

Reflections

PACIFIC LUTHERAN UNIVERSITY



**PEOPLE
AND
POLITICS**

SYMBOLS

Man's rich history is populated by symbols as well as people. Symbols of mythology, authority, religion, culture and commerce enrich our language and enable man to communicate his abstract thoughts effectively and quickly.

Symbols are given meaning far beyond their physical attributes. The lamb, the swastika, the cross and the clenched fist all elicit a particular, if not uniform response, ranging from reverence to anger.

The mandala, an ancient Eastern symbol of the universe, represents the wholeness and totality of man's existence. Ernst Schwidder, chairman of the art department, chose a mandala-like design to depict the Year of Reflection at Pacific Lutheran University.

As with other symbols, the mandala on our banner of Reflection has grown in meaning throughout this year. It has come to represent this University precisely because our actions have given it significance.

When the theme of Reflection was proclaimed last fall, it was little more than an invisible, imaginary concept. Our task was to give that concept form and substance. The various members of our community each contributed to the definition of Reflection.

The faculty contributed to Reflection through their work on

the Commission for Academic Excellence, through innovative curricular offerings, and through their imaginative proposals for interim and this summer.

The administration contributed to Reflection by being a listening-post for student opinion, by formulating a more equitable tuition structure and by providing leadership and continuity for our many diverse constituents.

Students contributed their uncommon idealism to the Year of Reflection. They have fresh perspectives on what this University should be and what they can do about it. Their renewed dedication to the spirit of Christian witness has been focused on national and international questions of power and powerlessness.

The mandala has been an appropriate symbol to characterize the universal scope of this year, a year of thoughtful action and serious thinking. It represents the broad implications of ideas which are explored in a community of committed scholars.

As important as the symbol itself is its execution on the banner. One side of the mandala is made of a reflective, gold material. It signifies this simple truth: the thoughts and actions of this year mirror our own shared hopes and aspirations for the future of PLU.

As the Year of Reflection



draws to a close, I cannot help but believe that this University has done much to bring our idealism one step closer to reality.

Eugene Wiegman
President
Pacific Lutheran University

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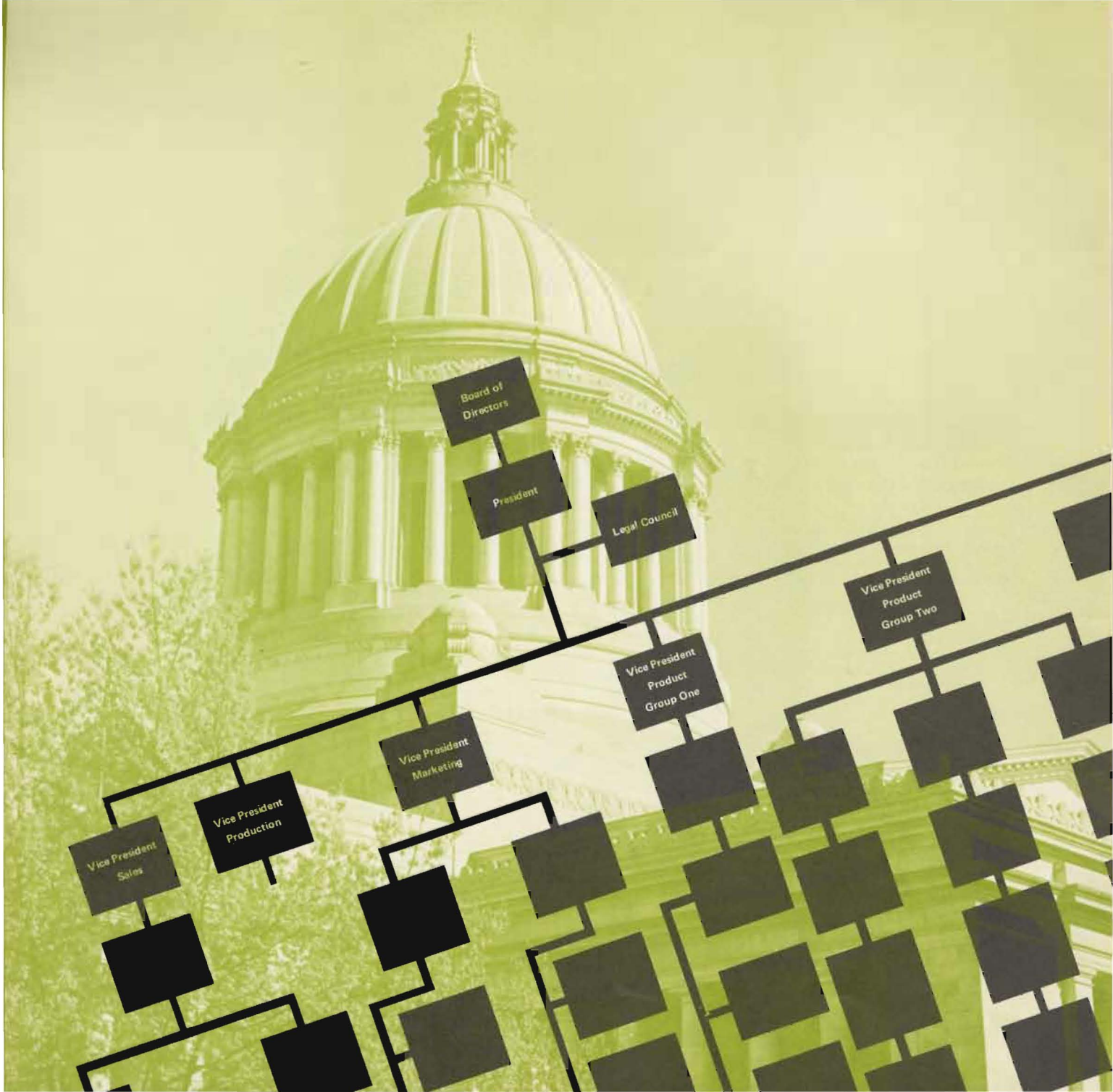
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A POLITICAL CULTURE IN CRISIS

Economic and corporate power has largely replaced the role of the private citizen in government.

by Richard Crockett

"I used to believe that the government was of the people, by the people and for the people," ran the caption of a political cartoon, but then "I used to believe in the Easter bunny too." Cartoonist Brickman clearly demonstrated his doubts about the integrity of the democratic process. If Brickman is right and Lincoln's ideal has "perished from the earth", what is government by, of and for?

