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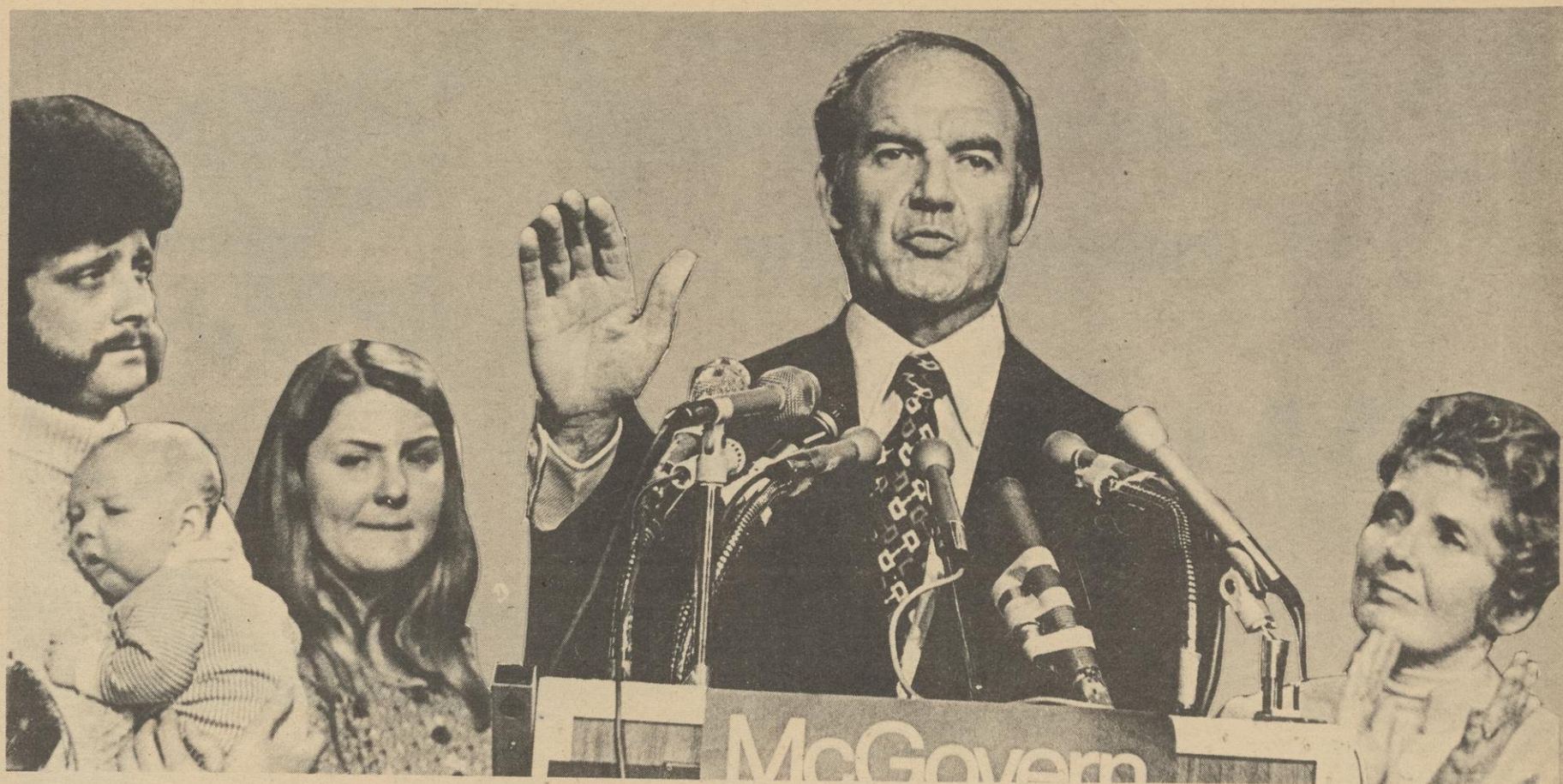
September 18, 1972

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Reflections on the Campaign

End The War in Vietnam

By JAMES ROWEN

c James Rowen, 1972

A lot of people have asked me what I think about the presidential campaign, and the Cardinal has asked me to write it down. That is not an easy task, but I will try and distill out my gut feelings—not necessarily for your approval, but at least for your consideration.

It seems to me that the central feature of the last few years of the American experience has been murder, and I find myself desperately tired, exhausted of being confronted with this re-occurring spectacle. You can take your pick of victims; Fred Hampton, or Jock Yablonski, or Bobby Kennedy, Malcolm X or Martin Luther King (or President Kennedy, depending on how far back you wish to go); or grisly scenes; Philadelphia, Mississippi, or the Spahn Ranch, Kent State or Attica prison—or the thousands of bombed out, burned out villages of Vietnam which are as much a fixture on the evening news as tomorrow's weather, each with their shattered and weeping survivors, the instant refugees, burying their dead.

Vietnam has given us new instruments of murder, and new measurements to rate them—these irrationally appropriate spin-offs of the latest Yankee ingenuity. We have body counts and beehive shells, "smart bombs" and "carpet bombing," B-52's and M-16's, pacification, protective reaction, and Vietnamization. And if Vietnam were not enough to outrage, and numb us, we have been forced to witness the slaughter of the athletes—a nation's demigods—at Munich; a deep wound not only at the great human vitality of the Olympic Games, but at that yearning for

serenity and sheer enjoyment nearly erased by 25 years of war in Indochina and the Middle East.

IT IS IN THE dark light of these times, and of the feeling of helplessness in the face of so much pain, that the presidential election offers us such a positive, energizing possibility of accomplishing a clearcut political simultaneous defeat of Richard Nixon, election of George McGovern, and an end to the war in Vietnam. I do not believe that so significant a choice has ever faced the American electorate—and while the differences are vast between the candidates on such basic issues as civil liberties, corporate power, tax equality, and employment, let me concentrate again on the most crucial distinction: Vietnam.

On inauguration day, will the bombers be out flying over Southeast Asia, dropping their deadly tonnage, or will they be grounded by George McGovern's first Executive Order? Will we have a president who will continue the carnage or stop the killing? Will we have a president who will celebrate murder, as Richard Nixon surely did when he congratulated Nelson Rockefeller's My Lai strategy at Attica Prison which cost 44 lives, or will we have a President who will celebrate life by stopping the greatest aerial bombardment the world has ever seen?

These are the stakes in the Presidential election. They transcend the usual discussion of priorities, emphasis, or platform platitudes. The core issue is survival, not only for the children of Vietnam, but for the young American G.I.'s of our generation who continue to lose their lives, or their legs, or eyes, at the Nixon Administration's 'acceptable' level of nearly 50 a

week. I have not been to Vietnam, but I have been to Veterans' Administration hospitals, and I have seen some of the human wreckage of Richard Nixon's refusal to end the war, and I do not wish to see any more.

The issues, of course, go beyond the borders of Southeast Asia. The President's war policies are merely indicative of what George McGovern has called "the Vietnam thinking" of the present administration. While Nixon is committed to the "Nixon Doctrine" of intervention, McGovern is committed to its end, at every level of its implementation, both foreign and domestic.

NOW THERE ARE many people who, because of a disagreement with some portion of George McGovern's proposals or statements, have said they are not sure for whom they will vote. And there are others who

have chosen to luxuriate in selfishness and "will sit this one out,"—as if the world did not intrude into their privileged lives.

But I would urge people with disagreements over George McGovern's positions to ask themselves if the particular bone you have to pick with George McGovern outweighs the best chance to finally end the war? Do you want, or can you justify to others, another four years of Richard Nixon? And are you willing to risk eight years of Spiro Agnew after that?

