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Karl's trial set for June



Women take to streets in passionate protest for Karl

Cardinal photo by Geoff Simon

By DAN SCHWARTZ
and HERMAN GILMAN
of the Cardinal Staff

Karl Armstrong was arraigned on first degree murder charges Tuesday in a tightly guarded courtroom of the City County building while demonstrators chanted protests in the lobby below.

Armstrong stood mute while Circuit Court Judge William Sachtjen ordered four counts of arson and one count of murder entered into the court record, and entered pleas of not-guilty for the defendant.

A teial date was set for the second week in June.

The bearded Armstrong flashed his fist to supporters who stood upon his entrance and faced the packed courtroom while the hearing began. Court visitors were admitted to the 2nd floor of the City County building under elaborate security measures which included passes, metal detection and abundant numbers of law enforcement personnel. The floor was otherwise sealed off.

THE 27 YEAR OLD Madisonian sat quietly while his attorney, Melvin Greenberg notified the court that Armstrong had retained nationally known movement lawyer Bill Kunstler to work on the case along with William Coffey of Milwaukee.

For forty-five minutes while Armstrong was being arraigned upstairs on the second floor, some seventy-five supporters sat and chanted "Free Karl" and "Smash Army Math", clapped hands, and often cheered in demonstrating their solidarity.

There was one arrest during the day's demonstrations.

APPROXIMATELY 150 PEOPLE gathered at the mall shortly after two p.m. and heard Steve Greenberg, a member of the Armstrong Defense Committee, talk about the arraignment and the picketing that would take place at the City-County building.

Greenberg stressed that the march should proceed in an organized, peaceful fashion and confrontations should be avoided.

"Anyone throwing rocks or creating a hostile situation with the police should and will be considered a provocateur and will be dealt with as such," Greenberg warned.

In addition, he maintained, "For Karl, for us and for the Indochinese we must continue our fight against the non-progressive forces of the world. If we have to march on the sidewalk, we will, because the most important thing is to be outside the City-County building at the arraignment."

The supporters then left the mall whooping, chanting, clapping hands, and shouting "Free Karl" and "Smash Army Math" while marching on and off State St.

POLICE ALONG THE route made a token gesture to push the marchers onto the sidewalk.

Police allowed some seventy-five supporters into the City County lobby and then sealed it off. Outside, a spokesperson for the Armstrong Defense Committee read a communique from fugitive Leo Burt to another seventy-five people, which expressed the need for personal support and encouragement.

At the end of arraignment, spectators slowly filed from the courtroom to the lobby and outside an observer from the courtroom summarized the proceedings to the supporters.

MARVIN SUNDHOLM of Madison was arrested by Captain Donald Michelson of the Madison Police department in the only violent confrontation of an otherwise mellow day.

Michelson and Sundholm reportedly became entangled after the arraignment rally had broken up and demonstrators were moving down State Street.

Michelson reportedly grabbed a banner Sundholm was carrying into the street. Michelson claimed to witnesses that Sundholm spit at him and he grabbed the young demonstrator.

"If someone spits at my face then I'll arrest them if I can," Michelson told angry witnesses who quickly gathered to protest the arrest tactics.

(continued on page 3)

Testing attacked at symposium

By CHRIS GALLIGAN,
SANDY OZOLS,
and BOB SCHWARTZ
of the Cardinal Staff

Charges of discrimination, superficiality and unethical practices were levelled at psychological tests Tuesday during the first day of the national symposium on psychological testing at the Memorial Union.

University Psychology Professor Karl U. Smith, who opened the symposium, charged the University with violating the law through its use of psychological tests.

Citing a recent Supreme Court decision prohibiting the use of abstract psychological tests in employment, Smith said the university is "flogging the law" through its use of such exams, specifically the Graduate Record Examination (GRE) in employment of research assistants and TAs.

Dr. Banesh Hoffmann, author of the Tyranny of Testing, told over 200 people in the Great Hall that multiple choice questions penalized the deep and profound student.

Hoffmann cited one question from an Educational Testing Service (ETS) exam which contradicted even an elementary understanding of Einstein's theory of relativity. "ETS was willing to ignore Einstein's theory for the sake of its multiple choice question," said Hoffman. "They justified this by saying the student sophisticated enough to understand the theory should be intelligent enough not to use the theory in responding to a question."

Hoffmann said that each exam consists of 100 questions with a time limit of one hour. "Some questions are easier than others, the more complex will take longer to answer," he said. "But if they demand such quick responses you can't have profound, in-depth thought."

The chairman of the Law School Ad-

missions Committee here, Dr. Walter Raushenbush, told the symposium that the Law School Admission Test (LSAT) could be used for discriminatory purposes but that it was not inherently discriminatory.

"The place to attack cultural bias is in the schools themselves," he said. "The tests are adequate predictors for both blacks and whites."

During the panel discussion that followed the afternoon speeches, Smith was critical of the way psychological tests are used by admissions committees. "When people in law and medical school say they're selecting students, they're not," he said. "They're actually letting outsiders, these testing firms, do it."

Smith also questioned the ethics of

courses that purport to prepare students for psychological tests. "People are buying their way into law schools by taking these crooked courses," he said.

Dr. James L. Angel, a representative of the Medical College Admissions Assessments Program, declared, "I'm not here to advocate a proposition on testing, but we have to find alternatives. If Dr. Hoffman and others who have been critical of the tests will give us their criticisms, we are in a position to listen."

A sociologist from ETS, Dr. Marlene Katz, was scheduled to appear at last night's session, but informed symposium organizers that she would not be able to attend because of personal reasons.

Specialists to organize

By BOB SELTZER
of the Cardinal Staff

An organizing drive to unionize the University's 1,600 "specialist" workers is being launched this week by the Specialist Organizing Committee (SOC), a recent affiliate of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees International Union, AFL-CIO (AFSCME).

A general membership meeting will be held Thursday, 8 p.m. at the University YMCA, 306 North Brooks St.

"Specialists" are defined as the University's non-classified civil service employees who are neither teaching nor hold doctorates. It is actually a catch-all job category for workers holding supportive positions in research and administration. This includes such diverse occupations as scientific research assistants, computer programmers, librarians, and athletic coaches.

SINCE THESE WORKERS presently are covered by neither union or civil service protections, they are subject to the directions of the department heads, directors, and deans who employ them.

Work loads, salaries, vacations, sick leave policies and grievances are generally determined in one-to-one negotiations between the specialist and his boss.

"Even if these people at one time could have fought on their own for decent wages and working conditions, they can't do it anymore," according to Mark Stahlman, a SOC organizer. "In the period of recession we're in there's no way for a specialist to get justice in his job."

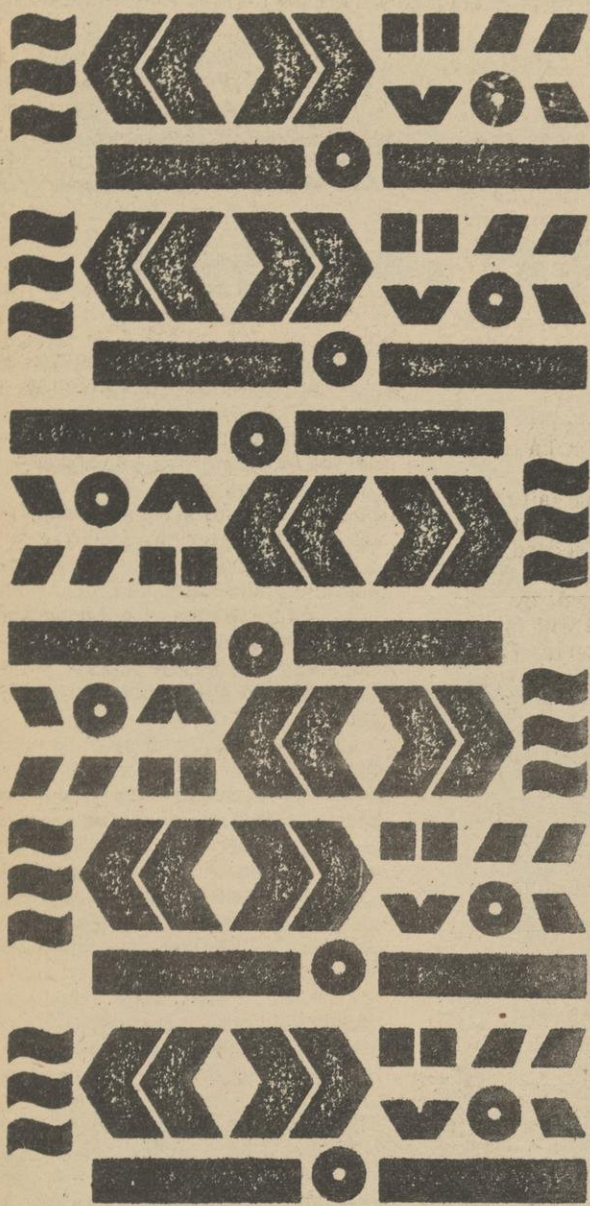
"Specialists need to keep up with inflation and they can't do it on their own," he said.

"We hope to organize the union before the (lay-offs due to University budget cutbacks) cut-backs really hit," he said. "Organized, specialists could have a great deal of power. The research function is much more important to this university than teaching—if research technicians strike the administration will panic, if undergraduates don't go to classes, they couldn't care less."

SOC ORGANIZERS SAY they have run into numerous road-blocks thrown up by the University to hinder them.

Burt communique

(page 7)



AFRICAN DINNER

Thursday, March 22

5 - 6:30 p.m. Memorial Union Cafeteria

Menu:

Peanut Soup

Chicken Cha Cha with rice

Relish Dish (yam fufuballs, pineapple chunks, peanuts, carrot curis & onions)

Dessert of fresh bananas, oranges, pineapple topped with custard

Hot rolls, butter and beverage

Complete meal - \$2.04 (items available individually)

happenings

STIFTSKELLER PROGRAM

Wednesday, March 21
Free folk music
7:30 pm Memorial Union

RULES OF THE GAME

Wed-Thurs, March 21-22
Movie Time Film 78c
2, 4:14, 7, 9:15 pm Memorial Union Play Circle

EARTH'S CRUST RAMBLERS CONCERT

Thursday, March 22
Live bluegrass by a Madison-based band. 30c admission
9-11:30 pm Memorial Union Stiftskeller

WATERMELON MAN

Thursday, March 22
Film features Godfrey Cambridge and Estelle Parsons
78c admission
8, 10 pm Union South Assembly Hall

AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL DINNER

Thursday, March 22
Serving Chicken Cha Cha a la carte with regular menu
5-6:30 pm Memorial Union Cafeteria

JUNIOR BONNER

Fri-Sun, March 23-25
Movie Time Film 78c
2, 4, 7, 9, 11 pm Memorial Union Play Circle

POETRY READING

Friday, March 23
Internationally known poet Ted Berrigan with Henry Kanabus, a young Chicago poet. Berrigan's publications include "The Sonnets," "Many Happy Returns," and "In the Early Morning Rain." Free
8 pm Memorial Union Old Madison Room

TRIVIA CONTEST

Sat-Sun, March 24-25
Bone up on your trivia while watching teams of four students compete for all-campus honors. Free
2-6 pm Memorial Union Paul Bunyan Room

CHINESE ART SHOW

On exhibition March 24-31
Paintings of scenery, plants and birds and animal motion done by students in the Chinese painting mini-course and by their instructor Gerald Liu. Liu will give demonstrations all day Sat, March 24 and during the noon hour each weekday
Union South Main Lounge, first floor

STIFTSKELLER JAZZ PROGRAM

Saturday, March 24
Free concert by Basil Georges jazz ensemble
8:30-11:30 pm Memorial Union

BERLIN CONCERT CHOIR AND ORCHESTRA

Saturday, March 24
Ensemble of 120 conducted by Fritz Weisse with outstanding soloists. First time in America!
Reserved seats \$8.32, 7.28, 6.24 at Union Box Office
8 pm Wisconsin Union Theatre

QUARTETTO ITALIANO, ENSEMBLE

Sunday, March 25
Final concert this season on the Union White Series
Reserved seats \$4.16, 3.12, 2.60 at Union Box Office
8 pm Wisconsin Union Theatre

NICHOLAS RAY FILM RETROSPECTIVE

Monday, March 26
Free showing of "Winds Across the Everglades"
8 pm Memorial Union Tripp Commons

MADISON'S FINEST FOLK MUSIC

Monday, March 26
This week Bill Camplin. Free
9-10:45 pm UMemorial Union Rathskeller

HISTORY OF ROCK AND ROLL

Tuesday, March 27
8 pm Memorial Union Paul Bunyan Room

it's at the union

Armstrong

(continued from page 1)

"We're edgy up here about brutality" Michelson told the Cardinal. "He wasn't manhandled. I invited two witnesses to come up and see him while he was being booked. They were satisfied."