Many critics might answer that question by arguing that government is now the instrument of the economically powerful, by the economically powerful, and for the economically powerful. As such the integrity of the democratic process is threatened, for although the form remains and many of the procedures are the same, these have become symbolic action, and real power and real decisions are made by the few and the privileged.

Does this sound overly harsh and misleading? My own conclusion is that these charges are uncomfortably close to being true, and in order to avoid the completion of this transformation, with which the

charges become undeniable, a change is required in the American political culture.

The American political culture has included two values, legalism and individualism, which are central to the question at hand. An understanding of the relationship between them provides some insight into the concern expressed in Brickman's political cartoon.

The American value of legalism sees moral conduct as a matter of rule-following and moral relations as defined in terms of rules. The highest ideal of legalism is a "government of law and not of men." In and of itself this seems to be a noble value. We are all aware of the abuses of governments of men. The movement away from absolute monarchy and our hostility toward totalitarianism, where both politics and law have been displaced by arbitrary rule, is an historical record of this concern. But this value is also partially in conflict with the values of democracy. Herbert Croley, in commenting on the movement for initiative, referendum, and recall at the turn of this

century saw these instruments of government as a means whereby democracy could be freed from the bondage of the law. The law in Croley's view had provided constraints that were hostile to the unfettered working of democracy, and by these new instruments men could challenge the law and its administrators.

A second American value, individualism, appears in two forms. One form, like democracy, exhibits tension with the law. Romantic individualism is concerned with human dignity and freedom and sees law as potentially restrictive and coercive. Law therefore must be limited by individual conscience and reason to avoid destruction of human freedom. In both the 19th and 20th centuries, it has been associated with civil disobedience, an association hostile to the values of legalism. We have heard the story of Henry David Thoreau who, looking out the window of a jail and seen by his friend Ralph Waldo Emerson, responded to Emerson's question, "Henry! What are you doing in there?", with the reply, "Waldo, what are you doing out there?" Thoreau was prepared to challenge the law with reason and conscience. In the 20th century, playwright James Agee was a leading spokesman for romantic individualism. Agee, regarding himself as anarchist, viewed the law as corrupted "from the root up" and vowed that he would "render little unto Caesar beyond taking care at intersections."

Most recently the readiness to elevate conscience above the law -- to use conscience as the measure of the law -- appeared in the civil rights movement, Martin Luther King in particular, and the war protesters on the left who dissented in moral outrage. To those of a legalistic turn of mind, this form of

individualism, since it is hostile to law, is simply lawlessness. It brings cries for law and order. Against the values of legalism, it involves immorality, since moral conduct is a matter of following rules, and moral relations are defined in terms of rules.

The readiness to elevate conscience above the law is the readiness to dissent from the existing order. Dissent is an essential ingredient for democratic government, and without it democracy cannot survive.

A second form of American individualism is compatible with the values of legalism and the law. Possessive individualism sees law as facilitative, rather than coercive. Committed to material values and economic gain, it equates freedom with capitalism and regards the rights of property as prior to all others. The law and the values of legalism facilitate the interests of possessive individualism through the protection of property with legal institutions. One such legal institution is the legal status that corporations enjoy as persons.

The "corporate person" is a legal fiction. Chief Justice John Marshall described the corporation as "an artificial being, invisible, intangible, and existing only in contemplation of law". Over an extended period of judicial legislative activity, the Supreme Court saw corporations as "citizens" under some circumstances. This peculiar manifestation of individualism made possible the preoccupation of the Court with business-governmental relations between 1868 and 1937, with the bulk of their decisions falling on the side of property and material gain. Since 1923, the corporation's legal status as a "person" has guaranteed it the right to buy, sell and

hold property, and under the 14th Amendment has assured it equal protection of the laws. The law has elevated corporate rights to the level of individual rights, the legal rights of persons. The difficulty is that individuals do not enjoy "limited liability" as do corporations. The legal fiction of the corporate person, over the years then, has become political fact. In possessive individualism American individualism has become collective: it is expressed in the collective power of the corporation.

What form does the political action of the corporate person take? We have heard the expression advanced by a Secretary of Defense that "whatever is good for General Motors is good for the country". The remark characterizes perfectly the values of possessive individualism and materialism. It sees in the acquisitiveness of "the corporate person" the demise of another fiction of a more democratic character, the notion of the "public interest".

Perhaps the decline of "the public interest" can be seen in events described in the press and given wide publicity by television which suggest that the corporate person has indeed replaced the democratic citizen as political decision-maker. These accounts tell of the alleged relationship between International Telephone and Telegraph and the Republican campaign chest, and suggest that the corporate person does participate in politics with its economic resources. When the Democratic party was in office similar events occurred. The Economist, a conservative British journal, reported a Republican revelation involving the dropping of an anti-trust suit by the Johnson administration less than a month after a large brewing firm in question made a political

contribution of \$10,000 to the President's Club, a Democratic campaign fund. Senator Russell Long of Louisiana has acknowledged that the difference between a campaign contribution and a bribe is but a "hairline's breadth."

The continuation of similar political activity seems likely, since the political culture supports it in the values of possessive individualism and legalism. The challenge to the integrity of the democratic process is then a product of imperceptible change in the political culture. The ascendancy of possessive individualism over romantic individualism has paralleled an ascendancy of the legal fiction of the "corporate person" over the democratic fiction of the "public interest". While the democratic fiction is just that -- a fiction -- the intimacy of law and possessive individualism has transformed the corporate person from fiction to fact. The net effect is the primacy of economic power in public decision-making. The values of individualism have become synonymous with capitalism embodied in the corporate person, and the public interest has become embodied in the well-being of the public corporation.



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THE CITIZEN'S NEW ROLE

*Bureaucracy and organization
now implement policy
but the citizen still has a voice in
establishing directions.*

by Frank Collinge

The political institutions of the United States are under attack, and American citizens are doing the attacking.

It started with the civil rights movement of the 1950's and accelerated through the environmental, anti-war, youth and women's movements of the 1960's. Today we see thousands of citizen groups all over the nation contesting established patterns of political power. SST'S fall to earth, freeways crumble, government agencies cringe, city councils scatter, party regulars are dumped.

And politicians are well aware. Ask Gene McCarthy, (the Founding Father) and George McGovern and Shirley Chisholm; ask John Gardner and Ralph Nader; ask George Wallace; ask Richard Nixon. Proud populists all, paragons of the new participation. To be sure, there is more reform than revolution here, and

no single movement. Yet there is a clear, general feeling that something is badly wrong with America, that the system somehow is failing, and that the citizens have to fix it. Does all this mean anything?