I would submit that many elections offer neither a real choice between opponents or a real chance for fundamental change. But this election is different, because the choice is clear and the consequences are critical. I urge you to tear the death mask from the Presidency, and give us an era for living, and for love.

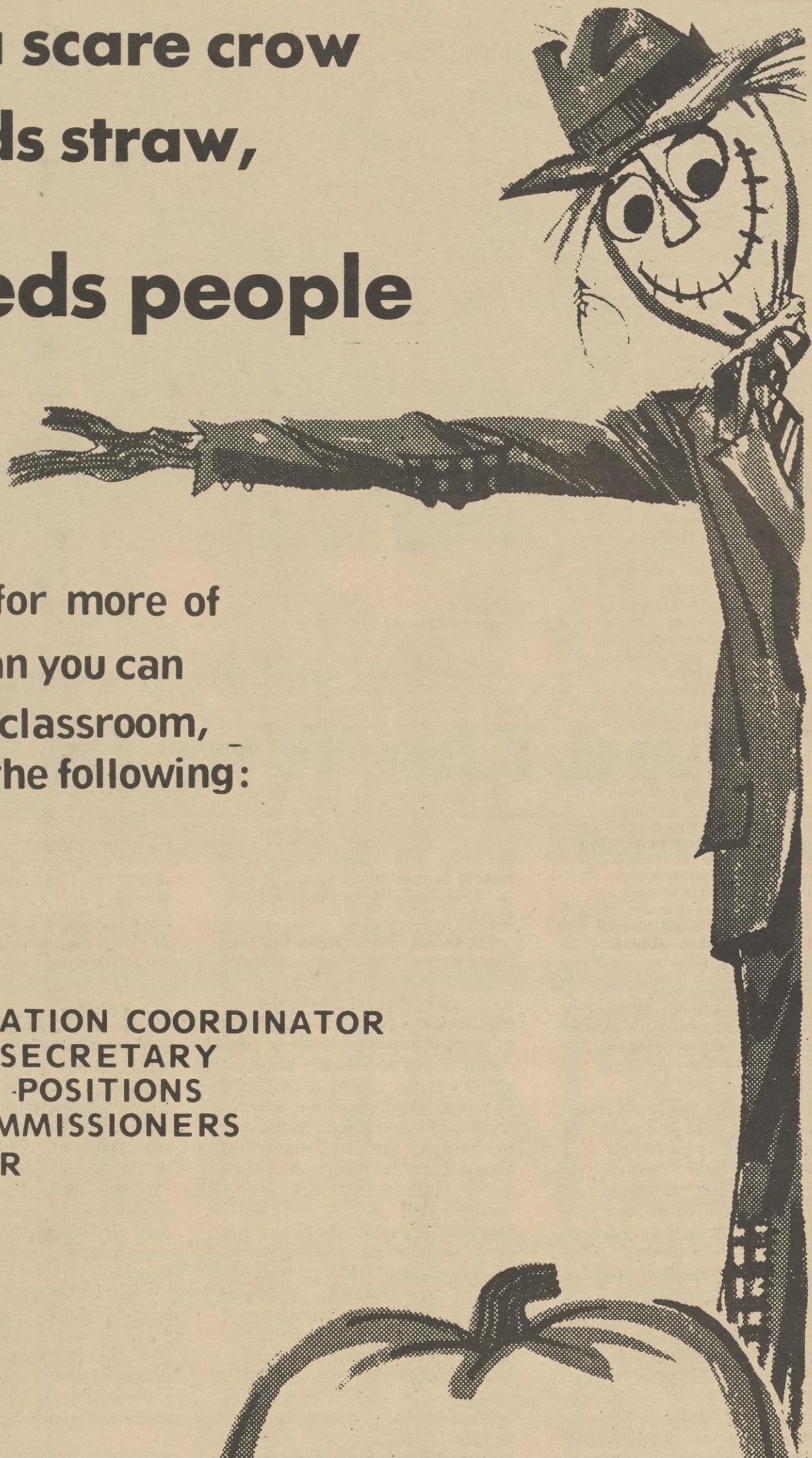
James Rowen is George McGovern's son-in-law. He and Susan McGovern Rowen spent several years at the University, where Jim was Contributing Editor of the Daily Cardinal until June, 1970.

More recently Rowen has been the editor of the New Mexico Review and Legislative Journal, and is a frequent contributor to The Nation magazine.

He is pictured above with his son, Matthew, Susan, George, and his mother-in-law, Eleanor.



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Prof. Maurice Zeitlin

"What you are talking
about is a politically
active radical who
happens to be a professor."

Maurice Zeitlin, Professor of Sociology, is best known on campus for never getting a pay raise without a fight, and for engaging in verbal gymnastics with Senator Gaylord Nelson in the midst of the May, 1970 Cambodia Crisis. (Nelson insisted that the war was a tragic mistake by well-intended men, and he was vehemently opposed by Zeitlin).

Zeitlin is recently returned to the University from a year of research at the University of California at Santa Barbara, and most recently a year in Israel.

Zeitlin was interviewed at length by Cardinal reporter Jonathan Wolman. His observations will appear in two parts. This first segment deals primarily with life in the University, the second will focus on the Middle East.

Cardinal: Someone said to me the other day that you were the last "heavy radical" faculty member on campus, now that (Harvey) Goldberg is gone. I wonder if that is true and what do you think that means for the University.

Zeitlin: I don't know what a heavy radical professor in this place is. Do you?

I think it connotes something, and I think it probably connotes the same thing to you as to me.

I don't know if it does. A heavy radical professor? What about a weak radical professor? Would that change the meaning? (Laughter)

What it implies to me is that heavy means activist. There are professors who are radicals and you meet them in class and they say things that most radical students would agree with—but you never see them after class. The only time I've ever seen you in my life was on stage with (Sen. Gaylord) Nelson which could be an example of activism. . . I don't know what heavy means either, but what it connotes to me is some sort of activism outside of the classroom.

Let's drop that and say that what you are talking about is a politically active radical who happens to be a professor. Because it seems to me that that is the most important formulation. There are difficulties in being a politically active individual who holds views that are outside of the mainstream of one's immediate colleagues, for example, or outside of the mainstream of the area in which one lives, or in the minority in the country.

One of the difficulties in that is that activism is noted, noticed and notable, where as a professor who is an active member of the Democratic party—who will never miss a meeting of the Dane County Democratic Club, whose wife may be the chairman of the local Democratic party, and who himself may be on the National Committee—this person may receive some notice, but it is in the context of a respectful and respectable participation as a citizen in the active political life of his country.

The difference is that when a person does precisely the same thing—but say one joined an organization which was specifically and avowedly opposed to the war and when it was possible to think it was an indelicate act, then that activism is noted.

The dissenter is placed in a special kind of position. He is going to be noticed and when he isn't dissenting it is going to be noticed also.

SO I THINK that the point should be made that probably the majority of professors are active citizens on this campus. So that for every so-called radical professor on this campus, there are at least a hundred who are active members of the Democratic Party, and perhaps an equal number who are active members of the Republican Party. Many are active in all kinds of political organizations, speak around the state, and give lectures on any number of politically impregnated topics. At least that number, and I wouldn't be surprised if the Daily Cardinal knows the precise number, have acted as consultants for the State Department or for the United States Army or for the Central Intelligence Agency, or any number of government institutions which are not controversial.

