

5-17-1968

Spectator 1968-05-17

Editors of The Spectator

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Kerry Webster Appointed Editor

Kerry Webster, a sophomore journalism major and Seattle Times staff reporter, will be the 1968-69 *Spectator* editor. The appointment was made this week by Mrs. Stephen Dunphy (the former Mary Elayne Grady). Webster succeeds Patrick Curran, present editor.

Mike Palandri, the present business manager, was appointed managing editor, and Judy Fery, now feature editor, was named associate editor. The three editors and their new staff, to be named next week, will edit the May 29 edition before beginning full-time operation next fall.

Webster, who will be 20 next Friday, is a graduate of Bellarmine Prep in Tacoma. He was The *Spectator* news editor this year, and assistant news editor last year.

He began his journalistic career as editor of the Bellarmine LION in 1965-66. During that year the paper was awarded an All-American rating by the National High School Press Association, and named "Best Paper" in its class at the Northwest Catholic High School Press Workshop.

Webster also served as editor of Student Prints, Press Workshop publication, in 1966, and TRI-LIGHTS, a publication of three Catholic high schools in Tacoma.

Palandri has been The *Spectator*'s business manager for the last two years. A 20-year-old business major from Portland, Ore., he was recently elected to the student senate. The Jesuit High School graduate is a member of two na-



Judy Fery, left, and Mike Palandri

tional honoraries, Beta Gamma Sigma, business, and Pi Mu Epsilon, math.

Judy Fery, who will be the top-ranking girl editor next year, is from Stayton, Oregon.

Judy, 20, was director of this year's Catholic Northwest High School Press Workshop. She is a three-year staff member and was a tutor at the Peter Claver Center.



Spectator photo by Larry Crumet

Kerry Webster, Editor-in-Chief

Army Presents Awards To Coed, 32 Cadets

Awards will be presented to one girl and 32 outstanding ROTC cadets this afternoon at S.U.'s 17th Annual President's Review in Fort Lawton.

The 350 members of S.U.'s cadet brigade will be reviewed by the Very Rev. John A. Fitterer, S.J., president; Maj. Gen. M. B. Kauffman, commanding general of the U.S. Army Reserve Command in Seattle; Col. John L. Robinson, professor of military science and head of S.U.'s ROTC Department, and Cadet Col. Paul Lenze, S.U. ROTC brigade commander and senior economics major.

PAULETTE Gamache, 20, office management junior and commander of the Burgundy Bleus, will be given the Distinguished Girls Drill Team Member Award.

The 90-minute ceremony will begin at 1:15 p.m. Recipients and their awards include:

Martin Ancich and Michael Dunnegan, Association of the U.S. Army Medal; Hugh Bangasser, Reserve Officers Association Scholarship and Superior Marksmanship award; Stephen Clark, Artillery; Jerome Cun-

ingham and Lloyd Erickson, Knights of Columbus Medal.

JAMES Deary, Military Police Court; Michael Dolan, Infantry; Robert Feser, Armor; Daniel Fields, William Douglas, Robert Klee, and Kenneth Kurtenbach, Inspirational; Kenneth Hitch, Society of American Military Engineers; Lawrence Conlan, Lawrence Damman, Patrick Layman, and Dennis Thornton, Excellence in Military Science.

Paul Lenze, S.U. Sabre; Philip Roppo, Boeing Co.; Lawrence Kirchoff and Rune Simard, both Superior Cadet Decoration; William Kuhns, Scabbard and Blade Graduating Senior Medal; Stephen Kriken, Distinguished Drill Team Member; Michael O'Leary, Armed Forces Communications and Electronics.

GEORGE Burrows, Stephen J. Millet Award; Carroll Wheeldon, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the U.S. Medal; Thomas B. Martin, Chieftain Rifles Outstanding Member Award; Edward L. Constantine Jr., Daughters of the American Revolution, and Milton Isa, Chieftain Rifles Inspirational.

SEATTLE *Spectator* UNIVERSITY

XXXVI

Seattle, Washington, Friday, May 17, 1968



No. 50

Individual Responsible:

Committee Passes Dress Code



AWS DRESSES CODE: Concerned coed leaders discuss the dress code at a recent AWS meeting. From left are Judy Fery,

Lou Antush, Kathy Litaker, Liz Maritnez, Alison Fry, Jeannie Malette and Toni Clarke.

The Associated Women Students' first year as a policy-making organization has produced a new code for campus dress. The code released Wednesday in a noon meeting of all women students imposes no rulings concerning women's dress. The official statement reads as follows:

"With the current emphasis on individual responsibility the Seattle University coed must recognize and relate to her dress responsibility on an urban campus. A campus dress standard therefore should reflect the individual's judgment, taste, and

awareness of the social, business, and academic atmosphere of which she is a part.

"In light of this, the Associated Women Students recommend that the University's responsibility concerning women's dress will be assured by each coed. The AWS expects to promote a high standard of dress on campus through recommendations by various fashion-conscious individuals and organizations. Any questions concerning women's dress standards will be referred to AWS."

"IT'S THE MOST progressive

thing I've seen in my three years on campus," stated Gayle Tallo, Bellarmine Hall president, who explained to those present at the meeting that the new freedom, as all other freedoms, "imposes only that you think." She cautioned that if women students do not take the responsibility to set their own standards, that steps could be taken to impose another code.

The committee responsible for the new ruling was composed of both cabinet members and non-members: Mary Herman, junior; Susie Barrett, junior; Gayle Tallo, junior; Patty Mullen, junior, and Nancy Reed, freshman.

THE DRESS-CODE proposal was made at the April 20th AWS cabinet meeting by Patty Mullen, fashion-board president. The proposal was sent to the personnel committee where it was amended and later signed by the Very Rev. John A. Fitterer, S.J., University president. The proposal was amended again when it was returned to the AWS Cabinet. In its final stage, the twice-amended proposal was passed by the personnel committee.

As stated in the proposal, any questions or problems must come back to the AWS cabinet and be handled through them.

Voters Pass Pass-Fail; Cut Class Cuts System

S.U. students voted overwhelmingly for a liberalized class attendance system in initiative questions on the senate-class election ballot Tuesday.

According to results released yesterday by Election Board Coordinator Jake Jacobs, 375 voted "no" to the question "Do you favor the present administrative ruling requiring that 'any student absent from 15% or more of classes or laboratory sessions

will be dropped from the class with a failing grade?'" Eighty-five students voted "yes."

The students reaffirmed the policy of unlimited class cuts for honors students by a vote of 342 to 119.

A projected pass/fail grading system for non-major subjects also received enthusiastic support, with 356 "yes" votes against 117 "no."

Thalia Plays Concert



Stephanie Dennis

Thalia, S.U.'s symphony-in-residence, will present the Thalia Symphony Tuesday, May 21 in Pigott Auditorium at 8:00 p.m. The concert, which is sponsored in cooperation with the fine arts department, is open to the general public and complimentary.

S.U. coed Stephanie Dennis, a junior English-Education major, will play bass at the performance. Stephanie is the first Seattle University student to play with the orchestra, which is composed of amateur musicians from the Seattle area.

Dr. Louis Christensen of the fine arts department will also perform with the group, directing the orchestra in Barber's "Adagio for Strings."

The program for the evening includes Walton's "Orb and Sceptre," John Peters conducting; Donizetti's "Oboe Concertino," Jacqueline Birdsall soloing and Frances Walton conducting; Barber's "Adagio for Strings," Louis Christensen conducting; Mendelssohn's Incidental Music to "Midsummer Night's Dream," Mikael Scheremetiew conducting.

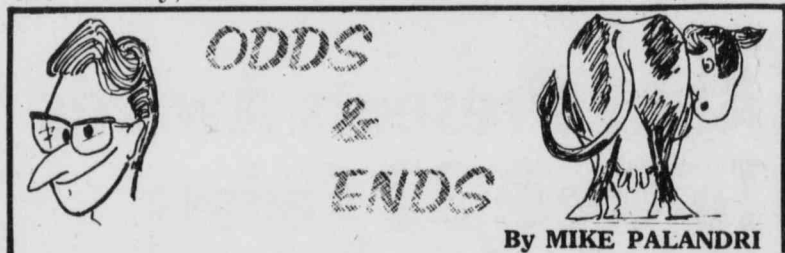
Marquette U. Negroes Slam School's 'Racism'

MILWAUKEE, Wis. (AP)—Almost half of Jesuit-operated Marquette University's 49 Negro students, including five prominent basketball players, withdrew from the school Thursday in a continuing protest against what they call its "institutional racism."

Scores of other students began a sit-in at a basement grill of the student union and said they would remain until they were arrested or the university met demands for the immediate hiring of a Negro administrator.

The Rev. John P. Raynor, S.J., president of Marquette, said earlier Thursday that the school "will not be governed by coercion."