Anyone's first reaction should be bewilderment. There cannot be anything fundamentally wrong with citizen participation, we agree, since that is what democracy is supposed to be all about. But still, when far right and far left can use the same slogan ("power to the people", "return government to the people"), we should be perplexed. And when members of the same faction flatly disagree on principle ("develop wilderness for people", "keep wilderness undeveloped for the people") we have to wonder. Finally when two Tacoma delegates to the Pierce County Democratic Party Convention can happily agree on George McGovern for President and then split on



Vice-President, one for Shirley Chisholm and the other for George Wallace, we can imagine that, in general, citizen participation might be marked more by frustration than by logic, by reaction more than foresight. But there it is, and it is heartfelt, widespread, and important. What about it?

Some elementary description can help us along. America has always had some measure of citizen participation in government, but really not much more than the simple vote. If participation must mean more than this, then only about one per cent of the people really act in the political process, usually to complain about something. Sometimes, however, citizens do arise in numbers, like a tidal swell, and they have changed the nation's course. Pioneer democracy was one such wave, as was Bryan's populism and the progressivism of LaFollette and Teddy Roosevelt. But what kind of waves were these? Hard facts show that during the height of such movements only perhaps five per cent of any community actually participates. Such a 500 per cent increase is significant, but still very few people get involved. What citizen participation means, empirically, is that a small, self-appointed and self-energized minority occasionally rises to fight established authority, and they do so as amateurs without resources: noisily, haphazardly, often illogically, yet effectively. But this only sets the scene. We must turn to the system that begets this participation.

If citizen participation has been spasmodic, the problems faced by government have been continuous and increasingly complex as the nation has expanded. While this is normal and expected, it is a profound and largely ignored factor. All modern social theories including these of Adam Smith and Karl Marx, agree

that the secret to contemporary production is the division of labor: the more complex any activity the more specialized the labor necessary to accomplish it. If Henry Ford could build his first auto with the help of several adaptable handymen, the new Ford requires an army of specialists. So too with the infinitely more complex (because largely unmeasurable) problems of government. If J. C. Calhoun and Daniel Webster could build careers on a few speeches polished over years, not so today. Things move too fast and they are too complicated for that old-time individualist statesmanship. Today, in government as well as industry and commerce, the only answer is bureaucratic organization and the application of the myriad special skills such an organization, and only such an organization, makes possible. This is really nothing new, but only recently has its meaning become forcefully apparent.

John K. Galbraith's *The New Industrial State* sees the implications of bureaucracy this way: 1) that an increasing time separates the beginning from the completion of any task -- the more sophisticated and finely divided the knowledge, the longer it takes to put it together; 2) that bureaucratic technology requires specialized manpower -- trained in very narrow specialties, aware of their vulnerability through obsolescence and intent on protecting their positions; 3) that commitments of time and money tend to be made ever more inflexibly -- since going back can mean impossibly costly rethinking and rehiring; 4) and therefore that modern bureaucracies have a vested interest in planning the future, even to the extent of positively trying to control the future -- but in clandestine cooperation with other bureaucracies since bureaucracies loathe combat. Thus, modern industries manipulate markets

cooperatively, often illegally; and governments manipulate the political process. Bureaucratic organization is thus strongly, perhaps inherently, antidemocratic.

Sound familiar? People seem to know this, if only dimly. But there are yet wider implications. Whatever cheery lies high school civics may perpetrate about individual citizenship, the fact is that we are a nation of interest groups, each of which is bureaucratically organized, and American politics is largely a matter of the coalitions and conflicts of these groups. (Among the most significant of these are government agencies, who not only employ and minister to millions, but who also control most of the information upon which governmental policy is passed.) This entails a system in which elected representatives are not so much statesmen as brokers and expeditors, a system in which bureaucratic groups, not citizens, define social values. There is also great cost: we are prone, as Karl Deutsch puts it, to an immobility-emergency cycle.

When most groups are organized and have access to a political system in which they bargain for position, it is far easier to protect an existing position than to take risks, easier to do nothing than to respond to problems. The more difficult the problems, the more tendency there is toward immobility. But of course problems do not go away, particularly the very real problems represented by unorganized groups with a grievance, like Chicanos, Blacks and women. Pretty soon, through frustration, natural catastrophe, or some other mechanism, a public crisis arises, an emergency for which the ordinary process is largely to blame. At that point the emergency is publicly declared, and politics as usual wobbles about, often in circles, looking for a solution.

These emergencies are usually propelled by popular participation, its effect on public opinion, and the consequent effect on politicians looking for constituent power. Such popular demonstrations are basically poignant protests against bureaucratic arrogance and intransigence, and against the immobility of the system. They are potential correctives for system defects; indeed, given the system, they are the only democratic corrective available. They are thus valuable in the extreme.

But how fragile these protests have been, how short-lived, and how unintended their consequences. Bryan wanted to free rural America from urban domination, and ...? The Progressives wanted to free the cities and states from machine domination and to return power to the people, people who would create laboratories of democracy in every community. With what result?

The fact seems to be that our system does not respond to citizen participation as theoretically it should - by opening itself and expanding the benefits of democracy as the situation would require. Under the conditions stated, how could it? Emergencies require action, often radical action, precisely the sort of action of which the system has not been capable. Action required the application of power, and the only way to do so is by concentrating power so that new patterns of interests can be created. By what means? Considering the complex nature of modern social emergencies, it can be done only through bureaucratic organization and direction. Where? Considering the national character of our economy and society, it must occur within the federal government -- and in the federal administration, not the congress. Political emergencies marked by waves

of citizen participation have indeed changed the shape of American political power, but they have not made it any more democratic. Rather, each major emergency has added measurably to the arbitrary power of central government bureaucracies. President Nixon's economic phases, a remarkable admission of system failure, is surely the best case in point.

The problem is, clearly, that there are emergencies at all. This is another way of saying that there is something wrong with American pluralism -- or, anyway, the way we work it.

That something is, it seems to me, that if our democratic theory requires continuous participation by all citizens, and it does, our political system positively discourages it. Why would anybody participate in normal times? It's a very costly and literally unrewarding thing to do, unless you regard it as recreation, which most people don't. Where, for most people, is any return? Literally there is no return since the rewards in the political system are controlled by the bureaucratic groups and the broker-politicians that form it. As Anthony Downs, an economist, sarcastically puts it: "In a democracy it is irrational to be well informed" -- unless, of course, there is an emergency. But that is the point: it is not a case of unless. Emergencies will arise when bureaucratized interest groups immobilize each other, and the emergency likely will be solved at a cost in democratic freedom.

