Guard overreactions in future campus disorders. The result could be disastrous that our whole university structure may be destroyed. I plead for a federal grand jury investigation to prevent more tragedies like Kent State's.

Perhaps the most interesting two comments were made illegally, in violation or defiance of the Grand Jury's gag rule. Seabury Ford, one of the special prosecutors in the Grand Jury investigation was quoted (*Beacon Journal*, 10/24/70) by a reporter for Knight newspapers as saying that National Guardsmen "should have shot all" troublemakers at Kent State last May and added that the incidents were "Communist inspired."

"The point is," he allegedly said, "it (the shootings) stopped the riot—you can't argue with that. It just stopped it flat."

In reaction to Ford's alleged remarks, Professor Glenn W. Frank spoke out, saying, "I cannot live with a conscience that permits people to say they 'should have shot all' troublemakers." Frank is very well respected at Kent State, both as a geology teacher and as an honorable man. He has been considered conservative. Instrumental in attempting to keep order last May, he struck perhaps the only optimistic note in the entire Scranton Investigation of the incidents at Kent. But with Ford's remarks and the Grand Jury report, he could no longer restrain himself.

I speak now in contempt of court, in contempt of the naive and stupid conclusions of the special Grand Jury specifically as to their reasons for the May 4 disturbances, in contempt of Judge (Edwin) Jones for the gag rule placed on President White and in personal contempt for lawyer Ford for his lack of understanding after 68 years of what I believe is a wasted life.

(*Beacon Journal*, 10/25/70)

For their remarks, both Ford and Frank were held in contempt of court and released under \$500 bond.

The people of northeastern Ohio may wonder if the "truth" about the Kent State disaster will ever be known. Truth-value, however, is often relative: you believe what you want to believe. In this sense, the absolute truth about the events may truly never be known. But perhaps a precise understanding of past events is not what is important, but rather how a general understanding of those events affects future action. John A. Flower, Kent's Dean of the College of Fine and Professional Arts, writing in the *Akron Beacon Journal* states the problem most clearly,

The vital question now is whether Middle America, which still controls the nation's politics and the instruments of repression, will lash out blindly and indiscriminately, acting on brute instinct, to suppress the challenge to its values—or whether it will leaven its reaction with the spirits of reason and reconciliation.

Bob Hoiles
& Mike Mooney



Il right?"

ROTC at Notre Dame:

From the halls of Montezuma
to the shores of Academe



Father Sorin picked up the ROTC idea in 1858 from William B. Lynch who was then a sophomore



THE on-again, off-again debate over the appropriateness of Notre Dame offering military training in its College of Arts and Letters ebbs and flows with a seasonal rhythm. Except for last October's Moratorium, ROTC arguments have blossomed mostly in the spring.

In the April 1, 1882 issue of *THE SCHOLASTIC*, a St. Mary's student described "the thrill of patriotism which swells and throbs in the heart of the soldier, spurring him on to victory" in an article entitled "L'Esprit de Corps."

That was the year military training was first given academic credit at Notre Dame. According to a pamphlet compiled a couple of years ago by the campus detachment of the Army ROTC, "The association of the University with the Army and military training began sixteen years after the founding of the school in 1842." Father Sorin picked up the ROTC idea in 1858 from William B. Lynch, who was then a sophomore. By the spring of 1859, the Notre Dame Military Company had been organized and students were being trained in the use of small arms, military procedures and organization, and infantry drill.

Two units were formed, "The Continental Cadets" and "The Washington Cadets." According to the author of the Army pamphlet, "These titles are indicative of the idealistic spirit of the young men, and their action in taking this step displays the strong sense of responsibility being developed by the University program. From all reports, the Cadets were a brave and martial sight to behold and were in great demand locally for drill performances and parades. At various times, the unit paraded locally at South Bend, Mishawaka, LaPorte and Elkhart, Indiana, and Niles, Michigan."

The Notre Dame Military Company was in business until the Civil War, when it disbanded. Most of its records were burned in the fire of 1879, but the majority of the Notre Dame cadets apparently joined up with the 1st Company of the Indiana Volunteer Regiment — which was organized in South Bend.

During the war, Congress passed a Land-Grant Act to establish state-owned institutions of higher learning, with a few strings attached: "The leading objects shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and mechanical arts."

By 1880, University President Father Corby was so pleased with the campus military that he sent away for 100 breech-loading Sharps rifles, which were promptly issued to the Military Company.

In 1885, William Hoynes, an 1868 graduate of Notre Dame and a lieutenant colonel in the Union Army took over the campus bivouac. He outfitted the students with guns and uniforms and established the "Hoynes Light Guards" and the "Sorin Cadets." Hoynes trained the soldiers until 1910, when he was retired as Dean Emeritus of the Law College.

The present ROTC system got its start with the National Defense Act of 1916, which was amended in 1919 to provide still more men for the service.

In September of 1918, a unit of the Students Army Training Corp was organized at Notre Dame. About 2,200 Notre Dame students were in the military during World War I.

Not everyone rushed to the local recruiter's office at the outset of World War II. A conversation in front of Alumni Hall in May of 1940 was overheard by a particularly diligent *SCHOLASTIC* editorial writer:

I heard that a couple of the philosophy profs say we have a moral obligation to get into this war on the side of the French and English — seems that John Bull Incorporated is fighting against the anti-Christian philosophy of Nazism and so on — and therefore, or should I say ergo, we're morally obligated to join up . . . well, it'll take more than a syllogism to get me into one of those khaki suits.

The Army returned to the campus in 1951 with an Engineer Branch ROTC unit, which was converted in 1952 to a General Military Science Course — the basis of the present system.

For many years during the 1960's, Notre Dame had the largest percentage of ROTC enrollment among the nation's universities. Enrollment has dropped from the high of more than 1,300 cadets in the fall of 1966 to 707 in the fall of 1970. The sixties also saw the first resistance to ROTC's presence on campus: the Military Mass was discontinued after the spring of 1963 saw a large (for that time) demonstration against it; the Presidential Review was also cancelled after being broken up in the spring of 1968 by Bill Reishman and friends.

Scholastic: Do you see that there may be any contradictions in having ROTC in a university based on Christian principles?

Father Burtchaell: This would raise two issues: First, is the program academically acceptable? Secondly, does involvement with a military enterprise compromise the Christian moral commitment of the University? Academically, the ROTC program is somewhat unusual, but several years ago when we debated this in the Academic Council it was pointed out that any university, and Notre Dame in particular, has a number of academic units that are out of the ordinary pattern. As far as ethical involvement is concerned, if the community at a Christian university were corporately convinced that all armed warfare was unequivocally immoral, then I should think that an ROTC program would be quite unthinkable. If the issue were in dispute within the community, then I suppose that the acceptability of an ROTC program would depend on how dominant the negative view would be.

Scholastic: From an administrative standpoint, how do you feel about giving academic credit for ROTC?

Father Burtchaell: Two years ago, the Academic Council of the University had an extended debate on the position of ROTC on campus. This followed an equally thorough debate in the Council of the College of Arts and Letters. Both bodies overwhelmingly decided to reaffirm the position of ROTC on campus and to continue to grant credit for it. It was pointed out that we have a number of enterprises here which receive credit because our academic purpose should be so broad that they should not exclude these activities. Examples would be the glee club, band, art, architecture, studio performance of music, work-study programs, and the credits in journalism that the editors of the student press receive.

Scholastic: What about having officers on salary as part of the faculty?

Father Burtchaell: That seems to be not terribly dissimilar from having members of the Bar teaching in the Law School or chartered architects teaching in our College of Engineering. In all of these cases the appointments are made only by the University with entire freedom.

Scholastic: What kind of freedom does the University retain in faculty salaries, curriculum and so forth with regard to ROTC?

Father Burtchaell: Regarding all the items you have mentioned, the University does retain its freedom in the ROTC program. We appoint faculty, we approve curricula which, in any case, are devised by our local faculty following suggestions and guidelines from the national military administration, but actually composing their own curriculum here and submitting it for regular approval. Our military de-

partments are not autonomous in making up their curricula and they must conform to the University grading system.

Just as a side comment, in May, 1969, when the Academic Council was considering this question, a student poll was taken, asking whether the students favored retention of academic credit for voluntary ROTC at Notre Dame, providing that the necessary criteria of the University were met: 2,867 persons were polled, and 58% of them favored the continuation of ROTC for credit. At the same time the faculty were asked to express their opinions independently, and an enormous number of letters were received. Basically they favored the retention of ROTC. Even those who were vigorously opposed to the war in Indochina seemed by and large to separate this from the long-time issue of ROTC on campus, which they were not prepared to exclude.

Scholastic: What do you feel is the role of ROTC in the Arts and Letters College?

Father Burtchaell: This actually raises the much larger issue of professional education in the University. We have a number of programs which are professional: the Law School, the Architecture Department, the Art Department, the graduate program in Business Administration, the Professional Theology Program, all to some extent offer professional training rather than liberal education. I am really not prepared to make up my mind just yet as to whether this is a reasonable enrichment of our enterprises or a training in skills which need not be associated with the University. Traditionally, of course, the University began actually as a professional training school in law, divinity and medicine.