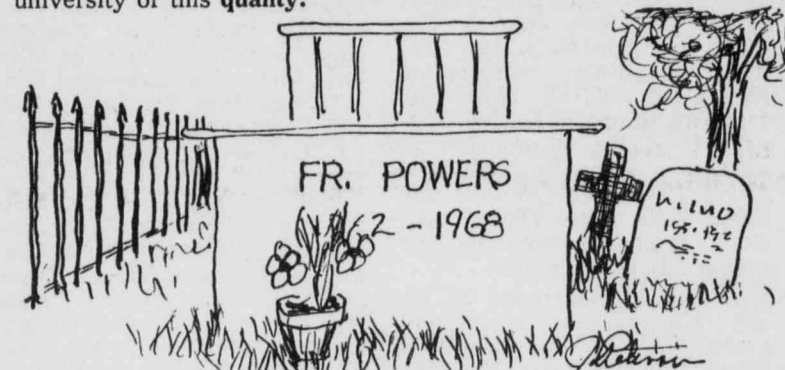
The basketball players include four men who were expected to be starters next season—George Thompson of New York City, who broke several Marquette scoring records in winning All American honorable mention last season; Dean Meminger, a high scoring freshman from New York who has been billed as a future star; Joe Thomas of Canton, Ga., and Pat Smith of Chicago. The fifth is senior Blanton Simmons of Milwaukee. Marquette, the largest Catholic coeducational university in the country, has a total enrollment of about 13,000.



By MIKE PALANDRI

Father Morton said in The Seattle Times that 10 professors leaving the English Department (for one reason or another) was a sign of "academic health." Does this mean that the other departments are academically sick?

Father Morton also stated that this was normal for a university of this size. Others, however, have viewed this as normal for a university of this quality.



At this point I had originally intended to express my opinions concerning Father Powers' article in the Sunday Seattle Times. However, a letter in our Wednesday paper did such a good job of cutting him down that I'll let his remains lie in peace.

QUESTION OF THE YEAR: Why does the administration make things so clear, so very clear, to Seattle's two daily newspapers and the public, and yet continue to ignore The Spectator and the students?

One of the funniest situations on campus occurred this Tuesday morning because of a blown transformer. The electricity at Campion was off for about an hour and 20 minutes. Boys who thought they were early for their 8 o'clock class found that they were late for their 9 o'clock class.

People with early morning tests found that they were at first noticeably distressed, then somewhat relieved by the reprieve. Those with later tests found that they had lost an hour's study time. Those who were caught in the elevator didn't find anything.

Saga Foods, although it knew of the problem, still closed its doors precisely at 8:15 a.m. It's one heck of a way to start off the day at 9 o'clock (when you think that it's 7:30) and have to beg a box of cereal from the kitchen crew.

Finally, I wish to thank all my constituents for their support, both verbally and at the polls. Now that I have been elected, I promise to keep more of the promises that I promised than my opponent promised to keep!

The Spectator

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Yellow Journalism

To the editor:

After receiving your April 1 edition, I meant to write to you but neglected it in the rush of business. But after the April 26 edition, I must rectify this omission and congratulate you on receiving the "yellow press" award. By the way, who gave it, Howard K. Smith?

Rev. Louis Gaffney, S.J.
Fulbright Lecturer,
Bangkok, Thailand

Editor Swallows Self

To the editor:

For the satisfaction of my curiosity would you clarify the meaning and intent of the editorial in the May 15th issue of the Spectator?

The "hung-up" and "hang-up" introduction was in no way a problem. Without any enthusiasm I consider it to be one of the better of the editor's puns. But on continuing my reading I gained the impression that the remainder of the editorial was the result of the desire to get the pun in print rather than to record or express a deep conviction. For the logic of the effort seems to lead to the analogy of a snake gulping its own tail and by due process swallowing itself into oblivion.

AS I UNDERSTAND the matter a protective Jesuit university allows a Jesuit to paint a subject of his own choice upon commission from the Campion Dorm Council. The picture becomes the occasion of controversy among students in the hall. Despite the controversy it is hung in a public place in the dormitory with the apparent consent, or perhaps even the approval, of what the editorial terms rather vaguely, "those in authority." As I write the picture is still there and I know of no administrator, faculty member, or student who has done a thing about it.

Hence my confusion. How can it be that this incident "limns in miniature," or in any manner, the problem of a protective University? The instance cited seems to have swallowed the point to be proved.

OR IS IT that the editor meant and maintains that the painting should be hung exactly where his or some other coterie wants it to be hung? Or is the editor evaluating the work for present and future generations when he writes: "Surely if the grotesqueries of Goya . . . can be hung in art galleries, the incandescence of Ibach can be accorded the same honor in Campion." Well, it is hung there, isn't it? Or does that "surely if" mean that Goya's "grotesqueries" are less than Ibach's "incandescence"?



I'M ON
MY WAY
TO THE
FORUM
... THEY PLAY
THE GOOD OLD
SONGS AT
OLDIE, But
Goodie Night!
7 TO 10 P.M.
EVERY
WEDNESDAY

Pitchers Only
75c

We Get Letters... Letters

There are other puzzles involved but I have no wish to exhaust your space or attention. Perhaps it was meant as a joke. But you must admit that considering its place in The Spectator it would be hard for a constant reader to tell.

Robert Carmody, S.J.

Caterpillars Peril



To the editor (and Father Green-grass):

Did you realize that you're breaking a city ordinance allowing caterpillars to harvest upon any trees adjacent to public highways? True, it takes time to beautify and landscape your campus with your so-called "rock designs" but isn't it time you did something about beautifying our trees?

Give them a chance to live while they still can; otherwise replace them with your meaningless stone mazes and rest in peace.

T. G. Parnelli

Public Martyrdom

Sir:

In reference to the pair of articles on the Catholic University in the May 12 Charmed Land magazine, I would hope that Seattle University appreciates its Ray Browns. As a graduate of a Catholic institution similar to S.U. and now a doctoral candidate at the U.W., I might point out that were it not for the Ray Browns, the scholarly and intellectual community might not notice S.U.

In the future perhaps the rest of the community might not notice it either. And there would be some benefits. The academic vice president would not be put into the embarrassing position of having to make comforting but misleading statements about the reasons for the exodus of faculty and then apologize for the statements. The University could relax and be content in what Rev. Powers calls its "firm possession of a body of religious truth," which can readily pronounce upon all philosophical and ethical developments as they happen.

It's also desirable that Rev. Powers should point to the awards granted to S.U. students; because the scholarly community is only likely to notice the "award" given by the American Association of University Professors.

I hope that the S.U. administration today feels akin to the beleaguered administration of Columbia. The martyrdom can still be public. In the future no one may notice.

Be grateful for Ray Brown. He's among the remaining few who are interested.

Robert G. Kraft

Career File Now Open

A complete file for career opportunities for women is now available in the AWS office.

Initiated last summer by Silver Scroll and Gamma Pi Epsilon, headed by Gail Harris, the file opened to S.U. coeds this spring quarter.

CONTINUALLY updated, these

files offer information on careers in business, federal careers, medicine, science, community services, armed services, dentistry—"anything a girl would be interested in," one student commented. The files are concerned with practical information on where to write, who to see, where opportunities are, etc.

COLLEGE STUDENTS

SUMMER EMPLOYMENT

Our better men last year averaged over \$170.00 weekly. This year's opportunity is even greater.

\$15,000 SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS \$15,000

Participate in competition for individual scholarship awards up to \$3,000.00

Win—

Ford Station Wagon

Boston Whaler

Full-length Mink Coat

Other Valuable Awards

MANAGEMENT TRAINING

Qualified men will be given opportunity to develop management skills in sales and sales training, office procedures, personnel control, etc.

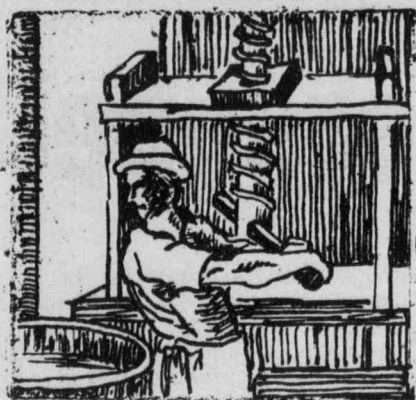
NO EXPERIENCE

Requirements: Over 18, neat appearance, cooperative attitude, above average intelligence.

Transportation furnished.

IMMEDIATE INTERVIEWS

Phone Mr. Green, 9:30 to 1:00 — MA 3-7676



The Spectator

JOURNEYMAN

Friday, May 17, 1968

THE SPECTATOR - JOURNEYMAN

Page Three

History of Vietnam Policy Outlined

By MR. ALBERT MANN

"Though the war lasted four years and killed millions, nothing in the Great War was so terrible or costly as the peace signed afterwards in the ever-memorable Chamber of Horrors at Versailles."

1066 and All That

THE war in Vietnam, like every war, has its horrors, and the peace will have its price. It is my contention that the government and people of the United States (or, *pace* the Hon. W. F. Fulbright, *Senatus Populusque Americae*), having failed to define adequately the war are in peril of failing to define or understand the inevitable peace. But if we misconstrue the negotiations their outcome will probably render our reaction quite irrelevant.

Negotiation, like war, depends on the intent of both sides. One side's failure to secure advantage in either stems from its lack of attention to the nature, goals, tactics and vision of the other. Inside and outside Saigon and Washington there are good minds which grapple the Hanoi government and its agencies with deep understanding. But there are too many influential minds who know the Asian Communist leaders superficially or not at all, and in American political discourse they outshout and may outvote the knowing.