Thus what is rational is to realize the crisis-prone nature of our interest-group democracy, and to realize the villain is us. If in "representing" us, interest groups define for us what our social rewards shall be, it is our fault. We are the citizens, and also we are the bureaucrats. It is up to us to understand

that if we continue to value material things and the stability in which to play with them, then we will surely get the technocratic, bureaucratic and authoritarian government that sort of life requires. But if freedom means anything, and if we understand that only through the kind of experimentation Thomas Jefferson spoke of will democracy mean anything, then we will realize that participation is itself a valuable thing. Through it we become ourselves and are not defined by the bureaucracies to which we belong.

That won't be easy. These days the crises come too rapidly, perhaps, and there is no way to repeal the division of labor short of utopia. But the first step toward solving any problem is to know what the problem is, and I am inclined to think that, today, vast numbers of people are finding out. This seems a new sort of participation, not blind, greedy or arrogant as so often before. The words the people are speaking are largely the right words; they seem directed where they ought to be: toward responsible experimentation with community, with selfhood, and with freedom.

So I say: feeble though you are, people, charge ahead. You are the only hope you've got.



Dr. Frank Collinge is an associate professor of political science. In his second year at PLU, he ran for Tacoma Port Commissioner last November and is active in community affairs. He holds a Ph.D. from the University of Washington.



A NEW ERA IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS?

by Wolfgang Ulbricht

A new era in international relations has begun: "A generation of peace." Or has it?

President Nixon and the First Lady taking tea with the Mao's in Peking while the war winds down in Vietnam, U. S. troop strength in South Vietnam steadily declining and the day drawing near when the last American GI will have left Indochinese soil. The administration's disengagement policy in South East Asia and the Far East opening up power vacuums which other states, for a change, can attempt to fill. The U.S. giant tired of playing policeman in local

wars, tired of having U.S. soldiers die for purposes often but dimly perceived by the American people or outright opposed by many of them.

A question at this point: Does a visit by the American president in Peking and the smiling faces of Chou and Mao signify, indeed, (as an editorial in PLU's Mooring Mast puts it) that we "and a quarter of the human race will be friends again"? Is there such a thing as friendship among countries? Countries, after all, are societal organizations which developed for certain purposes, not the least of which is to guarantee a specific way of life.

It so happens that Peking and Washington represent societal systems with diametrically opposed value-scales. Whereas we believe that individual rights are important and are willing to go to great lengths to defend the sphere of private discretion against government encroachment, the Red Chinese leaders teach that there are primarily the rights of the collectivity as interpreted by the Communist Party. No dissent is tolerated, not even in party ranks. Witness the gigantic purge of the late 'sixties, the so-called cultural revolution.

It would seem that Peking, in the interest of self-preservation, would have to condemn a value-system such as ours and any government that promotes such a system. Friendship between America and Mainland China will have a chance to prosper only if the friends keep at a respectful distance so they cannot examine the warts on each other's noses.

Friendship, it would appear, is possible only among countries which share political values in common. But this axiom likewise is not borne out by experience. Both China and the Soviet Union profess a Marxist-Communist ideology and yet have become utterly hostile to one another. Rivalry between Peking and Moscow for influence over developing countries seems to outweigh the shared interests of promoting solidarity among the world's working classes and the struggle against their "capitalist-imperialist oppressors".

In contrast to China, the Soviet Union offers the picture of an advanced technological society and there are voices which point toward an increasing convergence between the U.S. and the Soviet systems. They emphasize that there are more problems that

the Soviets and the U.S. share in common (such as urban blight, alienation in an industrial society, environmental pollution, transportation dilemmas, etc.) than aspects that divide us.

These writers stress that governmental functions in our society, too, have increased over the past four or five decades, to the point that public agencies now collect more than one third of the GNP for purposes of re-allocation. With an extended Social Security system and with compulsory health insurance and guaranteed minimum income just around the corner, are we not much closer to living in a socialist system than we realize or care to admit?

All this may be so - and yet, in the U.S. there is no single party in a position to outlaw political opposition; we still believe in majority rule and not in the imposition of minority rule based upon Marxist dogma. And as long as we cling to our system despite all of its imperfections and they cling to theirs, there will be no convergence.

But while there may be no convergence, does this mean that Cold War politics will have to continue? Cold War politics which became a two-way street in 1947 with the containment of Soviet expansion and which led to the bi-polar view of international relations: the West vs. the East, Communism vs. Democracy has left us with a dangerous heritage, the nuclear arms race. Since 1969 both powers have been negotiating about the desirability of putting a stop to the missile race (SALT). And yet, the race continues at an ever increasing speed: U.S. vs. U.S.S.R.; neither side trusting the other to stick to an agreement on limitations.

Whether a multipolar power constellation will put a

stop to the nuclear race is anybody's guess. Will China content itself to play in the minor leagues together with Britain and France or will she continue with her nuclear weapon development? Will either the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. call it quits as long as China continues? Will Japan and India and any number of other states decide they need nuclear devices of their own?

In one sense, we have entered a new era in international relations. With the admission of Red China to the United Nations and Washington's acceptance of this fact, the bipolar constellation of the 'fifties and 'sixties has changed into a multipolar balance of power constellation. Will it bring a "generation of peace"? The only thing we can be sure of is that it will, at least initially, usher in a greater degree of uncertainty in international relations. Gone are the days of Cold War "certainties"

On the other hand, some of the countries and blocs may devote more time to domestic developments than to international relations. One scholar speaks of the "communication overload" that governments in advanced technological societies are exposed to, meaning that most of their energies will henceforth have to be devoted to meeting the increasing demands for services in the domestic field, a new kind of isolationism.

Another one speaks of "mounting global anarchy" and of "social and political fragmentation" in developing as well as industrial countries which will make a meaningful and sustained foreign policy increasingly difficult. He expresses the opinion that "social and political fragmentation in the communist states might come somewhat later", presumably because of their tighter control over their populations and "that some of the Communist powers may

therefore be tempted to exploit the present pattern of global instability for the sake of their own political ends".

In a multipolar world with shifting alliances democratic states are, indeed, at a disadvantage. Robbed of an ideological undergirding for the understanding of international relations ("to make the world safe for democracy") they may find it difficult to establish the necessary domestic consensus for a foreign policy which one day may be directed to support a Communist system and the next day a military dictator.