Now, to get off of all this, I have asked the faculty in the three military departments to participate in academic convocations in academic garb henceforth, precisely to symbolize the fact that they are here as academics. Many of them hold higher degrees than colleagues in other departments would suspect. Enrollment in the ROTC program has declined over the past decade, but their records show that among the students that are presently enrolled, the academic showing is impressively higher than the University average. Following the recommendation of the Academic Council several years ago, courses offered by these departments which could be better taught through other departments should be transferred. Recently the national advisory board for ROTC programs made a similar recommendation, and as a result, many courses listed in other departments now serve to fulfill ROTC requirements. There seems to be strong support for discontinuance of drill activities during the year in favor of increased summer programs. It should also be remembered that upwards of half a million dollars in scholarships is made available each year through this program, and the chief beneficiary of these scholarships is not the administration, but the students themselves. Those who oppose all armed warfare should, I think, oppose the presence of these departments and programs on campus.

ROTC remains firmly entrenched on the shores of academe, at least in this university.

IN the spring of 1969, the Faculty Senate, the Council of the College of Arts and Letters and the University's Academic Council met to discuss the whole range of problems centering around the relation between Notre Dame and the ROTC programs. The positions then stated remain the most recent official stands on the subject; many of them also remain unacted upon.

As such, they offer a focus for discussing where ROTC is today and what directions it may go sometime in the near or distant future.

The ROTC program is currently included in the College of Arts and Letters (for what the Academic Council has termed "administrative convenience"). The College Council, in the spring of 1969, recommended that

a committee be appointed by the Academic Council to begin soon a review of ROTC contracts with the Defense Department, covering such matters as appointments, faculty rank, facilities and curriculum; and report its recommendation to the appropriate authority (minutes, May 1969 meeting).

Nothing has been done on this request, Dean Robert Waddick said last week, because of curriculum review that took place last year. The Council also resolved that the three services "be requested to continue the current trend in using more regular university courses for ROTC requirements." This request has been acted upon, though it is difficult to accurately assess the exact extent. That same spring, the following resolution was brought before the Faculty Senate:

Resolved, that academic credit be granted only for courses taught by faculty members holding an appointment in one of the regular (that is, nonmilitary) departments of the university . . . (minutes, May 7, meeting)

The two large areas of concern outlined by these resolutions — faculty status for ROTC instructors and academic credit for the program in general — must be the focus for any examination of ROTC's present situation on the campus, and more specifically in the College of Arts and Letters.

How much control does the University have in hiring instructors for ROTC programs? Nominally, at least, the Academic Vice-President (now, the Provost) "retains the right to disapprove nominees whose qualifications are considered insufficient (Academic Council minutes, May 29, 1969)." In other words, the University can choose to accept or reject any appointee offered by

the military. But there are some who feel this official "right" does not in fact mean much. "Peers on the Arts and Letters faculty don't decide on promotions and hiring of ROTC instructors," Professor Donald Costello commented. "In all other departments, an instructor must go through departmental and college examination before his name even goes to the Academic Vice-President. In ROTC there is no such investigation by one's peers: appointments are made from outside and approved by the Academic Vice-President."

In other words, an ROTC instructor would bypass what Father Ernest Bartell characterizes as the "two toughest levels for hiring and promotion." In most cases, the Academic Vice-President's rubber stamp is all that is needed, because previous investigations are fairly thorough; in the case of ROTC, it amounts to almost a *carte blanche* for military appointments. Provost James Burtchaell, however, says differently. In an interview with the SCHOLASTIC (see insert) he stated, "the hiring of military officers is not too terribly dissimilar from having members of the Bar teaching in the Law School or chartered architects teaching in the College of Engineering. In all of these cases the appointments are made only by the university with entire freedom."

THE core of the problem may well lie in how one chooses to define "approve" — and in whether or not the Academic Council's recommendation for a "Committee on Appointments" within the ROTC program has become something more than simply a recommendation, a point for "further study."

Most other problems concerning faculty status are similarly shrouded by official definitions and jargon. For example, the Academic Council's statement includes a stipulation that "officers appointed to the teaching staffs in the Military Department have *non-tenurable* status. . . ." This would put them in the same position as other instructors in, for example, the College of Arts and Letters — i.e., they would be unable to vote on the College Council, which constitutes only tenured faculty and department heads. Yet an Army, Navy and Air Force officer, because they are department heads, are all *ex officio* members of that body — as is Dean Devere Plunkett, the liaison between the military and the College. Each votes on any proposal put before the Council — including all curriculum changes, and the proposal made in May of 1969 to disassociate the University from ROTC completely. Pro-

ENROLLMENT APPLICATION

☐ Please send this application to the ROTC office, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556.

☐ Please furnish information on past military service.

NAME _____

HOME ADDRESS _____

PLACE OF BIRTH _____ U.S. Citizen ☐ Yes ☐ No

NAME OF PARENT OR GUARDIAN _____ RELATIONSHIP _____

I desire further information in the following areas: ☐ Yes ☐ No

☐ Check here if you don't desire to receive further information

Signature _____

fessor Costello, a member of the Council for 1969-70:

During curriculum reform meetings held last year, ROTC instructors voted on curriculum changes, and on strictly academic matters. Often their votes tipped the balance for or against. None of these men has been voted there by his peers. Also, there were all kinds of philosophical debates on the suitability of a computing science course in the College; but there was never a philosophical debate whether the military belongs there

There is, finally, the question of budgetary supervision. Father Bartell, formerly chairman of the economics department: "There is no budgetary control by the University over ROTC. If next year the Pentagon wanted to hire ten more instructors, that would pretty much be that. But anything like that would be impossible for other departments, who must work within strict budgetary limitations, especially when it comes to hiring new faculty members." Others disagree.

Again, any conclusions remain hidden in gray areas like "right to disapprove" or "final budgetary approval" or any number of equally vague phrases that officially govern the University's relationship to the military instruction program and to the military itself. However, a few things are certain: the program's instructors have faculty status, three of them (20 per cent of the program's faculty) are *ex-officio* members of the College Council, and the program is under only a vague budgetary control by the University.



THE second part of the College Council's statement (echoed later by the Academic Council) was that ROTC courses be brought more in line with regular departments, that they move "towards the substitution, wherever feasible, of other University courses for their own Departmental courses (Academic Council minutes)." Both Councils went on record to approve continued academic credit for the program; their thoughts were supported by the student poll taken that same spring and by a faculty response which Father Burtchaell termed "overwhelmingly" in favor of con-

tinued academic credit. The Faculty Senate resolution offers an interesting contrast here, however.

There remains considerable debate over whether or not such a policy is wise. Until quite recently, curricula were set up and sent out by Washington to all local ROTC programs: instructors were often nothing more than functionaries. This, according both to Father Burtchaell and to Major Frank Gould of Naval Science, has all changed. "There is no more party line," he says, and the Provost concurs: "Curriculums are devised by local faculty, following suggestions and guidelines from the national military administration, but actually composing their own curriculum here and submitting it for regular approval." Again, the exact role of such "suggestions and guidelines" remains unclear. And it is still possible to find on ROTC library shelves, for example, a February 1970-edition text on *Our Moral Heritage* (which includes chapters on "Factors Conditioning Patriotism" and "Conscience" as a "learned response system") issued by the Department of the Army. And no other department — not Black Studies, or Urban Studies or the Program on Non-violence — has even these guidelines set up for it.

In the last few years, more courses offered by other departments in the University have been accepted for ROTC credit; the military staff confines itself to such classes as weapons systems, or navigation or seminars in contemporary military and social problems. Given that fact, however, many in the College of Arts and Letters question whether such courses should continue to receive academic credit from that College. Indeed, part of the 1969 debate in the College Council centered around this very problem.

Father Burtchaell sees the program as one in a group of professional courses offered by the University (see interview), but remains undecided concerning its position in the College of Arts and Letters. Others see no place at all for the program in a College which is oriented away from the kind of professional training ROTC represents. These see it as belonging in perhaps Business Administration or Engineering. The connections here are plausible and even logical. The program is, after all, called "Military Science." And business leaders often tout the desirability of ROTC graduates:

"A commissioned military career, even a brief one, provides a man with leadership qualities that are essential in the management of an industrial organization. Given two men with otherwise reasonably equal credentials, we'll take the man with exposure as an officer because it is clear evidence that he has the maturity and sense of responsibility that we want in our people." (Ralph McGruther, Bendix Corporation, in pamphlet issued by the U.S. Government Printing Office: 1969, 0-363-861)

THE problems of faculty status and academic credit both affect and transcend the College of Arts and Letters. The ROTC program's position in that College

would seem particularly tenuous, given its professional training character, and the College's stated emphasis on a general, liberal education. Yet where would it go if not there? And does it in fact deserve academic credit from *any* college? Do its instructor's belong on the academic boards governing the University? Should the program remain here strictly on a noncredit, extra-curricular status and what kinds of problems would that status cause? Should the program, by virtue of its course content and outside connections, be here at all?

The problems involved are as large as the questions themselves, and have as serious implications. What would happen to the approximately one million dollars received by the University and its students from the military if ROTC were to become completely noncredit remains uncertain. So does the more general relation "between Liberal Education and various professional programs at the University" — a problem raised by Professor Goerner in the ROTC discussions of 1969.

Then there is the University's role in "humanizing the military," spoken of by the Navy's Major Gould (see this week's "Perspectives"). How far does this responsibility extend? Can the University perform this function and still remain autonomous? Or should the military, if indeed it is dedicated to this goal, simply enroll its officers in some traditional degree program? Several professors question this rationale for ROTC's presence on campus. Professor Costello has remarked that this problem "is the military's, not the university's. The same thing can be said about nurses, or carpenters. If the military wants to be humanized, let them come on our terms, not force us to join on theirs." Is such a position viable for the university, or must it seek to do more?