At the point that research was brought into question by large numbers of people, especially on university campuses, they suddenly became noticed and notable,

but in a way which put them on the defensive and a way which made them feel that people were being intolerant, and in a way in which made them accuse students of being opposed to free speech or being anti-intellectual and so forth.

I think that example indicates that the critical thing in all of this is whether or not an individual is active in causes which attract attention to him because of the nature of the cause.

Okay, but if that is true, would you agree that the sort of political activism that grew out of the more frantic days of anti-war activism on the faculty is on the

political quiescence. But were we comparing this to the Fifties it would still be a period of great activism, when we went from a period of quiescence and fear under McCarthyism.

I was an undergrad in those days and political activism at that time was defined as stating at a cocktail party or in the library, where you stood. You were courageous to go to the Public Library to withdraw a book written by Karl Marx. You were even courageous to ask for the *Adventures of Robin Hood*, which was banned in the Detroit Library when I was an undergraduate at Wayne University. We got 36 students to go out and wear green feathers out of a campus which then I think had 20,000 students and we considered that a major political triumph.

Alright, so we compare that period. I saw professors fired right in front of my eyes and one of the great mathematicians of that university, who was an associate of Einstein's, and who

his sense of people. Eisenhower was going to look at a thing and see if it accorded with some sense he had genuinely of the national interest. At many critical points, Eisenhower acted in ways which prevented us from getting into adventures and indecent politics abroad whereas, of course, Nixon does precisely the opposite.

So far as McGovern is concerned at least we know this guy from his whole political career is a relatively decent man of conviction, and it also happens that I agree with most of the convictions that he has publicly espoused. So I would certainly be pleased to see him in the White House.

To get on a different subject now, you are now teaching very few large classes, in fact no lecture classes at all. There seems to be more of a tendency towards that. Why are you not interested in teaching large lectures or even small classroom groups?

No, that is not true. First of all, contrary to widespread student opinion, it is a very difficult job to teach and it is very difficult to give good lectures which are well thought of once delivered; lectures which are intelligible, lucid, coherent—from which students learn and which are respectable in terms of the knowledge they impart to one's colleagues.

To be simultaneously scholarly, and to be as insightful and profound as one should, and at the same time to be exciting and interesting to undergraduate students? Very few people have that talent and ability. I don't know if I do. I have a modest amount of it obviously, because students apparently enjoy my classes. But that takes a frightful toll.

Every time I walk into a classroom—when I have 300 or 400 or 500 students—I'm walking into a situation in which there are 500 individuals prepared to make nasty remarks to their neighbors about the stupid thing I just got through saying or to comment about how sill an idea is or to say "Christ are we on that again."

SO IT TAKES a toll on you physically and intellectually. You know my stomach does flip flops three times a week when I do those lectures. I certainly have to spend an entire day's work for each lecture that I prepare. For perfectly selfish reasons one likes to relax from that, although graduate teaching takes its toll in an entirely different way.

If you teach a graduate seminar it is a lot of work, and it takes a great deal of time and preparation. But it is an intensive activity with a small number of students. You are not in the same situation in which you generally cannot answer questions, stop and develop an idea. On the contrary, a graduate seminar or a small class allows you to do precisely that.

Virtually no professor, if he had his druthers, would choose to handle large lectures. Not necessarily the time, because I may spend more time preparing a graduate seminar than I do an undergraduate course. Not in terms of the work, but in terms of the whole gestalt I tried to explain.

There are very few professors who if they had their choice, from that standpoint and only from that standpoint, who wouldn't teach only graduate courses. So that has to be understood. Harvey Goldberg or William Appleman Williams were in a very similar situation.

It has nothing to do with politics. One of the great lecturers on this campus is George Mosse of the History department. And he is in the best of the grand liberal tradition. I don't think there is anyone, besides a Neanderthal, who would accuse him of being a radical. He has been a dissenter, but he has been a dissenter within what would be considered to be within the mainstream of American political life.

THE POLITICS OF the teacher have
(continued on page 11)

An Interview

decline?

I don't know, but I want to make this one final point about the notion of activism. The students on this campus, certainly the administration and many members of the faculty, seem to define activism as the statement—forcefully—of views that differ from their own, and from the prevailing ones, and from the powers that be. Because in terms of activism, no one has ever accused me of being someone who has led students through windows, or helped to seize buildings or helped to occupy them or lead the students against the National Guard or urge them on, or anything of that kind, because that is obviously, simply a patent falsehood.

What they have accused me of is having the nerve to state forcefully, clearly, and publically what I believe. I think that has to be made very clear.

The definition of activism becomes that individual who states things in such a way that it is clear where he stands. Now, one that is clear, we can put your question in a new light because after all, in comparison to perhaps any other country in the world, the freedom of speech which we enjoy is great. The fact of the matter is that in the last several years this has been a period of repression in comparison to the previous half decade.

First of all many graduate students became young faculty, or tried to become young faculty, and found it very difficult because of their activism. Right?

Second of all, many young faculty found their careers endangered very often—not because of their immediate colleagues—but because of pressures emanating from the administration or by the active intervention of the administration. Not at this University necessarily, I'm talking about the milieu, the environment. I'm not saying that things like that didn't happen at this University but I'm not referring to that in particular.

OBVIOUSLY, an atmosphere began to envelop the campuses both among the students—a lot of which was paranoia, a lot of which was exhaustion—and among the faculty.

So many individuals who continue to hold precisely the same views they have held before, are now quieter. They are doing what President Nixon has espoused, namely maintaining a low profile. I think that that should be clear also because it brings us to an analysis which goes further than the question of whether or not there are still "heavies" on campus. This is obviously a period in comparison to the last five years of

happened to be teaching at what was a major university, was fired because he refused to stand up in front of the committee and answer questions and instead took the Fifth Amendment.

At that time, taking the Fifth Amendment became a pejorative act, it became something for which one was deprecated, and castigated. Yet he was simply adhering to his constitutional rights. So there was a period when merely adhering to one's constitutional rights put one in jeopardy.

Now, fortunately, this period compared to that period, is not at all bad, so I don't want to maintain that we are living through some vast period of repression.

BUT THE FACT of the matter is a lot of people are scared and they have reason to be. I was honored by a sufficient number of attacks from a variety of places so that I had reason to be scared too, and except for the fact that I am incredibly stupid I probably would have shut up. But a lot of people are not quite so stupid or as irrepressible as I am, and they decide now that the better part of valor would be to be quiet.

So my guess is that the number of people who espouse views which are strongly opposed to the way in which our country is being governed, and that the kinds of policies which are being carried about abroad in our name—I don't think that that number has receded. I simply think that the expression of that dissent, actively and publicly, has stopped and that there will be new forms of political expression, one of which right now is the respectable candidate for the president of the United States which is taking the energies of an awful lot of people.

How do you feel about him?

I think McGovern is certainly the best candidate in my lifetime for the presidency. I think he is a man of decency, which is the first criterion. That may sound strange as it is a non-philosophical, non-political criterion. I think it is not an original statement to say that the presidency is fraught with so much power and so much capacity to do damage quickly—and to do obscene and indecent acts—that you need a man who, simply in terms of his own instincts, and own motivations, and his own good sense of what human beings are, is going to hold a steady hand on the trigger.

We don't have that kind of president now. We have precisely the opposite kind of man in the White House by virtue of his entire political career, and you can contrast that to his mentor Eisenhower, who was a man who was basically decent in terms of his instincts, and in terms of

'Academic Supermarket' investigates charges at U

By DANIEL SCHWARTZ
of the Cardinal Staff

Shakespeare called love a "mis-shapen chaos of well-seeming form." One reading of *Academic Supermarket*, a recently published case study of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, leads to the same conclusion about the Madison "multiversity" and makes this book a required first step in understanding the misfunctionings of at least one academic mutant of the sixties.

