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ON THE CAMPUS...NOTRE DAME
of faculty members is at its lowest point in memory. These professors are not violent revolutionaries: they are simply people who see that if the most educated individuals in a culture do not lead that culture ever forward, then that culture quickly degenerates and dies. For them, Notre Dame has in the past few months undergone a process of transformation. The students have come to realize that the University is not working as it should.

T HE EFFECTS OF THE FORCE OF COMMUNITY among the student body split into at least four different groups upon consideration. There are of course those who feel that all is well at Notre Dame, except for the fact that student journalists bitch too much in their magazines and newspapers about what is wrong with the University. It is interesting to note, however, that this group always has its overwhelming strength in the freshman and sophomore classes, and that, as those same people progress through their junior and senior years, the numbers of the satisfied drop off drastically.

The second group are those who, either in student government or in student publications, spend a good deal of their time collecting information about and dealing with the various administration proponents of community. They gradually come to see that behind all the talk of reforms tending toward a true intellectual community there is the same old authoritarianism, which in effect holds the line on the mediocrity of the past. The typical pattern they follow is one of vocal protest against this mediocrity and unprogressiveness, which they have an occasion to see better than the student body at large, followed by a residual sense of the futility of resisting such an entrenched structure.

One very disturbing, and very dangerous, fact that this group of students gradually notices is that there is in fact a very real and functioning Notre Dame community — not the one that most faculty and students live and move in, but rather, that vast body of trustees, priests, alumni, friends, and benefactors with whom Father Hesburgh spends most and, sometimes, all of his time. These students sense, after months and then years of talking with the administration, after hearing the words “this community,” “our community,” “this community,” “our community,” “this community,” thousands and thousands of times, that Father Hesburgh and all the others are really talking about this last community, which because of its longer and more devoted association with the University is somehow more a part of the community than, say, faculty members under forty years of age and of course students (who are only here for four years).

Some of these involved students come to realize that they, and all of the other students that they were trying to represent, were never really a part of the whole thing, or, if they were, were only the most lowly parts whose main function was to “get” an education quietly and without incident. Upon this realization comes the shift from vocal activism to a sense of hopeless futility. We therefore find among many of these students a similar but not by any means identical shade of disaffection as we found among a certain portion of the faculty.

The third (and by far the most important group numerically) is that group of students which during their four years at Notre Dame has no extensive or prolonged contact with those who govern the “community.” The students in this group know that they do not have any real or final influence in the decisions which directly affect their lives, and this knowledge is sharpened by the fact that as Notre Dame students they don’t have the kind of normal social outlets that one might find at a coeducational university, for example. One could see this wide range of alienation at work during the recent SBP campaign when the only real issue was how each of the candidates was going to make Notre Dame a genuine participatory community, as opposed to the token community efforts that have thus far been made. Even this very large group of students, then, is disillusioned and disappointed at the gap between the flowing rhetoric of “community” and its practical inexistence in their daily lives.

The most tragic instance of student reaction to the Notre Dame “community” is that evinced by that group of students who are especially sensitive, or intelligent, or both. It is a well-known fact that very many of these students leave Notre Dame with the conviction that they have progressed intellectually not because of, but in spite of the values and actions of the “community.” It is a never-ending source of chagrin to many Notre Dame administrators that year after year many of the most brilliant students are also the most persistent critics of the “community.” That an educational institution would so infect and thwart its finest student members very simply means that that institution is not working as it should.

S INCE there are serious inadequacies with all three of the relevant levels of the current community — the conceptual, the practical, and the actual — it would seem that the handwriting is on the wall for the University of Notre Dame, unless Father Hesburgh himself revises both his thinking and his doing in regard to community, or is persuaded to do so in one way or another by faculty and students, or both. What will happen if nothing is done will probably be either some form of serious and far-reaching conflict between the faculty and the administration or the students and the administration, or, and this is sadly the more likely of the two possibilities, Notre Dame will continue along, but now strongly and irrevocably, the more deplorable traditionalist and conformist ways that it has followed for so many years. What could possibly offset this movement, however, is a vastly increased faculty and student awareness of their potential influence in shaping the scope and sense of their community. This last alternative was probably the primary motivation behind this long essay: we had hoped not only to bring to the attention of those concerned with the future of the Notre Dame community some relevant considerations which might help them to make an informed judgment about the matter, but also to impress upon them the urgency of the situation, so that not just Father Hesburgh, but everyone at Notre Dame, might be moved to do all they could to effect their own vision of the nature of the University.
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PRIESTLY DISCOURT

EDITOR:

In your “What’s Right With Notre Dame?” issue, the article “... and five good priests” I should have been entitled “... and six good priests.”

A great man, who is also a C.S.C., is Charles E. Sheedy. Perhaps it was his position as Dean of the College of Arts and Letters that overshadowed his interest in the students and the work he did for them. But he is one who is available to the student with willingness to help.

Bro. Tim Crowley, F.S.R.
Napa, California

THE BLACK MAN’S BURDEN

EDITOR:

Congratulations for devoting an issue to the problems of black students. Please allow me to make several comments on the matter.

I request — and will tolerate no equivocation — that black people are equal to white in every respect save one: their chance for survival in this nation of racists. The most cursory glance finds racism in the lifeblood of this country, initially written into the Constitution and perpetrated throughout. The history of white America is the history of what has been achieved at the expense of black suffering. With what incredible nerve did Americans participate in the Nuremberg trials? In particular, I am bothered by the white “Friends of the Negro” who persist in delusions about their own racial attitudes (but I am trying to understand their problem). There is a definite tendency (expressed to me repeatedly) to believe that a well-educated white might be better able to discuss the black man’s problem than the black man himself, and that the black man ought to be disagreed with because “he wants you to.” In other words, the black is always and everywhere a child, unable to speak for himself, someone who must be helped along. The neo-racist categorization of black people which leads to these attitudes is intolerable in people who profess to battle racism — be they priest, professor or student (they are all of these).

In a more humble vein, I have this to offer: if any white person, who considers himself committed to the eradication of bigotry and racism, imagined his life as from within a black skin, he would no longer think of his antiracism as another “interest” or activity to work in. He would dedicate every waking moment to changing the racist core of this country — his entire life would be engaged in this task. For indeed — for a black man in America — white racism is the single reality with which he must deal incessantly from cradle to grave.

LET US GET OFF HIS BACK — NOW!!!

David L. Coulter
337 Badin

AN EMBARRASSED SOUL

EDITOR:

I am grateful to Mr. James Fullin for including me among those Holy Cross Fathers who have “soul.”

While I may feel somewhat embarrassed in such company, I almost balk at being so completely identified with student unrest. I say almost, balk, for, since the same assessment has been made from another quarter, quite unrelated to the Scholastic, I am undone. In the witness of two men, let the truth stand. (John 8,17.)

Joseph Hoffman, C.S.C.
Fisher Hall

BA-BA

EDITOR:

A 10-centavo Jupne ride which is 2.5 cents (American), gets me down the road seven kilometers to a cafeteria, where I can buy Newsweek and Time magazines. Having heard virtually nothing about Notre Dame since I left my home, Detroit, in April, 1968, you can imagine my surprise when I spied the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh’s name and Notre Dame’s in the March 3, 1969 issue of Newsweek. I was even elated because the article appeared underneath the education section of the magazine — one of the last places that I would have expected it to appear.

I am afraid I am one of those who look back on four years at Notre Dame as a lesson on how to be a good sheep. I never even participated in one of the annual springtime sorties against St. Mary’s. I am also one that thought that hell would freeze over before the students at Notre Dame would ever involve themselves in any serious issues of the day — discrimination, Vietnam war, poverty, etc. Notre Dame students make very good followers, just like sheep. So I was quite surprised to find Newsweek welcoming Notre Dame into the growing list of universities that are becoming “campus battlegrounds of the militant revolt.” However my exhilaration and pleasure only lasted one paragraph when I discovered that the “big issue” was a pornographic film. Notwithstanding the fact that we seem to be headed toward a new morality, a pornographic film is quite a paltry issue on which to base a “militant revolt.” The social injustices that stem from discrimination, the moral issue of the Vietnam war, and the frustration and fatalism that grow from poverty are the big issues today; they stare us directly in the face and ask to be solved. These are the issues Notre Dame students will have to face in the future world, which may be vastly different from the world we know today.

Whether we know it or not, universities tend to be reactionary institutions because education is basically reactionary. We learn the values and the attitudes of professors, instructors and teachers who grew up in the generation before we did. Their values and attitudes are not necessarily applicable to present-day thinking and the individuals who live and work in the present society. The answer to the problem is to teach people how to think, not what to think, and in the final analysis to teach people to think critically. In other words, Notre Dame students would do much better if they directed their attention to issues that really make a difference.

How then do you change people’s attitudes and values? Part of the answer is to teach people that values and attitudes are not necessarily static. They can be dynamic, and they must be in a changing world. The question is: can people be “rationally persuaded” that this is so. If they can’t be “rationally persuaded,” must you “substitute force”? Sometimes force works, sometimes it doesn’t; but more often than not. It serves to polarize the antagonists of a certain issue. There is no easy answer to the problem.

The University of Notre Dame — faculty, administration, and student body — would do well to step back and take an objective look at itself and whether it wants to remain a paragon of “traditionalism,” because that is how it is viewed from the outside world. “Traditionalism” will
not prepare anyone for the outside world and the problems that exist in it. It is no longer a question whether a social and technological revolution is taking place; it is a fact that we must face. It is a fact that you have to face, it is a fact that your professors and instructors have to face, and it is a fact that Fr. Hesburgh has to face.

President Kennedy knew what he was talking about when he said that "the only thing for certain is that everything is uncertain."

Ronald S. Batkiewicz
Peace Corps Volunteer
Conlubong, Laguna
Republic of the Philippines

A PRETTY TOUGH BUNCH

Editor:
"It is thus with most of us: we are what other people say we are. We know ourselves chiefly by hearsay." If what Eric Hoffer says is true, I want to thank you for informing me that I am a member of the "leadership clique" at SMC. I knew before reading your last issue that being a member of the Academic Commission carries with it responsibility, awareness of the problems that exist on our campus, a desire to become involved in helping bring about reform, a chance to be part of a student organization that works with efficiency and consistently produces results, an opportunity to know the faculty and administration better so that all could work together not against each other, and finally the sense of having accomplished something worthwhile (an aspect often missing in other organizations). What a bonus—to be considered among the elite.

It must be downright frustrating not being able to pin down the reasons why students transfer. I suggest you run a follow-up article on why students and faculty stay at SMC. It could prove to be a "learning experience." You might even scare up quite a few concrete reasons. Watch out for the leadership clique though, that's a tough bunch to crack.

Sheila Mary Cronin
Box 631
St. Mary's College

THE HONORABLE REIGN OF TERROR

Editor:
In consideration of Mr. Vos's decisive disbanding of Notre Dame's Honor Council a few weeks ago, one can only admire the chairman's foresight and courage in the face of extreme tension and no doubt, personal peril.