Our enemy in this war—or series of confrontations of which some are shooting wars—is a complex and remarkable human phenomenon. He is difficult for Americans and other Western moral sophisticates to credit or to understand. He is also exceedingly dangerous for us to confront. But it is he who will give the finality to the negotiations now beginning, and it is our apparent failure to know him that gives him the quality of a trap for us.

THESE NEGOTIATIONS, in fact, are only the most recent in a series of traps for the unwary, into almost all of which *seriatim*, we have stepped slack-jawed and arms akimbo during the past 18 years.

In 1950-53, Korean War years, the Truman Administration in a shock reaction to the communization of China and to open aggression in Korea chose to treat the French battles then going on in Vietnam as a southern flank of the Korean front. We thought we faced an Asia-wide attack by Communists under Stalin's orders.

This interpretation suited the mood of our domestic politics at that time; it fit the image of a monolithic Soviet bloc bent on expansion by force of arms coupled with opportunistic use of economic chaos to rally class warfare. This interpretation of the Soviet threat, gradually defined by Americans, including many of the most thoughtful, between 1944 and 1949, was reasonable, well documented in Europe and Korea, and gratifyingly

clean cut. In terms of Vietnam, it happened also to be wrong. Trap Number One.

In 1950-53, as for five years before, Vietnam was in revolt under Marxist leaders; but they were local communists, not under direction from either Russia or China; and the revolt itself was supported by many non-communist nationalist and even democratic factions. When the U.S. gave aid to the French to oppose the red leaders of rebellion, it was also helping oppose the non-red following of rebellion. To support France was to support colonialism. Trap Number Two.

IN 1953-54, Geneva Conference years, the Eisenhower Administration took a bold stand to quarantine Asian Communism. Having won the 1952 elections partly on issues of Democrats' reputed "softness on Communism" (for the "loss" of China, the "loss" of North Korea, the fates of Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, the Yalta "sell-out"), Republicans had to support a non-Communist government in Saigon, to prolong the division of that country as of Korea in order to contain the great beast and to accord with the American political temper which the Republicans had helped to create with their election simplicities.

The crusading fervor with which we then set out to save Southern Vietnam also prolonged and deepened the mistake of the Democratic administration, taking Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh at the same value the Truman People had placed on them. It also put us in position of replacing the imperialist and colonialist French as bulwarks against Ho's movement, which still retained the support of many non-Communist patriots. Trap Number Three.

Ho Chi Minh was busy killing, imprisoning and exiling many of his former allies in the North; but in the South where he was known for his loyalty in war rather than for his perfidy and fanaticism in victory, we made his movement appear still to be the home of anti-imperialists. The very foreignness, the alien source of the support for the Saigon government contrasted in the Vietnamese imagination with the domestic sources of Hanoi's power and its record as a liberator from outside powers. By continuing to misinterpret Hanoi as a puppet of Moscow, we so acted as to make Saigon seem very like a puppet of Washington in the eyes of its own people, especially the educated minority. Trap Number Four.

THERE IS a point at which a mistake ceases to be just a mistake and becomes part of reality. At that point, objections to it and regrets over it, however well-founded and valid, become irrelevant. The world shaped by the error comes to have validity and imperatives of its own. The arrival of Ngo Dinh Diem, under American favor, as Chief of State



Mr. Albert Mann is an associate professor of history. His special field of interest is China and the Far East, but his historical competence extends into American and European history as well. He has participated in several campus discussions on academic freedom and the war in Vietnam, and today's article is his first contribution to the Journeyman. Mr. Mann is currently finishing his thesis work for a Ph.D. at the U.W.

(later President) of South Vietnam began the serious construction of effectual government in that country. The infusion of money, advice and material from the U.S. aided in creating a viable economy, administration, military, educational system. We had backed an equivocal ally and helped create a dubious government; but the government was a fact and was an ally.

We had drawn our line of containment in Vietnam, on poor understanding of issues, in a place where it was embarrassing in peace and vulnerable to war and subversion, embarrassingly difficult also to defend; but it was a line, and the prestige of America rode on it, as America's enemies knew. Unfortunately, our habit of falling into traps survived.

In 1955-60, the years of South Vietnam's national consolidation, the Eisenhower Administration committed the U.S. to support the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem in Saigon. Because Diem was a patriot, nationalist and anti-French conspirator, and because he successfully unified the country against corrupt gangs and divisive sects, we seemed to have redeemed our mistake in drawing a line of containment in so difficult a place as Vietnam and in so dubious a cause as that of the French before us.

BUT DIEM was also a Catholic Christian in a country of a non-Christian majority, a mandarin elitist in a country with an increasing middle class and intelligentsia, who were demanding a share in government that the mandarin was unwilling to give up, a paternalist in a country increasingly turning toward participatory government. Our support tended to identify the man with the country at a time when the country was beginning to draw away from the man and from his vision of it. Trap Number Five. We failed to use influence to qualify Diem's one-man rule (more exactly, in

the old Asian mandarin pattern, one-family rule) until too late for any alternative to have formed.

In 1960-63, years of intensifying guerrilla war and political crisis, we continued to support Diem *pro-forma* but simultaneously to encourage, with neither candor nor honesty, those of his domestic enemies who were non-Communist. Trap Number Six. Diem had forced them underground and had prevented them from generating a true political opposition. They became factional, divided and divisive, plotters rather than politicians.

Most of them represented various elites—the educated, the rich, the army or civil service—without sufficiently wide popularity. They lacked unity and charisma, stability and popularity, though some of them were honest, patriotic and even able as individuals.

IN 1963-65, the Years of Crisis, we supported the plotters who overthrew Diem and his family. We trusted them to create stable government when they could not agree among themselves to share or use power; we trusted them to democratize the state when most of them were elites or interest-group members and feared for their roles against all rivals; we trusted them to popularize the resistance to the guerrilla war and to win it on their own resources when they were remote from the masses, divided, were ineffectual and sometimes corrupt. Traps Number Seven, Eight and Nine.

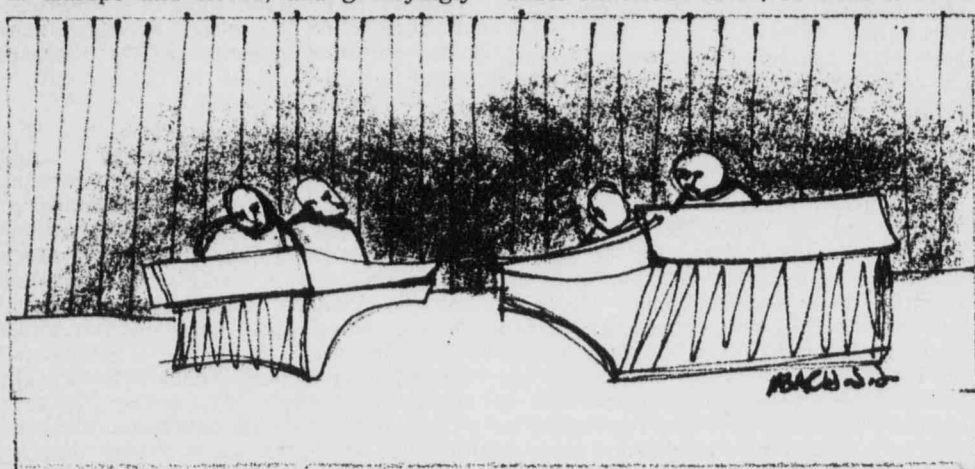
We had accepted, in the Kennedy years, the premise that we could only help those who would help themselves without our giving up the—by then—long-standing commitment to contain Communism in Vietnam. We asked the divided, elitist, amateur politicians to remake themselves, their country and the war, to become all at once new men: knowing, masterful, popular, responsible, and victorious—in the presence of the enemy, and under fire.

In these years when the enemy was escalating the war and approaching victory over our patronesses in Saigon, we further asked the rulers of South Vietnam to work their miracles without embarrassing us by relying on us, yet we increased our military commitment to them from a few hundred to almost 17,000 "advisers." Trap Number Ten. One does not sensibly improve his position, or save his face, or meet the needs of disengagement by stepping up aid to the hopeless and the visibly failing.

WHEN IN 1965 the American Government finally realized that the war was being won by the National Liberation Front, armed and guided by the government of Hanoi and by personnel drawn freely from the Lao Dong Party of North Vietnam, Washington was forced to weigh the consequences of further action. If Diem had succeeded in maintaining his government without alienating his natural allies among the non-Communists of the South, or if he had failed utterly and early, we might have withdrawn easily. If we had not moralistically opposed Diem's family's grosser political crudities and so helped underwrite his fall and the governments which followed his, we might have abandoned the latter. If we had not drawn a line of containment against Asian spread of Communist governments, we might have drawn one elsewhere in 1965. None of these helpful alternatives had materialized.

South Vietnam had become a going concern under Diem. The U.S. had sustained it, intervened to help shape it, tried to reform and purify it, and committed its honor and policy to it, and it was dying. Its enemies were our enemies. Their propaganda was making

(Continued on page 6)



Fanatic Fever Breeds Belligerence

By TIM DECKER

"No one can be at the same time a sincere Catholic and a true Socialist."
—Pius XI, *Quad Anno* (1931)

"We do not want black supremacy to hover over America! We MUST NOT and CANNOT afford to let Communists integrate our schools. Every Native-born, White, Gentile Protestant American citizen should be in this organization—multitudes are coming in, why not you?"