The book, which grew out of a seminar on comparative higher education taught at the University in 1969 by two of the editors, Philip G. Altback and Robert S. Laufer (Shelia McVey the third editor was a graduate student in the course), is in the words of the authors "not an expose of the University of Wisconsin, nor is it a full scale analysis of an extremely complex institution." It is merely a "forum for discussion," a subtitled "critical case study of the multiversity."

The University of Wisconsin, for all its financial reliance on research, does not encourage the discipline on its own home grounds. Departmental toes squack dangerously when threatened and usually those

people who know the most about institutions like the University are willing to say the least. According to the authors, this work joins only two other major ones concerning the University; a history which ended in 1925 and a tourists' guide to the highlights of the Madison campus.

ACADEMIC SUPERMARKET is an attempt to fill this research vacuum. It represents the necessary first step in analyzing the changes wrought in the University by the political crises of the sixties. The approach is a top-down analysis of the internal power structures of the University—the regents, the presidency and the faculty—under the stress of the topical highlights of the sixties—the Black strike, Dow, the TAA strike, Cambodia and the AMRC bombing.

The authors are drawn from all sections of the academic scene with the regrettable exception of undergraduates. While the exception is more or less a deliberate one on the part of the editors, its absence reflects itself in the limited perspective offered about undergraduates in the book. Nevertheless, articles by Steve Zorn, James Rowen and Elaine Reuben in the book deal with

issues which undergraduates have spent much of their political energy concentrating on.

ACADEMIC SUPERMARKET

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Waupon paper calls the real prison shots

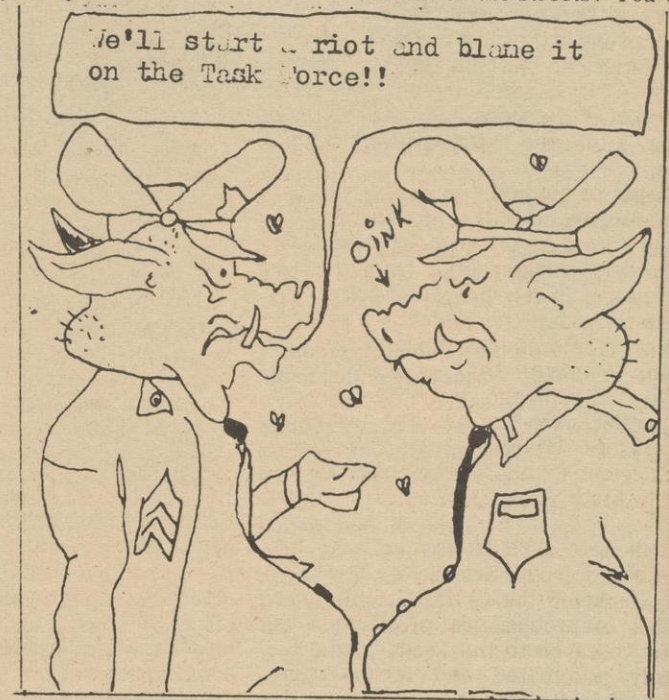
It is not an ordinary newspaper. It appears mysteriously on typed paper—hand drawn and hand typed. Its circulation bases itself on a neatly perfected system of hand-to-hand smuggling. It is illegal, and called the Prisoner's Unity.

For the inmates of Waupon State Prison, however, it is the news, Prisoner's Unity, or P.U., as it is affectionately called, reads in as unique a fashion as it appears. Printed below are excerpts from two issues of the paper which worked their way out of the prison.

A new paper is born, and possibly, may be short-lived due to its "illegality" and mostly because of its subject content. That remains to be seen. In any event it is here.

Brothers, if you have doubts as to your being exploited by the state and the self-serving interests of a failure that perpetuates failure—ask yourself some questions. Ask yourself:

How much money do I make as compared to the money the state saves for my labor as a slave? Is fifty cents a day enough for you? Then why did you try to steal thousands of dollars out on the streets? You could



Cartoon reprinted from P.U.

have earned fifty cents a day, easily, honestly, out there.

DO WE HAVE "Brutality" here? Is being chained down, nude on a steel bunk behind closed wooden doors for periods of up to five days, while lying in your own piss and shit brutal? That is done here. Is sending known mentally-ill citizens to a state prison and then keeping them locked up in a cage for years brutal? That's being done here. There are many such instances that we know about. Could it happen to you. You' god-damn right it could.

Have you been dealt with fairly by the courts, or, on an equitable basis with some of your brothers? How many do you see here for the very same crime, but one got 30 year, whereas, the other got five years? Lots of them! Was the State Supreme Court kind enough to appoint one of their bread and butter attorneys to "represent" you on an appeal? And, if so, how long after his appointment did he file his "no merit" brief, grab the money and run? Wisconsin has the highest filing of "no merit" briefs in the country and this sorry situation should be checked out.

Authorities Trying to Start Riot

Ever since the Governor's Task Force on offender rehabilitation has been making inquiries into the way the prison is run, it has caught a lot of flack from reactionary buzzards who are afraid that they might have to look for work on the outside. They have been called "do-gooders" who "know nothing about prisons" and they have been much maligned and slandered.

(continued on page 8)



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Science For Vietnam: making war on war

By SUSAN MOSELEY

In 1966, John McNaughton, Deputy Secretary of Defense under Lyndon Johnson, offered one of the most frigid appraisals yet of American war-making policy in Vietnam. "If handled right," he said, "destruction of the locks and dams might (perhaps after the next pause) offer promise."

"It should be studied," he added. "Such destruction does not kill or drown people. By shallow flooding of the rice, it leads in time to widespread starvation (more than a million) unless food is provided—which we could offer to do at the conference table."

It is this memorandum (now part of the Pentagon Papers) that, according to University of Chicago biologist Richard Levins, reflects on the broader scale the same policy of "coersion" and "subtlety" of which scientists and mathematicians for the Army Math Research Center are also guilty.

LEVINS AND OTHER members of the Chicago based group, Science for VietNam (SFVN), picketed the (A)MRC conference last week to protest this prostitution of scientific research to the needs of the increasingly automated and technological scenario of U.S. war-making policy in Southeast Asia. During the conference last week, Levins talked about the SFVN group and its background with the Cardinal.

SFVN is a group of scientists and non-scientists organized in 1971 following a trip to Hanoi by Levins. The group now is actively engaged in the exchange of scientific, medical and educational material as an act of solidarity with the North Vietnamese and the liberation forces in the South.



Pictured above is a recent protest coordinated by Madison Science for the People. Biologist Richard Levins of Chicago based group says "the group is

SFVN's most important contribution so far has been its elucidation and documentation of the evolution of American war-making policy from conventional forms of warfare to technological control. SFVN offered the basis for this analysis in their report entitled "The Big Gun is the Rain", which was the first actual documentation (from the Pentagon Papers) of American use of cloud seeding operations in the war as early as 1967 over Laos. The report also analyzed the extent of U.S. involvement in weather modification research and development and discussed the military and ecological significance of this policy.

"Our strategy," Levins explained, "is to find out what kind of research is going on in a particular field by going through the journals." This strategy was the genesis of

now actively engaged in the exchange of scientific, medical, and educational material as an act of solidarity with the North Vietnamese."

the group's report "The Big Gun in the Rain."

THE REPORT WAS the culmination of a month long study by the group of Congressional and governmental documents, publications by the military and National Science Foundation on weather modification, and other research related sources.