IN OTHER COURT ACTION Attorney Greenberg also objected to strict security precautions which he said had prevented him from both seeing his client before the hearing and entering the city county building.

He was given several minutes at the beginning of the hearing to consult with his client. Sachtjen also said in the future the Sheriff's office would be notified to coordinate passes with the defense counsel.

Armstrong smiled at supporters in the court which was partially filled with security personnel. His parents, Donald and Ruth Armstrong, as well as his sister were present in Court.

Karl's father, Donald, was told by George Elder, a Dane County Supervisor, "They should kill you too you old son of a bitch." Elder made his remark on the steps of the City County building following the hearing.

ARMSTRONG

There will be a mass meeting Thursday night at 8 o'clock at the Madison Public Library on the second floor. It will be a community meeting to organize Karl Armstrong Defense, Miffland Co-op, R4-A to discuss what can be done. For more information, call 256-3517.



Cardinal photo by Geoff Simon

Coaching courses: do they help?

This is the fifth in a six-part series investigating the nature, uses and effects of psychological testing.

By **BOB SCHWARTZ**
and **CHRIS GALLIGAN**
of the Cardinal Staff

For the student who needs a high score on a psychological test for admission to graduate or professional school, someone wants to help you. Wants to help you, that is, if you can shell out anywhere from \$65 to \$300.

With admission to graduate schools often predicated upon increasingly high test scores, preparation courses and tutoring sessions have flourished in recent years, claiming to provide students with a competitive edge in the highly competitive world of graduate school admissions.

PREPARATION COURSES, many would agree, often do help a student attain a higher test score than he might otherwise receive. But to what extent the courses help is a matter of considerable disagreement.

One such tutoring organization is the Stanley Kaplan Educational Center Ltd., the oldest and largest operation of its kind in the country.

The Kaplan Center, headquartered in New York, offers two major courses, a six-lesson course stressing the fundamentals in the areas tested and a longer one of 12 lessons designed to cover each area in greater depth.

Only the six-lesson courses are offered in Chicago, according to Sheldon Smith, the Kaplan representative in Chicago. The tests covered by the courses are the Law School Admission Test (LSAT), the Graduate Record Examination (GRE), the Medical College Admission Test (MCAT), the Aptitude Test for Graduate Study in Business (ATBSB), and the Dental Aptitude Test for Graduate Study in Business (ATGSB), and the Dental Aptitude Test (DAT).

THE GRE AND THE ATGSB each cost \$150 for the six lessons.

The other courses are \$175 each. In addition, there is a \$25 materials deposit remitted upon return of the take-home materials.

There is, furthermore, a cram course offered that can be taken in ten days. This special course, Smith said, is primarily designed for students who wish to take the Kaplan course during a semester break or vacation and who live far from a course location.

"The compact courses are never as good," Smith said.

The Kaplan course makes no absolute claims about its students' test scores. "We don't guarantee any score," Smith said. "There are too many variables involved—the amount of time a student spends studying our take-home materials, his motivation, and other vagaries. Studying is an integral part of the course."

SMITH SAID, however, that students who have taken the Kaplan course have received scores on the psychological tests substantially higher than the national average. For example, students who have taken the course have reported an average score of 620 on the LSAT, Smith said. The average LSAT score is 500.

Both Smith and Ronald Rauschberg, co-founder of the Law Board Review Center, Inc. in New York, maintain that their students register score improvements well above the normal increase a student usually attains upon taking a test.

"Familiarization can be dangerous," Smith said. "Being familiar with a test can prevent you from concentrating. We feel 'Familiarization can be dangerous,' Smith said. "Being familiar with a test can prevent you from concentrating. We feel our improvement is way above the 'Familiarization can be dangerous,' Smith said. "Being familiar with a test can prevent you from concentrating. We feel our improvement is way above the variable of taking the test over."

(continued on page 5)

OFF THE WIRE

Compiled from the Associated Press

Irish plan

LONDON—

Britain proposed a northern Ireland peace plan Tuesday that would hand back limited self-rule to feuding Protestants and Roman Catholics — if they agree to share power.

Downtown London and the British Parliament were under a bomb alert as William Whitelaw, British governor of the torn province, outlined a new constitution of compromise that he hopes will end 3 1/2 years of Irish terror and strife.

Its main terms as presented to the somber-faced British lawmakers:

—A new 80-seat assembly will replace Ulster's 51-year-old Stormont Parliament, disbanded in 1972.

—Members will be elected by the fall on a proportional representation system giving voters the chance to name first, second and other choices.

—The assembly will be topped by an executive, or "cabinet," which will fairly reflect the strength of each party. Each member of the executive, or "minister," will run a department and will be advised by a committee chosen from among assemblymen on the basis, again, of reflecting party strengths.

—For the indefinite future Britain will keep control of security and take on new powers to beat militant extremists of both sides.

—A charter of human rights will outlaw

political and religious discrimination.

—A council of Ireland will be set up to promote north-south cooperation if both sides agree to participate in its work and to the preconditions the British have set for it.

The proposals were made in a white paper, or official policy document.

Prison riot

MOUNDSVILLE, W.Va.—

Rioting inmates seized five guards at West Virginia Penitentiary today and state police moved in to the maximum security facility.

If anybody gets hurt, the guards are going to go," the prisoners were heard shouting outside the grey walls.

Armed state policemen entered the institution shortly after noon. A fire in the penitentiary's basement was reported burning out of control.

Earlier two inmates were hospitalized.

Acting warden William O. Wallace said the riot was triggered at 11 a.m. when an inmate jumped a guard as they were being removed to the showers.

Vietnam?

The United States is considering proposing an extension of the four-party joint military peacekeeping commission for Vietnam beyond its expiration date of March 28, U.S. sources said Tuesday.

You're Gonna Love Cuffs
Maybe an unconstructed Jacket and a shirt too

MARTIN'S 427 STATE

The Daily Cardinal
Founded April 4, 1892

THE DAILY CARDINAL is owned and controlled by elected representatives of the student body at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. It is published Monday through Friday mornings through the regular academic year.

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Sack, Haas in 13th Dist. Candidates back clean-up

By HERMAN GILMAN
of the Cardinal Staff

In the final stretch before the general election, the two 13th District survivors, Michael Sack and Franz Haas, are hard at work, attempting to win voters to their side as each stresses programs to clean up deteriorated portions of the district.

The 13th is a new district created out of parts of three old ones and includes the Vilas Park area, the Monona Bay area, and the areas around Madison General and St. Mary's Hospitals.

HAAS 65, is a former alderperson, Dane County Sheriff, and undersheriff, who is attempting a comeback into city politics, Sack, 25, is a former welfare rights organizer making his first try for public office. Their similarity is centered on the means to renovate and eliminate housing deterioration that exists in part of the district. However, their solutions differ greatly and from there on, so do their personal campaign techniques, as they offer voters two distinct programs.

Haas claims the first problem is the failure of some landlords to maintain upkeep of their individual properties. One solution he suggested is to give cheaper rent to tenants in return for the assurance that tenants would aid in maintaining their property.

If this fails, Haas said he was determined to "take on landlords one by one" until cooperation was achieved in combating the blight

that exists.

The second issue which Haas raises concerns pedestrian movement in the area along sidewalks.

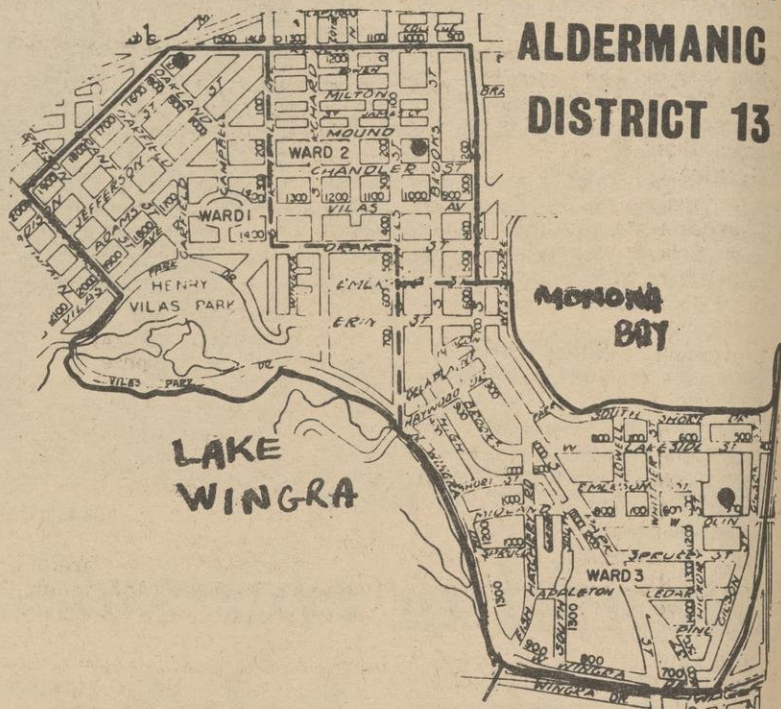
"People have to walk in the streets," Haas remarked, "because the sidewalks are never clean."

HE PROPOSES increasing the activity of snow shoveling in the area to ensure proper passage of pedestrians and strictly enforcing

asks his constituents to bring him their problems, since he has the time to take care of them.

"One thing about me," he chuckles, "is that I like people." This fact alone can account for Haas' sudden reentry into the political sphere, although the candidate listed two rather unfortunate experiences as contributing to his decision to do "lots of good for the poor people".

TWO YEARS AGO, Haas' wife was fatally injured in an



an ordinance to maintain clean sidewalks.

Concerning the mayoral race, Haas has decided to remain neutral stating, "I don't want to stick my nose into it, since either man may be of help to me."

He adds that he "expects to be the city's first full-time alderman" since he is semi-retired, and

automobile mishap, when she was struck by a swerving auto. A year ago Haas himself entered the hospital for a gall bladder operation and has only recently recovered. His loneliness, combined with his twenty-seven years of residence in the neighborhood, made a suggestion by his son turn

(continued on page 6)

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HELEN C. WHITE	10 AM — 8 PM
MEMORIAL UNION	10 AM — 8 PM
GORDON COMMONS	10 AM — 6:30 PM
MEMORIAL LIBRARY	10 AM — 8 PM
ELIZABETH WATERS	10 AM — 6:30 PM
CHADBOURNE	10 AM — 6:30 PM
STEENBOCK LIBRARY	10 AM — 4:30 PM

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WHO KNOWS WHAT OOLDRA
MIGHT DO?

Training sessions help on grad tests- for a price

(continued from page 3)

"IN TOTAL CANDOR," Smith said, "I've never had a complaint from a student about one of our courses."

"Familiarity with the test doesn't seem to help everyone," added Rauschberg whose organization has franchises in eight cities, including a new course recently offered in Chicago.

"Most people increase their score 15-20 points the second time they take the LSAT," Rauschberg said. He added that students in his courses increased their scores by more than 80 points. "This is significant," he said.

According to Prof. Walter Raushenbush, chairman of the Law School admissions committee here, studies conducted by the Educational Testing Service (ETS) have shown an improvement ranging from 30-50 points the second time a student takes the LSAT.

"YOU HAVE TO realize," said Dr. Bamesh Hoffman, author of the Tyranny of Testing, "that these people (preparation course spokesmen) have a strong interest in inflating their claims."

"I feel that many of the students who have taken these courses have felt ripped off," Raushenbush said. "The best opinion is that the test is not coachable."

However, Raushenbush said, "It's not possible to prove that these courses don't help. We don't have empirical proof that these tests are no good."

Raushenbush said the existence of preparation courses was one reason for the inclusion of an entire sample LSAT in the Law School Admission's Council Pre-Law Handbook. Raushenbush is chairman of the Council's pre-law committee, which publishes the handbook.

"THERE'S NO DOUBT that the preparation courses do help people," said Dr. Karl U. Smith of the Psychology Department, "but I think they are as crooked as hell. I think they steal answers from the tests."

"In no way, shape, or form, do we have the tests before their administration," Smith maintained. "We have taken the test questions of their handbook. Based on their handbooks, we

either revise or don't revise our tests. The critical thing is that we're ethical."

Last year students who took the Kaplan course in New York in preparation for the LSAT alleged that practice questions given in the course were either very similar or identical to actual questions that appeared on the July and October LSAT exams.

