

FRANCE AN ENEMY?

We have heard De Gaulle vilify us, attack our values, our dollar. But does he speak for his own people?

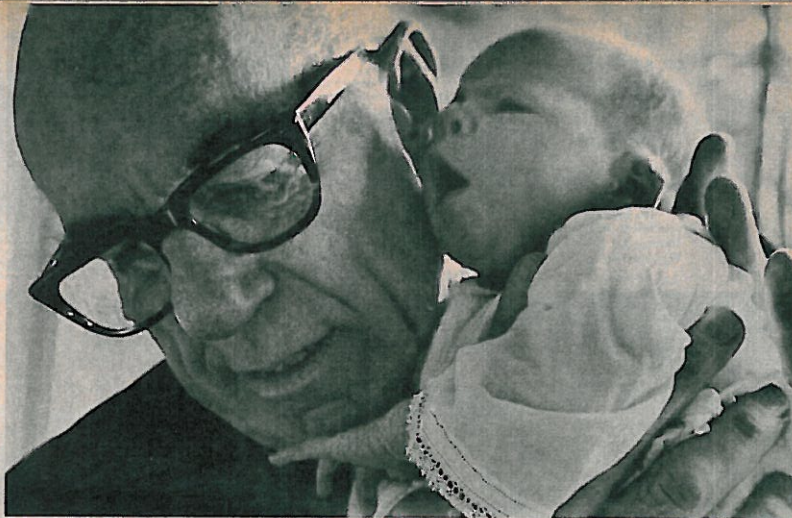
JAMES KAVANAUGH, EX-PRIEST

A visit with the man who called his Church "outmoded"



SWIMSUITS
68 more
mini with a
little maxi
plus the new tilt-t

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL SPACK
STYLING BY TARA PLOTT
LINCOLN, MA 01773



First granddaughter Susannah's baby talk catches his ear. She is the third child of his son Michael.

WHAT MAKES DR. SPOCK MARCH?

"Johnson's war in Vietnam" pushed the great pediatrician to civil disobedience

BY GEREON ZIMMERMANN LOOK SENIOR EDITOR

DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK took his first long stride as a peace marcher in Cleveland, Ohio, on Easter Saturday, 1962. This is the way it went: "I felt acutely self-conscious and ridiculous. I would have been delighted to have sunk into the pavement. As we went into the public square, a woman who had been marching for peace for decades pointed out two suave men in camel's hair coats and said, 'That's the police subversive squad.' They were writing down names and taking pictures. And I thought, *My God, is this the United States of America?*"

Recently, Dr. Spock took a longer stride. There was a button missing on his Brooks Brothers, dark-gray-worsted jacket as he scurried about his modest Manhattan apartment getting ready to go to New York's City Hall to protest alleged police brutality visited upon Stop the Draft Week marchers. He is meticulous. So, this 64-year-old world pediatrician, who is always collar-clasped, watch-chained, vested, French-cuffed, braced and gartered, changed his suit. Moments later, he flung his 6'4" lankiness into a cab and rattled over the East River Drive to lead the parley with a mayor's aide. After the meeting, Dr. Spock pushed through a mob and told interviewers that the Vietnam war was

"insane." Two days before, he had been arrested (on his fourth try) and jailed after symbolically violating a police line near the Whitehall Army induction center.

More mothers tore up his *Baby and Child Care*, the book that has sold 20.5 million copies and brought the Spock version of Dr. Sigmund Freud to the bassinet. Dr. Spock's main message was reassurance, not permissiveness, and he became a Dutch uncle to the post-World War II American generation. Because of his prestige, he perforce leads objectors to the Vietnam war and nuclear-weapons testing. This man who served as a Navy lieutenant commander in World War II (as a psychiatrist) and backed UN intervention in Korea has, it seems to many, turned himself inside out. It is Motherhood attacking Old Glory when he counsels draft-law violators. He is now under Federal indictment for those actions. A conviction could bring maximum penalties of five years in jail and \$10,000 in fines.

His obstinacy might not have been necessary. In 1965 and 1966, he asked Sen. Robert F. Kennedy to directly confront Administration war policies: "Kennedy was the only one in the country with the recognition and the popularity to oppose President Johnson. He had all the strengths and the confidence of the American people. . . . Kennedy

continued

"I think there's lots admirable about Johnson. But I'm ashamed to say I campaigned for him in 1964."

could not be called a wild man. I thought that millions of people would rally to him. Obviously, he didn't see it this way. The weakness of the peace movement is that we do not have such a national leader."