"We found," Levins continued, "there was research on terrain. The intention was to cause low flooding to destroy crops—with the intent then of coming in and offering rice as a bargaining tool."

Indeed, this strategy of using food as a bargaining agent, first enunciated in 1966 by McNaughton, can be seen as a continuing theme right up to the 1967 discussion of the bombing of the dikes. There again it was

thought that small scale bombing would lead to flooding and destruction of the rice crop.

Although Levins admits that there is some controversy among meteorologists concerning the military's ability to use weather modification as a war-making tool, he believes it is for the most part unjustified. Some meteorologists, for instance, believe cloud seeding is unfeasible because storms have too much energy to be harnessed. Thus, they claim it would be difficult to manipulate rainfalls so that they occur over the desired target.

LEVINS DISMISSES THIS because, he says, "If it doesn't always work, it sometimes works—and that's enough for the military."

The most serious and dangerous aspect of weather warfare, according to Levins, is the cloak of "covert" and "secret" which is thrown around U.S. policy, and which mystifies the reality of the political and psychological impact of that policy. The bombing of the dikes, for instance, is seen as a weapon of war to cause flooding, but is not understood in the broader context of U.S. war making policy.

In the broader context the use of this policy is expressed in the development of game theory, or as Levins explains, "in the use of small scale military action as a threat in the belief that it's more credible than if you say you'll do something."

This threat is dangled in front of the Vietnamese people with the additional ploy of offering rice at the bargaining table as an effective military strategy. The intent of the strategy is to confuse and create political anxieties in a populace that doesn't understand what happened. Starvation weakens the will of the people to resist and reduces bargaining from the political level to the level of rice and mere subsistence.

The Science for VietNam group picketed the AMRC conference to illustrate the co-optation of scientific research to the psychological manipulations of game theory.

As a scientist, Levins says, he rejects this manipulation of his research by considering what the possible applications of the project are and also by not accepting any military research contracts.

Instead, Levins adds, "we plan our research in collaboration with the Vietnamese to see what they need."

"We try to choose problems with beneficial applications," Levins concluded. "That's all you can do—choose."

Susan Mosely is a regular staff member of the Daily Cardinal.

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Except in Madison, the dreamers have won. Their charcoal sketches have been transformed into evergreens

The following is the first of a two part series examining the State Street Mall and the forces behind and against it. The second part of the series features an interview with Mayor William Dyke concerning "that hallowed piece of asphalt."

The mall was the subject of mass demonstrations last spring as well as a student run boycott of State Street stores to coerce support. Long a subject of city council debate, the Mall historically has found itself smack in the middle of the many disputes which have racked the growing metropolis called Madison.

The author, Mike Irwin, is a professor at Madison Area Technical College in journalism and advises the school paper, The Slant. The Dyke interview will appear in Tuesday's Cardinal.

By MICHAEL IRWIN

Nobody is sure who proposed the first center-city mall or who first told the dreamer to come back to man-on-the-street level thinking. Some say the idealist was none other than Leonardo da Vinci.

One certainty though, Madison, Wisconsin, dreamers and critics have been battling for years. The latest episode lasting from 1967 through mid-1972 when a City Council vote led to a cautious \$30,000 appropriation for further mall studies.

Over the capital city's State Street renewal proposals, men with drawing pencils like City Planning Department's Charles Dinaur and John Urich and University counterparts like planning and construction head Jim Edsall, have crashed into intense political pressures and often, a foot-stamping resistance to change. In other cities, Vienna, Amsterdam, Honolulu, and nearby in Minneapolis and Kalamazoo, malls have been built, according to a spring 1972 article in City magazine, over the protests of merchants now profiting handsomely from them.

EXCEPT IN Madison, the dreamers have won. Their charcoal sketches have been transformed into gurgling fountains, low-lying evergreens, tall maples, grassy carpets. These traffic-less or traffic-limited "people canals" are centered in city retail business areas.

Here, in one of the country's "ideal cities," a much-advertised project for urban renewal is stuck in neutral. Nobody seems quite sure how to engage the clutch to bring operating consensus between students, businessmen and politicians leading to City Council and University Regents allocating funds for the jointly sponsored project.

"We have never fulfilled John Nolen's

(the first city planner) dream for central Madison," says Mayor William Dyke, referring to a 1910 State Street mall proposal.

"A UNIVERSITY sponsored mall for lower State Street has been on the books since 1906," says director Edsall who cites studies extending over the last decade that show the project's place in the University's larger planning scheme.

"If State Street is going to survive there's going to have to be a mall," says Lou Weitzman, longtime manager of Lou's Tobacco Bar, a successful retail and mail order business near the campus.

Stan Hershleder, proprietor of a family-owned fur shop at 529 State, says "The mall means an improvement so it's good." Hershleder is considered an arch-rival of

the project even by conservative peers in the business area.

"Sooner or later there's going to be a mall down there," says Paul Soglin, Eighth Ward Alderman and staunch mall advocate.

WISCONSIN Student Association member Mark Bernstein says, "There'll be a mall; we're not out of it yet." Bernstein was active in last spring's boycott of some street businessmen who opposed the project after a half-year "experimental" closing of State's lower two blocks.

"Merchants must get together and work out plans for a mall-shopping center," says State Street record-shop retailer Mike Victor, "because if things continue the way they are, we're heading for total deterioration down here."



In May of 1972, the Mall was an issue for the thousands of demonstrators who took to the streets to verbalize their anger at bureaucratic stagnation.

The spectre of urban blight in city beautiful" like Madison may be the for urban rehabilitation that polins, businessmen, students and planwill understand. Yet as planner Urichs, "You can get a guy to say yes to a man interview or a research study but never say it in a public meeting where he said."

BUSINESSMEN and shoppers are saying "yes" to survey researchers at the University. Last spring landscape architecture students under Associarof. Richard Blakeley polled 115 of 17 street businessmen. Ninety-seven or 84 approved of the mall concept in one four forms. Shoppers of all ages were pol 182 of them, and 87% approved of the idea.

Another study done in the Agrural Economics Department underrof. Richard Burrows showed: 8 of businessmen polled favored mall plan 22% of prospective mall shoppers liked idea and 50% who drove downtown they would brave parking problems to situate Street.

Evidence, less scientific but less notable, suggests more people sh be saying yes to researchers and local politicians. There are uncommon st of instability and flux on the street thes. Business closings and turnovers, accing to men like Weitzman, Victor and other senior retailers have been higher sin 1970 than in the previous 2 years combined. Some merchants have moved to shopping owers and to sprawling East and West tne "Malls" but some, like clothiers Rood and Ross and C.W. Anderes on lowerate, their neighbors contend, have los their shirts.

"WE'VE GOT TO see some stabildown there," says Mayor Dyke, "because can't build a mall full of junk shops, tave and porno shops." (The street's first hardcore porno shop opened earlier this mo)

The mayor's quest for stability is to chicken and egg questions many a sincerely. Nobody can answer these quions. Still, they have a way of stalling lets on both sides of the State Street issue ad those heading business factions in betweo we need economic stability to sta constructing a mall or will a comple mall boost and stabilize the street's busness climate?

Since 1967 the unanswered questio ave added to a leadership lethargy, not dined to the mayor's office, that has pccally doomed a Frank Lloyd Wright dned



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Civic Center for downtown area Madison.

THOSE PUSHING for one of four or five construction plans popular with University and City experts carry some potent arguments for their "go ahead" cause, just as the "go-slowers" have concerns no experts have handled so far.