Will American disengagement policy as actively pursued now in Asia extend to Europe? President Nixon says no, but Congress may not leave the administration much choice. Pressures are beginning to build for recalling American NATO contingents stationed in Europe. Such pressures will become stronger as troop costs in Europe are seen as one of the major factors in the continuing balance of payments deficits of the U.S. Dissatisfaction with the performance of the NATO partners might contribute to a withdrawal of American forces to the North American continent.

U.S. military disengagement in Europe, whatever the circumstances, would play into the hands of the Soviet Union. Moscow has been straining hard to bring about a European Security Conference which presumably would come up with a document sanctioning the status quo in Central Europe and leave Moscow free to concentrate its attention on her frontiers with China. Status Quo would mean continuation of the Elbe-line as the Western-most frontier of the Soviet empire. It probably would also mean some kind of recognition of the principle of

"peaceful co-existence of rival social systems" and the Kremlin's right of military intervention to prevent "counter-revolution" in Eastern Europe (Breshnev Doctrine).

On the other hand, a U.S. withdrawal from Western Europe might provide the necessary push for the Common Market alliance toward building its own nuclear deterrent and integrated defense system and cause it to make the step from a lumbering economic giant to an integrated political power.

To indulge in further speculation, what about the future of the U.S. 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean? Would it remain? If not, who would undertake the triple function that it presently fulfills: protection of the Southern flank of free Europe, backstop for Israel's foreign policy and, to some extent, protection of Western oil interests in the Middle East?

An analysis of international relations would be incomplete without mention of an issue that many observers consider a foremost moral postulate for industrialized societies: aid to developing countries. The issue has not been able to provide a catalyst for international cooperation as had been hoped.

For one thing, the world is not simply divided into have and have-not nations. Reality is much more complex. There are a multitude of divisions on the international plane and they are determined by geographic-strategic, economic, nationalist, ideological, ethnical and religious factors. Almost any of these factors transcends whatever solidarity there might be among developing countries. Incidentally, how does one determine whether or not a country falls into the development category? Is the G.N.P. the sole criterion? Is an oil-rich sheikdom with an illiterate population a developed country?

Usually industrialization or the lack of it is considered as an indicator as to whether a country should be regarded as underdeveloped. The underlying assumption is that development - the term frequently used synonymously with industrialization - is desirable. It will create jobs, bring about a higher standard of living, induce people to spend more on consumer goods to the point that they will come to prefer a high standard of living over large families. No more population problems.

But there is no easy formula for development. Some governments believe in state-controlled economies, others in free enterprise or in various mixtures of the two. Some countries encourage the inflow of foreign investment capital, others scare potential investors away with their nationalization policies. Most of the less developed countries are as much interested in guaranteed markets as they are in foreign loans. Here it is lack of willingness on the part of industrialized countries to open up their own markets on a nonreciprocal base to the half-manufactures and primary commodities of the LDC'S which could very well become a major snag on the path toward development. Although industrialized nations have lately shown some half-hearted generosity on the question of tariff preferences, there are signs that point in the opposite direction: High-wage countries trying to stave off unrestricted imports from low-wage countries. In fact, it is quite likely that the "exportation of jobs" as the President of the AFL/CIO calls it may cause a reexamination of development aid be it in form of government sponsored loans or private investment abroad.

With the shakiness of the currency arrangements of the Western world and the threat that such uncertainty poses for free trade, it may be that future

trade relations will have to be compartmentalized in international trade-zones or blocs. Such blocs would probably contain (as the Common Market already does) some major industrial powers and a group of sponsored developing nations, a sort of development symbiosis.

Such arrangements, at any rate, would help us to adjust to the development process on a manageable scale. Development, after all, does not seem to be a transitional stage at the end of which the LDC reaches graduate status as an industrialized country. Rather, as we become increasingly aware, the so-called developed nations cannot afford to let the technology gap close between them and the "developing" countries. There appears to be a need to stay ahead, technologically speaking, to introduce new products and initiate new production processes, to retrain labor and shift investment priorities to new sectors as the old ones are put out of business by imports from low-income states.

A new era in international relations does seem to be making its appearance. Whether it will be inspired by humanitarian concern is another question. And whether humanitarian concern will suffice to triumph over the enormous complexity of international relations is yet another one.



Dr. Wolfgang Ulbricht has taught international relations at PLU since 1967. He formerly served as administrative assistant to the German Peace Corps director and as an assistant to the spokesman of the European Atomic Energy Community.

A Personal Reflection

by Bruce Bjerke

After four years the time has almost come for me to leave Pacific Lutheran University. The years have been good ones and I welcome the opportunity to offer a few parting reflections on my experience. These views are undoubtedly biased and come from an admittedly limited perspective but perhaps some will find it interesting to see how one student sees the last four years of change and growth at P.L.U.

Dr. Robert Mortvedt was the president of P.L.U. during my freshman year. Under his leadership the institution had achieved the stability necessary to attract fine educators and build a solid academic reputation. From a student standpoint however, this administration was also the year of compulsory chapel attendance, strict administration-defined dress and conduct codes, and virtually no student participation in the decision making processes of the university. New attitudes and approaches to college education were rising on campuses across the country, and I have great respect for the rare courage and wisdom Dr. Mortvedt displayed when he stepped aside after making so many contributions to the institution and called for new leadership to begin the new stage in the development of P.L.U.

In the fall of 1969--my sophomore year--Dr. Eugene Wiegman was installed as the ninth president of Pacific Lutheran University. Looking back on it, it

seems that some very diverse elements in the university community looked optimistically to his arrival as the fulfillment of their own particular--and often conflicting hopes and expectations for the future of the institution. The air was full of new beginnings as Dr. Wiegman began his administration as the "Year of Joy". Every campus faction pressed to have an important voice in the new order and students were no exception. When Dr. Wiegman declared his openness to student participation in policy formulation at almost every level it was like pulling the cork from a long-fermenting bottle. During these first months scores of new ideas were brought forward as the university's constituent groups began thinking and discussing and planning together for the new period of growth and development.

And the new dreams as well as some long held hopes eventually became reality with innovations like: the four-one-four calendar, the interim program, new course and core-requirement systems, and new structures of university planning and governance incorporating greater powers of participation for students, faculty and staff. Students for the first time gained a permanent place in all of this and at the same time were invited to develop and eventually put into practice policies allowing for greater personal freedom and control over living group conditions. The entire institution seemed to be on the move and it was an exciting time to be a part of it. This year of new beginnings on campus also saw the peak of national student consciousness evidenced particularly by the Viet Nam War moratoriums. We had little patience in those days and it seemed for many of us that almost anything could be accomplished if only enough people would care enough that day.