—from a pamphlet entitled: *Mystic Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Ride Again*
Little Rock, Arkansas

"Join with us to organize the workers into one all-powerful Socialist Industrial Union to back up the Socialist ballot by taking possession of the instruments of production and locking out the outvoted, usurping capitalist class."

—*Weekly People* (October 7, 1967)

THE three passages above have one basic thing in common: they reflect a particular ideological bias. From this arises a second bond of similarity—they are all equally absurd. Realizing that it is a breach of logical and intellectual etiquette to make such a blatant condemnation without attempting to support the statement, I offer as my only defense the apparent validity of my position. For purposes of clarity, however, it will be of benefit to examine the characteristics of ideology and why it results in the type of thinking exemplified above.

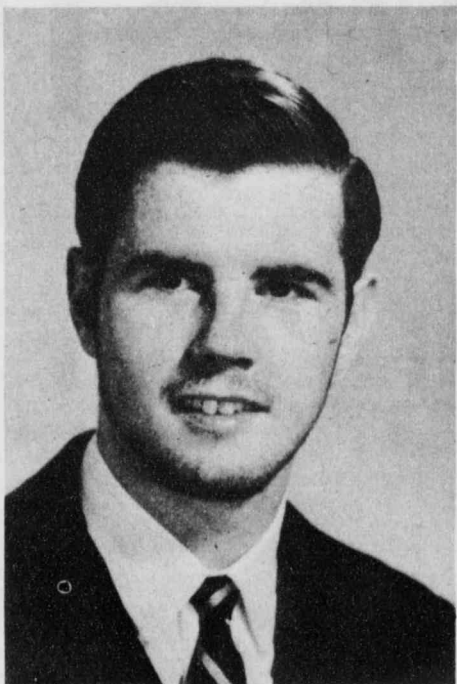
First of all, an ideology is a structural framework of doctrines, opinions, or ways of thinking of a particular group or class. In this respect, ideology is necessarily anti-individualistic. When an individual holds a certain position as the best course of action for himself, while at the same time being aware of its possible fallibilities and non-application for others, he maintains not an ideology but merely a personal preference.

It is only when he attempts to persuade others of the inherent superiority of his ideas that he becomes an ideologist. Whether or not he succeeds in this task is non-essential. The major factor is that a set of beliefs has become more important than the right of any one individual to embrace whichever ideas he chooses.

IT IS at this point that an ideology most often tends toward dogmatism, for unless a person were convinced that his ideas were better or truer than opposing views, there would be no real reason for him to attempt to persuade others to his position, and once again the matter would become one of personal preference.

The active manifestation of dogmatism is fanaticism; by fanaticism I mean the attitude that some one thing is so overwhelmingly important that all other matters are meaningless in comparison.

But what is the cause of fanaticism? Why does man find it necessary to adopt and dogmatically defend and promulgate a particular ideology? The basic reason is fear which arises from insecurity. The prime example of this is man's realization of his own mortality. The uncertainty that arises from continuous



A senior political science major, Tim Decker will graduate in June. The 21-year-old native of Minot, North Dakota spent his junior year at the University of Fribourg in Fribourg, Switzerland, as an exchange student under the auspices of Georgetown University. The curriculum included Sovietology, one of Decker's major interests. Immediate plans for the future are being decided by the Selective Service. His outside interests include skiing and golf.

susceptibility to death is frightening, and even more devastating to man is the concept that he can be killed. Through the advances of science and the institution of various laws man has managed to increase his chances of leading a longer life.

BUT THERE remain today two things which neither medicine nor legislation has managed to eliminate: war and the ultimate impossibility of total escape from death. To compensate for this, and in an attempt to alleviate his fears as much as possible, man turns to ideology. In war this supplies a *cause celebre* for death. If people can convince themselves that they are fighting and dying for the forces of unlimited good against unlimited evil, they believe for some reason that death has become no longer meaningless. They have taken one idea, one belief, and made it so overwhelmingly important that everything else (even death) has become less important in comparison.

Thus, not only their own deaths, but also the deaths of enemy forces and even civilians appear excusable. It is this type of thinking that has inspired the Hebrew and Islamic "Holy War" concept, the Christian Crusades, and the "better dead than Red" mentality. To quell the fear arising from the final inevitability of death, religion has supplied man with the concepts of spiritual life after death and physical reincarnation. In effect, both circumvent the problem of death, and the accompanying fears, by denying it. For if life inevitably goes on, even in a different form, death, and the uncertainty surrounding it, does not really exist.

Not only the fear of death, but insecurity in any form can turn man toward ideology and fanaticism. It is not a genuine feeling of superiority, but rather exactly the opposite, that most often makes people racists. They have a basic feeling of inferiority which they attempt to alleviate by fanatically adopting an ideology that caters to this inadequacy.

AT VARIOUS times in history entire communities have tried to eradicate their own religious failings and doubts through such things as the Inquisitions and witch burnings. This is evident even today in the popular attitude toward people like Madalyn Murray. Out of fear and a feeling of uncertainty, people band together and purport an ideology—hoping this will provide them with mental and physical security. Since opposing views or ideologies threaten this sense of security, there arises a hatred

of those who do not hold the same views. Inasmuch as Madalyn Murray is a constant reminder to religious people of the possibility that they could be wrong, she is a threat to the security that religion has supposedly given to them. So, in direct contradiction to the very thing they are defending, they hate her.

Conversely, because religion raises doubts as to the validity of her beliefs, Mrs. Murray also finds it necessary to hate. It is a curious fact that most fanatics hate those who embody exactly that which they say they have no desire to be.

A racist should have no cause to hate another person if he really feels superior to him. Likewise, truly educated and cultured people should feel no reason to hate those they consider less educated and less cultured. If genuinely convinced of the superiority of his beliefs, there is nothing (short of open physical threat) that should make a Communist hate a Capitalist, or vice-versa. The interesting paradox of ideology is that it springs from and produces the very thing it tries to alleviate: fear.

THE FANATIC pursuance of an ideology produces not only hatred, but intolerance of those who hold opinions contrary to ours. Intolerance is particularly dangerous in the spheres of politics and religion because, in addition to social pressure, it is afforded the possibility of manifesting itself in civil and ecclesiastical law. Intolerance of opposing views is glaringly evident in the Soviet

Union, but no more so than in the United States—as witnessed by the McCarthy hearings of the early '50's, the effects of which still remain, even in our legal system. What can be said of lack of toleration in Communist China is equally valid in Nationalist China. And the political intolerance in Poland and Latvia is no worse than that in Spain and Paraguay.

But perhaps the most distressing fact of the hatred and intolerance arising from ideological fanaticism is that it frequently results in a "holy war" against the non-believer (whether the non-believer be Christian, Moslem, Communist, segregationist, or whatever), a war launched against some "devil" with whom a righteous people can never co-exist, a devil that must be exorcised if the world is to be saved. The conservatives take up a holy crusade to save the South Vietnamese from the N.L.F. or the Cubans from Castro, while the liberals are interested in freeing South Africa from its Afrikaner leadership.

History has seen too many holy wars with each producing the fanatics against whom the next crusade must be fought. Too often people have taken a set of principles and made them more important than the people for whom they were adopted, the result being hatred, embitterment, and the fruitless loss of life.

PERHAPS THE best summation of the situation surrounding ideology was made by Oscar Wilde: "A thing is not true merely because a man dies for it."

Practice-theory

By FR. FRANK COSTELLO, S.J.

I HAD just agreed to write this article on U.S. Catholics and peace for the Journeyman when an article by Msgr. Joseph Gallagher appeared in a national Catholic weekly. The article said so much better what I wanted to say that I have presumed to borrow liberally from it.

During the final session of Vatican II the bishops of the U.S. overwhelmingly endorsed one of the most fiercely anti-war documents in Christian history. According to the "Constitution On the Church in the Modern World," mankind has reached an hour of supreme crisis; nuclear holocaust is truly possible and must be averted; everyone must evaluate war with an entirely new mind.

Vatican II further affirms that even in a war in self-defense not all actions are permissible. Expressly forbidden are morally wrong is saturation bombing of populated areas. In addition the church teaches that a form of world authority must be created and world disarmament must be achieved. Such in brief are some of the teachings of Vatican II on war and peace.

IN CONTRAST to these teachings are the attitudes of U.S. Catholics. Most public opinion polls which classify Americans by religious affiliations reveal that U.S. Catholics are the most "hawkish" section of the population. What would account for this attitude? One reason given in the studies I have seen is the fact that Catholics in higher proportion are conscious of their immigrant origins and, fearing lest they be suspected of being less American than their neighbors, have developed a tradition of bending over backwards to prove their patriotism.

Secondly, there is the tradition of anti-Communism among American Catholics. Early in the 1930's Catholics were properly warned about the dangers of Communism by an encyclical of Pius XI. This excellent document was the subject of an intense study in each parish of the country in a well-organized effort to educate the Catholics of America. I can well recall my parents' Catholic neighbors of our home parish coming to our home weekly to study the encyclical in detail. No educational effort so intensive has been attempted since, and many millions of Catholics are basing their entire

Christian internationalism on this document studied 35 years ago. The encyclical on Communism was timely and needed. The problem is that a great deal has happened in the past 35 years but no comparable effort to update Christian internationalism has taken place.