Also surprising is the head-knocking that Dr. Spock seeks with President Lyndon B. Johnson. He demands confrontation in rather angry language, but dialogue with dissenters is something the Commander in Chief is not having. In truth, national debates are mostly elusive; there is, for example, a publicly icy relationship between Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee J. William Fulbright, and no public standoff between the two. It might be said that the Administration plays a zone defense against its Southeast Asia-policy critics.

Years ago, I audited a lecture Dr. Spock gave to medical students at Western Reserve University. He explained in his warm, clear way that parental behavior—such as spanking a child—can be sadistic and can flood the parent with satisfaction. One student disagreed. He could not comprehend that slapping a kid around could give anyone a perverted joy. Patiently, Dr. Spock took the class over the traces of such an aberration, but the one student was shaking his head when the class ended. So, too, was Dr. Spock, because he felt that he had failed in presenting his theses. Spock is like that as a teacher. Solicitous, engaged and not without humor.

We meet an angry man when it comes to the war and Lyndon Johnson. "Johnson," he says, "betrayed us. My own feeling is that he has kept escalating the war, and we who are trying to oppose him have got to keep escalating our efforts and our frankness. Very delicately, a year ago, we were talking about the 'credibility gap,' which really means Johnson has been lying; but I think we're afraid to say that for fear there are relatively few people ready to believe it. We would only discredit ourselves, rather than him."

"George Herman asked me on *Face the Nation* if I believed President Johnson is 'the enemy of the American people.' I said, 'I believe so, absolutely. . . . I feel particularly bitter in a personal kind of a way. . . . He not only betrayed the American people, he betrayed me and the other people who supported him publicly.' Every week, he escalates a little bit further, getting us closer to war with China and . . . the Soviet Union. And if we get that far, then certainly there's the terrible risk of nuclear war starting. Johnson is reported to have said, 'I refuse to be the first President in the history of the United States to lose a war.' This is the egotistical view. He did not say, 'Is this war just?' or 'Is it, this war, in any interest of the United States?' In other words, I would translate this to mean 'This war is to save Lyndon Johnson's face.' I think there's lots that's admirable about Johnson. But I'm ashamed to say I campaigned for him in 1964. His aspirations for the domestic economy and civil rights were sincere."

"One of the things that has discouraged me most is to realize that the closest advisers of the President in regard to Southeast Asia and the war are intellectuals. And closest of all has been Rusk, who is a person of education and fair distinction. He seems to me cold-blooded and obsessed with anticommunism. Then you have the two Bundys—McGeorge and William—and the two Rostows—Walt and Eugene—who really have had academic careers. They have gone along with Johnson; they have not been restraining influences. This points out to me the dangerousness of relying on academic or intellectual brilliance unless one sees that it is balanced by strong humanitarian feelings. I'm not saying these people are not human-

continued



Dr. Spock shows grandsons Peter and Dan his civil-disobedience technique.



"I tried to get through a wall of policemen's shins, but they closed ranks on me. Then, I tried to climb over the barricade."



He marched again in New York after his arrest. Near him, really as guardians, were ten policemen.





"When I got up, we went to an opening in the barricade, and Inspector Fink said we were arrested. Like good criminals, we got into the paddy wagon."

His toy with Susannah and all children mixes affection, delight and patriarchal wonder.



Of Johnson's "cold-blooded" thinkers: "They're always talking about power."

itarian when they are at home, with their families. But if you read their books, their speeches, they're always talking about *power*. They never talk about the good people of Southeast Asia. They're thinking cold-bloodedly when it comes to international affairs. Plato was entirely wrong when he suggested that countries ought to be ruled by a specially educated elite.

"I would end up by saying if you had to choose between the brilliant person who may not have had to show humanitarian concern and a stupid person who is good-hearted, I would rather have the latter person, the humanitarian, in charge of the government.

"We should remember the influence of Pope John. As far as I know, he wasn't particularly brilliant; he didn't produce poetry and so on. He had to offer simply a *human kindness*. He was obviously a *loving* person, and he didn't talk harshly of *barbarians* or *Protestants*. It is extraordinary to me how anti-Catholic prejudice in this country, and around the world, melted because of Pope John. Anybody in any job has to be thinking in terms of people and decency toward people, and this is particularly important with the leaders of the nations of the world."

Dr. Spock believes that America has become obsessed with anti-communism to the point of "sickness," and that the chief architect of this policy, the late John Foster Dulles, was an evangelist gone wrong. And, as the doctor sees it, Americans have moved from hating Russian communism to hating Chinese communism. For him, holocaust may lie ahead if the escalation of the Vietnam war continues: "There is a 25 percent chance we will be at war with Red China before the elections in November."