Those who had taken the Kaplan course were described by one student in the Spectrum, the University of Buffalo student newspaper, as "laughing through the test" since they were familiar with 50 per cent of the material on the exam.

IT WAS ALSO reported that a student taking the Kaplan course overheard a Kaplan instructor offering to pay a student for questions he could remember after he had taken the exam.

ETS began an investigation into the matter in response to the allegations.

The investigation has not yet been completed, according to Peter Winograd, director of law programs at ETS.

"At this point the only thing we know is what students have told us," Winograd told the Cardinal. "Students have said that reading passages were similar. But many students have reported that the questions were not identical."

Winograd said that statements made by some students in the Spectrum had been inaccurate. "We cannot substantiate anything about students being familiar with half of the questions," he said. "We're talking about only a few questions but, of course, we aren't any less concerned about it."

It is believed that ETS may seek a temporary injunction against the Kaplan Center for the purpose of subpoenaing Kaplan course materials.

In early 1972 a consent judgement was obtained by ETS against another preparation course that had used materials similar to questions appearing on the GRE.

Critics of tutoring programs have also charged that the high cost of such courses may, in effect exclude minority students who, because of limited educational backgrounds, would most benefit from programs of this nature.

"This has bothered me," Smith said. "This would lessen their chance of competing. But how do you avoid this when you are a profit-making organization? It's a problem I don't think we can solve."

A "REASONABLY LARGE" number of students in his course are black, Smith said. There are, he added, many women in the course, but few Chicanos.

"We've had a lot of minority students in the course," said Raushberg, whose course costs \$65 for a weekend session, and \$115 for three sessions. "People who take the course feel disadvantaged in one way or another."

"I don't think the prices are keeping out minority students," Raushberg said. "We're not talking about a lot of money—\$65. That's not a lot of money."

(To be continued)
Friday.

HISTORY OF R AND B
Tonight at the History of Rhythm and Blues and Rock and Roll: "The Rhythm and Blues Continuum—1945 to 1955" and "Memphis Soul to 1966 (Booker T. et al)". Paul Bunyan Room of the Memorial Union.

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- 5'x7' Deluxe Mountain
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- 5'x7'9" Draw Title
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List \$130.00 **NOW \$79.00**
- 10'x10' Screen Patio
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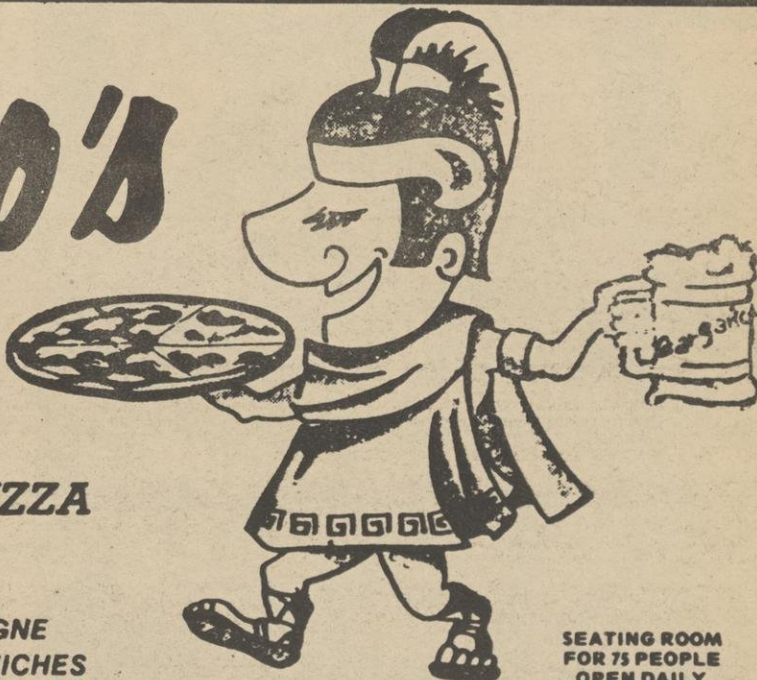
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Nerve Center Connections

Wednesday, March 21

7:30 PM:

Wisconsin Alliance Internal Education discussing chapter 5 of What is to be Done by Lenin. 1014 Williamson St.

Labor Committee Workshop of Wisconsin Alliance. "On Contradiction" by Mao. Call 255-8554 for location.

Community meeting to discuss status and design of Atwood Ave. By-pass. Laborer's Hall, 2025 Atwood Ave.

8:15 PM:

P. Linda Gqobose of Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa will speak in commemoration of the "Sharpeville Massacre". 1131 Humanities building. Sponsor: Madison Area Committee on South Africa and Afro American Center.

Thursday, March 22

2:00 PM:

People's History of Wisconsin Project. State Historical Library, 2nd floor reading room.

7:00 PM:

WSA picks 10 groups for registration fund

The Wisconsin Student Association (WSA) Monday chose the ten student organizations which it will recommend as eligible to receive two dollars donations from students during fall registration.

The Committee on Student Organizations (CSO) working under Dean of Students Paul Ginsberg will go over the WSA choices on Wednesday. If any groups are dropped by the CSO then WSA can replace them at the Thursday senate meeting where final approval of the groups is scheduled.

Approved were four WSA-sponsored groups recommended by President Linda Larkin and six student organizations out of 16 which had applied for the funding.

The four WSA groups were WSA Symposium, WSA Course Evaluation Program, a WSA

operating expense fund, and a WSA Umbrella (general) Fund.

After debate, a final list of six of groups were chosen from eight finalists.

The groups chosen were Wisconsin Public Interest Research Group (WISPIRG), People's Office, Women's Center, Madison Community Co-op Association (MCC), the Brooks St. YMCA, and Vets for Vets.

Among the groups that applied but did not receive WSA's endorsement were Residence Halls Tenant Union (RHTU), Madison Abortion Action Coalition, and Women's Studies.

Paul Zuchowski, chairman of the finance committee expressed his disgust at the limited time the University had allotted WSA to choose the groups. Zuchowski had hoped, "that more organizations would have applied for consideration."

13th: youth vs. experience

(continued from page 4)

into a reality, furthered by his strong showing in the primary in which he gathered 850 votes.

Haas has been personally contacting residents of the district by phone reminding them to register if they already haven't and to remember to vote on election day.

In contrast to Haas, Michael Sack is running a multi-issue campaign that seeks to strengthen his vote total in the first and third wards of the district. In the primary, Sack ran on a three-point platform which included a seven-point rent control proposal, municipalization of Madison Gas and Electric Company, and a city-wide relief program.

While he carried only the predominantly-student second ward overwhelmingly, he managed only a respectable showing in the first ward (Vilas Park and environs) and was badly trounced by Haas in the third ward, which includes many old-time labor Democrats. In an effort to broaden his constituency

he has added the following ideas to his platform: a Wingra Creek parkway, additional street lighting to combat rapes, an end to traffic in the arboretum, increased playspace at the Longfellow playground area, a boycott on all products which are being boycotted by UFW, and the initiation of a Monona Basin Community Facility where Law Park is located.

IN ADDITION, Sack has proposed to use the office of alderperson as a communication between city government and the people of his district. He has indicated he would hire another person who would be paid a substantial part of the alderperson's salary in helping solve the district's problems.

In contrast to Haas, Sack has had the substantial help of a large number of canvassers who have traversed the area knocking on doors and bringing his campaign to a door-to-door level. Sack himself has been busy going through

the district meeting and speaking to as many people as he can and explaining the nature of his programs.

Sack, was a welfare rights organizer for three years and is a 1971 graduate from University of Wisconsin. He has worked extensively with low income families and elderly people in Madison's central city area since.

Although the AFL-CIO's COPE endorsed Haas, Sack still feels he has an excellent shot to be victorious. He believes his stress on issues such as the municipalization of MG&E that are intended to serve the whole community will be important in preserving the neighborhood.

When the voters of the 13th District go to the polls on April 3, it will be interesting to see if they choose between political experience or strong comprehensive program to serve them on the city council and eliminate any signs of deterioration that now exist in the district.

Staff forum

Let's plug the Dyke

by Paul Johnson

On April 3 the voters of Madison will decide who they want to be mayor for the next two years. As the incumbent has stated, the choice is clear. He is mistaken, however, in his reasons for making that statement.

The underlying issue in the mayoral campaign is the quality of life in Madison. When it comes to the incumbent's record concerning the quality of life, we find a goose egg. His campaign literature lauds the professional management and leadership which he has perpetrated on the citizens of Madison.

Somewhere the priorities got mixed up. Instead of working to make Madison a better environment for all, Dyke has given us "professional management," which, if I understand the campaign brochure correctly, would disappear if he should happen to be defeated.

So what have we got? A few years of "professional management" while action on behalf of Madison's environment has stagnated.

Quality of life in Madison has suffered in recent years due to misplaced priorities.

"The city budget should and does reflect the goals of the mayor," says Madison's Assistant Director of Finance, Walter Hunter. "The Finance Department reviews, cuts, and recommends, but it is the mayor's budget in the end."

In looking over recent budgets, one wonders just what Dyke's goals are.

Urban transportation continues to be a problem in Madison. It is in the center of the environmental issue because expansion of Madison's bus system would benefit Madisonians in several ways.

All of the buses we now have are diesel vehicles. New buses would also have diesel engines. Diesel engines contribute only one per cent of the materials that cause air pollution.

Gasoline engines are the culprits responsible for some 60 per cent of air pollutants.

Why, then, has our mayor chose to subsidize car drivers in the form of street repairs, parking, etc., while fighting improved mass transit programs? It would seem that development of a transit system and programs to encourage bus ridership would be one of the top concerns for a mayor truly interested in the future of his city.

In 1971, ridership on Madison Metro buses was eight million. In 1972, over nine million people rode Madison Metro buses.

In 1971, the operating subsidy for the bus utility was \$723 thousand. As a million more people rode the buses in 1972, the bus utility's subsidy dropped to \$706 thousand.

The bus company provides a service for Madison. Why can't it be subsidized more to improve its service? Other facilities such as the airport and the golf courses enjoy a higher per capita subsidy than the bus utility.

Mass transit is not the only bungle we have been treated to. The mayor has not actively encouraged the acquisition of parks and open spaces for Madison.

Since 1970 the city has only acquired 365 acres of open space. With a few exceptions, the bulk of this acreage consists of small parcels of land left over by developers too small to be of use to them.

These tiny bits of open space aren't all that beneficial to the city either. As one parks employee put it, "They aren't much more than back yards for people in new developments."

The aesthetic and environmental benefits of open space in Madison can't be measured in dollars and cents—yet. That doesn't mean we should put off until later what should be done now.

The Health Department also has been stood up by our mayor. While budgets for some city administration departments such as the city attorney have skyrocketed, the Health Dept. has seen its budget remain relatively stable.

Some of the activities of the Health Dept. are: sanitary code enforcement, public health activities, health education and testing our environment for pollutants and their effects. As Madison grows, one would think that these activities would also be increased. The budget surely doesn't reflect a concern for these areas.

These are just a few instances where the mayor should have initiated action but didn't. Let us now look at a few of the areas where our mayor is concerned.

The total budget of the city of Madison has grown from \$21 million in 1966 to \$36 million in 1973.

Most of this increase can be accounted for by these factors:

- 1) New programs.
- 2) Attempts to raise salaries to the same level as parallel positions in industry.
- 3) Efforts to keep up with the cost of living.

The Police Department has snatched a large portion of the city budget since Dyke took office. Its budget has doubled from 1966 to 1972.

The budget leap has taken the form of an increase in the police force and in better equipment, such as the information system using the city's data processing system.

One wonders how efficiently this increment is put to use. The percentage of crimes cleared by arrest should rise if the police department is more efficient. The police reports show otherwise.

Since rape is a major concern of all Madisonians, let us see how well the police are doing.

In 1969 there were 23 actual rapes in Madison; of these 15 were cleared by arrest—65 per cent. In 1970, 20 of 29 actual rapes were cleared by arrest—69 per cent. So far, so good.

Now the bad news. In 1971 only 11 of 31 rapes were cleared by arrest—35 per cent.

If the rate of arrests for crimes is a valid criterion for determining efficiency of a police department (I happen to think it is), then perhaps it is time to evaluate the situation and see what is going wrong.

Rape is not the only offense which has seen a decline in the rate of clearings by arrest. It is the most dramatic, however, and perhaps the most serious.

Previously the city attorney's office was mentioned as having enjoyed substantial budgetary jumps. In 1966 its budget was \$120 thousand; in 1972, \$230 thousand.

Salaries alone in the attorney's office have leaped from \$140 thousand in 1969 to \$200 thousand in 1972. In the meantime only one staff member was added to the attorney's office.