Art and beauty reasons aside, here are some practical reasons given why State Street should become a pedestrianized or "traffic-limited" street soon:

*The money is available to begin construction: \$250,000 is the figure set by Dinaur and Edsall for completing the campus end 7-800 blocks of State as a full pedestrian mall. A Federal Legacy of Parks grant administered by (HUD), the Department of Housing and Urban Development, includes \$106,000 earmarked for State Street mall construction. Another \$135,000, the University's share which is part of a current budget, could be allocated by the Regents this fall, according to Edsall. The City of Madison's share, about \$9,000, is part of the current planning department as one year to spend the federal money or it will revert to HUD's general fund.

*HUD IS clearly "high on malls" as urban renewal projects. In other cities, up to two-thirds of construction costs have been covered by federal renewal money. A city planners proposal to be mailed early in 1973 has solid chances of returning funds for construction in 1-600 blocks of State.

*City Plan Director Dinaur has indicated all of State must soon be reconstructed above and below ground level. Water mains and electrical circuits are ancient. The street surface resembles a road map. "It's going to cost us \$1 million for the work whether we build a mall or not," he says. Dinaur estimates an end-to-end State Street mall will also cost a million dollars. "We may as well have federal funds," he says, "and the longer we wait the more it will cost."

*Businessmen operating stores in other center-city malls around the U.S. are making more money. City magazine reported last spring in a "before and after" study of financial status in mall stores that retail sales were up 14 to 35 per cent in cities large as Fresno, California and Minneapolis and nearby in Kalamazoo, Michigan. In Minneapolis' seven-block Nicollet Mall sales are up 14 per cent and \$280 million has been spent on street construction and store renewal the City article says. (State Mall Study Committee Chairman R. Whelan Burke suggests this is decisive evidence that follow-through on the project means brighter days for many sputtering downtown businesses.

*TWO STUDY committees appointed by Mayor Dyke since 1968 have concluded the plans are workable, economically possible and would be a boon for downtown Madison. One such committee was composed of University and city planners; another headed by Burke was comprised of citizens with diverse backgrounds.

*Nearly one-fifth of Madison's total population is within walking distance of State Street. According to 1970 U.S. Census Bureau maps, about 20,000 people live within a half mile radius of State Street. An estimated 15,000-17,500 work in the immediate area. These figures do not include

5,000 full time students at Madison Area Technical College or those Madison Business College students who shop or seek entertainment on the street.

*The proposed mall area offers 1800 city managed public parking places according to Department of Traffic Engineering maps. There are also several thousand privately owned stalls designed for public use. "We've got a parking problem," says record store-keeper Mike Victor, "but we've got more spaces now than ever before."

IMPRESSIVE as they are, these arguments weaken when examined or ignored by others. Many are businessmen with rationale and questions of their own:

*Student trashings during the past five years have brought backlash thinking. "Student conduct has been irretrievable bad and has scared away Madison trade for downtown," says Robert Paunek, president of Commercial State Bank, 102 State. "People are not going to back a mall just to have windows broken again."

"Students are not thinking about long range effect of their protests on a State Street project they support," says graduate student and city planning staffer Jim Sanborn.

*Business people say they want promises of more parking, mass transit and some intra-street "people-moving" system before backing a mall. Neither city nor University planners have current plans for more parking near State. Mass transit plans beyond city buses are still in the dream stage. "At least," says furrier Stan Hershleder, "we could first work out a system where merchants give old ladies a ten cent token to ride the Madison Metro (bus) between the ends of State Street."

*MERCHANTS do not know how they will service and supply their stores on a limited access street. "This loading business is a real problem, not imaginary," says mall supporter Victor. "Not that many stores have rear access, maybe only ten percent."

*Communications between City Hall, planners and the business community has been poor and merchants have not been involved, the "go-slow" people are saying. "We were not even consulted in the city experiment closing lower State for seven-and-a-half months," says one disgruntled merchant. "You've got to involve, consult people if you want them to agree with you," says Tom Patti, mid-street music supply store owner.

Involving more people with political and financial clout could be the key way to implement the mall concept. The mayor recently proposed, pending council approval of study funds, appointing a third mall study committee for upper State Street. If businessmen sit on that committee, as Dyke suggested they would in a July interview, they most recognize their street is undergoing a period of dramatic changes reflecting new life styles, buying habits and tastes.

Altering the image and character of the downtown area with a "people canal" on State Street will require consensus. And as one crusty lower-end retailer says, "Businessmen around here are like farmers. They complain alot but just try to unite them sometime to get things done."

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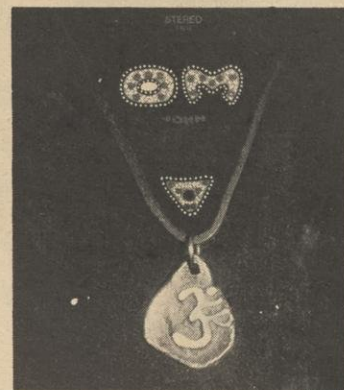
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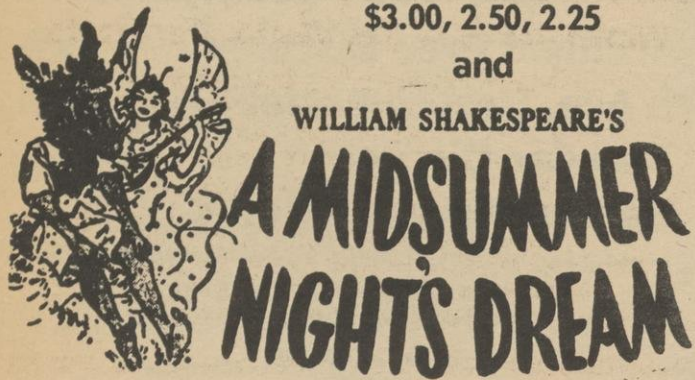
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Each handful of mud and barrel of cement
Braced against the Amerikan way
Poured in the cracks and fissures
of bombs and death and greed.
Was there time?

Was there time to sing?

Or did they labor quietly
on the day when more Nixon bombs than ever
scarred their sacred soil
sirens in the air
on the day of the monsoon.

And did they think of 1944
when the lost the battle
but won the war?

We hear of preparations underway—
to each house, moor a boat,
on each roof, sow your seeds.
New plants will be planted,
those which can grow submerged in the waters.
Like the Vietnamese beneath the rain of bombs.

— kalmia

P.U.

(continued from page 4)

As a result, in an effort to provoke an incident here, many of the staff have gone out of their way to harass inmates as to embitter them and to try and incite them into rioting. If they can do this, they will loudly point to the Task Force as the perpetrators of the riot and will say that those "meddlers" are the direct cause of any violence that may occur. They will state that the Task Force undermined the security of the institution and the respect for it that is necessary for its "orderly operation".

THE TRUTH of the matter is that there are no inmates in here that have one iota of respect for such an administration that has continually misled the public, and which is directly responsible for the high recidivism rate that institutions across the country know and experience.

Inmates who have everything going for them when they get out are being given 12-month defers. Some who become embittered and say what they think about it to the parole board are being written-up by the parole board. The parole board has joined in with these political hacks in helping to foster and ferment discontent when they tell a man who has three and one half years in on a ten year sentence; who has gotten no conduct reports; who has a job waiting for him; who has a place to live; who has money saved up, that they don't think that he is ready. Just what are they basing their decisions on? On all the failures they have already sent out?