Impeccable sources from within have been quoted on certain statements, the gist of which being that the disgruntled council members, following a clandestine gathering in the Crypt, had decided to offer slight incentives for increased student vigilance, in the Wolfsian sense of the word. This secret decision was prompted by the mass apathy and moral stagnation here on campus—as clearly demonstrated by the lack of Honor Council convictions. Rumor had it that payments ranged from a pat on the head for the crucifixion of one amoral football player, to a gratis faculty parking sticker for the pegging of one trusting roommate, with a jackpots of a private eleventh-floor carrel in return for the cheating scalp of a progressive nun.

With little or no imagination, one can easily envision the rolling of heads in the name of Lady Honor; when bounty hunters abound, somber shades of Orwell would descend over all and the righteous denials of finkation on one's buddy would soon be silenced in a hush of sidelong glances and furtive snatches.

And in this chaos, this vacuum of anarchy, would step the Administration rejoicing. In a modified goosetep, they would march, dominating the sniveling students as they call their own shadows to trial. With brutal penalties, ranging from a year's sentence as Student Body President all the way to a seven-day suspension of classes, plus exile to Duck Island, the Generals of the Dome would instill order, albeit one of terror, to our bloodied and fornicating campus.

And so on and so forth. Our insouciance would grow. Falling prey to mind-twisting brain-scorching in the spurious guise of Community Letters, we students would soon assume our conditioned position as the super race, which naturally leads to a holy crusade of sorts against the fair populace of South Bend.

In short, Fascism of the most potent type, Youth, would reign supreme.

But this is all past now. The noble actions of Mr. T. J. Vos have saved us from ourselves. Now under the watchful, vastly more knowledgeable faculty, we Notre Dame students can grow and progress until we, too, can earn the title of Protector of Wayward Youth. Honor is obviously limited to those over 30; with luck, it can be further restricted to only the dead.

John Dwyer
324 Morrissey

THEM HOOSIER RADICALS

Editor:
On June 25, 1962, in Engel v. Vitale, the Supreme Court of the United States declared that all prayers and devotional exercises in public schools violated the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. The Court made it clear, and since, that this rule applies to all prayers, voluntary or not, denominational or not. While I think that as a matter of propriety prayers ought to be excluded from public schools, I also think the Supreme Court erred in transposing this principle into a constitutional norm. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court has spoken. And whether we like it or not this rule is the constitutional law of the United States until changed or modified by the Supreme Court itself or by the amendatory procedures specified in the U.S. Constitution. This is what we mean by the rule of law.

Now we are told that the Indiana legislature has passed a bill to permit the recitation of prayers in public schools on a voluntary basis. It is difficult for me to believe that our esteemed representatives in Indianapolis are ignorant of the Supreme Court's ruling, though I suppose one must always grant that possibility. But let us give them the benefit of the doubt and presume that they are informed men of the world; but, alas, they then become conscious defilers of law, guilty of non-violent civil disobedience.

In defying the establishmentarian Supreme Court the radical Indiana legislature has, in effect, said something like this: "To hell with your silly law, to hell with the kind of society you seek to impose upon us. We choose to govern our own lives, and so we shall, no matter what the consequences." How stupid of me to have thought that our problems stem from the intergenerational gap. How disconcerting it is to realize that, when all is said and done, the young radical of today is nothing more than a chip off the old man's block.

Donald P. Kommers
Dept. of Government and International Studies
Imaginative Yet Realistic

In the past years, reaction to Saint Mary's student government from Notre Dame publications has been most often typified by bemused incivility. It was with some surprise, and not a little jealousy, then, that we have recently begun to appreciate the great capacity for real decision-making now offered by the community government structure. And with this realization has come a growing concern for us with this year's election of the Student Body President of Saint Mary's College.

There is a special significance in this year's election. The present junior class, from which next year's leaders are being drawn, is, after all, the first one to really come politically of age during the time when responsibility was being offered to undergraduates at Saint Mary's. Responsibility not only in terms of what hour of the night they can return to their dorms, but in terms of far reaching academic policy.

What is generally accepted now at Saint Mary's is the need for student government to act, rather than react; to innovate, rather than rubber-stamp or ineffectively complain.

This situation, however, while undeniably desirable, has put a burden on that student body to produce creative leaders. Happily, people who are capable of dealing with issues larger than dress rules and the like have come forth, and one of them is running for Student Body President. We feel that person is Susan Turnbull.

Miss Turnbull has been dealing in some very significant areas in community government during the past year. Through her single handed revision of the years-old version of the Saint Mary's student handbook and through her experience on the campus Judicial Board, she has gained a firm grasp of the rules governing student life and the purpose behind them. Impressed with the inanity of some of these rules, and their alleged rationale, she became one of three principal architects of the Judicial Board's proposed restructuring of student regulations. And this restructuring was based on the belief that the only measure of unacceptable behavior was harm to the community.

Another dimension of Miss Turnbull's ability to come to grips with the problems of the college was developed through her membership on the tripartite Aims and Purposes Committee. Not only did she gain a truly impressive and broad view of the strengths and weaknesses of her college, but she also acquired uncommon insights into the personalities that she will have to deal with in the Presidency.

One of the results of this thorough background is an imaginative yet realistic program for development of Saint Mary's into the kind of stimulating place that it could be.

One of the most pressing needs of the college is diversification of the student body. It has become something of a cliche, of course, to talk of a homogeneous student body, and everyone is in favor of bringing to Saint Mary's girls with various social backgrounds. However, while strongly supporting the efforts that have been made in the past year to recruit girls from ethnic minorities, Miss Turnbull also sees the need to attract girls with differing intellectual
approaches. She points out that the days when ad-
mission was based on whether or not a girl would
"fit in" at Saint Mary’s must be brought to an end.

Miss Turnbull also displays a refreshingly rational
attitude toward the key problem of cooperation be­
tween Notre Dame and Saint Mary’s. While deeply
aware of, and strongly committed to, the positive
aspects and purposes of her institution, she is not
privey to the paranoia sometimes displayed on the
topic. She recognizes the absurdity of putting a
premium on Saint Mary’s being different from Notre
Dame for the sole sake of being different, and sees
the many ways cooperation with Notre Dame can
serve her college.

There are other displays of her wide-ranging
conceptual grasp of Saint Mary’s. She points out that
community government does not truly exist, inasmuch
as although faculty and administration are repre­
sented on committees dealing with student affairs,
there is no organized student influence on most ad­
ministrative decisions. A graphic example of this is
the fact that decisions are now being made about
increasing the size of the student body drastically,
and the present student body has absolutely no say in
this important matter.

Another problem with ramifications for the future
that student government has not dealt with in the
past is the business of Saint Mary’s abysmal scholar­
ship program. Recognizing the basic lack of funds
available, Miss Turnbull nevertheless points out that
much scholarship money that the school could get for
its students goes begging every year. She proposes
setting up an effective clearing house to match up
the right applicant with the right scholarship offer.

Then there is the inability of Saint Mary’s students
to live off campus. Reform of the present pass/fail
system for freshmen and sophomores is needed. So
are realistic attempts to improve communications be­
tween the student body and its government. The list
goes on.

Most important, however, might well be the fact
that Miss Turnbull in her contacts with other parts of
the college has learned to be wary of glittering
promises of student power. She deals in realities, and
this is not as common a trait as one might expect.

Another thing to take into consideration is the
fact that the Student Body Vice-President has already
been chosen, inasmuch as Beth Driscoll is running
unopposed. It is important that the leader of the
legislative branch, the vice-president, and the leader
of the executive branch, the president, have a proper
working relationship. And we think this relationship
can only be achieved if both are able to deal on the
same level, and in the same terms. For this reason,
too, we think Miss Turnbull a felicitous choice for the
presidency.

We of the Scholastic feel that this year’s choice of
Saint Mary’s Student Body President is an important
one and that it deserves the utmost serious considera­
tion. Saint Mary’s is in the throes of redefining its
identity, and with present structures there as they are,
students can play a crucial role in this redefinition.
For this reason, we unanimously and unequivocably
endorse Susan Turnbull for Student Body President.
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ND / news and notes

Stanford's Brawn was Furious

Think of all the hatchet men you have seen in these many years of observing basketball on every level. The list includes such illustrious names as Jungle Jim Lusk, Chuck Share, Phil Jordan, and Bob Bentley (depending upon your definition of "hatchet man"). Then imagine that right here at du Lac we have an outfit that would rate with the best of them. It's true! Stanford Hall formed their own version of the "Anvil Chorus" in January and let them out of captivity twice a week to play in the Interhall Basketball League. The net result was realized last Sunday afternoon in the Convocation Center when the "pack" downed Sorin Hall, 67-59, to return the campus championship to the North Quad.

The "bulk" of Stanford's scoring and rebounding was done by the front line that included Jeff Cowin, Fred Swendsen, and Jim Massey. In case you're wondering, they all measure 6 feet, 5 inches and weigh 230, 245, and 220 pounds, respectively. Of course, athletes of that size were not brought here to major in interhall basketball. They will all find more use on the outside. Down by as many as fourteen in the third period, Sorin came back to cut the lead to 35-33. Stanford middle which sealed off the lane completely and forced the opposition to keep the pressure on by consistent scoring and harassing defense.

Stanford had little trouble in their regular league games as they went through the eight contests without a blemish. The playoffs were just as easy as they smothered St. Ed's, 67-39, in the quarter-final and Farley, 81-35, in the semi's. When asked how they managed to go from a 27-22 half-time lead to a 46-point victory, captain Phil Calandra replied: "We intimidated them." That was not the story in the final against Sorin, but it was part of it. The "College" team had come up with two upsets during the week to reach the Sunday afternoon final. In the quarter-finals they outran Alumni, 74-65. Sorin ran to a 14-point lead at the half and managed to hold on for the victory. They depended upon the rebounding of Dick Reynolds and Tim Sullivan and the scoring of Gerry O'Shaughnessy and Jim Crowe. The next night, underdogs again, this time against Walsh Hall led by Joe Theisman, Jim Wielgardner, and Corky Sterling, Sorin exploded in the third quarter to outscore Walsh 21-6 and take the game 68-56. Sorin relied upon a tight man-to-man defense, strong boards, and the fast break to get them to the final.

On Sunday Stanford took the initiative from the outset. They led Sorin, 21-17, after a quarter, largely as a result of its tight zone defense and the close-in scoring of Cowin. The second stanza was a carbon copy of the first and the half-time tally was 35-29. Sorin came on strong early in the second half to cut the lead to 36-33 on baskets by Crowe and Bob Jaeger. Stanford kept the upper hand on the strength of some hot shooting by Andrews. The Sorin offense was not the fluid unit that had been evidenced in the early rounds of the tournament. Credit for this can go to the husky Stanford middle which sealed off the lane completely and forced the opposition to the outside. Down by as many as fourteen in the third period, Sorin came back to cut the lead to 62-57 with only minutes remaining in the contest. Reynolds, Bill Meskill, and Crowe ignited the surge which fell short in the waning moments of action. O'Connor twice converted both ends of a bonus free throw situation to put the game out of Sorin's desperate reach. Cowin led the Stanford offense with 16 points while Crowe hit 21 for Sorin. The action between Sorin's speed and Stanford's brawn was furious. But when the dust finally settled the latter had 67, the former 59, and a champion was crowned.

—J. Or.