The voters have a choice. Hopefully after wading through all this newsprint the choice has been made a little clearer.

When Dyke's priorities regarding the quality of life in Madison are considered the voter in Madison is faced with these alternatives:

- 1) Vomit.
- 2) Leave Madison permanently.
- 3) Register to vote today and vote for Soglin on April 3.

Union Ideas & Issues

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The Left and the Bombing

Leo Burt: Letter from the Underground

EDITOR'S NOTE

The following is a communique written by Leo Burt, a member of the New Year's Gang and co-suspect in the AMRC bombing in August, 1970 for which Karleton Armstrong now stands trial. The Cardinal recently obtained this document, written in November, 1972, and publishes it here in its entirety. We believe it to be authentic.

Dear Sisters and Brothers

As of this writing, it looks like Karl Armstrong will be coming home soon, to Madison, to stand trial for the AMRC bombing.

I've written this letter because some of my friends and I have been worried about the inevitable publicity and how that might hurt support for Karl. We expect that the government and the media will continue to emphasize the size of the blast, the unintended death of Robert Fassnacht, and their own predictable political interpretation—obscuring the real meaning and implications of the action.

Another concern of ours is the confusion within the student movement and the American left about the future, about strategy, about the role of the organized left, and how to interpret the events of the last decade of struggle. We've shared this confusion and realize that because sisters and brothers may be unsure about where to place their political priorities, and because they're unsure of how the bombing fits in, Karl may lose some dearly needed support.

Certainly the best way to build support for Karl is to demonstrate that his struggle is basically the same as other students and young people. David Fine hit on this in his letter in the Cardinal's Fall Registration Issue.

Unfortunately, however, with Karl's trial so close, it probably wouldn't be smart to get much more personal about how we made our political commitments, so I've taken another route. I've tried to put together a political synthesis which deals with questions a lot of us have been struggling with in the last couple years, and at the same time lays a foundation for understanding the Army Math bombing.

Ultimately, political questions are questions of our identity, our collective self-consciousness — who we are and where we fit in — which naturally tell us what we can do. So, keeping this in mind, I've started with the basic moral tendencies at work under corporate capitalism, how those tendencies govern forms of revolutionary struggle, how the student movement arose, how the New Left developed its identity, how the Madison movement fits in, and finally how the Army Math bombing fits into the Madison struggle.

NONE OF THIS IS intended to be definitive. I've tried to situate the AMRC bombing, not evaluate it from a tactical point of view. Specific strategies have to be worked out by Madison students and activists themselves. Already the letter will be too terse and too long for me to get into details, trying to lay out what I'm incapable of knowing.

The whole analysis is tentative and partial, but I think that's ok because it's the orientation that's important: dealing with ourselves and our struggle in other ways than the mechanistic or moralistic ways we've tended to rely on so much in the past. This is the best way, I think, apart from talking about Karl's specific life and struggles, that we can approach the situation he's in and the support he deserves.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF CORPORATE CAPITALISM

Since the roots of important political or social mass movements can usually be found in economic changes—and since the struggles of the 1960's are no exception—we should go back and look at the origins and essence of corporate capitalism.

Capitalism is a system built around production for private profit through the necessary mediation of human needs. The logic of the system demands constant expansion, constant economic growth: capitalism expands by deriving increasing profits from expanding human needs.

While the workers' slice of the pie remains constant, the pie itself gets increasingly bigger. (Central to this expansion — the consistently bigger pies — is imperialism, and the expansion of corporate capital into largely non-white areas of the world in search of cheap labor, raw materials and markets (markets are of lesser importance, of course). Effecting a shift in material wealth from the Third World countries to the imperialist countries has been a precondition to, and concomitant of, corporate capitalist growth domestically. I'm not going to deal with imperialism in this letter because it would cover too much, but we should nevertheless keep in mind its function.) Until the early part of this century, the human needs met, however unequally, by capitalist production were principally the workers' basic needs for primary goods: Food, shelter, clothing, etc. The capital goods produced were mainly new machines to further the production of primary goods.

Since these goods were always in relatively short supply, and since work was a means to produce and attain them, a value system which held up work as a virtue in itself was a social necessity.

BY THE 1920'S, however, the effects of an industrial revolution, which began two decades earlier and which was spurred on by the technological achievements of World War I, began to become visible. The technological revolution began to affect a revolution in the nature of work. Productivity — output per worker — skyrocketed and primary goods became cheaper to produce and more plentiful, releasing labor-power from goods production.

For the first time in U.S. history, there was a net decline in wage earners in manufacturing. A process was taking hold which could potentially liberate men and women from the drudgery of labor; freeing them and their abilities for more creative uses, and eliminating the need for an ethic of work as an end in itself.

But there was a problem. Capitalism produced primarily for profits, a private product, and only satisfied human needs as a means to achieve profits and accumulate capital. The liberation of humanity from the once-necessary tyranny of wage-slavery would mean the end of profits because it meant the end of capitalist expansion. The perpetuation of the profit system now necessitated a subordination of the new forms of free activity to the interests of capital.

Capitalist expansion now took on a double meaning: Not just the constant expansion of the means of production, but the expansion of the relations of production into all other areas of social, political and private life.

Since the bourgeoisie had total control over the social surplus product in the form of profits, it could pull off this expansion without much trouble. A period of reform — the Progressive Era — directed by representatives of extremely class-conscious capitalists laid the groundwork for this expansion.

Meanwhile, craft, ethnic and geographical divisions within the working class kept it from mounting any concerted challenge to capital and even prevented it from developing a consciousness of what was happening.

THERE BEGAN A shift in investment from primary goods to more wasteful consumer goods, services, education, advertising, publishing etc. Unable to rely on basic needs any longer, capitalism had to begin producing needs itself to assure the consumption of its ever-increasing commodities. Advertising began to come into its own, to manufacture and exploit personal deficiencies (bad breath, low 'status' and so on) which could, conveniently enough, be overcome by the consumption of various commodities. Consumer financing through installment debt came onto the scene, also facilitating compulsive consumption, and the groundwork for a consumer culture was being laid.

THE STATE UNDER CORPORATE CAPITALISM

The total transformation of the system, now necessary for its survival, was a mammoth undertaking, not capable of being carried out by individual capitalists or coalitions of themselves.

The anarchy of the cutthroat "free enterprise" system had to be contained somehow, without undermining the ideology of the bourgeois "free individual" or cutting into profit-margins. An expansion of the state, formerly the purely political arm of capitalism, was the only realistic alternative.

The state was the instrument to socialize the costs of the transformation. In the name of the "public interest" it could supply the educational system necessary to keep increasing productivity and induce consumption: It could co-ordinate investment; it could expand consumer-debt financing; it could take over the welfare burden; it could keep employment (and demand) high, despite mechanization, through public works, expanded war production, and so on.

The political transformation of the state marks the emergence of "corporate liberalism." Ironically, as the potential for the liberation of more and more people rose, ultimate power over more human activities became invested in fewer and fewer capitalists.

The big corporations became even bigger and more powerful because only they possessed the resources to consistently raise productivity, to mold public opinion and mass culture, and to direct government policy. The government, in turn, became more and more corporatized as it became more centrally involved in the economy.

The technological, economic and political maturation of corporate capitalism was a gradual process, although marked by some important milestones. The Great Depression, for example, was the great political lesson for many more-backward capitalists. It was primarily an economic response to the technological advances of the twenties: supply outraced demand and businessmen refused to invest. It prompted an even more drastic reorganization of the state — the New Deal — so that the state intruded even more deeply into the rest of society.

New Deal measures were at once political and economic: direct relief attempted to cool protest while increasing demand; work relief was initiated to prevent a breakdown of the work-ethic while enforcing cheap labor. The New Deal also sought to assure steady demand and make wages predictable factors in production by legitimizing trade unions and standardizing the wage contract.

As a measure for ending the depression the New Deal failed, but as a precedent for necessary state intervention it was an important event.



WORLD WAR II ENDED the Depression with massive war investment. After the war, capitalists applied the lessons they learned during the Depression by using the state at every turn to stimulate growth through subsidies, deficit-spending etc.; and by expanding "social welfare" measures to extend social control and guarantee demand.

Of all the tools available to the postwar state to facilitate the profitable investment of the social surplus and stave off stagnation, military spending has by far been the most useful. As the heart of a totally irrational economic system, war production has nevertheless served its purpose by guaranteeing corporations like Boeing, Lockheed, AT & T, Honeywell, Hughes Aircraft, etc. windfall profits with fantastically inflated contracts. Because they occupy a central place within the U.S. economy, these giants have assured the country a relatively stable economy while at the same time maintaining U.S. imperialism's military might. The working class, of course, has paid for it all through their taxes.

THE MASSIFICATION OF LABOR AND SOCIAL CONTROL

The singlemost significant effect of the technological revolution has been the revolution in the nature of work: The massification of labor. As we have seen, it was the basis for the emergence of corporate capitalism and, over time, it has manifested itself in ever purer forms.

To maintain itself, capitalism has been forced to make all potential realms of freedom (i.e. human activities outside of primary goods production) into forms of labor. And like all products of labor under capitalism these activities end up as alienated, objectified "things" which have an existence all their own. They include intellectual activity, social co-operation ("services"), communication ("the Media"), relaxation ("leisure"), and so on.

Labor's massification is most dramatic in the case of intellectual activity which, historically an almost exclusive privilege of ruling classes, has now become a standard way of life for masses of people. But instead of it becoming the heritage of an ever-increasing freedom from subsistence work for all workers, corporate capitalism has channeled it into its own specifically bourgeois division of labor.

Instead of the intellectual energies of all workers being released, the intellectual capacities of SOME workers have been channeled into institutions where thought and mental activity would become "subsistence" labor. The principal functions of the new intellectual workers would be to advance the productivity of any products that could possibly be consumed, to advance the consumption of anything that might be produced, and administer this whole artificial division of production and consumption.

HARNESSING THOUGHT FOR PROFIT

Put a little differently, capitalism, by harnessing intellectual activity, has undertaken the production of knowledge, the production of ideology and the regulation of all social life.

1. The race for higher and higher productivity has initiated an era of constant innovation, or the production of knowledge. Scientists and technicians are now at least as important to production as assembly-line workers. In fact, today in all the western imperialist countries technological surplus-profits — those derived from increasing productivity — have displaced exploitation of neo-colonial workers and peasants as the main source of profits.

In addition to scientists; sociologists, labor relations people, efficiency experts, industrial psychologists, etc. also play necessary roles in increasing productivity by manipulating the labor force. The production of

The Left and the Bombing

knowledge has effected an "information explosion" requiring a revolution in the handling and processing of information. Cybernation, in fact, has achieved the ultimate development of the massification of labor: machines simulating the activity of the human brain itself.

This has expanded the potential realm of freedom even more, so it's no accident that capitalism's employment of computers has been geared towards increasing bureaucracy and social control.

2. The production of ideology is carried out by school teachers, advertising copywriters, journalists, TV producers, media planners etc. etc. While school teachers instill work habits into future workers, the others are more concerned with reproducing consumption habits. They need to assure the continuing consumption of a shitload of wasteful commodities, "everything from toy guns that spark to flesh-colored Christs that glow in the dark."

The obvious contradiction between the work ethic, propagated by the schools, and the ideology of "instant gratification" pushed by the media is a constant tension in people's everyday lives and a testimony to the irrationality of the whole system.

Karl Marx, writing over a hundred years ago, based his analysis of capitalism on the system's tendency to alienate people from their labor, from themselves, from nature, from other people, and its tendency to commodify, to "make everything in its own image."

Nowhere has this process developed so purely, so brutally, as in the U.S. Information — and ideological-production are the ultimate forms of commodification — the commodification of human consciousness — and the U.S. has been able to accomplish it in as total a form as reasonably conceivable. The U.S. bourgeoisie has needed to utilize the state as a means of social control less than the other advanced imperialist nations because its cultural-ideological weapons could be more successful. The U.S. had no burdensome cultural traditions left over from pre-capitalist times which it couldn't squash.

Working-class consciousness, which in Europe was based on national and craft traditions, could be drowned in the U.S. melting pot by eliminating those national and craft boundaries. In the U.S. the individualistic, alienated mentality of capitalism could be developed to its fullest.

Especially over the last twenty years, the U.S. Gross Ideological Product (G.I.P.) has maintained record levels, alienating all forms of human activity, turning everything into a mirror of the market. Life, love and art are all objectified to be sold in packaged individualized forms. The media can saturate our every waking minute with commercialism. Every little gimmick and psychological device has been utilized to rob us of our identities, our real individuality and we've been denied every opportunity to know ourselves through others.