It wasn't long however, before the dreaming stage had to give way to the hard work and tedium of administering and polishing the new programs, and as the excitement began to die down on campus the Kent State tragedy delivered the final blow to any remaining illusions about the power of students as a group in influencing national politics. Students and faculty were also learning that while Dr. Wiegman is flexible and willing to listen to any proposal, he has ideas of his own for the future of P.L.U., and that it is impossible for any man to satisfy all the conflicting expectations of various groups in the university community. Thus the year was not without conflict as definite policies and programs gradually emerged. Opposition was expressed by some who felt too much had been attempted too fast, from others who feared that something of that which is central to the nature of the institution would be lost in the shuffle, and even from some of the early reformers who felt too much had been compromised and too little accomplished.

It seems to me, however, that by far the majority of the university community supports the direction I see the university heading, namely towards greater personal freedom for its constituents and towards greater academic strength. At the same time, in my view, very little has changed all that much. The important commitments to Christian higher education are as much alive as they ever were, and only some of the manner and style through which these are expressed has been altered to meet the changing needs of this age.

Dr. Wiegman christened the academic year 1970-71 as the "Year of Commitment" and while he certainly meant much more than this, I'm sure he was calling

for commitment from all sides to work together to make the university prosper and to give the new programs a fair trial. One of the advantages of a small institution like P.L.U. is its ability to experiment with an educational innovation and after a reasonable trial period modify or even discard it without nearly the trauma or cost which accompany such changes in a larger and less-flexible institution. Certainly no program should be put into practice merely for the sake of novelty, but a willingness to consider new ideas and plan different approaches is necessary to the life and vitality of an educational institution.

The current year, my last at this university, has appropriately been named the "Year of Reflection". Pacific Lutheran University has come a long way in the past few years and must now determine what course to follow in the coming years. Like most people who are concerned for the future of P.L.U. I have my own hopes for the direction it will take.

First of all, I hope that the university leadership will recognize that the institution cannot do all things and must rather use its energies and resources to do some things well. P.L.U. cannot hope to compete with the range of specializations offered by larger institutions, and moreover there is no justification for duplicating what other schools are in a better position to offer. Larger universities provide obvious advantages for many students, but I believe that if P.L.U. can accent and develop those elements which make it distinct, it will attract those who are looking for a fine, small university which is deeply committed to learning, the well-being of its students and the teachings of Christ. In this age of mega-universities, mass-produced education and alienated students I hope that Pacific Lutheran will remain small in size and retain the great potential for close interaction between those who are

a part of its life. Students learn not only from the lecture hall, laboratory and library but also from each other and from the example of teachers who profess dedication to a discipline and a way of life.

Second, I hope that this University will give increasing emphasis to the liberal arts as the core of every student's education. A mark of a fine university--it seems to me--is its ability to impart some sense of what it is to live well--before the undergraduate begins his more specialized study. I hope that this institution will not suffer the bane of increased professionalization and segregation of departments and schools, but will rather encourage cooperation and interaction between the various disciplines and encourage students to venture into areas of study with which they may have had little or no previous contact in order to expand into new avenues of thought and personal development.

Third, I hope that parents and prospective students as well as members of the present university community will recognize that P.L.U. is neither finishing-school nor Bible-college, and is rather by definition an institution dedicated to the cultivation of the mind. Certainly an invaluable part of education comes from exposure to and participation in a variety of cultural, social, political and athletic activities--for these make for a fuller and richer life, but first and foremost this institution exists for the pursuit of knowledge and the continual polishing of one mind by another.

Fourth, within the context of all that has just been said, I hope that this university will continue to be concerned with the whole life of its students. However, I do not believe this can any longer be accomplished through constant supervision and the administration of petty discipline, but instead can be most effectively conveyed through the channels of

instruction and example--the two most powerful tools of an educational institution.

Finally, I hope that those who have a voice in determining the future of P.L.U. will not be satisfied to let it be just another small Lutheran college but will vigorously pursue this institution's potential for excellence. That means investing hard work and a lot of money to attract fine teachers and recruit capable students. It also means constant attention to improving and refining programs of instruction, and continued care for each individual student. But anything less than that simply wouldn't be enough.

While still a high-school student I attended a series of presentations by admissions officers from colleges throughout the Northwest, and after hearing all day that "Redbrick U. has just what every student wants" I was very surprised and impressed when the representative from P.L.U. opened his remarks with the statement: "Pacific Lutheran University is not for everyone, but if you feel you're the kind of person who might be interested in what we have to offer, I can promise you that there are many people here who will do everything they can to help you find what you're looking for." Those people have kept his promise many times over, and I shall miss them.



Bruce Bjerke is graduating from PLU this spring. A history major, he has been active in student government and drama. He will attend Oxford University in Cambridge, England, next fall as PLU's first Rhodes Scholar.

PUBLIC FORUMS AIR PUGET SOUND ISSUES

A research project intended to develop greater public understanding of current Puget Sound region issues was conducted at PLU this spring by 15 selected students.

The students, all of whom were enrolled in an honors seminar offered by the PLU School of Business Administration, began their research in early February. Topics to be covered included no-fault insurance, Tacoma port expansion and better services to the elderly.

Following some six weeks of planning and study, the students moved into the communicative phase of the project. A series of weekly public forums were conducted on campus, led by the students themselves together with guest experts from the business, governmental and academic communities.

In April the students began a six-week television panel program series aired by KTNT-TV in Tacoma Sunday evenings at 9:30 p.m. through May 28.

According to Prof. Stuart Bancroft, the project advisor, one of the goals of the PLU School of Business Administration is to contribute to the educational development of the community. "This program is helping us fulfill that responsibility," he said.

Development of the project to date has gained the wholehearted support of the business administration faculty at PLU and similar projects for the 1972 fall semester and the 1973 spring semester are already being planned.

PLU OFFERS GRADUATE PROGRAM AT FORT LEWIS

The first graduate degree program ever offered at Fort Lewis will begin this fall under the auspices of PLU. The new program offers military personnel a master of arts degree in social sciences with emphasis in human relations.

Madigan General Hospital and McChord Air Force Base will also participate in the program, with civilian students admitted on a space available basis.

The degree proposal, prepared by Dr. Johannes A. Schiller, chairman of the division of social

sciences, and Dr. Vernon Stintzi, dean of the School of Business Administration, was selected by Fort Lewis over proposals offered by the University of California and the University of Oklahoma.

The program calls for six eight-week class terms a year beginning Aug. 21, 1972. Classes will meet for six hours a week, with two classes offered each term. The degree requires completion of eight courses and associated work, selected from among five offerings in sociology, three in business administration, one in economics and one in philosophy.