John XXIII's "Mater et Magistra" and "Pacem in Terris" were encyclicals of equal importance to Pius XI's, but John's teaching has been largely ignored by the same Catholics who studied anti-Communism in the '30's. There has been a huge lag between theory and practice in Christian internationalism.

Compounding this lag is the failure of American Catholics generally to know and accept the teaching of Vatican II. Here I feel that one could have expected the American bishops to have made intensive efforts to bridge the understanding gap. For the most part they have ignored the doctrines they themselves developed in the last session of Vatican II. Unfortunately the nationalistic statements of the late Cardinal Spellman were widely taken as representative of the U.S. hierarchy. When the Cardinal, fresh from the final session of Vatican II, made his statement: "My country, right or wrong," not a single American bishop spoke out in dissent or even to question the Cardinal's meaning. Some draft boards, citing Cardinal Spellman's statement, question whether a man can be both a Catholic and a conscientious objector. Yet Vatican II expressly recommends that countries provide humane laws for those who cannot in conscience support war. What have the American bishops done to assist these millions troubled in conscience by the Vietnam war?

THE GENERAL silence of the U.S. bishops on the diocesan level, would leave the impression that there are no moral issues facing U.S. Catholics as their country drafts them and asks them to participate in the Vietnam conflict.

Bishop John J. Dougherty, chairman of the Bishops' Committee on World Peace and Justice, has lately admitted that the hierarchy in the U.S. has not provided sufficient leadership in the peace movement. "And in this," he said, "I would include the entire church leadership. It would seem to me that we should be champions of peace as dis-



Outdated, Militaristic Policy Decried

By DR. WARREN B. JOHNSON

A FRIEND of mine use to say, "The trouble with American foreign policy is that we can't tell the difference between a hungry man and a Communist organizer." Like all generalizations, this tends towards oversimplification, but at the same time it contains a good bit of truth especially when one takes a hard look at official United States behavior toward the world since the end of World War II.

In most of our actions since 1945 we've identified the major force as Communism when the real push has been nationalism and anti-colonialism. We've seen only Communist subversives at work instead of the forces of social revolution. We've seen Communists exploit a situation, but in rare instances did they initially cause it.

This year may prove to be a landmark year in foreign relations. We've seen great interest created in overall U.S. foreign policy—highlighted by the Secretary of State's appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The worried looks on the faces of committee members reflected the concern that is in the minds of many Americans. Something is wrong with our foreign policy and it has been wrong for a long time. Re-appraisal is long overdue, and it should be given the highest type of priority.

TODAY, when Americans think of foreign affairs they think of Vietnam. This is only natural since that tragic, bleeding

corner of the Asian continent has us completely tied up in knots. A country containing five percent of the Asian population occupies almost 100 percent of our effort and resources.

Soon (we hope) Vietnam will be defused and eventually it will be solved. Then we need to do two things: first, find out why it happened, and secondly, make certain it doesn't happen again.

In our analysis it seems to me we are going to be forced to answer a double-barrelled question: did Vietnam represent a logical step in U.S. foreign policy or was it simply another in a series of *ad hoc* responses to individual international events?

THE ANSWER could be "yes" to both parts of the question. Given our policy at the end of World War II, "yes, it was logical" and "yes, we did respond in an *ad hoc* manner to events since then."

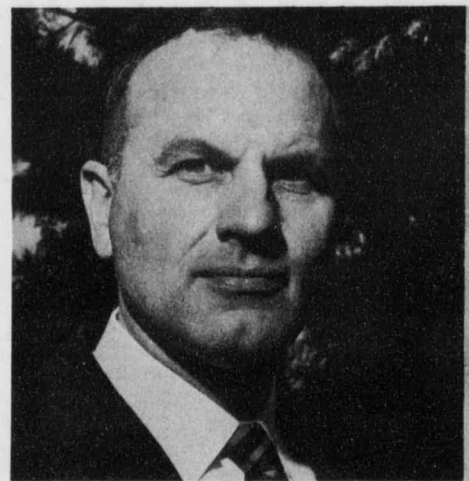
This brings me to the central core of the problem—we need a broad and deep reassessment of our foreign policy. The world has changed since the late 1940's but our basic foreign policy hasn't. We've remained too rigid when the world situation has called for flexibility. We've reacted too much to the challenges of others instead of exercising the leadership that a great power should. We've spent too much time putting out fires around the globe instead of promoting a program of fire prevention. We talk too much about the Communist challenge instead of promoting the democratic initiative.

Our foreign policy has been entirely too military. There was a time in the late '40's when our foreign aid, for example, had a much higher non-military content. Since the Korean conflict the balance has shifted overwhelmingly to the military side.

IN VIETNAM, where political and economic reform is said to be paramount to any real stabilization, the pacification program is dominated by the military. Military people may be talented and sincere but their training and interest is first of all military. They shouldn't be expected to operate in the political-social-economic arena.

In the past the military approach has caused problems. Witness the India-Pakistan War of 1965—fought with American arms supplied under the SEATO agreement. Also the \$46.1 billion in military hardware sold around the world since 1949 (\$12.1 billion since 1961) has gone to such trouble spots as the Middle East, Congo and to Latin America. There are fewer civilian governments in Latin America than there were ten years ago. Whether or not our military aid has made these strong-man takeovers possible is arguable but, the fact remains, we continue to supply them with arms. The argument that if we didn't sell these arms the Communists would is no argument at all.

Our foreign policy has had too much cold war orientation. We Americans seem to have great difficulty in recognizing the fact that the world has changed



Dr. Warren Johnson is assistant professor in the history department. His field of interest is American domestic and diplomatic history as well as modern British history. He has stated his opposition to America's Far East foreign policy in campus forums, and in today's article he presents his views in light of recent developments. Dr. Johnson received his Ph.D from the U.W.

since the old Stalin days of the Berlin Airlift and the Iron Curtain. We've created an image for ourselves of Communist nations marching in perfect ideological lockstep across the international landscape under the hammer and sickle. At the recent Budapest International Communist Party Conference only seven Communist countries showed up and one of these (Rumania) walked out in a huff. Several did not appear because they feared offending Communist China if they appeared too friendly to Russia. Another "unity" conference is set for Moscow later this year. Whether any more or less unity will be exhibited is anyone's guess.

WHEN THE Iron Curtain fell over Czechoslovakia in 1948, the West all but wrote off that once-democratic nation as ever being free again. The Czechs are probably far from free right now but their 1968 May Day observance came closer to resembling a "maypole dance" than it did a glorification of the state. Observers noted a preponderance of "smiles and flowers" and an absence of tanks and troops.

But, you say, "we can't trust them." "They're probably up to something devils." This is very possible, but we'd better first find out what is going on. We might need to change our approach. We still insist on driving the 1949-model NATO. We forget that the Kaiser, the Hudson, and the Packard were around then too. And the now-defunct Edsel was still in planning stage.

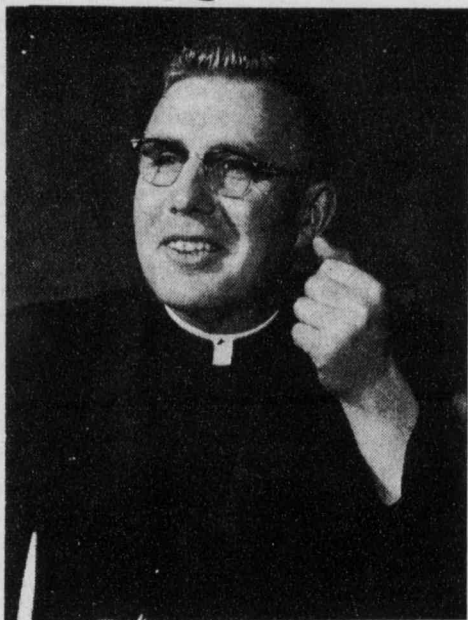
Europe has changed greatly since the NATO-Marshall Plan days of the '40's and '50's. The Common Market has come into being, a lively trade has developed between East and West Germany, the Italians have built an automobile plant in the Soviet Union—to say nothing of the rise of DeGaulle. Two NATO allies, Greece and Turkey, almost went to war over Cyprus. And the Greeks, whom we saved from a Communist takeover in the late '40's, have now been taken over by a right-wing junta of colonels—armed, incidentally, by ourselves. Yugoslavia, the base of Communist operations against the Greeks in the '40's, has been the leader of polycentrism within the Communist Bloc nations. And still we persist in many of our ideas and methods which began to be outdated even 15 years ago.

ALL TOO OFTEN our foreign policy has been in the form of a reaction. Whether it is landing ten thousand troops in Santo Domingo or calling up the Reserves for the Pueblo Crisis our action has been in response to somebody else's initiative. It is basically negative rather than positive and it usually is over-reaction. It may very well cause the enemy to pause and reflect but it also gives our allies gray hairs and confuses and demoralizes the Stock Exchange. What is even worse, any real attempt to work out a long-range policy is pushed aside for the *ad hoc* "managed crisis" approach.