"Trash from the Underground"

Besides being the seventh planet in the solar system and a rather salty pun, Uranus, in ancient Greek mythology, was the personification of Heaven, monarch of the world, both the son and husband of Earth, and father of the Titans and Cyclopes, which qualifies him as a fairly staunch member of the Establishment back then. Although hardly a middle-class Catholic, even old Uranus would probably feel quite degraded by a new publication bearing his name which recently appeared on campus.

Uranus, an eight-page mimeographed "scandal-sheet" whose publishers and staff courageously prefer to remain anonymous, shows all the journalistic sophistication and polish of the renowned National Enquirer (ask a friend from the East), but is a little coarser in its abuse of the language and medium. Strains of sensationalism and blatant fiction are predominant throughout, and the authors show an odd obsession with an assortment of "dirty" words which had ceased turning most of us on before we were teen-agers.

Most of the material is a caustically humorous and absurd attack on various features and members of the University community. Obviously a reaction to the controversial events of recent weeks, Uranus is an excellent example of verbal "overkill." As an attempt to gross out its audience, it is, of course, a dismal failure; for if nothing else, ND students can rarely be verbally or obscenely shocked. It was good for some laughs, but so is Reader's Digest. On the whole Uranus seemed quite childish and prurient, and generally reminded one of a temper tantrum.

—D.M.

March 21, 1969
This week, "In the Beginning" turns to a new source, the old Religious Bulletin. This curious publication was founded by Fr. O'Hara in 1921 when he was University Chaplain, and continued to be published daily by that office until early in this decade when the Administration abolished it.

The excerpt printed below, entitled "What's the Matter With Notre Dame" was from the October 9, 1950 issue, after Notre Dame had just lost a football game. The customary religious ritual had preceded the game with the football team venerating the BVM in Dillon Hall Chapel and being blessed by a relic of the True Cross. Somehow, this didn't work, and the Religious Bulletin attributes the loss to a decline in the number of Masses and Communions.

"Statistics on Attendance at daily Mass and the reception of Holy Communion, the pulse-beat of the Catholic vitality of the campus, serve also as a thermometer for reading the spiritual temperatures — normal, above normal, or below normal. It enables us to check indications and prescribe proper medicines.

In the spiritual life there is no standing still. Either one is struggling up or relaxing downhill. There are 3423 student residents on campus — approximately 5% non-Catholic. If attendance at daily Mass eases off, if there is an appreciable decrease in daily Communions, then some untoward influence has been at work.

"The Bulletin of September 29 called your attention to a long-standing Notre Dame tradition: MASS AND COMMUNION FOR THE TEAM — on the day of the game. On the first Saturday there was a fairly large attendance, though not so large as we have had during football 'depressions' in the past. With regard to last Saturday, it is sufficient to say that the general daily average dropped.

"This indicates how much you are willing to put yourself out for your team. Crippling injuries continue to plague the squad. The 'lads' get out there every Saturday afternoon, after a week of grueling practice, and give all they've got. Do you do that Saturday mornings? They take many risks not only to get a Notre Dame education for themselves but to give you a BIG TIME. They appreciate your rousing cheers at the rallies, but they appreciate far more the sacrifices you make to remember them at Mass and Holy Communion.

"Notre Dame lost a game, the first most of you witnessed. In the last analysis what was it? A timely defeat is a sound lesson in sportsmanship. It certainly would not be complimentary to her athletic tradition if Notre Dame had to win every game to maintain only your pep-rally and stadium loyalty.

"Win or lose, Notre Dame will play her schedule and play every game to win, not because she fears defeat but because she loves to win.

"What the world recognizes as characteristic of Notre Dame men is fight. But there is something sadly lacking when they don’t fight together — all together. Men will fight for one of two reasons, because they fear something or because they love someone. They fight desperately when they fear, but gallantly when they love. There is a love involved here and it runs through all life's struggles, right to the very end. Do you serve God because you fear sin and its eternal punishment, or serve Him because you love virtue and its eternal reward?

"Is defeat a wonderful thing? (Sunday's Communion total — 2,010 — was the highest for any single day this year!) It is if it gets you more behind the team." — T.P.
The Fjords of Southern Chile

IN HIS FIRST EIGHT weeks in office Richard Nixon has twice blown kisses in the direction of Notre Dame President Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh. The latest is TMH’s appointment as head of the Civil Rights Commission, replacing Michigan State President John Hannah.

The Commission’s chief job now is the investigation of white racism in the North. Created in the compromise Civil Rights Act of 1957, the Commission in the first years of its existence submitted strong reports on voting, schools, housing, and administration in the South. These reports, in large part drawn up by an energetic young staff, served as basis for provisions of later civil rights legislation.

Moving to the North, however, the Commission has run into difficulties. An Atlantic Monthly article in the August, 1967 issue commented that, “With a string of ostensible victories in the South set down in the statute books, the Commission has sailed forth into the vast, vague ‘urban crisis.’ The encounter has been an unnerving one for the commissioners. It demonstrates perhaps better than anything else the enormous gulf between the Negro in trouble and the white man who might do anything about it.”

A specific example of the troubles the Commission has had in the North comes in its San Francisco hearings of early summer 1967. The Atlantic Monthly article states quite bluntly, “In San Francisco they were confronted with anger, suspicion, even scorn; they were annoyed. Sitting there, high on the dais in what is called the Ceremonial Courtroom that resembles a paneled airplane hanger inserted in the nineteenth floor of the Federal Building, the commissioners seemed to many witnesses not so much savors as just more representatives of the ‘feds,’ of the man, come to look them over and go away and do nothing.”

A young black girl, testifying before the Commission, gave an emotional account of the plight of her school and fellow students. She urged the commissioners to “come out to our school someday to see how we are being cheated out of an education.”

The Commission reacted with annoyance. President Hannah told the girl, “We have to take what God gave us. An education is something that every person has to achieve for himself.”

The most strident reaction, however, came from Notre Dame President Hesburgh. The Atlantic Monthly account spells out in the greatest of detail what he stated:

“‘Patricia,’ said Father Hesburgh in low, mellow tones, ‘I want to say something. I’ve been in seventy countries. I spent a lot of time recently in Latin America.’ Father Hesburgh gave a brief travelogue of Latin America, the fjords of southern Chile, and so on, and continued: ‘The only thing that we have in this country that they don’t have is equality of opportunity. What you’re getting now would look like paradise compared with what they get there. Now I know it’s not perfect here either, and that’s the only reason this group exists. We move all around this country. We all have ten full-time jobs. We look at these problems in our spare time, if there is such a thing. Freedom of opportunity is not something you get on a platter. This man next to me won a Pulitzer Prize this week. You don’t get those with Green Stamps. I hope you grab every opportunity you have, and I hope we can create more and more opportunities. We’ve got to put down our buckets where we are.’

“In a series of unfortunate remarks, the latter was an ill-timed recollection of a saying of Booker T. Washington’s, a man who, one Negro remarked later, ‘didn’t know how empty the well was.’”

If the remarks just given plus the Atlantic Monthly analysis are any indication, the Civil Rights Commission should have a difficult time in its work in the North. One might question, too, whether Fr. Hesburgh is the right man to be in charge of probing institutional white racism.

— J. Con.

Lunatic, Lover and Poet

JIM PELLEGRIN IS not your ordinary, run-of-the-mill Danforth Fellow. He considers the award entirely a gift from three of his friends: Prof. Don Costello, Fr. Ernest Bartell (both knights), and Sr. Franzita (a maiden).

There are only two kinds of people to Jim: knights (f. maidens), who read and write literature instead of fighting wars and watching TV, and kerns (f. gerns), the regular people, the TV-oriented mass men. It is crucial to note, however, that all kerns have the potential to become knights — it only has to be developed. This is what Jim would like to do with his life — help kerns become knights.

In commenting on some of the good things he’s done, Pellegrin related that he once let a little crippled boy in Columbia wear his glasses, which made the kid very happy. He thought again for a moment and remembered how he once gave a rose to a maiden. After several more minutes of meditation, Jim was disappointed to admit that he could think of nothing else. On the bad side of the ledger, however, he gave one incident as a representative example. Once upon a time, as he was walking home from school, a large rat scurried across the sidewalk in front of him. In a fit of righteous indignation, Pellegrin attempted to squash the rodent with his books. The rodent was only stunned, though, and on closer examination proved to be really a baby opossum. When he tried to apologize, however, the opposum had already left. This close brush with cold-blooded murder left an indelible impression on him; for, “You just can’t tell the rats from the opossums. There’s just no way to tell.”

Jim will be a high school teacher for one or two years before he goes on to grad school in either writing or literature. He feels he owes it to the people (and his draft board).

Pellegrin classifies himself as an “English major,” which, as Shakespeare says, is “a lunatic, a lover, and a poet.” That about covers it.

— D.M.

March 21, 1969
Nothing but a Bunch of Nymphs

In every white ghetto in the country, people are talking about the upstart "coloreds." And they always say the same thing: "You give 'em an inch and they take a yard." But now, not to be outdone, the St. Mary's administration is chanting the same phrase. "What's the matter with those girls? They must be a bunch of nymphs. Wearing slacks in the dining hall; what is this school coming to? Next thing you know, they'll want to wear sweat shirts in the dining hall — and in classes." My, oh, my.

Perhaps Father McGrath will issue a dictum on the subject: "Be-ware of sweat shirts. Any girl found in the holy of holies, the St. Mary's dining hall, will be given fifteen minutes to cease and desist her scurrilous actions. It is not enough to label it the wearing of sweat shirts. God knows, there is enough and more than enough in our often nonglorious civilization to wear. The last thing a sweat shirt-clad society needs is more sweat shirts."

Wrists slashed and eyes bulging, Brother Conan, Notre Dame Bookstore proprietor, was found on the floor of his one-room cloister.

— A.X.

Sally and the SUAC

"Who's playing dirty?" is a question that's being asked on both sides of the road lately. According to an agreement made last year, the SMC Academic Commission consented to pay SUAC $500 each quarter to co-sponsor a number of events. During the first quarter, the payment was made to co-sponsor Francois Mitterand. Publicity with both Academic Commissions listed was distributed. For the second quarter, there were no co-sponsored lectures although St. Mary's was asked to pay $100 for publicity for the RFK series. The Black Power Conference was originally scheduled as the third quarter event for the two Academic Commissions. SMC has of date made no payment. Sally Davis, SMC Academic Commissioner, claims that her commission has received no publicity for these events and refuses to pay for the RFK and Black Power series.

John Mroz, SUAC commissioner, describes this incident as having been "blown all out of proportion," citing the inclusion of SMC posters advertising the Black Power Conference. Commenting on the situation Mroz said: "I'd like to know what kind of game she's trying to play."

However, by last Monday afternoon the tempest seemed to have abated. Mroz and Davis met in the office of the Student Union to discuss co-operation for next year. Before the meeting Mroz spoke in turn of a "merger for next year" but Davis said that she had no authority to approve such an arrangement after her term of office expires in May.

— K. Cal.
Massive Masses Make for Messy Mass

It came to be regarded as the “last act of the night,” the “magic show,” a “campus convenience.” Thus, the Nth Degree Coffeehouse Mass has been suspended.