History Professor Carl G. Estabrook takes an even stronger stance. He is convinced by none of the arguments for retaining ROTC on campus. "The argument that keeping ROTC on campus serves to civilize the military," he said, "does not need a theoretical refutation — it is refuted practically by the last 30 years."

He said such institutions as ROTC and the draft, established amid "civilian, liberalized army" rhetoric, have only served to "militarize the American populace."

He regards what some claim to be the neutrality of the university as "nonsense," insisting that the place has long since been politicized. The question of ROTC's place on campus, he believes, should be determined by a "directly political decision."

"The University is helping produce junior officers for the U.S. military, which is conducting a brutal war of aggression in Southeast Asia and has been the principal agent of oppression in the world. The University has no obligation in theory or in practice to support this."

He said he would allow for the possibility (in the future) of the United States having a legitimate use for military power, and that he would approve the training of officers under such circumstances — "as remote as they are."

At this time, though, he said he could see no good

rationalization for any university — Christian or secular — to retain ROTC. He added, "The American military is more of a threat than any threat it protects us against."



ACADEMIC credit for the program remains, however, at the center of much of this debate, because it indicates the University's strong approval of ROTC's present status, including its faculty status and course content. Academic credit makes the program an integral part of the University. Those who affirm this connection feel it must retain full academic status. Those who believe the relationship is too close for comfort feel it must become an extracurricular program, whose participants only receive academic credit for those courses taken in University departments, under faculty members selected and approved by their peers.

The debate continues. And it continues to exist largely in those gray areas that make any real progress impossible, because the College Council and the Academic Council have not yet acted on most of their own recommendations made 18 months ago. Many are uncertain whether they ever will act, whether the studies will open into proposals and decisions. The issues are complex, indeed. Yet two things are certain at this point: ROTC remains firmly entrenched on the shores of academe, at least at this university. And then, the questions originally posed by Father Bartell way back in the spring of 1969 remain intriguing:

What would happen, he asked then, if a Texas oil millionaire told the University he would like to start a program for, say, the "Preservation of Western Supremacy," and would hire faculty, decide on general course material, build the building and offer all scholarships? What would the University say? Would it accept the offer, and its implications? Or better yet, what if it were the Black P. Stone Nation? And what if the course were in, say, "Violent Revolution?"

Steve Brion
& Bill Mitchell

Annexation:

Meet the new man in the life of Notre Dame, South Bend Mayor Lloyd Allen. If all goes as he'd please, Notre Dame will become South Bend as the latter annexes the former, with or without permission. The SCHOLASTIC's Bill Wilka talked with Allen about the metaphysical implications of it all last week.

Scholastic: First of all, what do you see as the relation between a city and a university?

Allen: All of the universities around South Bend, Notre Dame-St. Mary's, Indiana University and Bethel, make significant contributions to the community by attracting cultural activities, but it goes much further than that. The Urban Studies department at Notre Dame, for example, is interested in using South Bend as a kind of laboratory for the kinds of things they're doing. Incidentally, the head of that department is a member of our Park Board; this demonstrates the sort of interrelationships that do exist. On the other side, we are hopeful that South Bend makes a contribution to these universities by offering cultural and recreational activities, and housing opportunities usually associated with an urban center.

Scholastic: Are there any specific financial dependencies between the two?

Allen: All of these universities are tax-exempt institutions, and so there are no real property taxes derived from them, nor would there be — with some minor exceptions, even if they were within the city. St. Mary's has a few acres which are used for farming, and these would be subject to taxation, and I think that there are a very few acres at Notre Dame. But there are financial benefits, of course. Notre Dame being the second largest employer in the South Bend area, the community derives a financial benefit from that.

Scholastic: What is the status now of this annexation discussion?

Allen: Well, annexation occurs by a motion being adopted by the Common Council and approved by the mayor, and an ordinance has been introduced and referred to the annexation committee of the Common Council, and is pending there now.

Scholastic: Do you expect some action on this pretty soon?

Allen: Annexation proceedings can take an infinite amount of time. By and large, it is an accepted fact that people do resist annexation. I was a little sur-

THE SCHOLASTIC



An Interview with Lloyd Allen

prised that the University resisted, because the reason that people usually resist is financial: if you live across an arbitrary line, you derive most from the city, you see, without contributing anything to its costs. The people who live across that line work in the city. Now their jobs wouldn't be there, if there weren't a police department, a fire department, streets, and all of those things that go to make up a city. But they contribute nothing to its costs, under a rather archaic taxation system our legislature has developed over the years. And we're not unique in this, it happens all over the country.

But it seems absolutely essential to any person remotely associated with urban problems, that tax bases must be expanded. We have example after example: Milwaukee, which was hemmed in, cannot expand, and is going broke; St. Louis, the same thing. The inner core problems get worse and worse.

Scholastic: I think that many people at the University are a little uncertain about the nature of annexation proceedings. Would you explain, say, the Common Council and what it does?

Allen: Under the laws of the state of Indiana, a city derives all of its powers from the State Legislature, another rather archaic Hoosier custom, which adopts an ordinance. An ordinance is introduced, describing a section of land; the land has to fulfill a set of six criteria — the land has to be contiguous with the city, the city must be capable of supplying services to this land, criteria like that. The ordinance is referred to an annexation committee, which decides whether the criteria have been met. If so, this committee will report back to the Common Council. The ordinance is then set for public hearing, at which time the people involved have the opportunity to express their views as to whether the land should be annexed or not. Then the Common Council takes action on the ordinance. If the Common Council adopts the ordinance, it's submitted to the mayor who either accepts it or rejects it, and then, if he's accepted it, it becomes law. Now there's an appeal from that in the courts, and by and large this is taken in nearly all instances involving increased taxation. It's profitable to take that kind of action, because it will last for two or three years; the people will continue to be exempt from the tax. And the cost of extending the process in the courts is less than the amount they'll save by not having to pay taxes.

Scholastic: But this particular case hasn't yet reached the stage of a public hearing?

Allen: No, a study is going on now; it's in the annexation committee.

Scholastic: What do you see as some of the benefits for Notre Dame, if annexation goes through?

Allen: I believe that there would be an improved relationship developed between school and city. For example, our fire department responds to calls from Notre Dame fireboxes. In fact, our fireboxes are all over the campus. Our police department has rendered significant service over a long period of time. Now, our police department is actually transcending its authority in doing this. Its authority is confined to the corporate limits of the city. Our rationale on that is that our police department is backing the sheriff on this. That's a phony rationale, really; the contact was direct to the South Bend police department, requesting response.

One of the big problems facing any city administration — and I think that any of the people in your urban affairs department will agree — is that it is essential that annexation occur if the city is to survive. Otherwise, the running of the city simply becomes too expensive. I don't think that any student of urban affairs will argue that point. If we do not annex Notre Dame, what do we say to the little person (in Gilmer Park, for example, an area which we have annexed), when they ask us why we are annexing them? They don't want to be annexed, for the reasons I just described. Well, we can only answer that we haven't annexed Notre Dame since Notre Dame is big and important, while the Gilmer Park resident is little and insignificant. That sort of rationale doesn't appeal to me, really, and it's going to be a little more cute when we have to solve the problems of Clay Township, for example. It's perfectly obvious that sewers will have to be installed out there, and water is going to have to be installed, and improved policing will have to occur. What do we say to those persons if we circumvent Notre Dame?

Scholastic: What would be some of the disadvantages experienced by Notre Dame, from your point of view?

Allen: From my point of view, I'm totally unable to discern any. The reason that has been advanced to me is that in the future, it's possible that legislatures will authorize taxation of parochial institutions. It seems to me that this possibility is pretty remote. If this should occur, it would be a state tax, not a city tax. Some have suggested that a state might authorize a city to tax an institution of higher learning. Frankly, I see no possibility of that occurring within my lifetime or

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even yours. So that reason does not have a great deal of appeal to me.

Scholastic: The benefits to South Bend would be mainly in taxes or tax structures, or would they have to do with the city's expansion?

Allen: Well, the expansion of the city to my way of thinking. Secondly, there's no question but that the government ought to be structured completely to the state line, if you're going to have a governmental structure on some reasonable basis. So we must expand the city limits north. There's no question of that. So then we have to make the exception. There is some monetary advantage to the city. . . . We would be able to include the students of Notre Dame in our census. It would give you a voice in the government you live under while you are at school here. Secondly, more and more state-collected taxes are distributed on a *per capita* basis, and this is based on a census figure. So we would expand our census figure between eight and nine thousand people. We would receive about \$16-17 per head on this figure.

Scholastic: Would this change involve any legal change with regard to the police department, especially concerning, for example, busts in the dormitories?

Allen: Oh no, no, no. You see, police departments don't go into Bendix, for example. Notre Dame is a private institution. It continues to be; this changes in no way. The only thing that changes is the governmental structure under which it functions: it now functions under a county government, but our department would respond only upon request as it has always done. They would not assume the function performed by the campus police, as we do not assume the function performed by Bendix guards.

Scholastic: Does the University have any official say in this, other than the open meeting you mentioned before? Have you conferred with Father Hesburgh about this?