(Continued on page 6)

Love Thy Enemy

Lag Disturbs Priest



Fr. Frank Costello, S.J., has served S.U. both as a teacher and an administrator. He has been academic vice president and executive vice president. Currently Father is acting head of the department of political science. He is an active campaigner for peace and often contributes to campus panel discussions on peace and Vietnam. Father received his Ph.D. from Georgetown University.

ciples of Christ. And I don't think we are getting enough leadership in the specific target areas of the efforts that are made for peace, the causes of peace, the philosophy of peace, the Christian attitude of peace, the whole gospel message of peace."

To fill in the record, the Catholic bishops did issue a statement on the Vietnam War in November 1966, five years after the U.S. involvement. It was an excellent statement as far as it went, if only that it repeated basic ideas of Vatican II. The bishops spoke of a need for "personal example, study, discussions and lectures" by way of creating the basic climate for peace. Would a survey reveal that much has been done to undertake this task? Has the same

degree of energy and insistence been used on this peace program as has been used on anti-birth control and anti-abortion programs?

THE STATEMENT continues: "It is clearly our duty to insist that all the issues involved in the Vietnam conflict be kept under moral scrutiny. No one is free to evade his personal responsibility by leaving it entirely to others to make moral judgments." Would it not have been helpful for the Catholic Conference of Bishops to undertake the collection and transmission of dependable data about the war so that individual Catholics could be assisted in meeting this grave responsibility.

In conclusion the bishops repeated the obvious. "In the conduct of any war there must be moral limits." Should not the best available theologian be engaged by the U.S. bishops to spell out more clearly just what these moral limits are?

Monsignor Gallagher believes that the general lack of peace leadership from the bishops of the U.S. results largely from their negative pre-occupation with Communism. Unquestionably, Communists are responsible for evils as monstrous as man has ever experienced. But, I, for one, do not want the bishops to keep telling me how bad the Communists are—I know that only too well.

I do expect something positive from the spokesmen of the gospel in this age of crisis. I want from them a theology of the enemy and a theology of reconciliation and some occasional reminders that Christians are supposed to love their enemies, even if their names are Ho Chi Minh and Viet Cong.

I WANT to be reminded of Pope John's words: "A man who has fallen into error does not cease to be a man. He never forfeits his personal dignity; and that is something which must always be taken into account."

I want some understanding of why people become Communists and of the obligation of the wealthy nations to care about the rest of the world where ten thousand people die each day from starvation and malnutrition.

In short, I do not want directives from the Church as much as direction. I do not expect or desire either political or military judgments from the Church, but rather a reminder that the teachings of

Christ are and must be relevant to the problems of 1968. I am concerned that the silence of American Catholics and the reluctance of the leadership of the Church to face up to the conscience problems raised by the Vietnam tragedy are but further indications of the trend to irrelevancy.

WE FACE the frightening consideration, not that Christianity might cease to exist, but that it cease to be relevant. Time magazine reflected on this trend to Christian irrelevancy in its issue of April 12, 1968. "Despite all the yearning for spirituality that may exist in the average American church, it is questionable how many Church-goers can and do live up to the ideal. The stratified irrelevance of the established church, whether Catholic or Protestant, is a major reason for the growth of . . . 'the underground church'—informal *ad hoc* gatherings of Christian, who cross over and above denominational lines to celebrate improvised eucharists in each others' homes and study Scripture or theology together . . . [There is the] danger that institutional Christianity without an extraordinary amount of reform will end up as a monumental irrelevancy."

"Time" went on to say that many Christians look forward to an age when the church will survive in large parts of the world in a type of diaspora—a scattered few, a hidden remnant. "It is conceivable that Christianity is headed toward an era in which its status will be akin to that of the despised minority who proclaimed faith in the one God against the idolatry of the Roman Empire. To be sure the Christian burden in the future will be different than that in the past: less to proclaim Jesus by word than to follow him in deed and loving service. It may prove a perilous course, but the opportunity is great: the courage and zeal of that first despised minority changed the history of the world."

Gilbert Keith Chesterton once said that Christianity had not been tried and found wanting, but found hard and not tried. The moral imperatives for Christians in the face of the problems of war and peace are the most obvious examples of Christianity being found hard and not tried.

Know Thy Enemy:

Another Trap Set at Peace Talks

(Continued from page 3)

point of their success, maintaining that they had beaten containment, that guerrilla war led by Communists and supported by all reform groups could defeat the West anywhere in the world, that Nato, Marshall Plan, and the whole apparatus of non-Communist alliances and reconstructions could be undermined by violence.

In 1965, then, as the late Konrad Adenauer said to an American correspondent, "Johnson had to eat the soup Kennedy cooked for him." The former German Chancellor was unfair to President Kennedy; he should have added Eisenhower and Truman to the kitchen staff. The U.S., caught in its commitments by the very fact that they had been succeeding in their objects until they were opposed by gunfire, took over management of the war and most of the fighting. Simple people, of whom every nation has many, call such action "escalation" (unless it is the other side that does it). In fact, it was the only course open to us and the only step we had taken in 15 years that smacked of rational understanding of the situation and its options.

It would be good to be able to say that we fell into no more traps after 1965. It would be equally good to say that sin is a myth, and all lovers are true. The following is a partial list, without numbers.

The war, and the morale of the enemy fighting it, derived from many causes: nationalist feelings, economic desperation of peasantry, political ambition of

intellectuals, class antagonisms, disappointed hopes, aborted reforms, unkept promises of reform, impossible hopes of betterment, even the rage of grief fed by war itself. We have approached it as a problem in arms, subject to solution by guns alone. We have repeated the error of the French, the Saigon governments, and the previous three American Administrations.

THE ENEMY has seen the war, correctly, as a complex of causes which all point to politics: he solves it by telling each unhappy man the lie he wants to hear—the peasant that he will have land, the intellectual that he will have power, the worker that he will have affluence, the nationalist that he will have a modern patriotic government, even the merchant that he can have stability and the Buddhist that he can have spiritual influence (or monopoly) under a National Liberation Front government and in eventual unity with Hanoi. He tells all people that they can have peace—but only under the N.L.F. Thus he makes War a precondition for peace. To his own cadres, the enemy glorifies war and justifies violence.

We have made the war seem an aberration to ourselves, the Vietnamese and the world. We have, properly, become ashamed of ourselves for using violence. We have avoided the intervention of South Vietnamese political and social life by which we might have levered Saigon into meaningful reform. Thus we have restricted the bulk of our work to

fighting, without promise of a better post-war Vietnam. The enemy has spent his whole effort fighting, but has attached specific goals to battle. We hold the war a consequence of politics; he holds politics a function of war.

We now enter negotiations secure in the notion that we have failed and are guilty of innocent blood, pathetically eager that the enemy shall make peace on honorable (or tolerable) terms and sure he must want it. Each of these ideas is wrong.

AS IN ALL previous traps we have entered in Vietnam, the incipient peace negotiations find us balanced between our vision of the enemy and our political balances at home. We are, it would seem, tired of war, bored with it, troubled by its economic consequences, and increasingly ashamed of our role in it. North Vietnam, the heart of the enemy's power, is untired, exhilarated, untroubled and enthusiastic. Its leaders and, through propaganda, its people are convinced that they are in the presence of a beaten enemy. How came this to pass, and what does all this signify for negotiations and for peace?

American chagrin is its own complex story. Everyone has his pet explanation. I think the interplay of domestic politics with the imperatives of policy has much to do with it, and I think the American news media has also. The media—the Tom Wickers, Eric Sevareids and Walter Lippmanns of the world—reflect our folk values of war and peace; war must be morally impeccable to be worth fighting, war must have the character of Crusade, only angelic causes are worth defending with American blood or conscience, peace must reflect a moral victory to be worth a war to secure it, all men, even the most vicious, regard peace as a norm and war as an exception and an evil, treaties are solemn legal obligations which secure peace and are obeyed by signatories.

But the other side does not agree to any of this. As Mao Tse-tung is quoted in his own little red book, "People say 'This suffering is really intolerable, the situation cannot go on like this.' But I say on the contrary, the situation is excellent." All conditions, to such men—and the leaders of Hanoi are just exactly such men—are politically purposeful. Suffering and death, and the causes of suffering and death, are good if they serve the ends of revolution. Treaties are to be observed when they tend to help revolution and ignored so far as possible when they hinder it. Thus Hanoi calls on nationalists to aid in the fight against America but destroyed its own after the victory over the French. Thus the Geneva accords were totally ignored by North Vietnam while it was protesting the partial violation of them by South Vietnam.

UNTIL WE learn that the enemy views neither violence nor law as we view them, we shall continue to fall into traps of his preparation. In the same way, until we learn the issues of politics and the conditions which move men to action in Asia, we shall fall into traps of circumstance.

Our most serious danger now is that in an election year following a wrenching war experience we shall fail to realize that a peace made on the cheap will cost us more prestige and security and, ultimately, money and blood, than a closely argued and enforced compromise. Having played on our consciences, the enemy will now try for our hopes. He will try to embarrass us during negotiations by pressing the war with his own forces while crying "escalation" and "bad faith" if we respond in kind. Yet if we yield to this kind of blackmail, he will trumpet our disgrace and our abandonment of allies and dependents all over Asia.