The managers of the coffeehouse have not decided the future of this Mass. Suggestions have ranged from forgetting it completely to having an 11:00 Mass after locking the doors at 10:30. The possibility of working with the Spiritual Commission to extend the popular Stapleton Lounge Mass to Sunday nights has been suggested, but whatever the outcome, the original idea of incorporating the Mass into the entertainment has been abandoned.

The reasons for this action are somewhat well-founded. The Mass had originally been intended to solidify the community spirit that the coffeehouse founders had intended to create. But as the novelty — and the convenience — of the Mass became known, the crowds became larger, so large that the dividers at the entrance of the coffeehouse were knocked over and the front door was broken. Most important, the crowds began to forget that this was a coffeehouse and not a church, and the noise of their entrance interrupted the performers. Also, it was unfair to those who had paid for the night. The situation was, as one girl put it, “maddening.”

However, one student raised a point, stating that the coffeehouse had been established to bring people together, and that the Mass had succeeded in doing this. Thus, by suspending the Mass, the coffeehouse is contradicting the principle upon which it had been founded.

—M. R.

Equal Time for Freshmen

“We’re big girls now” and so SMC’s freshman class is sponsoring a bill that will abolish hours for second semester freshmen. Working on the premise that second semester freshmen are an integral and equal part of the college community, Irish McNamara, a freshman senator, has drawn up a proposal that states that no added legislation is needed in regard to second semester freshman hours. The proposal does admit that such legislation is needed for first semester freshmen as they are not familiar with college life and time is needed to adapt to the transition from high school to college freedom.

(They would also serve as a protection from, shall we say, “unfortunate” blind dates.)

The biggest obstacle to the whole plan is the parents’ opinions. After SMC did away with upperclassmen hours last fall, Sister Immaculata, the Dean of Students, received several irate letters from parents protesting the change. The freshmen have been encouraged to have their parents write letters approving of the proposal. The bill was to go before the Student Affairs Council on March 24. Its future after that is undetermined.

—M. R.

Worthwhile Inconvenience

“There is only so much you can learn from dorm life, and after three years some girls have learned it.” So says dorm president Karen Weller, summing up the rationale for off-campus housing.

Getting St. Mary’s to accept the idea of its students living off-campus is equivalent to getting someone to change his life style. SMC is a resident college, except for students living with their families in South Bend, and Father McGrath tends to feel that “When you choose to go to a school, you have to accept the structures that go with it.” While the arguments he advances against allowing girls to live off-campus next year are primarily financial, the emotional tinge to the issue can’t be discounted. In loco parentis dies hard.

Eventually St. Mary’s College may build apartment housing, either on its property in Roseland or on the campus near Dixie Highway. Fr. McGrath explained that the apartment housing would be constructed if St. Mary’s decides to grow to 2500, the figure proposed to make its relationship with Notre Dame a more workable one. First, however, the twin to McCandless Hall would be constructed.

Until then, Father questions the value of off-campus living when measured against the inconvenience, especially in light of the quality of housing available in South Bend. “We’d have to have inspection; we’d have to have a person handle off-campus; and then some would want to move back on.” This “nightmare” for the college, he feels, is probably not worth the effort.

For next year, specifically, there will be “30 empty beds as it is,” and financially he doesn’t relish the thought of income lost from more beds empty because seniors moved off.

How the junior class responds in the light of Father’s statements will be an important factor in what happens next. The student committee to study off-campus housing, made up largely of juniors, may keep up work on the idea if their class will support them. Eventually, then, the issue would come to the Student Affairs Council.

It would certainly be an inconvenience to the school. As senior Mary Kennedy put it, they have to decide “whether it’s an inconvenience worth having.”

—K. Car.
Richard Nixon to the contrary, the presidential bull of Rev. Theodore Hesburgh has not been greeted particularly warmly, either by students or administrators across the country.

Several administrators did have praise for the Hesburgh letter, but many others reacted along lines similar to the President of State University of New York at Buffalo, whose statement reminded one of Senator McGovern’s classic line on Meet The Press last summer: “Everybody is for law and order. That’s like being for motherhood and the flag.”

Student papers also reacted in a somewhat adverse manner. Here we present two opinions from the East Coast, where protest and dissent are, apparently, somewhat more revered.

“In a time of increased student participation in campus protests, it’s always nice to know where one’s President stands. Monday Americans found out Nixon’s position. The White House released the text of a letter sent to Notre Dame’s President Theodore Hesburgh, the newly arisen Hayakawa of the Midwest.

“… Anarchy and mob tyranny,’ Father Hesburgh should heed his own advice to campus activists: ‘Complicated social mechanisms, out of joint, are not adjusted with sledge hammers.’” — Holy Cross Crusader.

The trend continues in the East, leaving Notre Dame with the hope that it will spread into the vast wasteland of Indiana. The trend we refer to is that of all-male or all-female schools converting to co-education. The latest to join the club is Fairfield University, a Jesuit school on the Connecticut shore, heretofore known mainly as the New York Giants’ training base.

The school will make the switch in September of 1970.

Haverford College students, meanwhile, have stated their wish to see the Pennsylvania school become co-ed. A student government poll of freshmen, sophomores and juniors has shown — with over two-thirds of the students responding — that Haverford men favor co-education by better than two to one.

Norlin Library at the University of Colorado seems to be a popular spot for exhibitionists. Last year, an assistant district attorney from Denver was arrested for “exposing himself” to a co-ed. Last week, Boulder, Colorado, police arrested a student for indecent exposure in the library.

The student was apprehended after a university co-ed reported “a part of himself legally considered unfit for public viewing,” while she was studying in the library.

Quote of the Week, from the Michigan State News:

“A man does what he must — in spite of personal consequences, in spite of obstacles and dangers and pressures — and that is the basis of all human morality.” — John F. Kennedy.
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March 21, 1969

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An Essay on the Conception and Implementation of Community

by Joel Connelly, William Cullen and Thomas Payne

One need only look at a morning newspaper to learn of the fragmentation of American campuses today. National Guardsmen with fixed bayonets charge demonstrators at Madison and Berkeley. Administration offices are occupied at Chicago, Swarthmore, and Brandeis. Rival student groups do battle at San Francisco State.

Sentiments and emotions in the nation are running more and more against demonstrators and universities as a whole. California's authoritative Field Survey shows less than 40% of the state's population favor campus independence from political control. Hard-lining Governor Ronald Reagan gets a resounding 77% vote of approval in his performance as California's chief executive. Elsewhere, the Wisconsin and Illinois legislatures are considering legislation calling for immediate expulsion of demonstrators and denial of due process. The regents of the University of Wisconsin have drastically reduced the number of out-of-state students who will be accepted at Madison in the coming year.

The turmoil of the campus and reactions to it have extended to Notre Dame, long considered to be a placid outpost of conformity and Catholicism on the American university scene. A sit-in disrupted C.I.A. placement interviews in November, and the campus witnessed violence for the first time with February's Pornography Conference and police raid. Twin reactions have set in. Many of the school's student leaders have become alienated from the structures and rulers of the University. The average student often feels ignored both by a leftish Student Government and an indifferent Administration.

If more campus turmoil and fragmentation are indicated by what happens around the country how will Notre Dame be different in any way? Will divisions between administration, faculty, and students, or for that matter divisions within the student body itself, lead to further polarization at this University?

Perhaps these questions cannot be answered at the moment. Many of the most influential men at Notre Dame hesitate to predict whether the place will fragment or whether bonds will be developed which produce unity. However, much of the issue rests squarely on the shoulders of the man who runs Notre Dame and takes on the task of speaking for the community, University President Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh.

We shall examine Notre Dame later in terms of the men who implement and of the structures of implementation. The achievement of harmony depends in large degree on the manner in which policies are put into effect. Our concern of the moment, though, are the guidelines emanating from the top, for community is determined by theory as well as practice.

Notre Dame is fortunate in a way in that its President possesses a concern for community in the first place. Hesburgh has been using the term, and endeavoring to define it, from the day he took office 17 years ago. His concepts are still enormously vague, but he is at least aware of the need for development of collegiality at this campus. This stands in stark contrast to Grayson Kirk at Columbia, who not only refused to discuss the role of the student in university affairs but also declined even to speak with undergraduate leaders.
Father Hesburgh has been using the term "community" and endeavoring to define it from the day he took office 17 years ago.

Speaking of community, Hesburgh lays down a broad definition regarding a common understanding of the role of the university. He states that "Community means a hope that people who exist on many levels, students, faculty, administration, alumni, and trustees, are capable of agreeing upon a common ideal of what a place like Notre Dame can and should be, and are willing to work together in all ways possible to make it ever more responsive to and representative of this spared idea... This means a continual concern on the part of all for creating a vital community of thought, expression, and action."

What exactly is the "common ideal" spoken of by Hesburgh? His community definition has been quite broad. Since Hesburgh is after all President, one might expect some specific notion as to the dedication of the community at the university. However, Hesburgh again speaks in the most general vein. In his recent letter to Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, the Notre Dame President talks of "the values of rationality, civility, and openness." In his demonstration letter Hesburgh spoke about the university bringing "all its intellectual and moral powers to bear in curing the ills of today." These statements may be some indication of what Hesburgh's ideal is—the maintenance of a center of rational debate and a sense of altruism towards the outside world—but one cannot be quite sure. When one asks the President to pin down one generality one is likely to get another.

There are furthermore some serious objections which have been raised concerning the very basis of this concept of community. Indeed the whole philosophy revolves around a single postulate, one which is very questionable in terms of educational philosophy, namely that a certain set of values is a necessary prerequisite for the community and not its single most important result. For in fact Father Hesburgh is positing a very defined, and in a certain sense, a very restricted value system for Notre Dame, one which predisposes the institution in a certain way, a way which often sounds disturbingly like that of the Catholic middle class. Rationality, civility, and supposed openness, and in private conversations Father Hesburgh generally adds the virtues of decency and good taste—these are "the common ideal" with which the university community must begin. But these are also the values of a satisfied, legalistic, unevolving status quo society, which, as most educational philosophers will agree, is exactly what the university community should not be.

Perhaps the purported inadequacies of Father Hesburgh's ideas may best be explained by an example showing how another church-affiliated school deals with the problem of an educational community. Earlham College is a Quaker-associated institution in southern Indiana. Recently a senior student from Boston College, who is doing a yearlong research project in education, visited this college and then, immediately afterwards, spent some time at Notre Dame. He commented that these two consecutive experiences supplied him with an effective contrast between a real community, one which was functioning to the fullest of its educational capacity, and a false community, one which had failed to provide its students with any solid sense of development and participation. The second community was unfortunately Notre Dame which, accord-
Presidential decision-making is an unchallenged philosophy at Notre Dame. Issues are deferred to the point that either Father Hesburgh decides...
or there is no resolution.

of community? When interviewed last week he reflected that "The President is very much a mediator in conforming the roles of groups in the community." Hesburgh dealt briefly with the final authority of the Board of Trustees as well as the increased roles of faculty and students. He was careful to specify, though, that "In every community one guy is on top."