Allen: Oh yes, many times. We want to keep the lines of communication open with the University at all times. That's extremely important. While they are a little strained over this issue right now, I'm sure they'll

be healed in a review of the matter. Father Hesburgh has said publicly that he's not really angry over the matter. . . . What the University's voice is, is that they have the right to express publicly their views to be annexed or not, at the public hearing. If the council passes the ordinance and I approve it, it then becomes the law of this city, and they are annexed subject to review by a court. They then have the right to initiate an action in court. If all the criteria of the law were adhered to in the proceedings, and we of course will be careful that these are adhered to, then the court would ultimately decide.

Scholastic: Would this review in court hinge solely on whether the legal rules were followed, or could the University appeal on other than purely legal grounds?

Allen: Oh no. The fact that the University does not wish to be annexed cannot be advanced in court.

Scholastic: Or their arguments that it's to the detriment of the University in any philosophical sense?

Allen: I should think that this would not be acceptable to the court.

Scholastic: Is it impossible to set some sort of timetable with this?

Allen: I'm sure there will be some action within the next year. It ought to be resolved . . . and I think it will be. When the Committee has satisfied itself that it is not detrimental to the University in their judgment (because they are concerned about this), and to the best interests of the citizens of South Bend, the Council will act. . . . I expect you know Father Hesburgh does not share these views, for reasons I have not been able to discern but that I'm sure are good and sufficient to him.

Scholastic: What about the case of a disruption? If the annexation occurs, would it still be the University's decision whether or not to call in South Bend police?

Allen: Well, it's difficult to make a platitude that would cover all situations. But basically, the response of a policing unit of any government comes at the request of a private institution

perspectives

should the university be above the battle?

stanley hauerwas

THE university should be the institutionalized norm of disinterestedness which provides community, space, time, and energy for disciplined reflection on the nature of the true, the good, and the beautiful. Many appeal to this idea of the university as a justification for denying the demands of those who want to put the university and its resources behind, or at least allow the constituents of the academy more freedom to support contemporary political causes. I am in general agreement with those who argue against this proposal, however I am not certain whether the issue can be settled by simply stating the normative definition of the university as disinterested.

One reason for my doubt is the obvious disparity between the norm and the actual reality of the modern American university. The proponents of the politicization of the university are surely correct in their observation that the question is not whether the university is to be politicized or not, for the university is already a willing servant of the established order. The university is politically involved not just by allowing the military to operate on campus, but by a much more subtle support of many of the institutions of American life. To condemn the Princeton Plan as the politicization of the university is only to limit the term politics to the non-established form of American behavior. Thus the call for continued non-involvement of the university in such a context appears as but an ideology for the academies' covert political support of the status-quo.

The amount of truth in this charge should serve to remind us that the disinterested nature of the university is not a status to be assumed, but an intention that is only partially achieved by constant struggle. It is not possible to assume that simply because the current university seems to be free from direct political control it is thereby "free." It may be that the kind of freedom that the universities in America have enjoyed was bought only by acquiescing to the narrowly defined needs of the status-quo. This at least implies that if the appeal to the disinterested nature of the university is to be authentic we must look much harder at what we mean by disinterest as a precondition for intellectual work. This is necessary for no other reason than if past truths are not constantly rethought from our own perspective they become sterile orthodoxies for a different institutional relation than was embodied in their original formulations.

This analysis of the nature of disinterest is especially necessary in our contemporary situation, since the appeal to it as a norm often implies a content that is quite foreign to its substantive meaning. I am referring to those that use the idea of disinterest as a way of claiming that the university is and should be neutral toward societal issues. The defense of this understanding of disinterest has a socio-political and philosophical form. The former argues that if the university is to maintain any kind of freedom from political control it must eschew all forms of direct political in-

volvement. This is an argument based not on principle, but on the pragmatic consideration that in a competitive pluralistic society the only hope of freedom for the university is finding a place for itself above the battle.

The philosophical defense of disinterestedness as neutrality is based on the assertion that reality is essentially unknowable. This understanding of disinterest finds support in our renewed awareness of the historical relativity of truth and the presuppositions of a reigning positivism. I suspect this position also appeals to our general distaste for absolutes, since we are impressed by the amount of evil done by those who thought they had special insight into the truth. Thus, neutrality of the university is required on the grounds that no one has possession of the truth. The uncommitted nature of the university is but the logical implication of its awareness of the nonobjective nature of the truth.

Though the idea of disinterest has some themes in common with the idea of neutrality it is a fundamental error to assume they are the same. This is most immediately apparent from the fact that neutrality cannot sustain itself historically, for when it is made an end in itself it invariably is used by the interests of the dominant. When neutrality or tolerance is not based on a profound understanding of truth there is no way of guarding the possible perversion of those who call the establishment of their bias neutrality.

Disinterest is not a neutral stance based on ignorance, but rather it is the disposition necessary because truth is real and objective. Disinterest is not the precondition of intellectual endeavor necessary because truth cannot be known, but because it can. One does not need to be committed to a metaphysical realism or assume that truth comes with a capital "T" in order to understand this. For the truth is no less real for its being clothed in the contingencies and ambiguities of our historical existence.

To discover and know even the most limited forms of truth entails disinterest, because truth is not something we create, but rather it is the lure that calls us from our self-contained worlds of illusion. Disinterest is quite literally the noninterest in the self that is required by the otherness of reality. The discovery of truth, in any of its varied and limited forms, must always therefore be an occasion for our unselfing. The struggle for truth as such always comes through suffering as we are forced to give up our cherished conventions about ourselves and our world. Thus disinterest cannot be understood simply as neutrality, since it involves an interested commitment and respect

of the otherness of reality. Disinterest and humor bear a profound relationship, as both are sustained by a fundamental commitment to the existence of a reality beyond the immediate.

It can therefore never be assumed that we have succeeded in achieving perfect disinterest, since the love of the human for illusion is exceedingly strong. To be is to create and love the untrue. The current demands for students for greater relevancy in the academic enterprise is important in this respect as an opportunity to question whether we have been disinterested as we have assumed. But such demands must also be resisted as they embody the attempt to reduce all knowledge to the limits of their own interests. Not to resist this kind of demand is to fail to educate, because education is but the constant stretching of the self's limits by forcing ourselves to be still before that which we do not understand.

IF this understanding of disinterest is correct then it is not clear whether the academy will always appear politically neutral to the world. For its first concern must be commitment to truth and it cannot guarantee that such a commitment will always be acceptable to the interests of the wider society. Thus there cannot be an "in-principle" decision that the university cannot be politicized, for at times it may be necessary for it to appear "political" to protect its integrity as a community of disinterest.

In this respect the main question involved in such proposals as the Princeton Plan is whether there are issues at stake that are intimately related to the disinterested nature of the university. I suspect that the main difficulty with the university's acceptance of the Princeton Plan is not that it involves the politicization of the college (whether factually and to what extent that is actually involved in the plan is not immediately clear), but that the stakes are too small. I do not mean to imply that the politics of the everyday is not extremely important, rather the problem with the university being so committed is the limitation of its vision and energy necessary to sustain the disinterestedness to question whether the current understanding of what counts for politics is sufficient.

This raises the problem of the fundamental disjunction between disinterest and involvement. Disinterest requires an attitude of fairness that takes the time to investigate the alternatives and complexities that surround any question. The disinterested man attempts to formulate his position in such a way that

criticisms and objections are not immediately denied. The involved man is passionately committed to the good that demands action, but by the very requirements of acting he must deny other alternatives in the interest of his single purpose. Such a man is interested in perusing and thus his arguments are formulated to deny beforehand all possible objections.

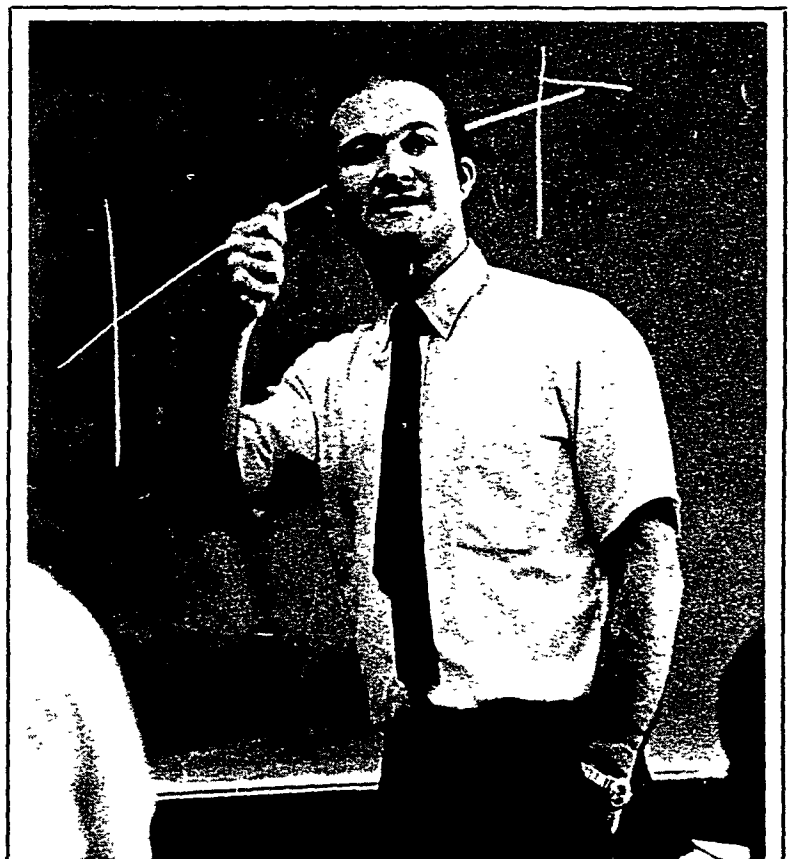
We are not fully men unless we somehow embody both these fundamental options, but how they are interrelated concretely in our lives is one of the perplexities of our human existence. I feel this particularly as a theological ethicist, since the kind of commitment and passion that gives the moral life its being is constantly checked and inhibited by the disinterestedness necessary for ethical reflection. Without involvement we cannot achieve justice, but without disinterest we cannot have a perspective through which a broader understanding of the nature of justice is made possible.