As an early supporter of John F. Kennedy's candidacy, the lifelong Republican moved from the contemplative to manipulative forms of politics. In 1962, he joined the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear continued



"We have lost the ability to see reality in foreign affairs. When we say an individual has lost his sense of reality, he becomes psychotic. He may hurt other people, but he will surely hurt himself first."

Now, pudding is éclairs.

Jell-O, Baker's and Cream Whip are registered trademarks of General Foods Corporation.

French éclairs are easier now.
Vive to Jell-O® Pudding & Pie Filling!
Jell-O Pudding Eclairs
1 package (3 1/4 oz.) Jell-O Vanilla Pudding &
Pie Filling
1 1/2 cups milk
3/4 cup prepared Cream Whip®
Whipped Topping
2 tablespoons butter or margarine
1/4 cup water
3/4 cup sifted all-purpose flour
2 eggs
2 squares Baker's® Unsweetened Chocolate
2 tablespoons butter
1 1/2 cups unsifted confectioners' sugar
Dash of salt
3 tablespoons milk

Make Filling: Cook pudding mix as directed on package, reducing milk to 1 1/2 cups. Cover surface with wax paper; chill 1 hour. Beat pudding until smooth; fold in prepared topping.
Make Shells: Bring 6 tablespoons butter and the water to a boil in saucepan. Reduce heat; rapidly stir in flour. Cook and stir until mixture leaves sides of pan—about 2 minutes. Remove from heat; beat in eggs, one at a time. Beat thoroughly until

saucy. Form 5x1-inch strips of dough with spoon on ungreased baking sheets. Bake at 425° for 20 minutes, then at 350° for 30 minutes. Cool.
Assemble: Cut tops off shells, fill each with pudding, and replace tops.
Make Glaze: Melt chocolate with 2 tablespoons butter over low heat. Remove from heat; blend in sugar, salt and 3 tablespoons milk. Immediately spread on éclairs. Makes 10 éclairs.



DR. SPOCK CONTINUED

"Dr. Spock is like Henry Wallace. He has not wiggled it, but he is often foolish."

Policy, later became its co-chairman. He says his SANE activities freed him from the denial of reality—the reality being the possibility of nuclear disaster. Rumors began floating about his possible Ohio candidacy for the U.S. Senate, and even a spot on a Presidential ticket with Dr. Martin Luther King. All of this leaked away.

Then, Dr. Spock went to Chicago last August for the convention of the National Conference for New Politics (he is now its co-chairman). That gathering was something else in American politics. Instead of delegates in \$100 shiny suits and white shirts, and women in ridiculous hats—a normal coloration of such solemn bodies—there were, among the 3,000, many young people with beards, sandals, long hair and shades. The NCNP was almost fragmented by Black Power demands for overrepresentation: the blacks were entitled to about 5,900 votes, but wanted 28,498 votes—which is what the whites had. The blacks won their way. Dr. Spock, who deplores the anti-Zionist or anti-Semitic statements by some at the convention, sees no problem in the Negro coup. He believes the peace movement must embrace a total spectrum of political belief if it is to triumph.

The fracas of the New Left at the Chicago meeting polarized opinion about Dr. Spock. A New York liberal says, "Dr. Spock is like Henry Wallace. He has not wiggled it, but he is often foolish. Anyway, we have our man now—Sen. Eugene McCarthy." And at least one of the doctor's former colleagues finds his political views "naive." He may not know that on two occasions, Dr. Spock was invited to appear at Lord Russell's "International War Crimes Tribunal" and declined because he felt that the sessions were patently propagandistic.

Because of many marches, Dr. Spock says he is "thick-skinned about people yelling coward or Communist at me," but he puzzles about the impression that he is the cradle guru of the hippies and flower children because of his "permissive" writings.

"I'm not responsible for all those brats," he laughed in an address to a Brooklyn church group. He expounds: "When I wrote *Baby and Child Care* [in 1946], I was very much influenced by my time... by progressive education and Freudian concepts. I was certainly pushing the pendulum along. But later, I kept emphasizing again and again, you can love a child, you can be flexible, but children still need parents to know what's flexible. In the second edition, there was heavy emphasis on babies' and children's need for guidance from parents."