The role of the President is not clear from the explanations of Hesburgh, but a few things may be noted. Hesburgh's answer to fragmentation appears to be joint, tripartite if you prefer, control in specific areas of university endeavor. Thus an administration-faculty-student board has legislative authority in student matters. A council combining administrators and faculty makes decisions in the academic realm. Overall decision-making, and final authority, still rests in the President and in a Board of Trustees which on most major policy is willing to do his bidding. Thus, while collegiality is permitted in areas of individual group endeavor, overall authority is something removed and quite singular. Of course, Hesburgh does not come out and say this, but it is implied in his statements and demonstrated in his actions. He is decision-maker and spokesman, and let nobody forget it.

We have thus far dealt with community, common goals, and authority. In each area we have been in receipt of broad presidential pronouncements. Moving to the Hesburghian concept of the Catholic university, an area of special concern to this community, we see again one generality spawning another. The President is most concerned with the question of whether a Catholic university can be a great university. Speaking of the "great university community," Hesburgh states "It should be Catholic with a large and small 'C', or profoundly Christian, if you prefer that. This is not possible without a vital and sophisticated theology on the highest intellectual level. . . ." Immediately one asks: Just what does the man mean? Examining Hesburgh's speeches one finds a lot of talk of the Catholic university being a "beacon, a crossroads, and a bridge"—namely a link with other faiths—but this is about as far as one can carry it. "Catholic university" as a term and concept is left dangling not only for specific explanation but for basic definition.

If Hesburgh is not specific, neither does he confront the contradiction of "What the Catholic university is" v. "what the Catholic university should be." Fordham professor Edward Wakin, writing in the April 16, 1966 Saturday Review, commented on this contradiction: "This is not to say that the Catholic campus is not identifiable Catholic. It is—in ways that have nothing to do with education and the intellectual life. The evidence of Catholicism is bureaucratic, clerical, canonical, ceremonial, even athletic." When shown this statement last week, Hesburgh lectured his interviewer on substantive manifestations of Christianity such as the elaborate funeral given University Business Manager Herbert Jones and dismissed Wakin's argument as "insubstantial."

One cannot blast the President for not having had the courage to speak on community. Hesburgh has said far more than his counterparts at other universities. However, what Notre Dame's chief executive has put forth is insubstantial and flagrantly inadequate.

There can be no true talk of "collegiality" without a recognition of the fair and equal role of groups other than administrators. Moreover, there can be no honest discussion of "community" when one holds by his philosophy or deeds that he alone can express common goals. Hesburgh has not only been lacking in substance with his community arguments. His actions have in some cases been inconsistent with his philosophy.

The second major area of concern, after the discussion of the prevailing concepts of community, is the actual implementation of those concepts at Notre Dame. Reflecting on the implementation of community as he sees it at Notre Dame, Fr. Hesburgh wrote in the Scholastic last October: "We do have a structure that reflects a concern for collegiality at all levels. It's not the easiest way to administer a university, but it is the best way to achieve real community—if it can be made to work."

Notre Dame's predicament today is that the structure has not been made to work either in decision-making or decision-implementing. There is a subtle, difficult-to-discern gap between the rhetoric of community and the reality of its implementation at Notre Dame. On the surface one sees tripartite boards, administrators listening to and consulting with faculty and students, but in effect community government is a sham on this campus because when it comes to the crucial governing processes, that is, those of deciding priorities and allocating resources, the decisions are usually made without any formal consultations with the faculty who teach and the students who are taught. Moreover, decision-making often takes on a singular nature and rises by default and intention to the President of the University. As to implementation, those in posi-
Too many faculty members and students have not seen that they have rights and capacities which are an integral part of their stature as members of a community. Dispositions of authority have demonstrated little commitment to collegiality in expression and deed.

Structures are the point of departure in the study of the failure of community and collegiality here. Praised by Fr. Hesburgh as promoting joint decision-making, they in point of fact restrict one major group, the students, to but a 33% voice in legislating their own immediate affairs. Structures here allow the President and the Board of Trustees veto power over decisions made by legislative bodies combining members of the groups which make up the University. No apparatus of any kind has authority over more than one realm of endeavor. The only place where the whole picture is viewed is in the Board of Trustees, a body composed primarily of men separated from the students and the faculty.

While in their very makeup structures here are severely inadequate, their degree of inadequacy can best be seen in how they work. In the Scholastic community article, Hesburgh contended “I don’t decide what Notre Dame is or should be, because I don’t share the conviction of a well-known French king who said, ‘L’état, c’est moi.’” Hesburgh without doubt spoke in good faith, but his statement is not true. The President is in fact the decision-maker at Notre Dame, aided in financial matters by the Executive Vice President, the Rev. Edmund P. Joyce. Structurally final authority is in such instruments as the Board of Trustees while legislative authority rests in the SLC and Academic Council. However, in fact the actual governing of Notre Dame is a most singular matter.

Let us use as example Hesburgh’s now famous letter on demonstrations. With its provisions for dealing with student unrest the document was legislative in content. What Hesburgh prescribed as law was clearly a matter which lies within the rule-making authority of the Student Life Council. However, the Council was ignored. The President acted on his own, out of the conviction that policy statements of different groups throughout and even outside the University had given him the mandate to lay down the law.

Why was there an edict on the part of one man? Why were even the formal structures ignored? There are really two answers to these questions. First, Presidential decision-making is an unchallenged philosophy at Notre Dame. No one disputes Hesburgh’s final authority. In point of fact, buck-passing places many matters in the hands of the President which should have been decided on the vice-presidential level. Issues are deferred to the point that either Hesburgh decides or there is no resolution.

The second reason for ignoring structures in such matters as the letter is that the current President has definite concepts of himself as leader of the community. He has endeavored to create functional vice-presidents and procedures for disposal of matters beneath his attention, but with the encouragement of the subservient men around him the President has taken upon himself the role of spokesman for the community. Even beyond the wide application of his own energies Hesburgh reserves the right to interpret sometimes vague opinions from different segments of the community and speak for the whole of the community.

The singularity of decision-making is not the only grounds for criticism of the working of “community” structures. If Hesburgh were to respond immediately and directly on substantive issues raised by students for consideration, criticism of him would doubtless be practically nonexistent. However, just as the student role is defined in narrow terms student influence is not great. Hesburgh and other officials will listen at great length to any point of view, but only rarely will they respond with immediate and substantive change where inadequacy has been pointed out. Without doubt Hesburgh can point to his assistance of individual projects, but the student leader can also point to his condescending dismissal of the resolutions of the 1968 General Assembly of Students. There have been many commitments to study the tensions and conflicts of this university, but in only one instance — the 1966 elimination of curfew — did deliberation result in substantive reform. Even this case must be qualified, however, in view of Administration discovery of demonstration plans on the part of Student Government, a discovery which facilitated agreement at once.

The structures of Notre Dame, both in design and in operation, do not demonstrate the “concern for collegiality” spoken of by Hesburgh. They are exclusionary in design, constructing a removed apparatus of decision-making. In practice policy turns out to be set by one man, Father Hesburgh, working in concert with his top-level associates, and, in some cases, with the Board of Trustees.

This process of policy-setting is deceptive, however, simply because in some cases, and particularly the most public ones, it does work on a removed, though still ultimately final, level. Once again a recent example may serve to illustrate the point. The parietal hours program and the various hall self-government provisions issued out of the halls themselves and then quite logically were referred to the Student Life Council for approval. But the final permission had to be granted by the executive council of the Board of Trustees. Phil McKenna noted this when he said recently that it seemed to him rather unacceptably authoritarian that neither the halls themselves, which are in point of fact the specific community involved in the affair, nor the SLC, which is supposedly the highest assembly relating to student life, could make a final and binding decision on the matter: it had to be deferentially and obsequiously referred to the Board of Trustees, which is of course strongly swayed in any and all matters by the personal opinion of the President.

This is not so much of a structural problem as it is an attitudinal one, probably rooted in the Catholic hierarchical past of many of the members of this community. Too many faculty and students alike have not seen that they have certain rights and capacities, as faculty and students, and so when a reform or innovation comes up from the grass roots, such as the parietal hours program, they feel that they have to ask whether or not we will be allowed to do this particular thing at Notre Dame, rather than demonstrating in a rigorous and coherent intellectual fashion that such independent action is an integral part of their stature as faculty and students.
COMMUNITY, HOWEVER, is not just a matter of apparatus and the leader. It depends on the men who are within the structures. We have seen the leader as authoritarian and none too responsive. We even see him in the assumption of the Gaullist stance of l'etat, c'est moi in speaking for the Notre Dame community. But what now of his subordinates? What of the men who apply and implement the concepts and edicts of Notre Dame's Fr. Hesburgh?

The first characteristic of underlings in any corporation is subservience. Dissent is a private matter and unity is expected once policy decisions are made. At Notre Dame, though, subservience is carried to extremes. As we have seen, decisions on almost every level are deferred to the President. Moreover, though, the influence of subordinates in the Notre Dame Administration is at an absolute minimum. Strong opinions are rarely expressed, especially in the field of academic affairs. Part of the reason for this extreme obedience, and the more serious lack of independent initiative that accompanies it, is undoubtedly the fact that most of these more important advisers are priests, and so they feel that they owe Father Hesburgh at least as much religious deference as they do professional loyalty. The vice-presidents and their assistants are thus to a large degree administrators who exert little or no pressure on the President of the University.

As to implementation, those who have deferred to the President in the first place are rarely likely to stray from his specific or assumed norms. In his writings Hesburgh places the utmost emphasis on collegiality, even if he himself decides on major questions of policy. However, as with the realm of decision, collegiality is lacking in the realm of implementation. Officialdom at Notre Dame will listen, but again response is absolutely minimal.

One vital area which is perverted and destroyed by this breach between "community" rhetoric and hard reality is of course that of initiative. A dilemma is created by the fact that any responsible, competent member of the community is supposed to be able to present new, reforming ideas and be assured of their possible inception, while it is really only Father Hesburgh working with his close associates who have the power to initiate. Now the simple, incontrovertible fact is that these top-level administrators are in no sense of the word strong educative innovators, or even usually sympathetic to suggested educational innovations and experiments. So what you have are lying press releases and public statements declaring the absolute collegiality of the community, while at the same time those who really hold the power do not exercise it in a way that might make Notre Dame a better educational institution, nor do they respond to proposals from other members of the community that are geared to that end. Power is hoarded at the top but is not applied to the task of providing for the moral, cultural, and political education of the students, both in and beyond the curriculum. It is applied to such enormities as the Athletic and Convocation Center, which for all its certain beauty and grandeur, has nothing to do with education. Such a power vacuum in regard to the crucial functions of the university is fatal not only to the future of Notre Dame but also to the future of the surrounding society because this society's highest, and supposedly leading educational institution, the university, is abandoning its fundamental aims and purposes.

To get a true idea as to how Hesburgh's programs are put into action we need only look as far as three of the men who carry out policy at Notre Dame. Fr. Joyce, the Executive Vice President, is the campus' example par excellence of lack of collegiality. Joyce is the one major decision-maker at Notre Dame besides Hesburgh. He is the financial czar of Our Lady's University. In his realm he is a law unto himself. Joyce's general temperament was demonstrated late last month when he defied the decisions of the Executive Board of the Student Union and an ad hoc committee of the SLC and stopped publication of the magazine Vadoline. By his actions, most particularly the blatant seizure of private property, Joyce made a mockery of at least one pronouncement of Hesburgh's statement; the assertion that "... all of us are responsible to the duly constituted laws of this University community and to all of the laws of the land."