We should thank our contemporaries, the active Communists of Asia, for having discovered and having tried their best to teach the world that rarest of things, a new truth: peace and the approaches to peace can be a continuation of war by other means. The Chinese expression of this revelation, "Ta-ta, tan-tan," or "Talk-and-fight," is well enough known to make the idea seem like a Chinese Communist invention; but it is not. Talk-and-fight is, instead, a natural,

reasonable contribution by self-taught amateurs to the art of war. It is derived from empirical observation, refined by common sense, applied for tactical reasons as a diplomatic reinforcement of battlefronts. The talk, i.e., negotiations, makes peace temptingly near, makes the enemy draw farther from the obligation of war, makes his further commitment virtually unthinkable, limits his options.

The fight, in any degree of escalation, remains the option of the Communist party, to be applied for both psychological and military reasons against both the Americans and the Vietnamese. The bargaining position of the Americans is to be weakened by an increasing tempo of victory which their negotiating posture makes it hard for them to prevent by strong fighting. An atmosphere of peace, an impression of Communist triumph, are to be created simultaneously. The enemy is to be at once humiliated before others and made ashamed of himself if he tries to prevent this happening.

NOW OUR NEWS media, especially our commentators and pundits, have cooperated unwittingly with the enemy first by publicizing and then, with increasing stridency, by joining the war protest movement in the U.S. The conscience of this movement is exquisite, but so long as its moral standards remain irrelevant to the enemy they will not be deeply relevant to the war or its issues. One does not make the tiger into a safe pet by the power of positive thinking or cat-love. Safety depends considerably on what is in the mind and heart of the tiger. We are already treated to the second installment of this moral appeal in the wild optimism which has been reported, and encouraged, by the media over the start of what the enemy will be sure to try to make long and humiliating negotiations.

The media are joined by the politicians, who have been responsible for some of the most disastrous misreading of enemies and conditions in the history of our foreign policy.

It was as wrong for Mr. Truman to have portrayed (or believed) the Soviet bloc to be a monolith in 1950 as for Mr. Eisenhower to have accused him of being overgentle with it. It was as wrong for our leaders to look for goats in Moscow as to look for sheep in Hanoi. The most disastrous myth currently being peddled on the left is that, in some unexplained way, the Cold War has ended. No one of the many Communist governments, except possibly the new one in Prague thinks any such thing. The goal for each of them is still the furthering of party control in countries not yet possessed of that blessing. It is a mistake to think they all obey one masterful, diabolic commander in chief; but it is right to suppose that they still agree in wishing our institutions and those of our friends no good.

The American stand in Vietnam, however badly begun and ineptly pursued, has achieved some substantial rewards—the firming up of non-Communist governments in South and East Asia, the encouragement of liberals and nationalists in those areas, the interruption of the tactic of guerrilla war. All these processes are reversible if we now—by misinformation, misjudgment of enemies, moral discouragement, impatience, economic timidity—demand or accept the wrong kind of peace. We have blundered often, but we have not yet blundered fatally. There is still time and room for firmness and compromise—or time to defeat ourselves.

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Art Work—
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Military No Answer To Complex Problems

(Continued from page 5)

Somehow we seem to be hung up on what could be called the "Munich Syndrome." Because the Western nations failed to stand against the Nazis in 1938 we now over-react in the opposite extreme. Any kind of negotiation is equated with surrender. Because we were foolishly isolationist in the '30's we again over-react by involving ourselves everywhere. In doing this we run the risk of spreading our military and economic resources so thin that we become ineffective or we may bring on still another over-reaction from the American people—a new kind of isolationism brought on by disillusionment from too much world involvement.

We like to point with pride to the success of our tough policy in the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 without giving much credit to the good sense of Khrushchev for backing down. The lesson here is not that toughness always works but that the game is "nuclear chicken" and it's a dangerous one. Khrushchev paid for his miscalculation with his political life but he was lucky enough not to be purged in the oldtime way. We were also lucky that his successors were not more hawkish and hardline. But what about the next time our adversary is backed into a corner?

FOR ALL our lip service to "change" we seem to have forgotten our own history. We Americans are a product of revolution but there seems to be no people in the twentieth century less comfortable with revolution than ourselves. We acknowledge the revolutionary times but we have a fixation with defending the status quo throughout the world. Professor R. L. Prosterman of the University of Washington Law School, in a recently completed study for the Agency of International Development, has called for land reform as central to any permanent stabilization in Vietnam. This is nothing new—Americans, Europeans and Asians (including Vietnamese) have been urging this for years. But it does mean altering the status quo.

Americans are great salesmen and specialists in mass media but somehow we get trapped by our own huckster-type terminology into using meaningless phrases and, worse still, believing them. The list is almost endless—"massive retaliation," "brinkmanship," "liberation,"

"containment," "total victory," "wars of national liberation." The phrase "Free World" has been used and misused to the point of ridiculousness. "Win the cold war" is another catch phrase—as if the Russians would suddenly raise the white flag and give up. Or is the end of the cold war to be accomplished by beginning a hot one? Sloganeering is no substitute for clear policy.

We've allowed our policy to become too rigid and inflexible. There was a time in the '50's when "neutrality" was regarded as a dirty word. If you weren't for us you were against us. Part of the reason for this is the military orientation of our foreign policy. All too often we have allowed our military hardware to determine our foreign policy instead of allowing our policy to determine what hardware would be used. An example of this was our "massive retaliation" and "selective response" strategies of the '50's and early '60's. Our decision to build an anti-ballistic missile system for the '70's might be another example. Surely if our present predicament proves anything, it is that military power has its limits. A sledgehammer may be a powerful tool but it's no good against a swarm of mosquitoes.

ANY CRITIC of current U.S. foreign policy is always, sooner or later, given the ultimate denouncement—"well, what would you do?" This is supposed to silence criticism. It's the "if you're so smart, why aren't you rich" response. A critic is supposed to have a simple, instant, workable program ready to go—or else he is to shut up. The matter isn't quite that simple. Our policy has been 25 years in the making and it has proved to be stale. The first step in correcting a stale condition is to open a window and let in some fresh air.

Some people are worried about a national airing of foreign policy. They argue that foreign policy shouldn't be discussed openly and is best carried on in secret. Here the distinction needs to be made between foreign policy and diplomacy. Our long-range aims need to be hammered out and examined for flaws. A great nation should, and must be able to do this. If we think we'll convince the rest of the world of our strength by refusing to look at our weaknesses, we're only fooling ourselves.

Western Sprint Championships Today and Tomorrow:**South African Leads S.U. Crew**

Editor's note: At 10 a.m. today the S.U. crew will race in the first heat of the Western Sprint Championships at Seward Park. The other schools in the first heat are Stanford, Puget Sound and Long Beach.

By BOB PIGOTT

"Hey Jocko!" With words like these there is one crew member who lends a rare international flavor to SU's varsity rowing team.

Lindsay Janson Scott says he did not row the 6,000 miles to Seattle from his home in South Africa. He insists, however, on having rowed at least that far on Lake Washington the last two years while pulling the bow oar for the varsity eight.

BORN 21 YEARS ago in Boksburg, South Africa, Scott became known among the natives as the "Gary Player" of such sports as cricket, rugby, and track in which he set a high school javelin record. He decided to forsake the South African sunshine two years ago to study psychology at S.U. on an



LINDSAY SCOTT

educational visa.

Introduced by a crew member to attend a morning workout, Scott found himself thrust into the bow seat of a long slim craft that put South Africa's finest tribal canoes to shame. "It was bloody crazy," he said in brogue

characteristic of the inhabitants of the former English colony. "I was out of shape and totally unfamiliar with the craft."

Now in shape at a smallish, but rugged, 5 ft. 9 and 170 pounds, Scott has remained rooted to the bow seat of the varsity eight ever since. How does he feel about the mammoth crews he will face in the Western sprints this weekend? "Size is a definite advantage," he drawls. "However, this team believes in swinging togetha', and they have a lot of fight."

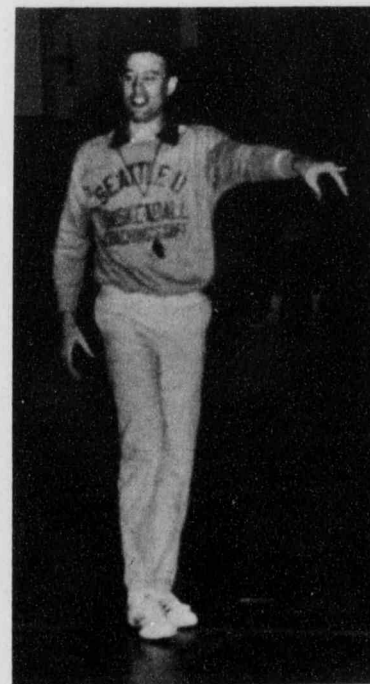
HIS FELLOW oarsmen may often have trouble deciphering the thick dialect that urges them on from the bow. There is, however, one common language they all know and respect—guts. For his physical enunciation of this one-word dialect, Scott was unanimously voted team captain by his teammates for the 1968 season.

The team will face its sternest test this weekend against the toughest crews the West Coast can produce. Scott and company hope to express their vocabulary with a capital G to finish first.

Tennis Team Ends Up 16-5

The Chieftain tennis team finished its regular season competition with two easy wins this week. The pair of victories brought the Chieftain racquetters' record to 16-5 for the year.