"The bewilderment of a certain proportion of youth is related to the fact that parents are very uncertain about what to tell their kids. Not continued

Too good for amateurs



THE PROFESSIONAL SHINE



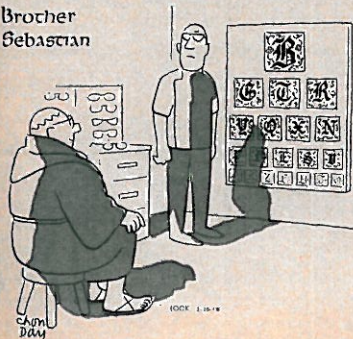
Bless its pointed little head.

The point of our pointed head is simply this: It lets you put the glue where you want to glue. You'll find one on top of every bottle of Elmer's Glue-All, America's favorite glue for wood, pottery, paper, and all porous materials.

BORDEN CHEMICAL

Write for Elmer's Glue-All facts and samples. Elmer's Glue-All is a registered trademark of Borden Chemical Co., 135 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10038. 50¢ and 10¢ bottles. Keep top of bottle to B-100-62.

Brother Sebastian



This is Rexall Super Plenamins



Available only at Rexall Drug Stores

DR. SPOCK CONTINUED

"I've been pioneering all my life, and I've been proved right, in pediatrics and in psychiatry."

only what man's all about but whether there's God or there isn't God. Young people are designed by nature, in late adolescence and early adulthood, to try to gain some intellectual, spiritual and idealism freedom by rebelling against their parents. This is how man has made scientific and cultural advances. Otherwise, each generation would be a slavish replica of the previous generation. . . . We would make no progress.

"One of the biggest innovations in the human race is the American parents who are unsure of themselves. I think this is a new phenomenon; and my hunch is that it's easier, more comfortable for young people to rebel if they know exactly what their parents stand for.

"American parents are adrift because a number of factors are at work, beginning with the discovery of evolution. There has been a delayed impact on people's confidence in religion—the evidence that man is not so special to God and not that different. This has been a shattering blow to mankind. It has not been so shattering to the French because they have the tradition of the French family. . . . In Great Britain, the tradition of service to the Empire. In the United States, parents have been less able to withstand the undermining effects of the loss of religious traditions because they didn't have other convictions too. I'm not saying this is disastrous. New convictions eventually come along. It's only painful in the transition period. We are now in transition up to our necks."

Dr. Spock, who does peace work at his own expense, retired from teaching at Western Reserve University last summer and is now writing three books. One is *Facts of Life for Teen-Agers*. He still uses the \$8.50 pine drafting table he used some 20 years ago when he wrote, in long-hand, *Baby and Child Care*. He and his wife Jane looked forward to an uncomplicated retirement of writing and sailing. They have a new, 35-foot auxiliary sloop, *Carapace*, and cruised the Caribbean early this winter.

"But on the way to retirement," he says, "I picked up this hobby—peace. By God, I certainly bit off more than I can chew."

That's just it, doctor, and all those middle-aged, Peter Pan-collared mothers who bough your book wonder about you. . . .

"I'm determined to win some authority for speaking for peace without having to be a senator to do it. I'm glad that I'm gradually being acknowledged somewhat grudgingly as a peace spokesman. I'm not a senile babe in the woods being used by SANE or the National Conference for New Politics. My eyes are wide open. Maybe three-fourths of my friends think I'm crazy, but I've been pioneering all my life, and I've been proved right, in pediatrics and in psychiatry. Maybe I'm a damned old fool, but I am obstinate. Until someone proves that I am wrong, especially about the Vietnam war, I have confidence."

Dr. Spock gets almost three beats out of one syllable of the Yankee English he speaks. It is the expert teacher's device. We had just finished luncheon (vichyssoise, tossed salad, cheese, English muffins and coffee) when he told of more plans for his future.

"I think the most unpopular thing I could do is advocate the teaching of morality in the schools. I was christened an Episcopalian, but since we've been married, the only times Jane and I go to church is for weddings and funerals. My concept of what God is is certainly nowhere near what the people who translated the Bible originally intended. But I believe in spiritual values and idealism. Not just for myself. I believe this is the nature of man, that man cannot exist without ideals. He gets sick inside, he does not know how to comport himself. I want to help man find out in the last half of the twentieth century what spiritual aspirations have validity. And I would say that one of them is to get rid of war, which from most religious points of view is an abomination. And we should go out and feed the hungry. First in our own country, and then around the world.

"Parents' lack of direction is compounded by faculty people. I'm not assuming everyone will teach the same moral values. The good faculty person will say that others take opposite views. But young people need to be reminded that morality cannot be dispensed with. Man becomes not only nothing better than an animal but worse than any animal because of the viciousness he can let loose when he is operating without morality."

END