If Joyce's dedication to collegiality was demonstrated by the Vadoline suppression, it has also come budding to the surface with at least two other issues this year. The Executive Vice President has resisted efforts of the Student Union to obtain fair rental rates on the Athletic and Convocation Center, treating Union officials with icy scorn. Joyce declined to cooperate with students and faculty SLC members in improving dining hall facilities, reflecting exclusively on financial considerations at a meeting just after a mass food poisoning on the North Quad.

The damage done by Joyce to community at Notre Dame lies not simply in his personal conduct and treatment of people, but also in the allocation of University resources. The Executive Vice President has been almost totally unresponsive to academic demands at
If the most educated individuals in a culture do not lead that culture ever forward, then that culture quickly degenerates and dies...

Notre Dame. He was, for example, the driving force behind quick construction of the Convocation Center, potentially a big source of revenue, while at the same time he resisted adjustment of faculty salaries to even the level of most Big Ten universities. As one department head comments, “Joyce not only refuses to treat students with even tolerance and civility, but is himself an impediment to improvement of academic standards at this University and bolstering faculty morale.” Such are opinions of the man who is the chief policy implementer and financier at Notre Dame.

If one studies structure here, one would imagine that many initiatives in the academic realm would come from the Vice President for Academic Affairs. The qualifications of the incumbent would suggest this, but his actions are those of an obedient bureaucrat. Reform or even adjustment in the areas of curriculum and faculty status does not come from Rev. John E. Walsh.

Other instruments in the academic sphere are not hesitant to act. The Academic Council passed an open speaker policy last year. Fr. Sheedy, former Dean of the College of Arts & Letters, has long concerned himself with revision of required courses. The Academic Affairs Office, however, has been notably silent, declining to lead or even coordinate reform efforts. Work in such areas as closer faculty-student relations and pass-fail has been impeded by the bureaucratic philosophy of “don’t make waves!”

The Rev. James L. Riehle, Dean of Students at Notre Dame, is in a link position between the student body and administration. His position could make Riehle a major force of reconciliation between groups, especially since one of Hesburgh’s favorite themes is group “cooperation.” Riehle, though is simply not qualified for a complex job; his post is usually held by a trained psychologist at other universities. Riehle’s actions in his year-and-a-half tenure have produced an unprecedented lack of respect for his person and office on the part of student government officials and campus media. While a frank and decent man, Riehle has over-reacted or reacted intolerantly to disturbances on the campus. He has failed to mediate, and instead stood ready to accuse. For instance, ignoring the issue of outside police intervention onto the Notre Dame campus, Riehle has chosen to indict two students in the case of the Pornography Conference. This stands as a classic example of a lack of a sense of community or even of a sense of what is needed for reconciliation.

The predecided philosophical concept of community which is propounded by Father Hesburgh and the harsh realities of its antithetical implementation at Notre Dame have had concrete, undeniable effects upon those who live and study here. The tragedy is that these results, which are perhaps the best gauge of the worth of the administration's “community” scheme, have been largely negative up to this point.

In regard to the faculty, it is first of all necessary to distinguish between those who consider Notre Dame as a somewhat large and complex vocational school and those who properly give the major emphasis to the University's potential role in the personal development of its students and in the cultural evolution of the outlying society. A further clarification is perhaps also needed: the reference here is not to personal development along the approved lines of Catholicism or Americanism, nor to purely materialistic contributions to the industrial or scientific development of society. The reference is to those members of the faculty, who are perhaps less than they should be in number, who feel that the University is the only place that can carefully examine and criticize the basic established values of the prevailing religion and society, and then come up with rigorous and coherent formulations for a better or different religion or a better or different society. Because the administration of this University has recently aligned itself in a kind of crude dictatorial fashion with the accepted values of the Catholic religion and of American society, the morale of this important group (Please turn back to page 47)
What's Right With Saint Mary's

by Mercedes Dwyer

In the previous issue of the SCHOLASTIC, a Saint Mary's student described the notable migration of girls away from the college. Now another SMC student discusses why so many other girls remain at Saint Mary's through four years . . . and even like it.

What is good about Saint Mary's? This was a question to which I reacted rather strongly last week at lunch — and consequently inherited this assignment.

At a time like the present, with dark clouds hanging everywhere, I think it would be good for each of us to assess honestly the value and positive aspects of a life at SMC. Sure there are the pitfalls, but I for one know that I would hate to leave this place in June feeling that the negative facets outweighed the positive, thus making the past four years a waste!

Although I asked a number of people this question, I got generally the same answer from everyone: The people. They like Saint Mary's because of the people!

A few of those questioned mentioned the architecture, the campus, the flair and privacy of a smaller school, and the proximity of a larger university. Yet when all was said and done it came back to the people. They come in all colors here, all shapes and sizes, tones and textures. They come gently, and not so gently, dependently, independently, and in between. The greatest part of all is that everyone has a certain place to fill, a certain part to play.

We have Rocco, the little Italian gardener who makes this campus his private easel; we have George the shuttle driver, and Rose, the head maid. There's Fred the baker and Mr. Nagy the janitor — each with a story to tell, a mystery to unfold. We have the freshmen who aren't quite sure where they belong, the sophomores who feel they know it all, the juniors who can't remember when they weren't in college — and the seniors who can't quite believe they have arrived, and yet feel that they have outgrown college just a little.

We have the faculty — those who terrify us and those who keep us in awe; yet in some form or another they all manage to teach us. And the others . . . The various deans, the registrar, their staffs.

And for the first time in the history of this community, we have a president who has put US first, who has come forth more than half the way to listen, respect, and love us.

Today we find ourselves in the throes of a decision which will make or break the future of Saint Mary's. The grains of sand which will mold the plaster of any new structure for this place could be likened to each of us! If we think independently and rationally, loyally and yet wisely, we will cast a structure which will weather the future. All this will be decided in how we respect and regard each other.

Look about you — and make your world what you want it to be. If you have one or seven semesters left, make it the richest for the people you touch. James Flanagan, whether he stays or goes on to greater heights, has given much to Saint Mary's without ever counting the cost. And perhaps the finest gift of all is the everyday belief in the treasure of hope!

If we can't bring good to this place, then why the brick and mortar?
Destroying a Distortion

by George Horn

NOTRE DAME, a university dedicated to the perpetuation of a dead past—social traditions—and the promotion of educated ignorance of the "real" world, is a travesty of human worth and dignity to any black student. For the blacks immediately confront a microcosm so unreal and so unbelievable that it shatters the imagination, a microcosm involved in ideologies, traditions, and theories which have long ago proven meaningless and insignificant.

The black students of Notre Dame must strive out of the morass of mass ignorance and deliberate encampment to be intrepid and righteous, dedicated to the destruction of evil, dedicated to the rebuilding of Man and to our possibilities as the only salvation of the "American Dream." Because of the level of the white man's consciousness which is shaped by different degrees of filth (education) and cowardice (experience), his operable understanding of blacks is necessarily a distortion. And, it is this distortion that the black students of Notre Dame are trying to destroy.

The black student is faced with a university living in a past age, the Age of the Golden Dome. A university where conservatism, rigidities in personalities, educated ignorance, and the defensiveness against reality are the coveted standard. For too long Notre Dame has existed on a fantasized reality. It is a reality which emphasizes remoteness, separatism, middle-classism, unthinking, pep-rally—go-number-one Notre Dame entities. It is a reality that produces constriction, inability to cope with people, and a sense of emptiness. It is also a "finishing school," turning out nice upright Notre Dame men and, with much therapy and rehabilitation, a middle-class Black Sambo. Notre Dame has nothing to offer the black students in the way of self-identification. The whole university structure as it exists now is antithetical to the black experience and the basic mental needs of black students.

What is keeping this system alive? Primarily, there are two reasons. Notre Dame possesses a considerable portion of miseducated educators who have long neglected and distorted historically the truths about the white man and the black man. Secondly, there exists an institutional schizophrenia which resides in the Administration. Moreover, the Administration suffers Thorstein Veblen's "trained incapacity" — an administrator's skills functioning as blindness. All of this is enhanced by the white student's ignorance of the fact that he is being miseducated. Or if he knows that he is being miseducated, he is powerless to correct the situation.

For the white students, they must realize that their fathers and their fathers' fathers have forcefully singled out and victimized the black in America and forestalled the realization of their talents and creativity. They have to get used to the idea that the Western culture has little meaning or relevance. Blacks become acclimated to it, but don't dig it, don't feel any need or desire to be assimilated into it or to use it as their own standard of reference. If you can dig, the most valuable asset to a black man is his blackness. Realize that.

Moreover, at this time, there cannot be a concerted effort by whites and blacks to gain the due rights of human beings for blacks. But there can be a unilateral action by blacks doing their own thing. Dig it. Your days of helping out, studying into, and deciding upon are over. The blacks are here at Notre Dame doing their thing and are hoping to see you do yours.
Out of the Frying Pan, Into the Fire

by George Horn

At the root of the American social dilemma between the races is the paranoid necessity of the white man to retain his identity. He must continuously perpetuate deranged ideas about the "non-human entity" (sometimes called nigger, colored, Negro) who through some mystical way poses as a deadly threat to his concept of himself. Not only must the white man fight neurotically to maintain the status quo, but he must find a way of living with the black man in order to be able to live with himself.

The white man, in a Baldwinian sense, is motivated by the drive to protect while the black man is motivated by the need to establish an identity. This drive to protect has become pathological. The white man has used and is using every insane method possible to keep the black man a mental slave, if not a physical slave. And, if this mental slavery fails, then physical slavery is possible with the detention camps which await those who are a "clear and present danger" — a threat to internal security.

It is in this absurd society that the New Black Man is emerging out of the ashes of the ghettos like the phoenix of the fire. He is refusing to accept and to emulate the white culture which has emasculated, dehumanized, and deprived him. He has seen the futility of conciliation or of assimilation and integration. He is ever conscious of his blackness which precludes any concession to the white man.

The New Black Man is challenging the decadence and racist perversion of the "American Way of Life." Indeed, this is a threat, a threat to destroy the white man's sensibility and his hideous creation. Never before in American history has the black man asserted himself so powerfully and eloquently. The beauty, the power, and the glory of the blacks reverberate with their voiced truths — the truth that the historical white man is immune to human feelings; for if he were capable of such noble virtues, then there would not exist today a colonization, oppression, and exploitation of blacks. The black wants to know himself historically, politically, and socially. Moreover, in knowing himself he can identify the enemy with precision and clarity. In order to know himself, the black man must purge himself of the American frame of reference — the American tradition, for it is this tradition which has mentally as well as physically enslaved him. In revolutionary rhetoric, we are composing an operable ideology for blacks. This ideology will be filtered pure of the pretext of integration and assimilation. This ideology will exclude notions of negotiation and concession. This drive for totally black ideology, which will embrace all blacks, means solidarity. And this solidarity will present a profound and meaningful dimension to the American racial situation. To put it bluntly, the blacks are not for integration, assimilation, or separatism, but freedom. There are no more days of sing-ins, pray-ins, sit-ins, sit-outs, or jail-ins; but only the days of the match and the gun. The era of Civil Rights is over; the blacks are hip to the fact that human rights are not legislated or licensed, but are assumed and taken, if necessary by force.