Our everyday activities are serialized to keep us from sharing our feelings. We're conditioned to accept private autos when we need mass transit. We're conditioned to buy expensive washing machines when we could have communal laundry services. The Man has us identify with gods, the flag and nation-state, football teams, flashy cars, objectified sex roles, but never with ourselves. The production of ideology — the central area of production domestically — is the production of consciousness, the production of policemen to inhabit our very minds.

3. Finally, the coordination of ideological and material production is handled by the intellectual laborers who man the bureaucracy. There are accountants, office workers, social workers and state functionaries of all kinds. Despite their varied tasks, they have a common purpose—to preserve the status quo and maintain the hierarchical structure of society despite all the integrating tensions running against it.

All these new intellectual tasks — scientific, ideological, administrative — find their origins in the university, the key institution in the massification of intellectual labor. With the advent of corporate capitalism and capital's redefinition of "production labor," the educational system had to expand enormously. Formerly, institutions of higher learning served as depositories of ruling culture and training grounds for the management elite.

Today, they train important sectors of the working class and take an active role in production itself through "research and development." The R & D is financed principally by the working class through taxes, although employed almost exclusively to increase the profits or productivity of the large corporations, or meet the needs of the military. In every field — medicine, engineering, social studies, communications etc. — public priorities are met only in so far as they serve the purposes of private profit or social control.

SERVICES AND INDUSTRY

The massification of labor logically extends beyond intellectual activity into the area of "services," both private and public. Under capitalism, services amount to the commodification of social co-operation, a reaction to the socializing tendencies of modern industrial society. Not surprisingly, they have been one of the most rapidly expanding areas of the capitalist economy. The services provided by the private sector are generally the most profitable, while the "public" services usually consist of the state socializing less profitable but necessary costs of co-ordination or control for the big bourgeoisie.

Because of technological advances and potential overproduction, and under-investment constantly threatening profit-margins, the state has had to socialize these costs and therefore expand at a rapid rate. So as the state has expanded, the number of state employees has dramatically increased. Like white-collar workers in both public and private sectors, their working conditions have deteriorated as their numbers have grown. The state, meanwhile, has increasingly been exposed as "boss."

BACK IN INDUSTRIAL production — where massification began — the technological revolution has

relegated the worker to a supplementary or regulative position in production. Theoretically, this doesn't necessarily mean that the workers should become appendages of the machine but, in fact, under capitalism this has been the case. The "scientific organization of work" advanced by modern bourgeois technocrats is fundamentally social control—the limitation of the worker's autonomy through the extreme fragmentation of production work.

High productivity hasn't been the only motive behind modern industrial organization. In some industries, workers are relegated to the position of gauge-watchers. In other industries, time-and-motion studies and speedup have reduced workers' jobs to split-second operations performed endlessly. The jobs are generally extremely debilitating, if not downright dangerous, and boredom — absolute and total alienation — is their main characteristic. What's more, the technically irrelevant authoritarianism of supervisors and foremen has escalated to deal with the inevitable worker dissatisfaction.

ALL TOGETHER NOW: THE SYSTEM TODAY

Under corporate capitalism, labor has become more generalized—on the average less skilled but more educated; more specialized in the specific work situation but necessarily adaptable. The tension between the present rigid organization of work and its many-sided potential has become even sharper. ALL workers are feeling the crunch. The objective conditions for working-class unity are materializing. The income gap between white-collar and blue-collar workers is narrowing. The normal secondary education for white-and-blue collar workers is becoming more uniform. Working conditions for white-collar workers are becoming shittier. And, in many cases, even the distinctions between "white-collar" and "blue-collar" work have become arbitrary: what's the difference, for example, between a semi-skilled assembly line worker and a semi-skilled data processor?

The massification of labor has meant the integration of society to an unbelievable extent. There has been a sharp decline in independent producers and workers. Small businesses have been undercut in the race for higher productivity, and an independent petty bourgeoisie, a traditional base for classical fascism, has largely disappeared. More than anytime in the history of capitalism, wage and salary earners — those almost completely dependent on the priorities of the big business titans — constitute the over-whelming majority of the people. The system has the power to bring all established institutions under its sway.

Institutions which formerly served justifiable needs of survival for people have been turned around by capitalism to crush them: the trade unions now enforce the hierarchical division of labor in the workplace, while the family enforces an archaic sexual division of labor against women and authoritarian power relationships against children in the home. Power is rooted not just in the workplaces, but in the housing estates, prisons, schools, military, trade unions and political parties.

THE TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION — even as directed by the bourgeois class — has practically eliminated the distinctions between WORK, CULTURE and POLITICS. The integration of state and economy, culture and economy must continue unabated because the system has no material rationale. In fact, our corporate rules have developed a system of ENFORCED SCARCITY, the deliberate restriction of material wealth. Since WW II, roughly 25 per cent of existing industrial capacity has sat idle, farm produce has been plowed under—all the while a fifth of the U.S. population (and most of the world) lives in poverty. This has been necessary to maintain artificially high prices for goods and the monopolistic pricing policies—the de facto taxing powers — of the corporate giants.

In this very real sense, poverty has been the economic foundation of corporate capitalism, a system which must produce poverty just as surely as it must produce bombs or deodorant. The hypocritical race for higher productivity has been motivated purely by a drive for lower paper costs and higher paper profits. The reproduction of power through paper profit, not the production of material wealth, is the essence of corporate capitalism.

Interestingly enough, the older the system, the more degenerate it becomes. It reached an important milestone in the early 1950's when, having satisfied the deferred demand of the war period, it made a clean break with even a semblance of producing for basic needs. There began declines in non-luxury housing construction and per capita protein, vitamin and calorie consumption, declines from levels which have never since been attained. Television came onto the scene, transistor radios became the vogue and Death Culture entered its golden era. Capitalism's more important product necessarily became ideology as the Brave New World materialized right under our very noses.

THE 1960's

The 1960's marked another turning point for corporate capitalism. The contradictions and alienation engendered by the system became too acute to hide or ameliorate. The increasingly integrated structure of society began to backfire. The massification of labor continuing to intensify through automation and cybernation caused instability by breaking down traditional work roles, juggling people's lives; and by breaking down family ties with 24-hour production schedules, industrial relocation and mass higher education. (Vance Packard's new book, *A Nation of Strangers*, describes this kind of fragmentation, though from a liberal perspective.) Capitalism, in short, began to crack its own reproductive mechanisms, and social alternatives began to spring up.

There were movements for community control, gay liberation, black liberation, women's liberation, Chicano power, rank-and-file control, student power, youth liberation, ecology, science-for-the-people etc. A cultural

crisis of stupifying proportions ripped through America, its impact felt in every institution: the established churches, the legal system, the professional associations, the high schools, the trade unions, the prisons, the universities, the arts, the military etc. etc. Dylan's line began to take on an entirely new meaning—"it's easy to see without looking too far that not much is really sacred."

THE GREATEST SPUR TO this disintegration came from the outside — the Indochina War — which nevertheless embodied the internal degeneracy of the system and its culture more than any other event. Millions of young American men killed and maimed because they were told to, conducting a virtual war of extermination against a peasant people thousands of miles away. The war has exposed the gap between bourgeois ideology and reality like nothing else just because it's so hard to justify genocide. The war has also demonstrated the integration of American, economic, cultural and political life.

Tom Hayden's recent book on the war explained how the war effort strained the U.S. economy to its limit by boosting inflation, spiralling interest rates upward, cutting liquidity, curtailing productive investment and screwing up the balance of payments. While war production usually stimulates the economy, it couldn't in this case because, since LBJ was afraid to raise taxes to pay for such an unpopular war, he had to finance it with a massive inflation. This inflation screwed up the competitiveness of U.S. goods just at the time when Europe and Japan began rivaling U.S. economic power. By August, 1971, the U.S. had been dumped from its unchallenged position on top of the world capitalist economy.

Milhouse Nixon had a joint economic-political strategy: to lessen the cost of the war by mechanizing it, while withdrawing U.S. troops to convince Americans he was ending the war. "Vietnamization," of course, was the necessary prerequisite for mechanization. Even this strategy seems to have failed, however, due to the tenacity of the Vietnamese people and their 1972 offensive. Nixon might now want to back out gracefully. But the economic costs of the war have already begun to reverberate into the social realm.

To boost its sagging productivity and competitive position among capitalist powers, U.S. capitalism needs another strong dose of social-productive rationalization, this time directly administered by the state. The August 1970 wage-price freeze was the first step in this direction. These doses of state intervention and social control come precisely at a time when popular support and ideological backing for them are at their lowest. (It's problematic whether Nixon and the Republicans, with their lack of trade union support and "return to the spirit of the individual" ideology, are prepared to pull off this overhaul. It's possible Nixon may try to make do with temporary patchwork solutions, just trying to keep the economy afloat until 1976. Either way, he's on dangerous ground.) The friction arising from future government moves will undoubtedly be severe. The creeping authoritarianism so necessary to capitalist economic progress may run into heavy resistance.

SELF-ACTIVITY AND REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION

The massification of labor and social control under corporate capitalism has necessarily altered the nature of traditional class struggle. Because economic contradictions appear so clearly in the cultural realm, as total social contradictions, the key struggle is one which the Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci, called the fight for "hegemony over civil society," for cultural and ideological hegemony. Under free enterprise and early corporate capitalism, economic power — the power of employees to deny workers their livelihood — was the most important weapon of the bourgeoisie in keeping the workers down.

Today, as Fortune magazine pointed out, workers are not afraid to stay out of work on long strikes because in this age of potential plenty economic power is not so terrifying. This isn't to discount or underestimate economic power, but to recognize that it is now more completely dependent on popular consensus or, at the very least, popular passivity.

The central struggle we have to wage is one for our own collective identity. It has to be fought as a combined political-economic-cultural struggle with our own social and political institutions. Hence, the central importance of a realistic and humane self-consciousness to the revolutionary struggle, and counter-organizations and activity to develop that consciousness. Struggles in Quebec 1972, in France 1968, in Italy since 1968 and in Hungary in 1956 show that the revolutionizing of production and the struggle at the workplaces are still the keys to revolutionizing society.

But that doesn't mean that revolutionizing that "key" area is sufficient—or possible—without challenging the status quo in every institution. Economic power entrenched in the hospitals, schools, trade unions and churches. Men and women are more than just "producers," a fact that even capitalism has recognized in order to control us; so our revolution must be TOTAL.

THE ABSOLUTE AND COMPLETE alienation under corporate capitalism's modern forms of control is central in understanding our fight because it means that our liberation will come only through the most basic human forms of activity. The main forms of organization have been, and will continue to be, the most real and primary forms of association: the primary workgroup at the workplace, the neighborhood, the minority group, the women's group—all those social groups where a practical identity is felt, where a dynamic self-consciousness can be developed, and where bureaucracy can be easily resisted.

The Left and the Bombing

Self-activity and self-consciousness are the main elements of successful revolutionary struggle today.

The struggles of blacks, Chicanos, women, gay people, students, teachers, artists, etc. need not be politically or organizationally subordinated to archaic conceptions of class struggle because these fights in themselves are important elements of modern class struggle. The struggle at the workplaces will assert itself as the focus for militant activity through the needs of the people, not by the decree of vanguard leadership.

Vanguard leadership itself, at least of the Leninist variety of "professional revolutionaries" is dead. Leninism was a form of struggle specifically suited to a society which didn't possess the material foundations for communism, where all the people's basic needs could not be met. If effected political alliances between workers and peasants under the lead of an educated vanguard where economic and cultural links were missing. While appropriate to 1917 Russia, external vanguards can only be irrelevant, or obstructive, to revolutionary developments in 1972 America.

Alliances under corporate capitalism cannot be made artificially; they must emerge as logical developments of mass self-consciousness. The fact that these alliances can and will emerge — given motion by the various workers, community, and student groups, etc. — is assured by the integration of the system itself. Economism and narrow self-interest will doom dissident groups to failure.

Even implicitly Leninist notions of "the movement's" leading role will have to be junked. The organized left's role should be communication, education and coordinating, not vanguard leadership. The only leadership fully capable of leading black community struggles comes from those communities. The only possible leadership for industrial workers comes from their own ranks. The same goes for women, students, gay people, artists, etc. etc. People should be constantly struggling with organizational questions, including the question of future alliances; none of these questions, however, can be answered abstractly, but only from the immediate perspective of the people involved.

SELF-ACTIVITY WITHIN THE WORKING CLASS

● The fact that most Americans are still frightfully far from consciously revolutionary motion shouldn't obscure the intensified self-activity of the 1960's. At the risk of being overly sketchy, we can indicate some key struggles.