Monday it was S.U. over SPC, 8-1, and yesterday the Chiefs quieted Puget Sound 9-0.

SPORTS**May 22 Magic Day For Recruiting Coaches**

COACH BUCKWALTER

By TERRY ZAREMBA

When May 22 arrives the college coaches around the country will breathe a collective sigh of relief. That is the date that high school senior and junior college student-athletes will sign the national letter of intent. By signing this letter, the student-athlete agrees to compete in inter-collegiate athletics only for

a designated school.

S.U. BASKETBALL coach Bucky Buckwalter will be one of the relieved coaches. "Recruiting is a hassle," Buckwalter said Wednesday, "but we've got some pretty good boys coming here."

"We're still not sure about a couple of big boys that I sure would like to see come here." He said he preferred not to mention any names until after the actual signings.

THE U.W. HAS already released the names of athletes having signed letters of intent which are not binding nationally, but only for the member schools of the Great Eight Conference.

The U.W. basketball letter signers did not include many of the top local high school stars of this past season. It will be interesting to see how Coach Buckwalter fared in the search for future Chieftain basketball players.

A Phi O's Win Golf Tourney

Seven teams participated in the spring quarter intramural golf meet held last Friday at Ellenmore golf club in Tacoma. The A Phi O's won the meet by winning all six of their matches for a total of 12 points.

They were followed by the Trillos (9 points), Nads (8), Born Losers (4), Vice Squad (4), Sixth Floor (3) and Chambers (2). John Rassier of the Trillos and Jack Hanover of the A Phi O's shared medalist honors as they each shot a 79.

Team managers should turn in Round II tennis results by today. Also today is the last day to turn in rosters for the track meet coming up next Sunday.

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There will be a meeting of all the past season's soccer players at 3:30 p.m. Monday in the gym.

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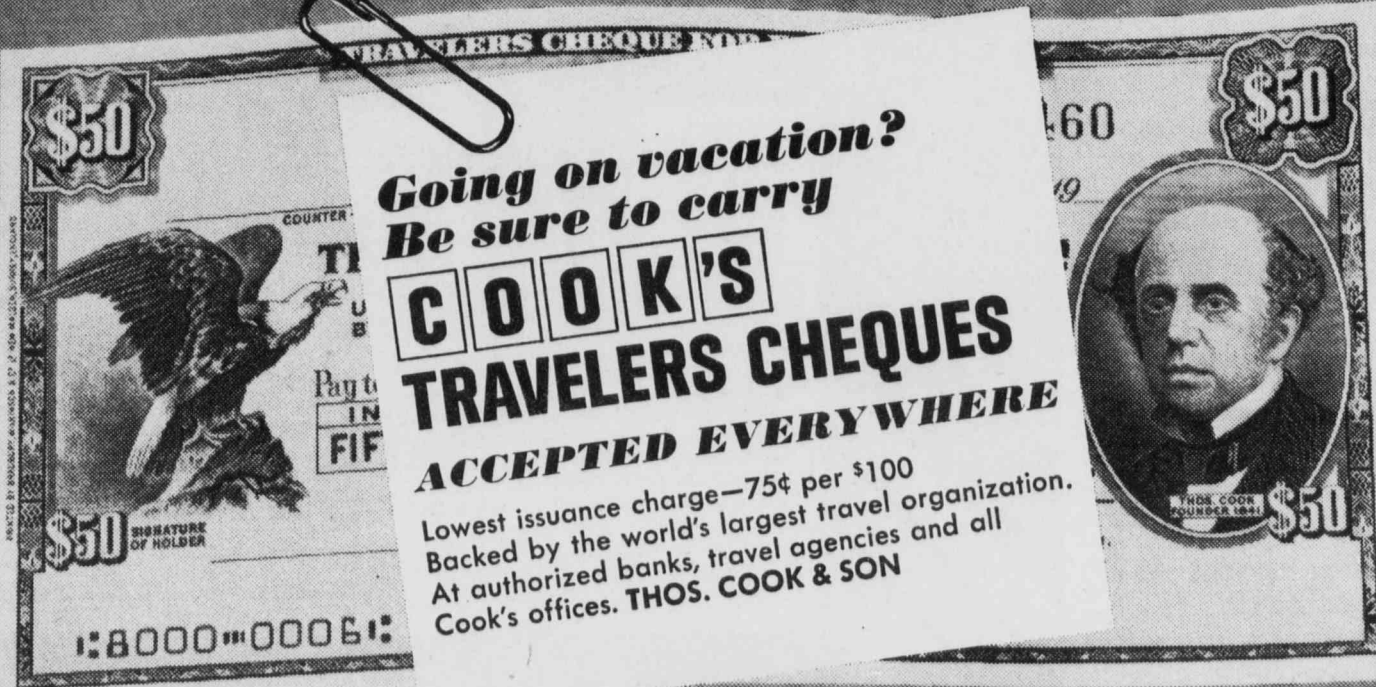
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Kennedy Seeks More Workers



KENNEDY STYLE: Ross Pritchard, legislative assistant to Sen. Robert Kennedy, talks to a meeting of Y.D.'s in the Chieftain.

Ross Pritchard, legislative assistant to Senator Robert Kennedy, appeared at a meeting of the Young Democrats Wednesday afternoon in the Chieftain lounge to spark enthusiasm for the up-coming Oregon primary.

Pritchard's plea, not unlike the one issued by Mary McCarthy last week, was to get as many S.U. Kennedy supporters

as possible to work in Portland this weekend as canvassers. He emphasized the influence that students have on the voters because of their ability to talk to them on a door-to-door basis as people.

Pritchard also stated that students were extremely effective in discovering, through their face-to-face confrontation with

the voters, the real issues in which the people are interested.

The legislative assistant attributed the recent Kennedy victory in the Indiana primary to the type of student aid which Kennedy supporters had admittedly copied from the McCarthy campaign.

As an added incentive to would-be Kennedy canvassers in Portland, Pritchard stated that the Senator would be there Friday night to meet with his student supporters.

CCD Teachers Plan Free Feed

The Confraternity for Christian Doctrine committee for deaf children will meet tomorrow at 2:30 p.m. in the library auditorium. Guest speakers, films, and demonstrations of techniques and projects will be presented, and a free lunch served. Kathi Rose, of Bellarmine 708, is in charge.

Mass Said

A concelebrated memorial Mass will be said for the late Dr. Richard Hickey, professor emeritus in English, at 12:10 Thursday in the Chieftain Lounge.

Mrs. Hickey is expected to attend. Thursday is Ascension Thursday, a holy day of obligation.

New Appointments Seek Sunday Senate Approval

Approval of multiple appointments will be discussed Sunday at the senate meeting. Appointments include John Petrie, homecoming chairman; Pattie Brown, secretarial chairman; Leo Hindery, financial chairman

and Jake Jacobson, election board coordinator.

It is proposed that in the case of such numerous appointments to be approved by the student senate, there be placed the names of two or more appointees on a single bill.

SMOKE SIGNALS

Sunday Meetings

Alpha Kappa Psi, pledges, 9 a.m., Court of Honor, McHugh Hall.

Alpha Kappa Psi, actives, 9:30 a.m., Court of Honor, McHugh hall.

Tuesday Meetings

Education Club, 7:30 p.m., Pig-

ott 404. Dr. Ronald Rousseve to speak.

Reminder

Hiyu Coolees, spring initiation hike, May 24-26. Cars leave Bellarmine at 2 p.m. Friday, May 24. Sign-up closes Wednesday. Information L.A. bulletin board.



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MISCELLANEOUS

REWARD for information leading to the recovery of two campaign posters that were taken last weekend. One pictured a surfer, the other Bonnie and Clyde. Call room 1225, Campion.

Charles Dickens
speaks to lit majors:

“No doubt about it. Ebenezer Scrooge would have loved a low-cost NBoC Special Checking Account.”



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27 might be considered a tender age to be Manager—Program Coordination for the Bowling Products Group, American Machine & Foundry Company. But Jay Roelof was ready.

Jay got a head start by taking Army ROTC while he earned his degree at the University of California. Then served as an officer. A combination that's paying off today.

Raymond R. Woodruff, Division Vice President—Marketing, put it this way: "We find at AMF that young men with ROTC training and officer experience generally have more management ability. Men like Jay know how to make reasoned decisions based on sound judgment. Men who haven't had the benefit of officer leadership training usually require more direction and closer supervision."

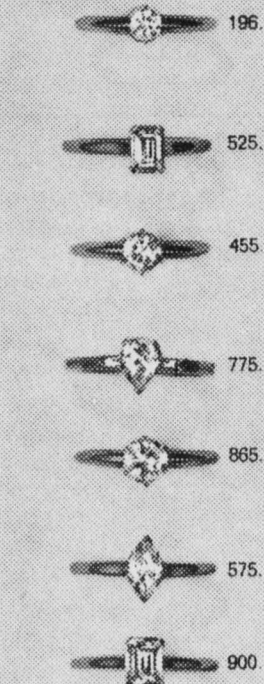
Many young men are finding that leadership is what business is all about. And, they're

glad Army ROTC developed their ability to lead. Officer experience is management experience. A plus in the business world. No matter how young you are.

All sophomores will still be eligible to join in the fall.

For more information, write or visit Army ROTC, Seattle University, Seattle, Wa. 98122.

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