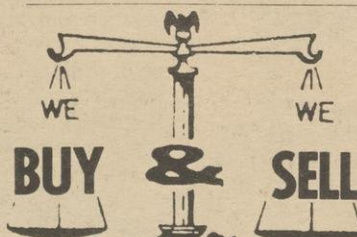
Our parole board has sent out so many men who have absolutely nothing waiting for them while denying those who have everything waiting for them. Lately, they have been extremely surly and disrespectful with the men appearing before them and when the man says something about it he is written up by the same group of swine that just deferred him for a year.

THE ONLY logical-appearing reason for such harassment is that the institution authorities are trying to precipitate an incident so that they can tell the public that they never had such trouble until outsiders began meddling in prison affairs. To maintain the hypocrisy of the past, they use lies, innuendo, and just plain bullshit to keep a system going which has been good to them. Never mind that it has destroyed so many in the process.

Miscellaneous

We have put Governor Lucy and Judge Jame E Doyle on our subscription list so that when we finally get busted, these pigs cannot say that we are saying anything other than what is written herein.

Let's get it together, brothers. Let's get united and push for truth and good. We can do it together, but we will fail if we split ourselves into forces not going for a common goal. Peace and love. Be cool. Smile at a pig-it might make him shit all over himself!

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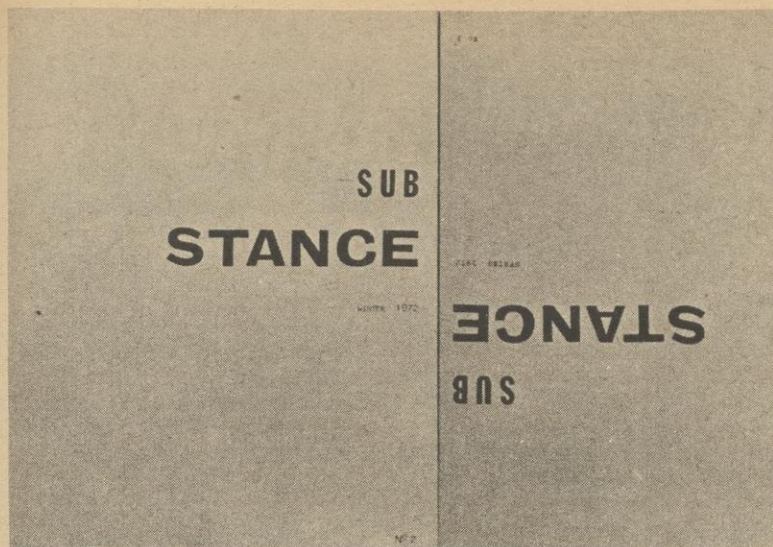
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By JONATHAN BOTELHO

Can an academic journal be relevant to the university of the seventies? The editors of Sub-Stance think it can, and they have spent much of the last two years trying to demonstrate both the need for something new in academic journals and the role of Sub-Stance in answering that need.

Sub-Stance is a "review of theory and literary criticism" published with the collaboration of the U.W. Department of French and Italian. In the fall of 1970, a number of young faculty and graduate students in the French

The majority of published articles are noteworthy only for their remarkably sustained level of professionally competent dullness. Anyone who has ever leafed through the pages of PMLA, dowager queen of critical journals in the U.S., will agree that its issues are, to put it mildly, uninspiring. Bastions of intellectual conservatism, most critical journals pay homage to the academic status quo, taking care not to rock anyone's ideological boat. By insisting on "rigorous standards" (so-called) and an inflexible hide-bound format (a tired procession of

and generate new ideas.

IN AN ATTEMPT to provide something new—and hopefully more meaningful, Sub-Stance came into being in spring 1971, the brainchild of those first rap sessions two years ago. In the first issue's "manifesto," the editors made clear their purpose in launching a new journal: to provide a forum for new ideas, experiments and criticisms, and to explore the possibilities of a format flexible enough to admit the unorthodox (i.e., non-traditional approaches to criticism and teaching), both in terms of presentation and of ideology. From its inception, Sub-Stance has welcomed articles which are not written in the usual "term paper", academese-cum-footnote style.

ISSUES have included articles written in the first person as well as articles in the form of discussion/debates, with several contributors defending opposing views on the same theoretical question or practical problem. Ideologically, the editors of Sub-Stance, though not officially committed to a single viewpoint, have tried to publish writers who are conscious of the problematic nature of their roles as critics, teachers, and students. For Sub-Stance, an awareness of the contradictions inherent in these traditional roles will alone generate the production of new ideas and meaningful solutions.

In the first issue, the editors asked: "What is literature?" "What is criticism?" "To what

linguistics, anthropology, etc.) be applied to and yield meaningful results in the study of literature?" The three issues published since that time have all attempted in some way to provide answers to those questions.

Interest in Sub-Stance has grown steadily since its appearance eighteen months ago. Though the first issue was made up largely of contributions from faculty and graduate students at the University, the list of contributors has expanded to include writers in eight different countries. A number of well-known contemporary critics have sent letters of support as well as original articles for publication—including French critics Roland Barthes and Jean Ricardou, American critics Frederick Crews and Judd Hubert, and the poet-novelist-

essayist Jean-Pierre Faye. A recent review in the Library Journal described Sub-Stance as a "bold new adventure in critical publishing, modest in budget, high and serious in quality."

Though the first two issues were largely limited to discussions of French literature and criticism, the editors have steadily attempted to enlarge the scope of the journal to include a broader audience of readers. Most articles are now published in English. In the winter 1971-72 issue, dedicated to the topic of "Literature and Society", the format was expanded to include non-literary theoretical articles on the problems confronting students and teachers in today's university. The issue included articles by writers well-known to Cardinal readers—Elaine Reuben (continued on page 11)



Jesse Dickson (left) and Jonathan Botelho, Associate Editors of Sub-Stance. Cardinal photos by Geoff Simon.

department organized informal weekly meetings whose purpose (somewhat subversive in the context of today's university) was to discuss literature and literary criticism outside the confines of a strictly academic environment. Though their approaches to literature represented a broad spectrum of opinion, all were in basic agreement on the subject of professional journals: most existing journals published by the brahmins of the academic Establishment are clearly not serving the needs of their readers.

unrelieved pedantry), most journals and reviews have failed in their declared effort to stimulate enthusiastic discussion

extent is literary criticism a political act?" "Can the methods and findings of other disciplines (philosophy, psychoanalysis,



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Or call 262-5877 (Contest Calls Only).

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You have 3 days to claim a prize (not
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DEFERMENTS

Undergraduates and medical
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STUDENTS FOR RISSER

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(continued from page 3)

no necessary relation as I have discovered. Some of the worst teachers I've known are people I consider great friends of mine, and some of the best teachers I just wouldn't want to be with. Either on personal or political grounds.

The reason comes down to a simple personal preference after having been away from the University for two years, and having time to collect my thoughts to get settled to get all the crap in my house ordered.

You were at Santa Barbara for a year. Are there any observations, especially in comparison with Wisconsin, you would like to make with Santa Barbara.

The University of Wisconsin is such an infinitely superior place to the University of California at Santa Barbara in terms of the academic quality, the campus life, and the intellectual stimulation—they simply exist in two entirely different worlds.

Santa Barbara became famous because a bank was burned down. As far

as the campus is concerned it is a great place to sunbathe and to surf and they have several nude beaches which are frolicsome places to be a participant observer.

This is a University, that is not a University. This is a place where there are distinguished men of learning who take themselves seriously. This is the place where academic freedom is not merely a phrase—despite the attempts at repression, the administrative pressures and the intolerance of colleagues.

The fact of the matter is that when I was attacked her, or let's say when I was injudiciously selected for special treatment by the Regents—and incorrectly by the Chancellor, there was a groundswell of opinion that was clearly and vocally expressed, sometimes privately and sometimes publicly, which made it clear to the Administration that whether or not they liked what I was saying, that it was my right to do so as a citizen.