● Industrial workers, fed up with automation, inflation, authoritarianism and speedup, reacted with contract rejections, wildcats, slowdowns and sabotage. The majority of strikes were illegal ones—wildcats—directed as much against the unions as against the boss. Most of them were conducted, not over wages or pensions, but over "local grievances," that is over issues of power like pace of work, hiring and firing, changes in production methods and long hours. The alienation of the mass worker was even raised to legitimate status for cocktail party conversation after the Lordstown strike when CBS, Playboy and Life scrambled to cash in on "angry young workers."

● There has been a dramatic trend toward unionization among white-collar, technical and professional workers. Because of the air of false superiority that bourgeois society cultivates around them, this is a very big step. White collar workers were turned out by the system at a fantastic rate during the sixties, resulting in a sharp deterioration in their working conditions—and correspondingly, a sharp escalation of dissatisfaction.

● State workers not only exhibited a trend toward unionization but also an acute disposition for militancy. Dozens of North American cities felt their power: New York, Vancouver, San Francisco, Montreal, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Toronto etc. The postal workers strike of early 1970—a national wildcat under fairly repressive conditions—was a milestone of class struggle, directed as it was against the government. State workers occupy an especially strategic position within American society. Concentrated in the city strongholds, they are well situated to ignite general strikes—to seize and exercise social control. Among the lowest paid workers, militant ethnic minorities and women make up a substantial portion of their ranks.

Because they have experienced the state as boss, their unions—now growing at a fantastic rate—are among the most socially-oriented and politically active. Reflecting the most class-conscious views of the ruling class, Fortune magazine recognized the threat state workers began to pose in the 1960's: "...the widespread, bitter (and, much of the time, illegal) strikes by government employees generated an air of militancy in the labor movement that had not been there since the 1930's. It was, in the phrase of women's lib, a 'consciousness-raising' experience that quite possibly served to channel much of the social discontent of the 1960's into the bargaining process."

It seems that state workers—along with certain kinds of educated workers and students—may be playing a vanguard role in workplace struggle these days in the same way as the railroad workers of 1877, the skilled metal trades workers of 1919, and the unskilled and semi-skilled auto and rubber workers of the 1930's, who also experienced capitalism's most important transformations first-hand.

The most dynamic forces of the sixties—youth, black people, women—did not directly attack the traditional workplaces, yet they were the first to attack the system as a whole. They typified the new characteristics of class struggle under a massified order. In their own ways, you, blacks and women represented a rebellion of the most alienated—the most drastically deprived of the realms of human freedom and fulfillment.

● Black people have by and large been massified OUT of the labor process, first as victims of large-scale mechanization of Southern agriculture, then of automation in the northern cities. There, they've been forced onto welfare and into the ghettos and the prisons to feel the more ruthless side of "social control" under

capitalism. Even denied the legitimacy of integration into American mass culture, black people have had to sustain themselves through their very alienation.

But this enforced cultural autonomy began to work against the system, exploding in the sixties, as a black liberation movement, based in the communities of the deteriorating cities, shook the country.

In the same way black culture and struggle affected white youth during the sixties, continuing struggle can be expected to have a dramatic effect on many areas of American society. With whites moving increasingly into white collar jobs, black workers are making up a rising percentage of the classical industrial proletariat, especially in crucial industries like auto and steel. In addition, while the trend may be against most blacks for any work at all, the educated black "middle class" is expanding at a rapid rate—largely capital's token response to an obvious social challenge.

This new "middle class" is actually just educated labor, however, far less privileged and less divorced from the community than the old black middle class DuBois analyzed 25 years ago. And while being trained on the campuses, black students have raised hell, beginning the Southern civil rights movement of the sixties, and generalizing militant black struggle on campuses all over the country by the end of the decade.

Obviously, intensified black struggle poses a central threat to the bourgeois order, as an example to whites and as a concrete challenge to ruling class power.

● The alienation women have experienced has, in one sense, been as complete as that of black people and, in another sense, more complete. Damned by mass culture to the stereotypes of consumer or ornament, women have had to work harder than men, while being excluded from labor in the accepted sense. From the earliest signs of new realms of freedom at the turn of the century, white male capitalists calculated special controls—under the guise of "protection"—to keep women in the home, as the backbone of the now necessarily artificially reinforced sexual division of labor.

Even these controls, however, fifty years later were too weak to maintain this division rigidly. The expansion of higher education and social services, among other factors, and the irrelevance of Victorian morality, demonstrated the contradictions of sex typing too clearly. The women's movement which emerged in the mid-sixties is undoubtedly the most important force in both generalizing and deepening the modern class struggle. Cutting across virtually all race, age and social barriers, it seriously challenges the most central aspects of the division of labor and bourgeois ideological dominance.

Women are particularly prominent in the crucial communications and state service occupations; they are the backbone of unpaid production and socialization within the family, the basic social unit; and their challenge to male dominance threatens virtually every bourgeois power relationship.

● Young people have been those most readily inclined to perceive the total irrationality of the system. They comprise a first generation raised totally on a cultural diet of death and, unlike their parents, do not recall a time when capitalism produced mainly to satisfy basic needs. So they haven't been brainwashed into accepting work as an end in itself. This is also because the technological revolution has intensified greatly during their lifetimes, producing a "technological acceleration of the generation gap."

As the British Marxist, Gareth Steman Jones, put it "Communication between age groups separated by decades is becoming as difficult as it previously was between epochs." The information explosion, new social and scientific disciplines, and the electronic media have exposed hierarchical, authoritarian relationships as anachronistic organizational forms because their very structures dictate integration, socialization and cooperation.

The Global Village espouses racism, sexism, elitism and nationalism as the reactionary and destructive tendencies they are. For people raised on TV, light shows and rock music, formal schooling is naturally a drag because the technological capacity of education is suppressed in the interest of one-way distribution of ideology, usually reeking of paternalism, with nothing dynamic and no capacity for feedback. The new 'cool' consciousness, in short, runs against the grain of commodification, striking at the core of capitalist rationality.

This natural alienation experienced by young people has been reinforced by the deterioration in their living conditions. From the time of the 1960 economic slowdown, lower incomes and higher unemployment have been facts of life for youth. The deteriorating conditions have been reflected in the rise of death rates among the young, a rise in the rate of infectious disease cases, the deterioration of conditions for reproduction (seen in the increasing number of low birth weight infants), and so on. The young—along with women and blacks—have served as pools of cheap labor, one reason why U.S. capitalism weathered the recessions of the late 50's and 60's so well.

It's no surprise that rebellions like People's Park, Mifflin St. and Grant Park happen in this kind of environment.

ORIGINS OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

Nowhere has the youth rebellion hit harder than in the universities. Hardly anywhere else, save maybe the big cities, are the contradictions of corporate capitalism any stronger. As the new workplaces of advanced production, the universities have been involved with the mass production of both an educated work force and the information and ideology to keep the system going.

As apprentice intellectual-laborers, lots of students have naturally felt screwed, or at least pigeon-holed, by the whole setup. Their critical faculties are built up and expanded only to be channeled into one-dimensional pursuits to be used in narrowly-prescribed ways. Students

in the humanities and social sciences have felt more restricted than others because their studies are necessarily so abstract, ideological and conservative in application. Liberal Arts are not very liberal. The irrelevance of most university work to real human needs probably had a lot to do with why the student movement of the 1960's grew strongest outside the classrooms, apart from student power moves, and against the university as a whole.

Other factors sparking student unrest included the overproduction of intellectual workers which overcrowded the universities. For a time, capitalism found it could solve the postwar baby boom and maintain "full employment" by holding millions of young people out of the economy proper and sending them off to college, just to keep them off the streets. Approximately 50 per cent of college-age people are now attending some institution of higher learning. That an overproduction of intellectual workers has resulted hasn't made students feel too secure within the system. And throwing lots of young people together in one place at a crucial time in their lives hasn't been conducive to a smooth-running society, either, especially when their living conditions are getting worse.

Of course, working youth and the unemployed have probably borne the brunt of the decline in living conditions, but students have also been affected. Financial aid has been harder to get, with costs skyrocketing, and more students have been forced to take part-time jobs or long-term loans.

IT'S EASY TO see why, all things considered, the counter-culture had such an impact on the colleges and universities. The youth ghettos, now permanent scenes surrounding most big universities, were natural breeding grounds of new life styles.

Students had better access to political news and information, most of which didn't say much for the traditional politics and values. The student movement built on a tradition of disaffection.

Many students of the early mid-sixties witness first hand the federal government's refusal to protect black citizens and civil rights workers from terror in the south. When they carried the weapons of direct action back to the campuses, many more of us began to be drawn in. In fact, it was only back at the universities when WE had OUR heads busted a few times in demos against the university bureaucracies, the draft, the military recruiters, and Dow, that we finally began putting the pieces together.

Once we could perceive first-hand our own powerlessness and the brutal rationality of the powerful, a real empathy with other oppressed people was possible.

And HERE is where the seemingly unbelievable fight of the Vietnamese to withstand the most devastating military apparatus in history served to shame, inspire and literally force us to take ever increasing positive commitments to live the way WE thought was right.

THE NEW LEFT

The coming-to-be of a realistic self-consciousness of the student movement has been slow and erratic. The revolutionary road, as Chairman Mao said somewhere, is not always straight and smooth.

We've had to develop a language and identity all our own, but not one we could pick with absolute freedom. It's hard to correspond to the real, awfully confusing world out there.

The developing and varied ideologies of the new left in the past decades have more or less been attempts to comprehend the world and change it in the process. For students, that's an awfully ambitious task, but a more than justifiable one—a consideration that all criticism of the movement should acknowledge.

After the Dark Ages of the McCarthy era and the fifties, the student movement constituted the first body of white Americans to actively resist the imperial Colossus in almost all its forms.

It was no small task, especially because there wasn't any immediately obvious radical tradition to draw on. The student left by necessity had to embark on a trial-by-error course, with all the confusion and false starts that this entails.

THE ORGANIZED LEFT has taken a lot of criticism over time, a lot of it completely unjustified; but all too often criticisms have been made FROM THE OUTSIDE, and therefore have had very little practical value in terms of concrete situations.

Many critics have claimed some sort of "detached objectivity", but that amounts to no more than a euphemism for disclaiming responsibility.

Most of these critics, in short, just don't know what they're talking about. People detached from our struggle can't hope to fully understand it. It's a human process: emotion and activity sharpen thought, just as thought clarifies activity.

Marx laid out the theoretical framework for this dialectical process long ago. Especially in an age of mass involvement, armchair criticism is more than irrelevant—it's destructive because it distracts people and confuses real understanding.

While the movement needs theory, it doesn't need the abstract posturing of old-line intellectuals (those who still see intellectual labor as something special), bourgeois or Marxologists included. These people would be better off getting their fellow teachers, journalists or whatever, together to follow up on their own legitimate needs through radical activity.

Our revolutionary theory can only be the common language of our self-consciousness, the concepts of our new ways of seeing and acting. It can't be done for us.

THE MAIN CHARACTERISTIC, I think, of the 1960's student movement was that it could isolate many important shortcomings of capitalist society as a whole, but it couldn't satisfactorily develop a specifically STUDENT

The Left and the Bombing

orientation, based on the student's objective position in modern capitalism (outlined above), which would clarify its own strategies and its relationships with other struggles.

Students became involved in issues as they emerged in American society and had a lot to do with popularizing them. There were fights against racial segregation, poverty, university bureaucracies, the war, repression, imperialism, white racism, and male supremacy.

But, although strides were taken to conceptualize these struggles into a consistent framework, the prevailing conditions prevented students from developing their own unique analysis.

Beginning approximately with the emergence of the southern Civil Rights movement, and eventually, the revitalization of SDS in 1961-62 with the Port Huron statement, many students saw the need for radical changes in society but were confused about strategy.

Amidst a prosperous and seemingly contented population, radicals started a long and difficult search for a constituency—an agency to bring about that radical change. That constituency was typically outside the direct experience of most students: The black poor, the white poor, industrial workers, Third World revolutionaries.

IT WAS THE CIVIL RIGHTS movement and its emphasis on "organizing" that led white students into poor black and white communities in an effort to establish "an interracial movement of the poor", which would focus primarily on economic issues.

After the emphasis shifted from purely economic issues to "community unions" the campaign still failed miserably for two reasons: 1st because of LBJ's fantastically successful (contrary to popular stereotype) War on Poverty effort which swamped, obscured, and co-opted indigenous projects with millions of dollars; and 2nd, and most importantly, because the students could not relate to the people, did not fully appreciate their needs, or the process by which they would express those needs.