The university is the institution where the disinterestedness is supremely valued and as such it can commit itself to action only with great hesitation. This does not mean it does not have a passionate interest in the concrete, but only that its first purpose as an institution is not active involvement. To fault the university for not being all things at once is possible, but such a criticism fails to appreciate the importance of the differentiation of function necessary to preserve the richness of our lives. The university's failure to act does not imply a judgment that disinterest is better than involvement, but only that its primary function is to be the place where this aspect of the human project receives its due attention.

This should not be taken as a justification for a model of the university that assumes it is and must be socially irrelevant. The idea of the university I have defended means that the academic task if pursued rigorously is inherently subversive to the wider society. For truly disinterested institutions cannot help rendering problematic by critical activity the conventional wisdom of society. The pragmatist might well charge that the best we can do is achieve neutrality for the university as no society is going to allow such a university to exist. To do so would in effect be to make as far as possible an institutionalized Socrates, and no society will stand to have its youth so perverted. This may be the case, but I am convinced that those of us in the university cannot try to do less. This is not only because it is a question of the integrity of the institution, but to do less is to fail to perform the university's true service to society. For a society will tend to be more just that allows such an institution to

exist as a check on its own potential for self-glorification. The university therefore does have a political responsibility, but it takes the form that is more profound than the social order envisions.

The strategic implications of this argument for the contemporary university are not clear to me. But at the very least it means that we cannot assume that the university currently embodies disinterest as the humility required by the truth. Rather we must face up to the hard demands that such disinterest requires of us.



Stanley Hauerwas spent his formative years in Texas, his normative ones in New Haven. After six years of study at Yale for his B.D. and Ph.D. degrees, he went to Augustana College in Illinois, where he spent the last two years. He is an ethicist currently teaching a Christian Ethics in Democratic Society course in the theology department.

Each week the SCHOLASTIC will make this column available to a member of the University community to explore and comment upon any issues of general interest to the Notre Dame-St. Mary's community. Views expressed here do not necessarily reflect the editorial policy of the SCHOLASTIC.

perspectives

a view from the crow's nest

major francis gould

A DOMINANT military elite has no place in this nation. Few individuals would contest this statement. Although the attention of the country has recently turned towards internal affairs, the nation is committed to the defense of its people and, by treaties and agreements, to the defense of the peoples of other countries. To provide a creditable defense requires that the nation possess some capability in terms of military forces, readiness and overall technical capabilities. The personnel manning these forces, the defenders, must be comprised of intelligent, well-trained, well-disciplined individuals who at the same time are fully aware of the ideals, principles and aspirations of a free self-governing society. The need for this balance is self-evident. The ROTC programs provide the means to establish and maintain such a balance within the officer corps of the armed services.

This citizen-soldier input to the military establishment is particularly important to the modern Navy and Marine Corps, engaged as they are in a diversity of programs which have placed their personnel on the surface of the moon and in deep submergence craft operating in the last terrestrial frontier, the ocean depths. At the same time, riverine and guerrilla warfare impose requirements and conditions of service approximating those of the early days of this nation. It is essential that the Naval services obtain the best minds available to probe new environments effectively, and to develop improved solutions to problems which

have been with us for many years. Both technological and social ideas, emanating from officers trained in the nation's best schools, individuals who have been exposed to a broad spectrum of disciplines, doctrines and environments, are required. They are needed to develop improved equipments and techniques, not only for weapons systems, but to assist in reducing pollution, in more efficiently utilizing economic and natural resources, and in engendering better communications, both technical and conceptual, to convey information and ideas and to train and educate people.

The most important element in the modern Navy and Marine Corps is the men who make things work. The complex, interlocking systems aboard a nuclear submarine or aircraft carrier, or those found in a Marine Corps helicopter not only require skilled personnel to operate individual items of equipment, but they also require a large and efficient command and control system, plus a highly competent logistical system to ensure that design mission capabilities can be achieved. Officers obtained from management-oriented civilian educational institutions assist in meeting this need. At present more than half the Notre Dame NROTC midshipmen are supported by full Navy Scholarships. These students are not political appointees, nor friends of friends, nor sons of influence peddlers, but individuals selected on a nationwide competitive basis. Although the Navy pays for their scholarships, they must meet Notre Dame's standards for admission if they are to

attend the University, and the final selection of scholarship candidates nominated by the Navy is made by the University.

The midshipmen not on scholarship receive no financial support other than books and uniforms until their third year, at which time they receive a monthly subsistence pay. They are commissioned as reserve officers while the scholarship student becomes a regular officer. Both are considered to be deployable officers upon being commissioned, although many go on to graduate school or to flight, submarine or supply training or to other service schools.

Admittedly some of those see the NROTC as an alternative to the draft while concomitantly providing a greater opportunity for the development of one's potential. This program allows them a legal option which, for many, is a more responsible, meaningful and self-satisfying alternative.

Notre Dame provides many courses that lead to the development of professional men of high caliber. The University strives to provide the nation with leadership in engineering, law, education and other professional fields, and it has further opted to cooperate with the U. S. Navy in providing capable young Naval Officers who will be qualified to continue their education in their chosen profession. The NROTC program has long realized the needs of a broadly educated officer corps and has not only stressed but required its members to take courses in American Military History, National Security Policy, calculus, computer science, physics, chemistry and management. These are taught by the civilian faculty at Notre Dame, providing the midshipmen greater contact and dialogue with faculty members and other students.

There are areas of NROTC instruction which are not covered, and cannot be covered by any academic disciplines. Strategical and tactical concepts may be alluded to in history courses, but their in-depth application is better covered by the NROTC faculty. Navigation, as a prime example, may be based on traditional astronomical principles but a course in Astronomy will not fully or adequately prepare a naval officer to guide a ship when only sky and water can be seen, or to navigate an aircraft where only cockpit instruments are visible.

Dialogue is encouraged and a diversity of views and opinions is manifestly clear among the Midshipmen. Yet these midshipmen know of and honor their duty to serve the American people, and carry out their will through their constitutionally elected and appointed officials. As the mandate of the people may change the nation's administration, so the armed services respond to the reoriented directives of the new administration.

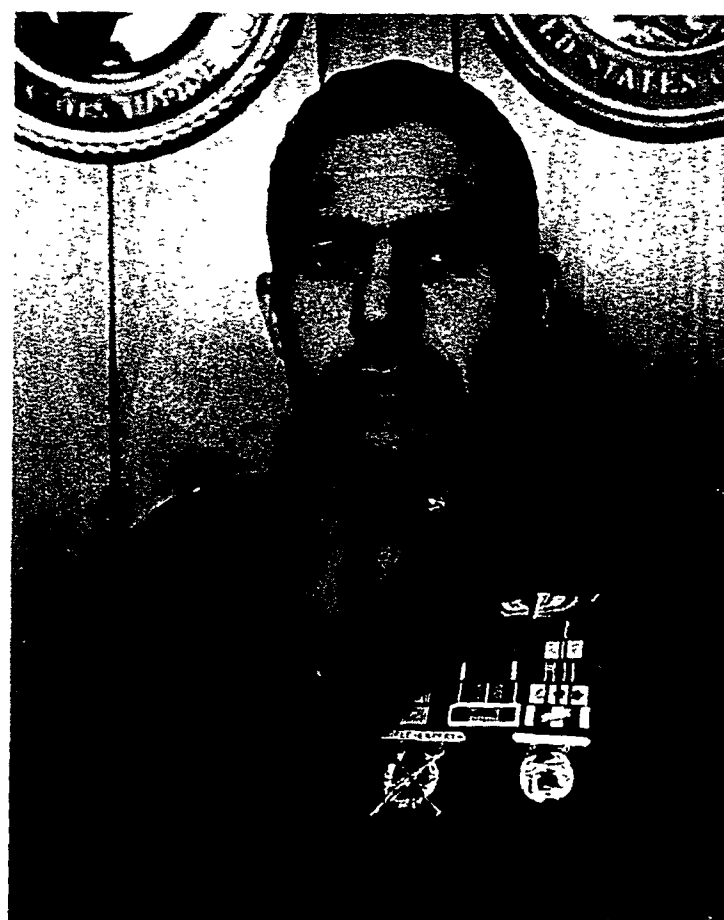
To the college youths of today who are so vitally concerned with the democratic principles of the nation, it should be noted that eminent historians confirm that the Constitutional Convention regarded its effort in establishing a constitutional form of government rather than a military dictatorship as its greatest contribution to the preservation of our democratic ideals. The limitations of the military in public debate on national and international policy is their part of the heritage of our democratic institution. Midshipmen are not limited in their freedom of debate, nor are they con-

strained to defend U. S. foreign and domestic policies. As commissioned officers they are sworn to defend the Constitution and to obey the orders of the president and those officers lawfully appointed over them.