PRECISELY THE opposite thing occurred in Santa Barbara where I had done precisely nothing, where they did

not know me, where I had never given a speech, never appeared on a public platform, but where Governor Reagan and a local Congressman and the Chancellor of the campus and the president of that great University simply made it clear to the faculty where they stood and what they wanted done. The faculty fell virtually into line, with the exception of a few brave and courageous dissenters, as if they were under the command of an army.

They did so because in general they are intellectual and mediocrities at a second-rate campus, who don't have the slightest hint of what it means to be a scholar or intellectual. Therefore it was the young people on that campus, I'm talking about the faculty only for the moment.

It was the young faculty alone, with the exception of a few individuals, who would publicly say that there is something wrong with the fact that an individual is being prevented from joining our faculty as a visiting research professor because his views are unpopular.

So, from that standpoint, the University is infinitely superior to where I was, and I'm happy to be back.

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SUB STANCE

(continued from page 9)

on "Feminist Criticism in the Classroom," Jackie DiSalvo on "The Closing of the New Frontier," and Carol Rifelj on "The Teaching Assistant as Factory Worker." The editors hope that this section on The University and Society Today will become a regular feature in future issues of Sub-Stance.

BEGINNING with the winter '71-'72 issue, the editors have tried to organize each issue around a central theme: "Literature and Society," "Literature and Psychoanalysis" (spring 1972), "Poetry and Poetics" (fall 1972). Tentative topics for forthcoming issues are "Cinema," "Contemporary Poetry," "Literature and Dialectics," and "Literature and Desire." To maintain flexibility, each issue will also contain a number of articles which are not limited to the announced theme.

The editorial board of Sub-Stance presently includes William Berg, Jonathan Botelho, Jesse Dickson, Marc Hanrez, Daniel Laferriere, Sydney Levy, Michel Pierrsens, and Peter Schofer. Contributions from Daily Cardinal readers are welcome, and typed manuscripts may be given to the editors or sent to the Sub-Stance editorial office, 748 Van Hise, tel. 262-9744. Copies of back issues are available at \$1.50. Subscription rates for students are \$3 per academic year (three issues).



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- 1 Pair Converse Basketball Shoes (Jack's Shoe Store)
- DINNER FOR TWO (Paisan's)
- 40 Six-Paks of Budweiser Malt Liquor (Frank Beer Distributor)
- FIFTH KORBEL CABERNET SAUVIGNON and Tenth Jose Cuervo Gold (Oliver Shagnasty's Wine Shop)
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- LARGE SAUSAGE PIZZA (Pizza Hut)

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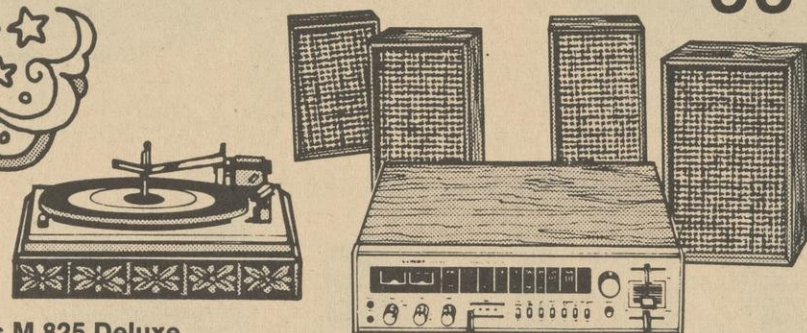
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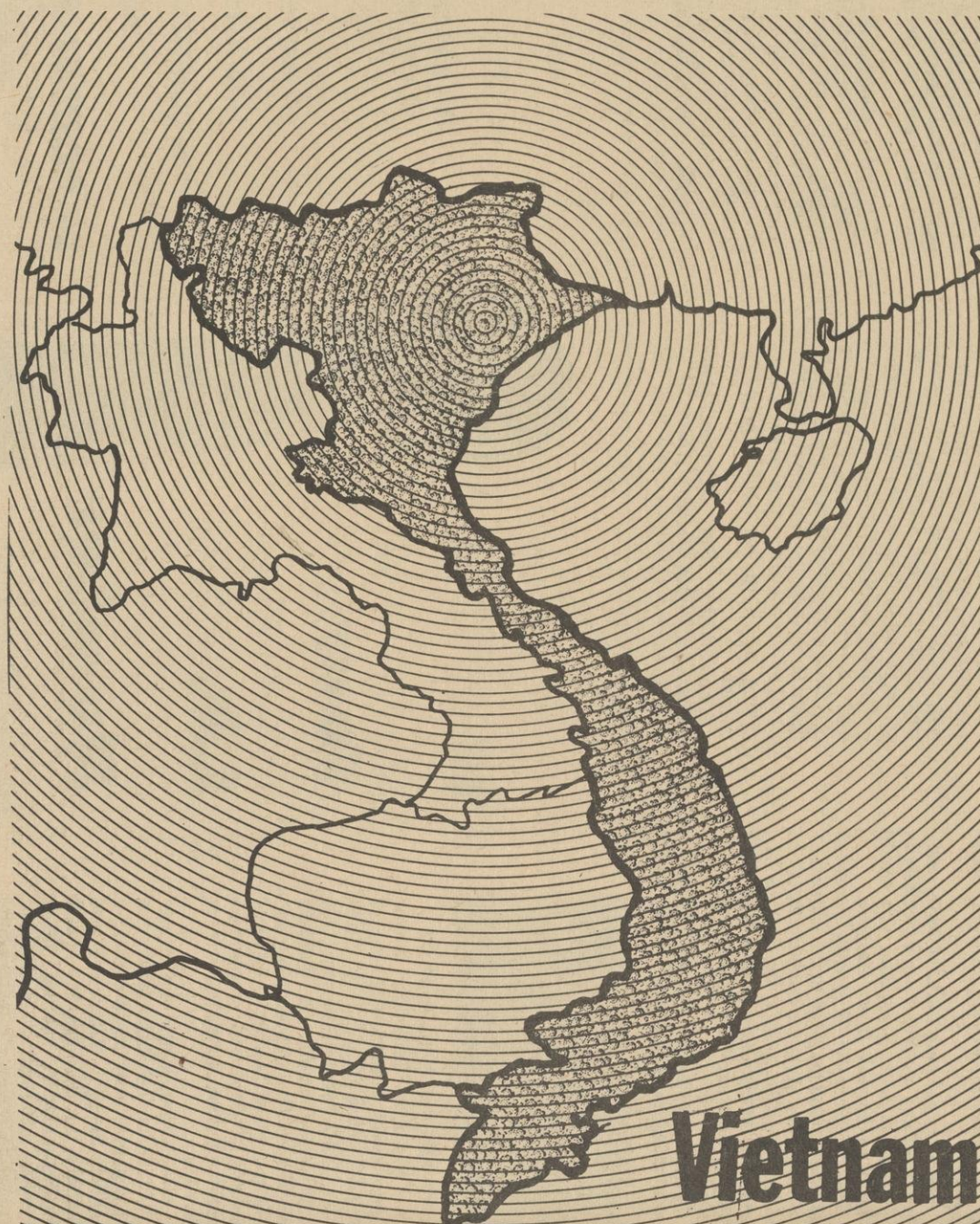
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—James Rowen, page one—

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—Maurice Zeitlin, page three—



**cardinal
MONDAY
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5¢

Monday,

September

18,

1972

Vol. LXXXIII, No. 16

Vietnam