The students could hardly relate to poor people's needs when they were only dimly aware of their own. This was an important lesson for the students and they went back to the campuses.

THE CAMPUS MOVEMENT was partly a child of the Civil Rights movement. The Free Speech movement, for instance, the first big mass action, was led by former civil rights activists like Mario Savio. It was the Civil Rights movement that brought the student movement its lesson in self-activity through direct action and the need for a specifically "student" orientation.

But it was the student movement's first major success—catalyzing the first major opposition to the war in 1965—that governed its outlook over the next five years.

From that point, the overwhelming number of struggles were directed against the universities, but mainly around war issues. The struggles against university complicity with the draft and war recruiters are good examples.

The fact that an outside event—a life and death affair—was the primary issue undoubtedly helped students to affirm their alienation and sharpen their consciousness, especially when they were vamped on during peaceful demonstrations. But it inevitably had the effect of diverting much attention away from the strategic concerns and more toward tactics which would cripple the war effort.

As a result, the student movement still looked toward a single vehicle to pull off the revolution, just as they earlier sought a single agent to achieve reform. For a while during 1966-67, it looked as if "student power" was emerging as a central theme of the New Left (which was still mainly a student left). But because the left was distracted by the traditional definitions of students and intellectuals, and because the antiwar struggle warranted more immediate attention, the organized left abandoned the fight for student power.

AN AMBIGUOUS DEVELOPMENT in New Left analysis was the emphasis on the working class which emerged around 1967. There were two main theoretical varieties: The "New Working Class" theory and the PL-promoted "industrial proletariat" line.

They had an important impact in changing the terms of debate but didn't get too far as theories because they weren't adequate to explain the struggles which most preoccupied the left at that time: the anti-imperialist struggle and the black liberation struggle.

Both theories tried to isolate a single segment of the working class as the revolutionary agent. PPL's line was a static and mechanistic parody of early Leninist analysis, which closely paralleled its interpretation of the Leninist party.

The "New Working Class" theory of a new class of educated labor was a good deal more realistic by identifying at least one important tendency of corporate capitalism, but it was closely linked to student power ideologies and died when they did.

THE MOST CONFUSING phase in the left's search for an identity began in 1968 with the Columbia revolt and the Chicago Democratic National convention.

One reason for the confusion and the proliferation of ideologies (PL, RYM, YIPPIE, Trot, etc.) was the expansion of the mass struggle which was, in turn, influenced by the Vietnamese people's continuing victories.

More and more people were involved, and "the movement" was no longer just a student movement. The Y.I.P., for example, was a bold stab at linking street culture and political activity. The social backgrounds of student militants also tended to become more diversified—i.e., more and more radicals with industrial working class and small town origins.

Closely linked to this expansion of radical activity and the anti-war movement was the fact that now the anti-war activity (in its most abstract sense, of course) became

legitimate. Bourgeois politicians came onto the scene, in response to anti-war sentiment, defining themselves as leaders of the anti-war movement.

Whether they actually WERE leaders is not the point, but because the media portrayed them as such, and because radicals sensed their conservatism and opportunism, radicals now had to define their radicalism more comprehensively than just being "anti-war."

Radicals began to identify themselves as revolutionaries and developed a real sense of internationalism. This was no false consciousness, but a real one, a response to real conditions. The problem was how radicals ARTICULATED those conditions.

TOTALLY ABSTRACT AND formalistic schemes were formulated to situate the student movement in the international context involving odd ideological mixtures of old and new. Weird and not very interesting interpretations of Marx, Mao and Che were heavily laid on SDS.

These ideologies complicated the practical work of the radical organizations—especially SDS, where for example, "worker's control" arguments were advanced by national staffers to license their unresponsiveness to the rank-and-file.

Norm Fruchter, in a recent *Liberation* article on SDS, explained the situation in terms of the movement's self-consciousness:

"SDS as an organization was a premature political form which articulated only the VALUES of the developing social force, generated by a leadership clique responsive to these values but insufficiently self-conscious, and therefore still linked to traditional notions of role, structure, politics and ambition."

Fruchter is right, but he doesn't establish specifically what SDS, in a positive sense, should have been self-conscious of. SDS was a "premature" organizational form because to maintain itself as a truly representative student organization, its base had to include cells within the university departments, and had to be a means for a total development of student self-consciousness, not just outside the classrooms and various disciplines.

Too many students separated their "political" lives from their "academic" lives.

BECAUSE OF THIS divided, alienated quality of the students' self-consciousness, and because no language of self-consciousness was available to explain or express their schizophrenia in politically acceptable terms, student radicals fell back on ready-made dogma or moral elitism.

It was an old story. In the "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" Karl Marx could have been disclosing the mutilation of his own theory at the hands of SDS and YSA:

AFTER SDS AND YSA

"The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionizing themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honored disguise and this borrowed language."

Thus Luther donned the mask of the Apostle Paul; the Revolution of 1789 to 1814 draped itself alternately as the Roman republic and the Roman empire; and the revolution of 1848 knew nothing better to do than parody, now 1789, now the revolutionary tradition of 1793 to 1795.

In like manner a beginner who has learnt a new language always translates it back into his mother tongue, but he has assimilated the spirit of the new language and can freely express himself in it only when he finds his way in it without recalling the old and forgets his native tongue in the use of the new."

DESPITE THE ABSENCE of a revolutionary language, the post-Democratic convention period was a positive and necessary stage of the struggle. The movement achieved new levels of militancy while junking many of those archaic and premature organizational forms.

Armchair experts can debunk the movement's "obsession with violence," its "off the pigs" rhetoric, trashing, etc.; but repression—and maintaining some initiative in the face of it—were very real and pressing problems for people who couldn't afford the luxury of sitting around and philosophizing.

Violent repression and police brutality had always been the single most important factors in radicalizing youth. Now the Chicago convention nationalized such repression; it was there on TV for all to see.

The continued escalation of the Indochina War, the organized campaign of murderous repression against the Black Panther Party, and incidents like People's Park seemed to warrant a mass counter-violent response. On the heels of a no-choice Nixon-Humphrey election, it was seen by many of us as a matter of survival.

TRASHING WAS THE mass expression of this need to respond. It was a tactic which didn't involve too much risk for the convert, but materially and symbolically struck at the heart of alienation and war: private property.

The wave of bombings which swept the country expressed a similar militancy but in a more drastic form: Organized counter-violence against an institutionalized system of every day violence and terror.

To attribute such militancy to "frustration" is bullshit. This implies that a little more "discipline" or study is enough to raise consciousness, and suggests that we unilaterally or voluntaristically select our own battlefields.

At this stage of development, I think it's safe to say that

Nixon and Mitchell had more to do with movement "strategy" than we did.

It's hard to estimate the impact of this militancy in a comprehensive way, but it's clear that its immediate effect on Nixon's foreign policy maneuvering was dramatic, severely limiting his alternatives in Indochina for fear of a domestic reaction from students.

RIGHT NOW THE NEW LEFT seems to be going through a transition period which began with the campus lull in autumn 1970. The New Left is now so large that students and street people can no longer claim direction over it. The student movement, in short, is forced to confront directly its own *raison d'être*.

The renewed interest in class analysis within the New Left is bound to effect an important change in the student movement.

Probably more important in shaping the student struggle will be how the universities are affected by the social-economic shakeup necessary to halt inflation, boost productivity, and halt the U.S.'s economic decline.

The rationalization of higher education—structuring it so that degrees fit job vacancies, thereby eliminating the overproduction of intellectual workers—seems to be an inevitable cost-cutting measure. The tensions generated by such a shake-up would be severe, possibly sparking mass student opposition.

THE FUTURE OF THE student movement ultimately depends on its ability to establish a grass-roots power base within the colleges and universities, in linking up with pre-existing opposition movements within the university communities, in matching its militance with its self-consciousness.

So far, "structural" strategies have been opposed to campaigns built around current events—i.e., issues like student power have been opposed to anti-imperialist issues as priorities for mobilization.

But this needn't be the case, especially after students have won some initial struggles for control. The centrality of students and teachers in the process of production and legitimation is indisputable.

Power is there to seize if the self-consciousness is there to attempt it.

MADISON

Madison, home of the great University of Wisconsin, and the state capital, has been the center of student activity and New Left politics since the last fifties.

Contradictions have emerged in a fairly clear form because of the area's great liberal, progressive heritage.

The "Wisconsin Idea", the university's traditional public relations gimmick, has supposedly meant "service to the state" and faculty governance. It's pretty clear, however, that the cheap (for the corporations and military) research and development really serves the state's inflation-pressed people very poorly, and the faculty doesn't govern too much any more now that issues have emerged which directly affect it.

WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, the campaigns organized by the left in the years preceding the bombing centered on the war and imperialism. The exceptions were usually campaigns organized by some other group than the white left, e.g., the black student led mass strike in February, 1969.

While its successes, narrowly defined, had been minimal, its impact on the Madison community was great, primarily because of its size and militancy.

The problem is that the student left rarely has related to building an institutional opposition within either the university or the community. It always struggled from a completely transient and subjective base of support among students and street people.

After a half-hearted, bureaucratic attempt at power by the left-supported student government failed in 1967, student power struggles were carried out almost exclusively by teaching assistants and individual groups of undergraduates within the departments.

Of all the undergrad groups, the only serious ones seemed to be within the history, English and sociology departments—and even they weren't all that together.

WHATEVER STRUGGLES WERE waged in the university or community by the inter-departmental groups, the co-ops, dorm groups, local firemen, tenant organizations, etc., got little or no support from the organized left.

There were several reasons for this. The most important was the pressure on the organized left to lay-out a long range strategy for revolution.

It leaped at simplistic, quasi-marxist formulas, and any struggles which didn't fit in terms of Third World vanguards or archaic conceptions of the working class were written off as "fights for bourgeois" privilege.

The basic needs of students didn't count for shit. To complicate things, most organized leftists were unsure of their politics and were very defensive about people and things they didn't understand. They were a clique which, while well-intentioned and dedicated, tended to isolate itself from others with heavy rhetoric.

Tomorrow: Part 2

Revolutionary Love, Leo Burt

The Underground

(It sure is dark down here)

'Tiger burns too bright' 'Typists, punch too hard'

By THE PHANTOM OF
THE THEATER

The Vilas Hall Experimental Theater had on display last week one tiger-man with his female prey and two slightly used typists, all of whom performed in person before a live audience in Murray Schisgal's two one-act comedies, *The Typists* and *The Tiger*.

In this very intimate theater, there was practically nothing separating the actors from the audience. Unfortunately, there was also practically nothing separating the audience from the audience. This reviewer found out that hard fact as she was sitting innocently in her chair and felt the sudden pain of two sharp legs jabbing into her lower back. Other than this minor discomfort, the two plays adapted very well to the intimate setting.

The plot of *The Tiger* involves a disillusioned and dejected mailman named Ben, played by Rocky Smith. Ben, in a fit of discouraged frenzy, stalks and captures his prey, an unsuspecting suburban housewife named Gloria, played by Laurel Fiet, on her way home from a session of Thursday night bridge with the girls. The rest of the plot involves their interaction, consisting mostly of long segments of dialogue.

THE PLAY is extremely wordy, and some of the creative business, as in Ben's mania of constantly changing his socks, helps to break this up and is a credit to the director, Del Lewis. Because of its wordiness, however, the characterizations need to be very strong to keep the interest going, and I don't feel that they succeeded in this. Smith's movements were stylized impressions of a tiger's walk, and although they were inventive, they were too large and overdone for the small confines of the theater.

Fiet has a pretty good sense of comic timing but little depth; there were a lot of potentially funny lines that she did absolutely nothing with. As a whole the play was an interesting effort.

THE SECOND PLAY, *The Typists*, involves the interaction of two typists in the advertising department of a knicker company. Throughout the play they type names from the phone book onto postcard advertisements, and the plot revolves around this stage business. Sylvia, the supervisor, played by Mibs Bainum, gave the best performance of the night. The cleverness of her portrayal combined with her dynamic stage energy proved very entertaining.

However, the performance of Stephen Willems as the other typist, Paul, left something to be desired. His movements were extremely stiff and unnatural, some of his words slurred together in his hurry to get them over with, and all in all he seemed uneasy about being watched in a role he wasn't enjoying.

THIS PLAY had many more problems than the first play did, as how to effectively show the passage of time. The technique used was to change a small article of clothing or a hair style whenever a character left the stage. The character would then come back on stage and the

audience was supposed to know that the character had matured. What it did produce was a ripple of murmurs through the audience every time a character returned aged, with such profundities as, "Why did he change his tie?" or "Why is her hair pulled back now?" No answers drifted back my way to enlighten me or the perplexed people who surrounded me.