This realization of the necessity of conditional force is one of the bases of black nationalism. It is through black nationalism that the black man will finally take his freedom. For he deems it essential to his well-being that he control his economic, political, and social welfare. He is and will be the master of his fate. And, in time, the nationalistic way will testify to the long-known truth: The black man is a wellspring of fortitude, perseverance, beauty, intelligence, flexibility, and determination.

March 21, 1969
One Little, Two Little, Three Little Irishmen . . .

by Joel Connelly

A large part of a college education is supposed to be the people one meets. But what are the chances of a Notre Dame freshman ever coming into collegiate contact with someone who is basically different from himself, someone who represents that huge portion of the world which is not upper-middle-class, white, and Catholic?

Looking a blue suit and Gilbert’s blazer, distinguishing dress of Notre Dame Student Government leaders in past years, Richard Rossie spoke to the Class of 1972 at Freshman Activities Night last September. Rossie’s subject matter was student power. The Student Body President, who had worked for Robert Kennedy earlier in the year, described student involvement in the campaigns of both Senator Kennedy and Senator Eugene McCarthy. Rossie ended with a prediction of increasing student participation in decision-making here, and told his audience, “We’ve got soul!”

Rossie’s speech had an immediate effect, a highly negative effect. Letters denouncing his remarks poured into the Observer office. Grumbling spread through the Freshman Quad, culminating in a flood of signatures on petitions to recall the Student Body President. Rossie spoke of “Student Power.” With the recall petition the freshmen threw his words back at him.

Now even as the reaction to Rossie’s speech spread at Notre Dame, other activities nights and sign-ups were held at other campuses. While in South Bend incoming students blasted the “irresponsible” words of their Student Body President more than 150 members of the Class of 1972 of the University of Wisconsin signed up in S.D.S. At the University of California the figure topped 200. S.D.S. membership swelled at Ivy League campuses. Throughout the nation the radicalism of college freshmen was dramatically demonstrated.

In fact, Kennedy speechwriter Adam Walinsky would remark later in the year that at places such as Berkeley there is developing a “generation gap” between sophomores and freshmen, with the latter much the more radical.

Why is the pattern of other campuses altered at Notre Dame? Why was a strong conservatism almost immediately manifested? One might speculate over such reasons as the approach employed by Rossie, but the essential difference lies in the make-up of the class which entered Notre Dame last fall. The Class of 1972 here is indeed different from other schools, but the uniqueness is in large measure a product of its own uniformity.

Academically the freshmen here are superior to any class in the history of the University. A full 22% of the class come from the top five members of a high school graduating class. More than 56% placed in the top ten percent of their class in secondary school. The average SAT scores of entering freshmen last fall were 577 verbal and 622 math, both figures in the 80th percentile if one considers the national ranking of the test.

However, along with the academic record come statistics which in the minds of some are more important than high-school achievement. The Class of 1972 is 98% white and 97% Catholic. As to social background, even Admissions Office booklets concede that “most are from the middle-class neighborhoods of America.” A professor who has researched the matter is more explicit. When asked where Notre Dame freshmen come from, he replied “As a rule they come from $30,000 homes in upper-middle-class suburbs. There is at least two-thirds chance that they went to a Catholic high school. Their contact with those existing on different social levels has been limited. Their contact with black people has been practically nonexistent. They have been reared in happy homes, and more often than not have not been spoiled by parents who knew hardship when they were children. They have performed well in their limited environment, but tend to be woefully ignorant of those less fortunate than themselves.”

Uniformity of background is clear enough in analyzing the Class of 1972. Notre Dame freshmen come from 48 states, but a majority are from Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York. They come from 897 high schools, but 66% of those high schools were Catholic. Some are from high-income areas and a very few live in ghettos, but the vast majority come from middle-class suburbs. Out of every fifty class members, there is only one who is either non-Catholic or nonwhite.

Something else deserves consideration along with background. This is intent, reasons why students come here. As should be obvious by now Notre Dame has had little appeal thus far to those whose religious and social backgrounds are at variance with the norm. Studies by the Admissions Office and faculty reveal that to a large degree students are propelled towards Notre Dame by alumni or friends of the University. Indeed, preference is shown to the sons of those who have gone before us here. One out of every eight freshmen is the son of an alumnus. If one includes relatives who went here, the figure rises to one in three. Studies show that about 60% of incoming students have chosen Notre Dame as a result of personal contact with someone who has gone to the University. A full 90% have discussed Notre Dame with an alumnus or present student. Only one freshman in ten has chosen this University because of a program of study offered.

Personal contact plays a large part in the choice of school with students everywhere. However, with Notre Dame alumni contact is more extensive and has a greater effect. At the same time the reputation of Notre Dame in academic fields has little effect on one’s decision to come here. The majority of those who intend to major in political science know nothing of the Notre Dame government department when they arrive at Notre Dame. Ditto with English or history majors. This stands in stark contrast to any number of schools
whose reputation in, say, sociology, is a major factor in the decision of a student to attend. Notre Dame is most certainly portrayed as a "great place to go to school" to the aspiring high-school senior, but chances are that an individual decision will be made in near-total ignorance of this University's prowess or lack of it in his area of study.

The connections between freshmen and alumni plus their reasons for coming suggest that the Class of 1972 is not only uniform in background but also inbred. The majority of students in this entering class come from families with some connection with Notre Dame. Few students entering this University in 1968 or any other year for that matter come from outside that amorphous mass of people known as "The Notre Dame family." Chances are each one of us has a father, uncle, relative, brother, or family friend who has gone to Notre Dame.

As a general rule background is a major cause of behavior. If we choose to analyze the resentment towards leftists or other characteristics of freshmen here, we need only look at some of the facts just given. Radical behavior is likely at a place like Berkeley, where there is substantial minority group enrollment. The Stevensonian liberal upper-middle-class background of Columbia students is often cited as a causal factor for the unrest which shook the New York campus last year. With Notre Dame one can point to the class background, the influence of the Jesuit high school, and the connections with the University itself as inspiring an aversion for upheaval and a dedication to order.

When one analyzes the behavior of this year's freshmen in view of background, he should not ignore similar patterns with other classes in other years. The Class of 1972 has been denounced for its conservatism, but those expressing negative opinions should remember that two years ago the vote on the Freshman Quad defeated Dennis O'Dea and elevated Christopher J. Murphy III to the Student Body Presidency. At the General Assembly of Students a year ago, Breen-Phillips Hall led the opposition to the Rossie draft of the Declaration on Students Rights. This year's class is by no means alone in its conservatism. Its background and behavior are no different from the freshman classes which have gone before it.

We might say, too, that Notre Dame is not alone in the attitudes of its freshmen. The incoming classes at many universities tend to be quite conservative. Apathy is not just a Notre Dame condition. However, this campus is different in the sense that other places are changing and we are not. A simple statistical analysis of drug use in high schools is enough to convince any observer that the up-and-coming generation of today is different from that of ten or even five years ago. This is reflected in the change in make-up of the incoming classes at some of America's better universities. Notre Dame freshmen, though, while tending to be more intelligent and aware than their predecessors do not reflect attitudes and values substantially different from years past. There is an increase in activism, but those who are politically or socially involved are still less than 10% of the total student population here, and less than 5% of the freshman class.

What lies ahead? Will the Class of 1975 or the Class of 1978 be different from the Class of 1972? If diversification is taking place elsewhere, one can expect it to reach Notre Dame sooner or later. Certainly black enrollment will increase. We will have more students from the South and West. However, substantive change is highly unlikely. There is a pattern of enrollment at Notre Dame. The student body here is uniform and inbred. Nothing is really going to change the middle-class white Catholic character of freshman classes in years to come. The efforts being undertaken to change things are sorely inadequate. Suburban-based alumni clubs have been asked to recruit black youth from the ghetto. A group which is 94% practicing Catholic is supposed to direct "special attention" to non-Catholic students. The very structure of the efforts for change indicates that this change will not occur. Boasts of diversification should be looked upon with extreme doubt, especially after a famous incident at a Student Government banquet a few years ago. Fr. Hesburgh boasted to the gathering, "We have had a 50% increase in Negro enrollment over the last year." A student in the audience interrupted him with the remark, "Yes, last year we had six. Now we have nine."
Fifteen months ago, as the Vietnam War escalated and the political scene looked hopeless, one man stood up to challenge President Johnson and his war policies. A quiet, dedicated intellectual, Senator Eugene McCarthy changed the course of American political history. Now, a year after his stunning New Hampshire victory, the Senator spent two days at Notre Dame as the first recipient of the Senior Fellow Award. Scholastic Associate Editor Joel Connelly, who served last year as publicity director of Indiana Citizens for McCarthy, interviewed McCarthy in the quiet of his hotel room and spoke with the Senator about both the past and the future.

Scholastic: In 1965, after his victory over Senator Goldwater, President Johnson was compared by some political analysts to Hobbes' Leviathan. He was viewed as a man with almost total power. These analysts went even farther, portraying the Presidency as elevating a man to near-God status. With your campaign, though, people began to reevaluate the Presidency, saying the office has become too powerful and that the President of the United States should not be a God and should not dominate the country's thinking. Do you think in the future we will move away from the concept of President as total leader, the concept fostered by Johnson?

McCarthy: I don't know whether the concept has really been rooted out of the country. I think that in the case of President Johnson, as I said in my campaign, there was a tendency to overpersonalize the office. This was manifested in some ways but not to the same degree in the attitudes towards the office in the Kennedy Administration. In that case it had to do more with the style of the Presidency, and I think one must always expect a new style to affect the office to some extent. But in the case of President Johnson, I expressed concern early, before I really challenged him on Vietnam, over what I thought was the willingness to use other offices and other institutions of government subordinate to the Presidency in a way in which the Constitution did not intend them to be subordinated — to dominate the Congress, for example, as he attempted to do with the Tonkin Gulf Resolution; to silence the Congress with his bringing General Westmoreland as a field commander to defend his position, i.e., the Administration's position, in what was essentially a political conflict. To use Chief Justice Earl Warren on the assassination commission I thought was an improper use of a member of the Supreme Court and particularly of the Chief Justice. I suppose this is a minor matter, but a number of times when he was awarding the Medal of Honor he would take the occasion to make what I consider to be an improper speech defending his position on the war and denouncing people who were not in favor of the war, suggesting sometimes that this man would not have died if people had not criticized the war.

So the accumulation and concentration of power in the Presidency, which was one of the issues I raised...
Raising His Voice

in the campaign, brought criticism from some liberals. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., is still doing it — saying that they couldn't accept in this age my conception of the Presidency. I think Adam Walinsky said the same thing out here. I think this was to misread completely what I was saying in that I meant you could have a more effective — which in a sense is what you mean by a more powerful — government, more effective in accomplishing its objectives, if the President didn't take too much to himself but tried to distribute both power and responsibility in the other places and persons in whom it properly belonged. The net effect of this would be a more effective government and more powerful government than if the President tried to take to himself all power and all responsibility.

Scholastic: In this light, do you see with such resolutions as that of Senator Fulbright on the use of troops in foreign countries a reassertion of Congress in the field of foreign policy and a diminishing of the almost total Presidential control in this area?