For some time the NROTC has provided the Navy and Marine Corps with a large portion of its officers — civilian educated, university-trained, capable men. With their civilian schooling, these officers assure that our military continues to be representative of American society. Given the growing complexity of foreign affairs, we now need more than ever the type of liberally educated officer that the NROTC helps produce.

Ironically, however, voices are being heard warning that the nation has more to fear from the American military, which has defended freedom since the founding of the Republic, than we have to fear from the opportunistic and unpredictable Soviet dictatorship. It is ironic that so many now blame the military and ROTC for national policy decisions made earlier during a period when it was loudly and widely touted that civilian control over the military was tighter and more complete than ever before.

Civilian control of the military services is essential, as are civilian-educated officers. The U. S. Navy and Marine Corps are well aware that their future officers must never be isolated from the intellectual centers of the public which they serve and defend.



Major Francis L. Gould, U.S.M.C., Assistant Professor of Naval Science, received a B.S. from the College of the Holy Cross (1958) and an M.S. from George Washington University. Currently attending courses at the N.D. Law School, he is a member of the Legal Aid and Defender Society, and on weekends is a coach in the Irish Youth Hockey League. He has served with the Royal Barbers and prior to arriving here was a battalion executive officer in Vietnam.

Ship of D

Recent Paintings

"I never give you my number,
I only give you my situation."

THE vast spaces of Doug Kinsey's most recent paintings (on exhibition at the Notre Dame Art Gallery until December 20) bring to mind what is perhaps the oldest conceptual paradox of painting: the flat surface that is at the same time space — the opaque window. He gives us free and limitless space *and* lush surfaces of paint.

In *Appalachian Landscape*, for example, the masterly white glaze suggests a chilly and barren desert; like snow, it buries the old woman on the right, and be-

comes a mist between us and the young child on the left. Pine trees are raw scratchings into the surface, the outline of the group of figures is an edge that is like the edge of a glacier of white paint, and the dotted blouse makes a pattern that is deep and flat at the same time, caressing the surface and penetrating beneath it.

But it is too easy to praise Kinsey for what he does with paint.

In a recent gallery-talk he discussed an art that is complex and slow. He is apparently willing to sacrifice immediacy and clarity for subtlety and — his term — contemplation. One might ask if our Age of Speed has the time. Or is this the Wave of the Future? (No less than the Whitney Museum has approved subject matter in its showing of "22 Realists" last season.) These, however, are questions for sociologists and dealers.

Kinsey is still having the abstract expressionists' love affair with paint, and his color and composition are usually above reproach. In light of his own expressed views on painting, it is more pertinent to ask what more does he give us?

His show at Notre Dame is a difficult one. All but one of the paintings were painted in the past two years. Of the major paintings, I would consider six to be fully mature, and of those, three are especially assured and unhesitant. By "major" I am excluding the portraits, still lifes, and paintings on paper. The six are *Afternoons by the Lake I* and *II*, *Appalachian Landscape*, *Narcissus*, *Under the Trees with Masks*, and *Out of Uniform*. The first three — perhaps not by coincidence the three most recent — are in my opinion the most consistent and clear-sighted.

Afternoon by the Lake II typifies a spirit that pervades nearly every work in the show. Kinsey consistently talks about reverie and melancholy in his paintings. The central figure of the woman holding her knees expresses this in her pose and in her face. None



Appalachian Landscape

Dreamers:

of Douglas Kinsey

of the figures relates to another; they are absorbed in themselves, and there is a gulf between them — literally, the empty center of the composition — which is as unfathomable as the vast space around them. Even in the *Portraits of Sean and John* we sense this troubled distance.

Self-absorption is also an important theme in *Narcissus*. Floating sensually over a dark void, the young god is so involved with his own reflection that he no longer has to gaze at it. For all his nakedness, he has taken himself inside himself, and is about to slip into the black water that turns his legs dead white. There are many themes suggested here — youth, death, life, sexuality — that make for a rich painting, but one that seems unfinished both technically and conceptually. However, most of Kinsey's paintings, like the people in them, are mute — that is to say, not verbal.

A word about the development that we see in this show is perhaps in order. The relatively early *Homage to Appalachia*, with its fragmented irrational space and cut-off Rauschenberg-like use of images, offers an example of everything Kinsey's more recent painting is not — it is a surprise to find he painted it only two years ago.

This kind of space and imagery has by now become chic. It is absent in *The Story Teller*, for example, but this painting, too, harks back to earlier ideas in the heavy, abstract-expressionist technique, and the reticence in defining details such as facial features. A comparison with any of the paintings in the same room will show this clearly.

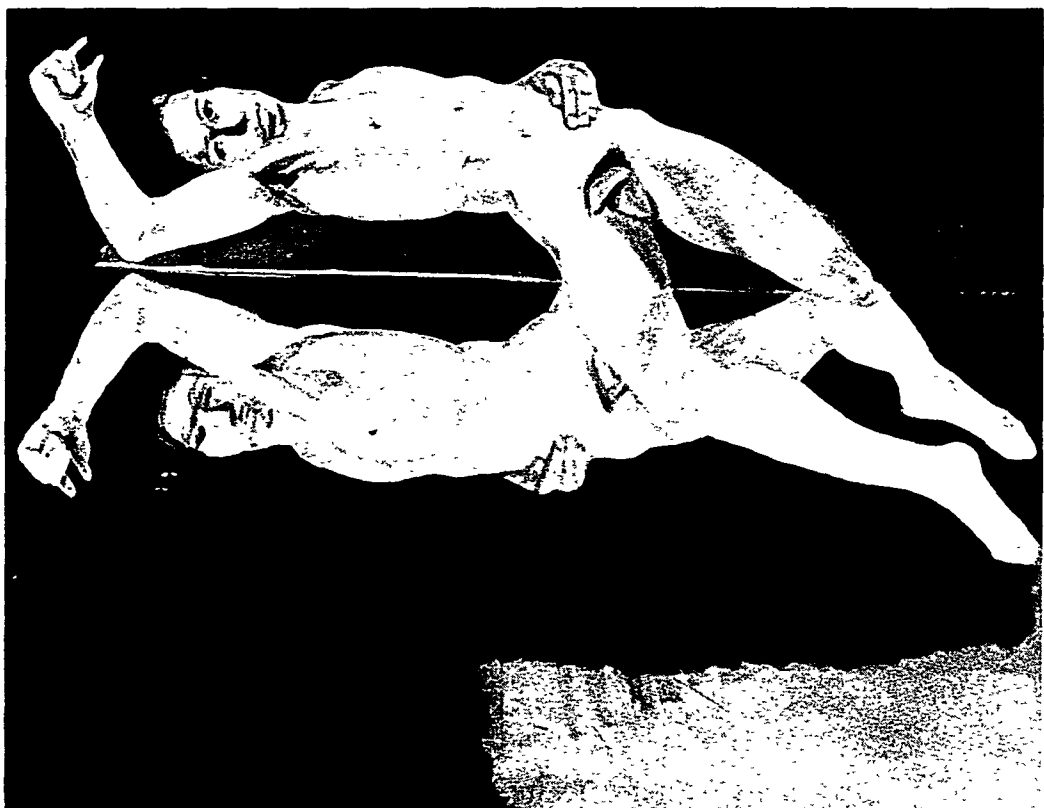
Out of Uniform is a dream, or becomes one by virtue of its spatial irrationality (which is different from the flat arrangements of the New York school). Image-symbols float around the dark sleepwalker, the reaching figure that is present in several other works.

In *Under the Trees with Masks* this figure reaches for the woman who presses her forehead in a rare dis-

play of emotion. He will not reach her — that is the despair of the painting. There is again the central unbridgeable void around which the figures revolve. She is not even in his world — the pink behind her (a wall? a chair?) pushes her forward and almost out of the painting. There is a masterful use of ambiguity here — which is not the same thing as painting an ambiguous painting. The subject is masks. When is a mask not a mask? Masks can hide and masks can reveal. What about a mask that no one is wearing?



Under the Trees with Masks



Narcissus



Afternoon by the Lake II

It is partly the absence of space-play in *Afternoons by the Lake I* and *II*, and *Appalachian Landscape* that inclines me to feel that here Kinsey has reached at least some of his goals in painting, that the struggles and timidities are nearly resolved. (A certain amount of tension and struggle is a necessary part of his work, if not of all Art.)

In these paintings we see individuals who clearly and directly communicate their situations while totally unaware that they are doing so. As sources, Kinsey uses sketches of his friends, his family, the people he sees. The face of *Narcissus* is based on a photograph of Mick Jagger; Che Guevara appears in *Appalachian Landscape*. It is not necessary to know the individuals he uses — they are selected from sketchbooks covering several years. Many of the “subjects” have never met each other — which, curiously, is what much of his painting is about. A face from one will be used on the body of another.

Kinsey is not doing *peinture à clef* — specific reference is not the point; and one person’s considered interpretation is as valid as another’s because it is from our individual experience that these paintings draw their meanings. His painting is not about the “human figure” — it is simply about people.

Don Yates



Life Here in the Patriarchy

A GREAT debate tumbled about in my head as to the most advantageous manner to begin this review: Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* opens with a long passage quoted from Henry Miller's *Sexus* describing quite erotically coitus in, then out, of a bathtub. Opening the review with the same passage would have undoubtedly provided an eye-grabber. But having shirked that curious brand of opportunism, the most honest method of prefacing this review seemed a notation that I am a woman. And if the impact of that statement as preface seems elliptical, it should then be said that to my mind at this point in history, to say I am a woman is in and of itself to say I am a feminist. I cannot fathom the two as separable.