Schiller described the program as a presentation and discussion of the fundamentals of human relations, which in turn will lead to more effective individuals in work organizations and more meaningful participants in society. "This program is about people at work in organizations and how they may be motivated to work together," he said.

Permanent university faculty will instruct the on-post program in most cases. Davis Carvey, assistant professor of business administration, will serve as on-post coordinator.

News Notes

GRANT STRENGTHENS PHYSICS RESEARCH PROGRAM AT PLU

A \$15,400 Cottrell College Science Grant from the Research Corporation of New York has been awarded to the PLU Department of Physics.

The grant will be used to support research in polarizability of matter, according to Dr. K. T. Tang and Dr. Sherman Nornes, physics professors at PLU.

The major portion of the funds, they indicated, will support a post-doctoral teaching-research fellow who will be added to the PLU physics staff. It will also provide summer salaries for the principle researchers and summer stipends for three students.

The funded program is unique in that it (1) adds a young scholar to the staff who can contribute both as a researcher and teacher while gaining valuable professional experience; (2) frees professors Tang and Nornes from a portion of their teaching load to participate in the research program; and (3) adds emphasis to the undergraduate research program, helps prepare students for advanced

study and provides additional opportunities for gifted students involved in the department's honors program.

The proposed research is a theoretical investigation of the frequency dependent polarizability of matter, the most elementary optical response function to the interaction of radiation with atoms and molecules. An example of the phenomena occurs when light from the sun interacts with the atoms and molecules in the earth's atmosphere.

According to Nornes, attempts to compute the infinite sums that make up the dispersion formula have either been prohibitively difficult or have yielded results of unknown accuracy. Anticipated studies at PLU will hopefully provide new criteria for judging the reliability of these measurements and to stimulate further experimental work in this area.

As important as the research aspect, however, is the expansion of quality undergraduate education and research opportunities, Tang indicated.

200 COURSES OFFERED THIS SUMMER

More than 200 courses, workshops and foreign tours are being offered this summer through the PLU summer study program. Regular sessions will be held June 19 to July 19 and from July 20 to August 18.

Innovative workshops, lasting from four days to a full month, dominate the summer curriculum, along with a complete offering of regular courses.

Seven workshops for laymen and clergy are being offered through PLU's CHOICE agency. Education offerings include 34 courses and 15 workshops; 14 courses and 10 workshops are offered in physical education. Eight workshops are scheduled in music and nine are offered in sociology, along with regular courses.

The English department offers a children's literature summer tour of Europe from Vienna to Copenhagen.

A sampling of new course and workshop titles include history of racism, the Silent Majority, homosexuality, drug use education,

problems of inner city schools, women's liberation and Chicano culture, offered through the sociology department. Reform and revolution in contemporary America, the Reformation and the Pacific Northwest are among the offerings in history, and the English department plans courses in creative writing and literature of Black America.

A full range of courses in music, art and drama is also offered.

Graduate studies are available in business administration, education, humanities, music, natural sciences and social sciences.

Special studies for high school students include the Northwest Summer Music Camp, a forensics institute, a youth organ institute and four five-day basketball clinics.

Inquiries regarding the PLU summer study program should be addressed to Dean of Summer Sessions, PLU.

PROFESSORS HONORED

Two outstanding PLU teachers were honored early in May.

Keith Achepohl, associate

professor of art, was awarded the 1972 Distinguished Teacher Award, presented annually by the Washington State Automobile Dealers' Association.

Fred Tobiason, associate professor of chemistry, was named the Blue Key Outstanding Teacher of the Year.

BROKERING GUEST FOR STALEY LECTURE SERIES

Rev. Herbert Brokering, author and instructor at Luther Theological Seminary, spent three days on the PLU campus in April for a series of talks and discussions on the subject, "A Celebration of the Gospel".

Brokering's visit was sponsored by the Staley Lecture Series, a project of the Staley Foundation of New York which was established at PLU in the fall of 1969.

Staley Foundation projects are based on the conviction that the message of the Christian Gospel, proclaimed in its historic fullness, is always relevant and meaningful to any generation.

Rev. Brokering spoke at chapel services and to many small, personalized groups during his stay. His message emphasized ways in which people can celebrate Christ through even the most ordinary experiences in their daily lives.

STUDENTS HEAR POLITICIANS

Jesse Unruh, 1970 Democratic candidate for governor of California, and Kevin Phillips, syndicated columnist, political analyst and author, were the headliners at Pacific Lutheran University's spring symposium entitled, "Politics: Elections '72 - Issues and Trends".

The week-long symposium also featured a broad slate of county, region and state political leaders.

Timothy Strege, a PLU student who ran for a seat on the Tacoma city council in 1971, was symposium chairman. According to Strege, the symposium was intended to give students, now armed with the vote, an opportunity to hear the issues and know the candidates representing a broad range of viewpoints.

University Notebook

A questionnaire seeking perspectives on goals and objectives of Pacific Lutheran University was distributed in March to all PLU constituencies.

Board of Regents, administrators, students, faculty and a sampling of parents, alumni and clergy took part in the project. Questions dealt with faculty merits, curriculum, cultural-intellectual-religious emphasis, university governance and many other topics.

The survey was a further step taken by the PLU Commission on Academic Excellence to evaluate all facets of university life which relate to the development of an exceptional academic environment.

PLU senior Charles Roach represented the Student National Education Association at the National Conference on Education for Blacks in Washington, D.C., in April.

The conference, sponsored by the Capitol Hill Minority Caucus, focused on the lingering problems of education relating to deprived communities.

Roach, a retired Army officer completing his undergraduate studies at PLU this spring, was one of 15 students invited to the conference and the only student from states west of the Mississippi River. The 500 delegates attending included educational specialists, elected officials, community leaders, parents and students.

Three distinguished lecturers in the field of international affairs visited the PLU campus this spring.

Dr. Stefan Schnell, a German journalist, discussed West German politics at a program sponsored by the foreign language and political science departments in March.

"New Doors to Mainland China" was the topic of a March lecture by Robert Ekvall, an author who spent many years with American diplomatic and military representatives dealing with the Chinese, both before and after the Communist takeover of Mainland China.

A retired U.S. State Department official, George Hellyer, was the featured speaker at the annual

History Club banquet in April. His topic was "Background Aspects of U.S./Far East Relations Since World War II and Their Effects Today".

James Collins of Salem, Oregon and Marvin Smith of Tacoma, both seniors, represented PLU at the American Forensic Association's National tournament in Salt Lake City, Utah, in April.