McCARTHY: It would be a sign of what some members of Congress would like to see happen if the Fulbright Resolution were passed. I think that the Fulbright Resolution is perhaps a little bit too strong and too far-reaching, that the approach should be somewhat more restrained than that, but I believe it points in the right direction. I don't think that what he recommends is a process that could possibly be effective.

Scholastic: At the time of the Indiana primary last June the New York Times ran an editorial discussing two issues. The first was whether a man of limited financial means can run for the Presidency. Secondly, they asked whether a man can run for the Presidency of the United States more or less as Mary McGrory put it "without raising his voice." Do you see that in the future candidates will be able to run for President more and more in the manner in which you did? Then, too, what about the financial matter? Do you have to be a rich man to run?

McCARTHY: I don't think you have to. It's what Senator Muskie said, "A poor man can run if he's got $20 million in expense money." It's a question of where you get it. I think my campaign showed that there are many outside factors that come in and cloud any conclusion that one might make. If Senator Kennedy had not come in as he did, our problem of financing and running the campaign we wanted to run would not have been very serious. When he came in, the campaign became very complicated and much more expensive because of the nature of his challenge. I think that the campaign showed, though, that even without money you can make a good case with a cause and a reasonably good candidate. With more money, if we had had five or six million dollars available at the start, I think we would have made a better and stronger run. Our problem wasn't so much that we didn't get money in the campaign since the contributions were quite good, but we never had it with any certainty at the time in which we were making our plans. We'd hesitate to do something and then we would get enough money and do it. But we'd do it late, and in some places it was wasteful. We could never lay down a massive campaign, in California, for example. The one state in which our campaign was adequately financed and planned in advance was the state of Oregon. If you read the results there, you'd have to say that part of it came from the fact that we did have the money when we needed it and planned the spending of it. But otherwise we were always short-range planning and not able to contract for television and so on.

Scholastic: As to the second question, do you think it will be possible to run for the Presidency without dogs, spacemen, advance men and a vast organization?

McCARTHY: It would be very difficult, especially if you go the primary route. If I had run as a third-party candidate last year, avoided the party route, and simply gone to the people, I think we would have had adequate financing and we would have been a stronger force than was George Wallace on a basis of the number of votes we might have gotten. I don't think you can do it ordinarily within the party structure if you don't have available either the full party support (the way Nixon and Humphrey did) or else a large independent source of funds, which generally means you have to be wealthy yourself. It isn't so much that people with money spend their own money. They have credit and, as in the case of the Kennedy campaign, they're collecting for it now to pay the bills. We couldn't have gotten into debt three or four million dollars as they're supposed to have. We just couldn't get that kind of credit. Nobody would have trusted my campaign that way unless somebody underwrote it. In the case of somebody who's independently wealthy, like a Rockefeller or a Kennedy, the possibility of getting credit is almost unlimited.

Scholastic: Considering the current reform commissions in the Democratic Party and the desire expressed by many party leaders for reform, do you think that it will be possible for those working for the same goals you did last year to work effectively within the Democratic Party? Do you think that the control of machines, particularly machines with a labor-union base, will be shaken to the point where the Democratic Party can have a truly open convention in 1972?

McCARTHY: I haven't seen any signs yet that this is going to take place. My hope was that it might come out of the commission, but the indications now are that those who might help us bring about these reforms are going to try to get one more round out of the old machine, which would seem to mean the likelihood of a third-party movement in 1972 is much greater.

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Amateur boxing has been incessantly maligned; most people correlate it with professional boxing. Generally viewed as a modern version of a gladiatorial contest in its most bloody senselessness, amateur and professional boxing are similar only in their externals. The rating system and thus the psychology are completely different. Defense, as well as offense, is scored. Amateur boxing, and especially the Bengal Bouts, has equitable pairings of size and ability. And a well-fought bout can show speed, agility, alertness, power and courage in a synthesized whole that has traditions rooted in Greek mythology.

Since training began nine weeks ago, a change has occurred among the boxers, especially among the new boxers. Getting in shape, developing a style, and correcting mistakes are communal projects. And within this community friendships develop. By its nature boxing is personal and individualistic, but the respect for others which is acquired by sparring or watching others spar is a respect that, while it is elemental, is indelibly personal. There is much to be said for amateur boxing, and its best points should be exhibited tonight in the finals.

The Bengals are more than boxing matches; perhaps, the biggest spectacle is the bloodthirsty crowd invoking anything but non-violence. And if you look closely at the ringmaster, you can see the most risqué pair of men’s shoes in captivity—black alligator. ooooh! They were clearly visible from atop the SCHOLASTIC limb. And we thought that as long as we were out on that limb, we might as well say a word or two about Friday’s finals.
125 Lbs.: Ed Ferrer vs. Jack Griffin

The 125 pound contest will pit quick well-conditioned Ed Ferrer against Jack Griffin whose long reach gained him a close and controversial decision Wednesday. Tonight, the speed and agility of the compact Ferrer should elude Griffin's more lethargic style.

135 Lbs.: Paul Partyka vs. Ebby Moran

In the 135 pound division finals poised and experienced Paul Partyka will meet quick and rangy Ebby Moran. Partyka wields a strong right hand which can come at any time and from any direction. It should catch the darting Moran often enough to send the decision to Partyka's corner.

145 Lbs.: Tom Suddes and Gary Canori

Suddes has the trunk of an oak tree and the elusiveness of its leaves. Canori, on the other hand, hits hard and has been known to place other people's bodies on self-destruct. But Suddes has the physical conditioning to escape all of Canori's fifty-two deadly weapons. The first round may go to Canori; but the last two—and the match—belong to Suddes.

150 Lbs.: Joe Judge vs. Jim Hansen

The hard-punching Judge, given a second chance due to Bob McGrath's illness, fought his way courageously into the finals. Hansen has taken two convincing victories with his constantly pumping left hand and charging style. In a match that promises to be crammed with action, the taller Hansen should be able to overcome any inspiration that Judge might have left.

155 Lbs.: Kent Casey vs. Steve Siva

Casey is one of the few Bengal boxers who can throw body punches while protecting his bicuspids and molars (wisdom teeth are no problem for Casey). Silva has quick combinations, but he will have trouble landing them on Casey who lays back until the crucial moment. The crucial moment may find Silva first in the air and then on the ground.

160 Lbs.: Jed Ervin vs. Fred Deboe

Deboe, anxious and confident, gives the impression of being in a hurry to get out of the ring with his victory. The deliberate, at times almost slow, Ervin will send his thunderous right fist to Deboe's jaw in a fashion that should let both fighters off work early.

165 Lbs.: Don Johndrow vs. Chris Servant

Servant seems to have constructed a moveable Maginot Line. And while Johndrow is strong, he is not nearly as quick as Servant whose feet whisper across the ring. Servant's Bossanova may send Johndrow into the alligator formation.

175 Lbs.: Bill McGrath vs. John McGrath

The snake-like McGrath porting some sort of mysterious deadly potion has had two opponents virtually quit on him in the second round. He will need to have it working at long range tonight to reach showboat Etter who likes to visit all sides of the ring. A determined McGrath should track Etter down by the third round for the victory.

185 Lbs.: Tony Kluka vs. Matt Connelly

Kluka had a relatively easy evening Wednesday when his opponent suffered a shoulder injury in the second round. Meanwhile, Connelly attacked and counter-attacked his way to a violent victory. But Connelly seemed to be in excellent shape, and the extra work should not bother him. A tight and pitched battle should go to Connelly.

Heavyweight: Chuck Landolfi vs. Hank Meyer

Landolfi, without a doubt the Bengal's smoothest fighter and top attraction, is the odds-on favorite in this one. Meyer slugs hard but his problem will be finding Landolfi who makes a point of coming in only long enough to give and not to take. Three rounds may be asking too much.

March 21, 1969
Peter DeVries

PETER DEVRIES, one of the black humorists, a new breed of American writers, was born of Dutch immigrant parents in Chicago.

He worked alternately throughout the 30's as a taffy-apple peddler and a radio actor. Then, in 1944, he became a member of the editorial staff of the *New Yorker* and since has contributed frequent stories and poems to the magazine.

DeVries has perfected a tragicomic style which combines a serious substance with a comic surface. The reader, laughing at his attacks on contemporary American suburbia, suddenly finds himself aghast at the horror of reality just described. DeVries' slams have earned him the epithet, "Balzac of the Station Wagon Set," and has prompted Kingsley Amis to call him "the funniest serious writer to be found on either side of the Atlantic."

His literary efforts include *The Tunnel of Love* (a novel which he and Joseph Field dramatized for Broadway production by the Theater Guild in 1957), *Comfort Me With Apples*, *Reuben, Reuben*, *The Vale of Laughter*, and *The Blood of the Lamb*. It was this last, more conventional tragedy, written in 1962, that earned him recognition as a truly sensitive author. His works have met with continual critical acclaim, summarized by W. J. Smith's comment that Peter DeVries is "the greatest living American comic novelist . . . and beyond any doubt the greatest punster the world has ever known."

DeVries' latest works, *The Cat's Pajamas* and *Witch's Milk*, have also been favorably received by critics. *The Cat's Pajamas* deals with a teacher at a small eastern college, Henry Tattersall, and his gradual downward drift through society. The companion book, *Witch's Milk*, deals with the marital ordeal of Tillie Seltzer, a grimly serious sociologist who figures in Henry's final demise. Together, the books comment on "the sacred conspiracy of the living to make life seem less of a grim joke."

According to Richard P. Brickner, "In DeVries' world there is nothing too sacred for profanation, and nothing too ludicrous for serious treatment. DeVries' achievement in terms of productivity and sustained high level is unmatched by any other comic writer currently at work." He is truly one of the foremost spokesmen of America's black humorists. Incidentally, however, he hates the word "humorist," and says, "Every time I hear it, I feel like countering with the word 'seriousist.'" Such responses aptly characterize the devilish wit of Peter DeVries.

— Marilyn Becker

Movies

CINEMA '69: *Triumph of the Will*, for those of you interested in a fine documentary, was shown last night. *Far from Viet Nam* will not be screened again, despite its wide spectrum, all-American popularity here at the big N.D. Cinema '69's next presentation will be *Accatone*, April 19 and 20, cosponsored by the Contemporary Arts Festival. Above, Dave Kahn celebrates triumphant Godard tour de force.

AVON: *The Night They Raided Minsky's* is an exercise in nostalgia for the "old burlesque." Casting is excellent — Britt Ecklund plays an innocent young Amish flower turned stripper to the tune of a great melancholic score and a chorus line that can't be beat. Jason Robards, Norman Wisdom and the late Bert Lahr round off a crew of characters that mesh in an intriguing blend of satire and legend, mockery and glamor. *Minsky's* is anything but great, and occasionally boring as its quirk for atmospheric detail gets out of hand (e.g., pickles, newsreels, etc.). Still, the film charms and entertains in its grasp of a memory the bulk of us like to cherish (or pretend like we do). Call 288-7800.

COLFAX: *Romeo and Juliet* begins its final week. Call 233-4532.

GRANADA: *Joanna* — top of the pop crop from Britain. Call 233-7301.


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