Perhaps the import of that must also be clarified: I perceive feminist literature through a system of criteria peculiar to the consciousness of a feminist. That is, I may argue with Kate Millett round and round about certain sections of her thesis, most of which argument has little to do with the value that the book holds for the generalized audience (heterosexual no less) to which it was addressed when she published it. I find Kate Millett moderate as a feminist. But when Ti-Grace Atkinson was here (pardon offenses to sedate Roman Catholic sensibilities by mentioning her name), she spoke of attempting to turn her speaking contracts over to Millett because she seemed more capable of successful communication with those outside the Feminist Movement. This talent for successful communication is Millett's forte. But immediately after *Sexual Politics*' publication, a crusading male reviewer hailed Millett as the "Marx of the Women's Movement." That, she is not; Marx was no moderate.

Sexual Politics is Kate Millett's doctoral thesis for Columbia University in the field of modern literature. It should be obvious that this makes it a horse of a very particular color. The basic premise of the book rests in a definition of politics as "power-structured relationships, arrangements whereby one group of persons is controlled by another." The starting point from which Millett's examination of literature and cultural history of this century follows: "What goes largely unexamined, often even unacknowledged (yet is institutionalized nonetheless) in our social order, is the birthright priority whereby males rule females. . . . However muted its present appearance may be, sexual domination obtains nevertheless as perhaps the most pervasive ideology of our culture and provides its most fundamental concept of power."

That in a patriarchal society this is true would seem to be self-evident, but contact with what two psychologists term our "non-conscious" (as opposed to conscious or even sub-conscious) acceptance of the male as superior to the female proves that the recognition of the power, and therefore political, relationship between the sexes is more difficult for the uninitiated to grasp than even the concept of racism has been during the last decades. Millett readily alleviates this chosen blindness:

This fact is evident at once if one recalls that the military, industry, technology, universities, science, political office, and finance — in short, every avenue of power within the society, including the coercive force of the police, is entirely in male hands. As the essence of politics

is power, such realization cannot fail to carry impact. What lingers of supernatural authority, the Deity, "His" ministry, together with the ethics and values, the philosophy and art of our culture — its very civilization — as T. S. Eliot once observed, is of male manufacture.

WHICH is not to say that women have made no contribution to the civilization, but rather to say that it has been largely built upon their backs and without the compensation of stature awarded to the male for human achievement. This situation has dominated and been perpetuated much as a colonial power perpetuates racism, explained by the adage, "The second generation of American slaves require no chains." That is, the process of conditioning and "interior colonization" carried the cycle of civilization's *status quo* onward with little overt effort on the part of the dominant group. The *status quo* becomes an unquestioned and self-perpetuating reality — until the slaves wisen up and revolt.

The position from which the Women's Movement begins rests on the thesis that society is a man-made organism regardless of its age and any man-made organism may undergo drastic and deep-rooted change. This — drastic and deep-rooted change — is what the Women's Movement is working toward. And it must also be pointed out that the change under discussion amongst the thousands of women involved in the Feminist Movement does not involve a buying into the society as it is structured today: cultural revolution (which may, indeed probably will, involve political revolution as a precursor) is the process required to begin to approach a sexually egalitarian culture. That egalitarian culture will be one in which each individual would be free to face the most full spectrum of possibilities through which to develop his/her human potential. Such choice is not possible in a patriarchal society that imposes a strictly defined sexual (or any other — racial, class, etc.) identity upon the individual and then limits his life accordingly.

That all may seem irrelevant to discussion of Millett's book, but a statement of premises required setting out before her book might even be approached.

Beginning with brief analysis of four contemporary male novelists — D. H. Lawrence, Henry Miller, Norman Mailer and Jean Genet—Millett sets up their literary production as blatant reflections of the predominant male-supremist society in the twentieth century. She follows this opening into the subject with a theoretical presentation of the workings of sexual politics; then traces a brief historical sketch of the sexual revolution (Women's Movement) from 1830-1930 and proceeds to cultural analysis of major counter-revolutionary influences later in this century, which undid much of the progress that had been made toward sexual equality. Among these are the counter-revolutionary societies in Germany under Adolf Hitler and Soviet Russia; the development of psychology and psycho-analysis, par-

ticularly Freudian psycho-analysis; and the influences of Functionalism.

With this exposé, Millett returns to the four authors she had touched upon initially for more detailed analysis of their writings as male-supremist documents. The most interesting of these analyses is derived from the homosexual culture fictionalized in Jean Genet's novels. Millett contends that the aping of the heterosexual world in the forced-underground homosexual culture provides the most honest reflection of the world above ground. In the homosexual culture, the man who takes on the role of the female is accorded the position of woman in a heterosexual relationship—complete with mystery, myth and contempt demanding submission—blown into larger proportions than found in the non-conscious male-supremist state above ground. And blown into gigantic proportions through the aping done by Genet's characters, the insidious nature of the homosexual world's more respectable counter-part comes strikingly clear as well as indicting.

THE weakest section of *Sexual Politics* is the middle, the cultural analysis section. It was to be expected: Millett has here stepped out of her field, which is literature, and undertaken what must be the most vast subject possible. The relationship between the sexes pervades the culture as no other phenomenon. One of the rare propositions on which the majority of social scientists agree is that sexual identity is the most



Kate Millett. *Sexual Politics*. Doubleday, 1970. \$7.95. To be released in paperback at a later date.

basic to any human — most basic, and learned most early in life.

Cultural analysis or the social sciences are peculiar to this century, and as such perhaps immature at this point in history. Again, as such, the methods of investigation and theorizing from data tend at times to be hit-or-miss or highly experimental. The major point to be derived from Millett's treatment in this area, of psycho-analysis for example, is that the prejudices of the research often impose themselves inherently within the finding of the research. A beautiful example of this was related in a recent issue of "Psychology Today." A psychiatrist related an experience she had in dividing a meeting of psychiatrists into three groups, asking members of each of the three groups to list qualities of character typical of the mature adult, the mature male adult, and the mature female adult. When compared, it seemed that the qualities of a mature male adult identically matched those of a mature adult. A mature female was something else again: the opposite characteristics appeared repeatedly on those lists.

The findings of social scientists and anthropologists on the subject of sexual differences become, finally, merely a tangle of contradictions. To take any of these as truth seems a ridiculous affair. The same is true with the inevitable question of how and why female suppression came about, and the answer itself is perhaps finally lost forever in the fog of the past. An unending litany of ancient and little-heard-of cultures which avoided the chains of sexual politics may be

called forth to counter the argument that patriarchy and male-dominance follow the "natural law" or are "God Given" or any number of other blissful defense tactics. There may perhaps be some correlation with the primordial worship of the forces of nature and fertility (more closely identified with the female than the male) against which the male ego may in turn at some long lost moment have revolted. (Marvelous is the story of an ancient culture in which the male, jealous to unbelievable extents of the female's talent for childbirth, made ritual of his vicarious pregnancy during his wife's actual pregnancy, took to his bed when she did, mimicked labor, then when birth occurred, placed the child beside him in bed and received visits from neighbors who congratulated him on his remarkable feat.) Argumentation around such evidence becomes vapid rapidly, and finally probably futile.

The mistake Millett makes in this area, however, is of some importance. Through *Sexual Politics*, the existence and predominance of male supremacy seems to come through as something that has prevailed through an enormous sexist conspiracy. That may easily be dismissed and the arguments of more weight somehow go with it out the window. The question of why the *status quo* prevails is finally empty: the point is that regardless of why it has existed, if enough women move to tear it down, down it will come. The business of the Feminist Movement is not to explain the past, but to break through that nonconscious acceptance of male supremacy and motivate revolt against it.

Millett qualifies her work in the Preface, stating that as it moves into a new field, it must of necessity be limited and tentative. Her book reflects a high degree of selectivity in regard to the literature and cultural phenomena she treats, but that too was probably unavoidable. A more political treatise would have proved of more value, as the literary analysis lends itself to easy defense from those who prefer to ignore the truth in Millett's statements. Henry Miller wrote novels that were essentially fictionalized realizations of his sexual fantasies; the realm of fantasy is a difficult one to approach and criticize, as in any human mind, that realm is probably most perverse. And having toyed with the idea of attempting "Feminist Pornographic Poems" (revenge is occasionally cathartic), I find it difficult to criticize Miller's delvings into the same realm. What is up for attack is the male's propensity to activate those fantasies, to view half the human race as object for his de-humanizing ego, and then act upon that all-pervasive dictum—rigidly adhering to a created philosophy, theology, societal structure, political structure, cultural structure, in which he delegates all human endeavor except housekeeping and child rearing to *his* area of concern. Through which he then forbids the female to move freely. Thus he fathoms the male as superior to—and therefore justified in ruling—half of the world, the female half. That's the part that's got to go. That's the part that will go.

Carolyn Gatz



football

by don kennedy

Notre Dame over Georgia Tech — An impressive win over the 7-2 'Jackets should convince the pollsters once and for all just who's the number one team in college football.

Texas over TCU — You can just bet the ol' ranch that Mr. Royal will be out to roll it up this week to try and recoup last week's lost votes. This is the Longhorns' last "away" game, nary one of which have been located outside the boundaries of the great state of Texas.

Ohio State over Purdue — Another "poll" game. Woody's really irked about his team's drop in the rankings. Concerning the UPI's coaches' poll he said, "Out of the 600 or so college coaches in the country, 598 would love to have our offensive backfield and 599 would like our record." Woody appears to be admitting, then, that maybe one or two schools might not want (or need) his backfield or record. Maybe

that's why you're number three and the others are one and two, eh Woody?