Only two teams, Gonzaga University and PLU, were selected to represent the northwest states. Fifty-four teams took part in the debate tournament.

A five-day campaign focusing student attention on the problem of hunger, particularly in Pierce County, was conducted at PLU in early March.

More than 90 per cent of the resident students on campus participated in a 24-hour fast on the final day of the project. The approximately \$1,500 saved by PLU Food Service was donated to food banks in the Tacoma area.

1) PLU's Mayfest Dancers successfully completed their first out-of-state performance tour early in April. A performance at Disneyland was one of the highlights of the tour, which was well received throughout Oregon and California.

2) Staley Lecture Series guest Rev. Herbert Brokering talks with university minister Rev. Gordon Lathrop and students. (See story page 21.)

3) April saw the breaking of ground for a lecture-unit addition to the PLU Nursing-Art Building. The entire building was formally named Aida Ingram Hall in memory of the late Mrs. Charles Ingram of Tacoma during private dedication ceremonies May 7. The lecture hall addition will have seating for 120 persons.

Cultural and entertainment events were among the highlights of the spring season. Among the programs were **(4)** the spring musical, "The King and I"; **(5)** Stan Kenton and his Orchestra; **(6)** the Osipov Balalaika Orchestra with singers and dancers from the Bolshoi Opera and Ballet; and **(7)** I Solisti de Zagreb, a Yugoslavian chamber orchestra.



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University Sports

BASEBALL, TENNIS TEAMS SURGE

At the midway mark in PLU's sports season, two activities - tennis and baseball - appeared to be making a remarkable resurgence from lackluster 1971 seasons, golf continued its winning ways, while track and field coaches were getting rather "jumpy".

Mike Benson's tennis squad, only 3-10 in 1971, looked for help this year to back up returnees Jim Sheets, Ted Carlson, and Tom Baker. They got it from newcomers Dave Knoddel, Paul Bakken, Ken Currens, and Vern Swenson, who won 22 of their first 24 matches as the Lutes took seven of eight contests.

The Lute Baseballers, 4-13 in last years' NWC race, bounced back to win seven of their first 13 loop games including a victory over Linfield, defending NAIA national champions. Pitching was PLU'S greatest asset as Mike Berger, John Roeber, Dave Bennet, and Ron Chapman combined to give the Lutes a low yield rotation.

PLU golfers, defending NWC champions, went undefeated through regular season dual match play and won the Northwest Small College Golf Classic. Freshman Mark Clinton joined veterans Jeff Spere, Blake Bostrom, Eric Feste, and Gary Rick on the Lute tee squad.

Sparkling individual performances were in abundance in track, but team scoring suffered because of a shortage of manpower in jumping events. The Lutes came up short in all four dual meets. PLU showed considerable strength in the weight events, getting record-breaking efforts from Dan Pritchard (52-3½) in the shot and Stan Pietras (154-1) in the discus, while freshman Kevin Knapp toured the three mile in 14:30.3, another PLU standard.

NAIA CAGE HALL OF FAME PICKS PLU GREATS

Two of the most illustrious figures from the Golden Era of PLU basketball, Marv Harshman and Roger Iverson, were named this spring to the NAIA Basketball Hall of Fame.



Roger Iverson, left, and Marv Harshman

Lute mentor from 1946-58 and now head coach at the University of Washington, Harshman was the only coach selected this year for the NAIA's greatest honor.

Iverson, a Lute standout from 1956-59, one of three named this year in the player category, is the first player selected from the Pacific Northwest in 20 years. He is currently a teacher and counselor at Peninsula High School in Gig Harbor, Wash.

Board of Regents

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WHAT OF TOMORROW?

Day by day we are reminded of our immediate responsibility to be good stewards of God's gifts. Whether that gift be time, resources or money, common sense tells us they work God's will only when we apply them to a specific situation.

What of tomorrow?

Pacific Lutheran University depends upon the generosity of its constituents to sustain its Christ-centered educational program. We see evidence of immediate

stewardship each day. However, we do not know how many alumni and friends have made provision for PLU in their wills.

A bequest made to PLU is an extension of Christian stewardship on earth. Our estate planning officer provides professional guidance to persons wishing to contribute to our work in this way.

For further information, contact our Development Office

Calendar of Events

- MAY**
- 20 Nurses Pinning Ceremony, UC, 10:30 a.m.
 Graduation Concert, Olson Aud., 8:15 p.m.
- 21 Commencement Worship, Olson Aud., 10:30 a.m.
 Commencement, Olson Aud., 3:30 p.m.
- 23-25 ALC North Pacific District Convention

- JUNE***
- 18- Forensics Institute (to 7/14)
- 19 First Summer Session begins

- JULY***
- 10-14 Workshop in Human Relations Skills (CHOICE)
- 16-22 Northwest Summer Music Camp
- 17-21 Theology Today (CHOICE)
- 17-22 Basketball Camp (also 7/23-29, 7/30-8/5, 8/7-12)

- 19 First Summer Session ends
- 20 Second Summer Session begins
- 22 Summer Music Camp Concert, Eastvold Aud., 2 p.m.
- 24-28 Model Building for Mission (CHOICE)

- AUGUST***
- 7-11 Organ Workshop
- 8 David Dahl Organ Recital, Trinity Lutheran Church, 8 p.m.
- 14-18 Youth Organ Institute
- 15 David Dahl Organ Recital, Trinity Lutheran Church, 8 p.m.
- 15-17 Summer Drama Workshop Production
- 17 Youth Organ Workshop Recital, Trinity Lutheran Church, 8 p.m.
- 18 Second Summer Session ends
 Summer Commencement, Eastvold Aud., 7:30 p.m.

- SEPTEMBER**
- 3 Parents Day
- 4-6 Orientation and Registration
- 7 Classes Begin
- 22 Football, Calif. Lutheran at PLU, Franklin Pierce Stadium, 8 p.m.

- OCTOBER**
- 7 League Day
 Football, Pacific U. at PLU, Franklin Pierce Stadium, 1:30 p.m.
- 13-15 HOMECOMING WEEKEND
- 14 Football, Whitman at PLU, Franklin Pierce Stadium, 1:30 p.m.
- 21 Football, PLU at Willamette
- 27-28 High School Congress
- 28 Football, PLU at College of Idaho
- 29 Reformation Sunday Program, Olson Aud.

**"Happenings" each weekday at 1 p.m. on the U.C. veranda. Free-form events: poetry, music, theatre and worship.