Stanford over Air Force — If the Cadets couldn't handle one of the weaker Pacific Eight teams (Oregon), imagine the problems they'll have when they face the conference champ tomorrow. A poor performance by Jim Plunkett sure would benefit Jersey Joe.

Syracuse over West Virginia — The Orangemen have a good shot at a Liberty Bowl bid if they can get by this and next week's games. The Mountaineers haven't been too consistent since their giveaway to Pitt.

Louisiana State over Mississippi State — Another "toughie" for the Bayou Tigers. Next week they'll find out how football is really played.

Michigan State over Minnesota — Duffy's got the Spartans rolling,

with three straight Big Ten victories. A win today will assure State of at least a respectable .500 season's record.

Michigan over Iowa — A prep-game for the Wolverines' big one next week.

Kansas State over Nebraska — If anyone's gonna derail the Cornhusker Express, it'll be Lynn Dickey and Company.

Fordham over Manhattan — Last year Fordham's club football team announced its varsity status for the next season — the next day they lost to Manhattan. The Jaspers are still just a club, however, so the Rams will get revenge and then some tomorrow.

Record to date: 44 Right, 15 Wrong, 1 Tie, Pct. .745.

notes

This year's **Senior Fellow** award will be presented to the person elected by the Senior class for outstanding humanitarian contributions, sometimes in March. The list of candidates has been narrowed to fifty and is posted in the Huddle. The group of candidates who accept the nomination (this usually depends on availability during the period of the award) will be reviewed in the SCHOLASTIC prior to the election of the Fellow by the seniors in late January.

Sunday, November 15: the University Arts Council presents the first in a series of poetry readings by Notre Dame students and faculty. The readings Sunday will be done by John Hessler and Rory Holscher, co-editors of Notre Dame's literary magazine, *Juggler*.

Thursday, November 19: SUAC will sponsor a reading by poet Nathaniel Tarn. Tarn's poetry combines a vast intellectual scope with singular emotive power; when he appeared here as part of last year's Literary Festival, his audience was almost unanimous in declaring that his reading was one of the finest ever heard here. His return should be one of the high points of the semester.

The University Arts Council is currently sponsoring a three-man exhibit in the fieldhouse arts center. The exhibit, entitled "Art Roma," is the work of John Kelly, Dan Molidar, and Paul Jalbert, senior art students who spent last year studying in Italy. Highlights include a collection of giant pencils, and some daring new ways of looking at the Mona Lisa.

coming distractions

The Cultural Arts Commission will present "**Bonnie and Clyde**" in Washington Hall Saturday and Sunday at 7:30 and 10:00 p.m. Admission is \$1.00.

Allen Cohen, associate professor of psychology at the J. F. K. Institute of Drug Abuse Education and Research College in Martinez, California, will lecture on **drugs** on Sunday, November 15, in the Library Auditorium.

Cinema '71 begins its "**Surrealism Festival**" on Monday, November 16, with "Orpheus." Tuesday's film is "Beauty and the Beast," with "Blood of a Poet" and "Un Chien Andalou" on Wednesday. Thursday's presentation is "Exterminating Angel," with "Last Year at Marienbad" the last film, on Friday. The films will be shown at 7p.m. in the Engineering Auditorium.

Elizabeth Kiebler Ross will lecture in the **Theology of Death** series sponsored by the Academic Commission November 18, at 8 p.m. in the Library Auditorium.

The **Earthlight Theatre**, a contemporary drama group after the style of Second City, **Hair** and Living Theatre, will appear in Stepan Center on Tuesday, November 19 at 8 p.m. Formed in the spring of 1969, Earthlight was the only drama group to perform at **Woodstock**. The group is sponsored by the Contemporary Arts Festival; admission is \$2.00; CAF patrons free.

Nathaniel Tarn, featured poet of the '70 Sophomore Literary Festival, will be in the Washington Hall Theatre, Thursday, November 19, at 4 p.m.

On November 23 and 24 at 7:00 and 9:30 p.m., the Knights of Columbus and the N.D. English Department will present **Orson Wells' Othello**. Wells produced and directed the movie, and also stars in it. Admission is fifty cents and all proceeds will go to **Sister Marita's School**.

David Rowe a political scientist from Yale, and member of the Asian Study Program, will lecture on South East Asia, Tuesday, December 1, at 8 p.m. in the Library Auditorium.

Dr. Wyatt Tee Walker will speak on "**The Myths of Black Anti-Semitism**" Wednesday, December 2, in the Library Auditorium.

Pacifist Dorothy Day of "Daily Worker Paper" fame, will lecture Thursday, December 3, at 8 p.m. in Carroll Hall at St. Mary's College.

The Cultural Arts Commission will feature the movie "**The Hostage**" December 4 and 5 at 8:30 p.m., and December 6 at 7:30 p.m. in Washington Hall Theatre.

Clare Bishop will speak on the "Role of Christianity in the Middle East, Monday, December 7, at 8 p.m. in the Library Auditorium.

Jesse Unruh, unsuccessful challenger of Governor Reagan in the recent California elections, will lecture at 8 p.m. on December 8. Also, the Cultural Arts Commission will present "**Blow Up**" at 7:30 and 9:30 p.m.

The Rev. **Theodore M. Hesburgh**, C.S.C., president of the University of Notre Dame and chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, will be a guest on ABC's **Dick Cavett Show** November 18. The program can be seen on Elkhart's WSJV-TV (Channel 28), starting at 11:34 p.m. It will be his first late-night appearance; an **Emmy**, some say, is in order.

The music department of Saint Mary's College will present the **Western Michigan University Wind Ensemble** in a guest concert, Sunday, November 15, at 4:00 p.m. in O'Laughlin Auditorium. Created in 1967, the WMU Wind Ensemble numbers 50 student musicians under the direction of Professor Carl Bjerragaard. The concert is open to the public **without charge**.

"Figure and Shadow," a show of paintings and drawings by Rev. **James Flanigan**, C.S.C., is on display in Moreau Gallery of St. Mary's College until December 9.

The Notre Dame **Art Gallery** is currently featuring, through December 20, a display of graphics and paintings by Notre Dame's Professor of Graphics, **Douglas Kinsey**.

The **Fighting Irish Theatre**, organized by Jim Leary and Michael Cervas to resemble Second City and Earthlight, is recruiting talent in all fields. They encourage you to at least inquire at 283-1681.

the last word

Spring of my freshman year was the last time the ROTC Presidential Review took place on this campus. I participated, only peripherally, in the demonstration that day — walking rather timidly around the outside of the field with my sign, glowing inside with a sense of my own transcendent courage, and afraid for my life to actually go onto the field.

Those who marched were speaking against what we felt to be a moral wrong: the presence of the military on this campus. It was all quite simple to us. At least it was to me. But despite all the confusion inside and outside me, and despite the three years that now mask the details of Reishman and company's heroics, I remember clearly a whole host of people — including administrators and commanders and peers and my parents when I got home that summer — lecturing me endlessly on the complexities of such issues. "There are problems involved," they repeated, "that you just couldn't possibly understand." Or, "You've never been to war or even in the Army. How can you condemn what these men do, from your safe position?" Or, "Why, you're simply refusing to admit the intricacies of the problem."

They were right, of course. Charging blindly off to battle with only my trusty shield, Righteous Indignation (which, I still maintain, was beautifully decorated with doves and unicorns and smiling dragons, despite it all), I was impervious to Ambiguity or Contradiction.

They were right. And the fact that, after a good deal of exploration and questioning, I am pretty much in the same place, does not change the accuracy of their comments. The ambiguities were there. It was good that all those people spoke of them.

But life is, after all, circumscribed by contradictions. I am confused now when I hear those same people lecture me in person and in the media day after day about the moral horrors and the terrible sin that is abortion.

Where do these knights who now defend the bas-

tions come from? At what forges did they temper their swords? They come, first of all, from the Church: the same Church that moved with glacial speed to support the Civil Rights movement; that still makes no firm stand against a war which has killed by now close to one million people, mostly "helpless children"; that has offered and can now afford nothing more than safe platitudes in the struggle for "pacem in terris."

And they come from the media. The same people who see fit to dismiss all the terribly complex problems inherent in abortion with an editorial or a column, yet continue to lecture constantly in those same columns about the complexities of American foreign policy and the need to trust a President who "knows much more than we ever could" about such things.

And thus, since the media and the Church are largely controlled by them, these new knights come from the ranks of us males. Which is the most confusing thing of all. How would we react, I wonder, to a woman who asked, "Why are all you guys afraid to serve in the Army?" Doubtless, with indignation and a certitude that she has no right to declaim about a possibility she will never have to face. Yet with not a moment's hesitation, we condemn women seeking abortions as "Murderers" and abortion counseling agencies as "cheap, tawdry organizations."

This is not to adopt a position of complete moral relativism, or even to expound a don't-talk-until-you've-tried-it stance. Rather, it is to ask consistency of a church that chooses to only selectively defend life, and of a people that preaches respect for moral ambiguities yet shows no patience or compassion with a problem whose complexities are infinite and more terrible than any other I can think of.

We defend, by silence, the death of a child in Vietnam and, screaming, lament the death of a foetus in New York. We want the best of both worlds. But that can't be.

—Steve Brion

THE SCHOLASTIC

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