The biggest clincher of all occurred near the end of the play in the most physical attempt at characterizing age, and this was

misinterpreted as a gesture of a lewd nature. There were many hints given, as to the sexual activities that took place behind a door marked "private," between Sylvia and the boss. After about the fifth time Sylvia entered into the door marked "private," with a wiggle of her posterior, she emerged several minutes later slightly bent over, having trouble walking, and appeared to be bowlegged. Scattered snickers ensued from the audience, reacting to what they thought was a hammy portrayal by Sylvia of her sexual

frequency with the boss. By the end of the play it became clear that the physical degeneration of Sylvia was supposed to have been an indication of her declining years and not her sexual prowess. Ah, well, it was funnier when misinterpreted. This play dragged after a while, and one tended to become restless about three-quarters of the way through.

THE SETS for both plays were more than sufficient. They were built back to back and revolved for an easy and fast set change that was fun to watch.

The costumes were ample, but the make-up definitely needed help. The attempted age lines came off with the subtle appearance of looking like dark marks drawn on the face with an eyebrow pencil.

When the evening was over, I was left with very ambiguous feelings, and I sensed the same emotion from the audience members around me. The plays were entertaining but they lacked that indefinable spark of excitement. No Virginia, this was not professional theater.

ALDERMAN

PAUL SOGLIN AND STATE SENATOR FRED RISSER

DISCUSS THE FUTURE OF MADISON
TONIGHT AT 6:30 ON CHANNEL 15

AUTHORIZED AND PAID FOR BY SOGLIN FOR MAYOR 458 W. GILMAN ST. JUDY SIKORA, TREASURER.



WSA
Symposium
1973

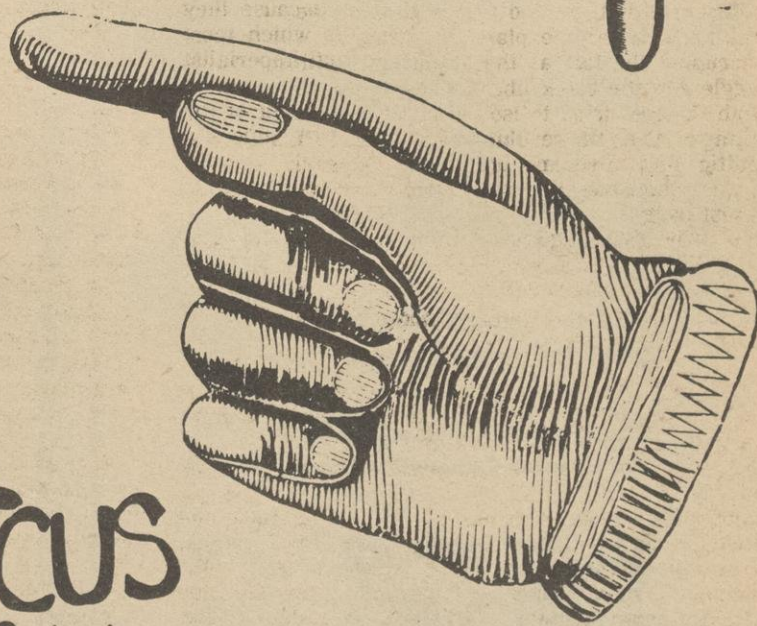
Jonathon KOZOL

author of "Death
at an Early Age"
and
"Free Schools"

Lyn Marcus

of the Natl. Caucus of Labor Committees
author of "Dialect Economics"

March 23 - 24



TROMBONE CONCERT

The University of Wisconsin Trombone Choir, under the direction of Allen Chase will perform a free, public concert tonight at 8 p.m. in Morphy Recital Hall of the Humanities Building. Several students in the ensemble have arranged pieces for the choir and original compositions or trombone choir by Paul Zager and Allen Chase will be played. The public is invited.

Gritty Burgers...
They're authentic



ARTISTS FOR THE REVOLUTION

by Eric Thompson

National Playwright's Script

April 4-8, 8:00pm Vilas Hall
Experimental Theatre
Tickets \$2.00 Vilas Box Office
presented by university theatre



By ALLEN B. URY
of the Fine Arts Staff
Well, let's see now. We've got our pseudo-Bogie's like Mannix or Madigan, cute cops like Columbo, or those clockwork bananas from Adam-12. We've got the hire-the-handicapped pin-up boys Ironside and Longstreet, and an over-60's private-eye named Barnaby Jones whose Social Security checks help make up for the lost revenue which results when he inevitably refuses to accept a fee. We've got walking Polish jokes like Banacek, and the sunshine boys from Hawaii Five-O who go between saving murder victims to saving failing pineapple crops.

Although each show has its particular gimmick, there is a certain sameness which runs through every private and public cop show on T.V. these days. It is with great reservations, therefore, that I recommend a particular one seen at 9 p.m. Wednesdays on CBS called Cannon.

"What distinguishes Cannon from all the others?" I hear you asking. The plots? Well, not really. If Cannon enters a dark room, you can be sure two hoods will jump out from behind the door and beat him up uttering those immortal words, "If ya know what's good fer ya, ya'll stay off dis case!" (Kick in the groin, fist in the face, fade out, commercial.) You can also take odds that if Cannon is driving his car in the city he's being followed, and if he's driving in the country he'll be run off the road into a ditch before you can say, "You're in Good Hands With All-State!"

"THE SUPPORTING players?" you ask. Well, they all seem to have come out of the same test tube. The women are beautiful and are either setting Cannon up for a hit or are after his body. (God knows, there's enough to go around.) All the men have beady eyes and deeply-lined faces, and are either WASP

corporation executives or Italian torpedos.

What's left then?" you whisper, realizing you're getting funny looks talking to your newspaper. Cannon, that's what's left...all 250 lbs. of him. Next to Peter Falk's Columbo, Cannon is probably the most enjoyable investigator on the air. And what makes him enjoyable? He's real. Short, fat, and ugly, that's our Mr. Frank Cannon. And this private-eye actually collects fees! What's more, he owns a plush high-rise apartment, eats in gourmet restaurants, and drives a big fat Lincoln. It's Fascist Capitalism run amok!

Add to this destruction of the stereotype the fact that Cannon is mean. Not as mean as in the show's pilot where he kicked dogs and stepped on kids, but he still gives an occasional snarl good enough to satisfy the Don Rickles in all of us.

WHAT IS particularly satisfying about this show is the sense of polish William Conrad has given to his role. A former radio actor (the voice of Marshall Dillon on radio's Gunsmoke) he has more recently been involved in the production and direction aspect of the television medium. It shows. Conrad is able to dominate every scene he's in, regardless of his rather awesome physique.

Again, let me stress that superficially Cannon is not much different from any other private-detective show. But up against NBC's horrendous Search or ABC's banal Owen Marshall, Cannon is probably the best bet for Wednesday night. And besides, if you don't watch it, he might come over and sit on you.

RENE CLAIR'S
CHARMING
Fantasy-Comedy



Veronica Lake
Frederic March
Susan Hayward
Robert Benchley
Cecil Kellaway

"I Married
A WITCH"

WED.
8:15 and 10:15
B-102 Van Vleck

Screen Gems

****—Masterpiece ***—See Absolutely **—See
*—See if interested X —Don't waste your time

***The Lusty Men, directed by Nicholas Ray. This is perhaps the finest of all rodeo pictures. Ray stages the action sequences with a mixture of brutality and grace; the photography is rich and glowing; the dialogue is taut and idiomatic; and Robert Mitchum, with his typical brooding understatement, captures all the frustration and tragedy of homeless men in an unstable society. 8 and 10 at the Green Lantern Coop. Also on Thursday.

****Rules of the Game, directed by Jean Renoir. This film, often acclaimed the greatest film of all time, also features Renoir in a rare acting appearance. 2, 4:15, 7, and 9:15 at the Union Play Circle. Also on Thursday.

**I Married a Witch, directed by Rene Clair. Fantasy about witch who returns to haunt the descendants of the Puritans who burned her at the stake. 8:15 and 10:15 in B-102 Van Vleck.

X Peyton Place, directed by Mark Robson. 8:15 only, in 6210 Social Science.

Evel Knievel, directed by M. Chomskey. The adventures of the legendary daredevil motorcyclist. 8:15 and 10:15 in B-10 Commerce.



Celebrate Bach's Birthday

Attend a free all-Bach organ
and harpsichord recital
by Roger Petrich

12-12:30 p.m. Wednesday
March 21, 1973

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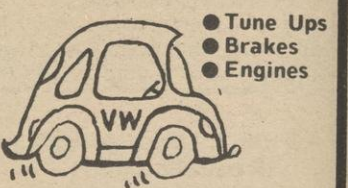
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AMERIKAN BANDSTAND

SHORTSTUFF HAS GIVEN ME THE BLUES

Shortstuff, one of the Midwest's most energetic blues-boogie bands for the past several years, has unfortunately decided to break up. In the past, they have undergone numerous personnel changes, but have managed to stay one of Wisconsin's top blues bands. The reason for their split is their desire to go separate ways and to go on to bigger and better things. The personnel include Robert Miller (drums), who will be getting together with former members of Woodbine; Jeff Dagenhardt (bass), who's teaching in Milwaukee and will be going to Boston for summer sessions at Berkley College; Robert (Junior) Brantley (electric piano), who's going to Greece to work for a music booking agency; and Jim Liban (harmonica), who's going to Nashville to hopefully record.

From a high driving version of James Cotton's "The Creeper" to Little Richards' "Freedom Blues", not to mention some of their own compositions, Jim Liban comes across as one of the finest harmonica players in existence today. As a whole, Shortstuff play some of the funkier blues ever produced. The combining of the versatile harmonica playing and funky piano, along with their extreme tightness and bodily involvement, activates the audience to uncontrollably get up and boogie. People walk away from their gigs feeling refreshed and drained of their tensions and troubles. Shortstuff has contributed quite a bit to the music scene in Madison, and hopefully they will return in one form or another in the future. Andy Stone.

David Bromberg/Demon In Disguise Columbia KC 31753

If you enjoy good fiddling and banjo picking music, David Bromberg's *Demon In Disguise* should be a sure addition to your collection. Bromberg's unique voice can be best described as very similar to that of actor Bruce Dern. His excellent sense of humor develops a certain intimacy between his music and the listener.

The majority of the songs on this album were recorded live, including numerous knee-slapping, foot-stomping tunes like "Hard-working John" and "Sugar in the Gourd." The "Jugband Song" sounds like a combination of the music of Hot Tuna and the lyrics of Dan Hicks. His rendition of the standard "Tennessee Waltz" and his very personal version of Jerry Jeff Walkers' "Mr. Bojangles" are truly the highlights of the album because of his excellent

acoustic guitar playing along with his informal rapport with his

Andy Stone

audience. Jerry Garcia fans will be delighted with the studio cuts "Sharon" and "Demon In Disguise," on which Garcia plays lead guitar. "Sharon" is more on the rockin' side with a sax accompaniment and female background vocals, while "Demon In Disguise" is more of a subdued number.

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—Vincent Canby, N.Y. Times

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NEWMAN
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The LIFE
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ROY BEAN
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THE NATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTING Schedule

MARCH 21

- 10:00-11:00 A.M.—Women's workshop led by the women's work science center.
- 11:00-12:00 A.M.—Minority groups' workshop led by the Afro-American Center.
- 1:00-1:45 P.M.—Dr. Pat Coleman, Assistant Director of the Behavioral Cybernetics Laboratory.
- Dr. Larry Schiamberg, systems analyst for the Wisconsin Department of Mental Health.
- 1:45-2:30 P.M.—Representative of the United Steel Workers Union.
- 2:30-3:15 P.M.—Dr. Bruce Campbell, Science Research Associates.
- 3:15-4:00 P.M.—Edward Ben Elson, Madison lawyer.
- 4:00-5:00 P.M.—Discussion among audience and afternoon speakers.
- 7:00-7:45 P.M.—Rusty Wells, NAACP Legal Counsel.
- 7:45-8:30 P.M.—Joe Levin, legal counsel Southern Poverty Law Center.
- 8:30-9:15 P.M.—Dr. C.V. Sopone, Director of Curriculum Development and Research, Madison Public School System.
- 9:15-11:00 P.M.—Panel discussion among all the speakers, with audience participation.

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This publication is for the person who is researching or writing an article or speech. Includes a bibliography. Covers the following subjects: Women's Liberation, Abortion, Legalization of Drugs, Black Power Today. Send check or money order for \$4.95 to: Research Reports, Suite #5, 6400 Georgia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. Local representatives wanted.

NURSING STUDENTS

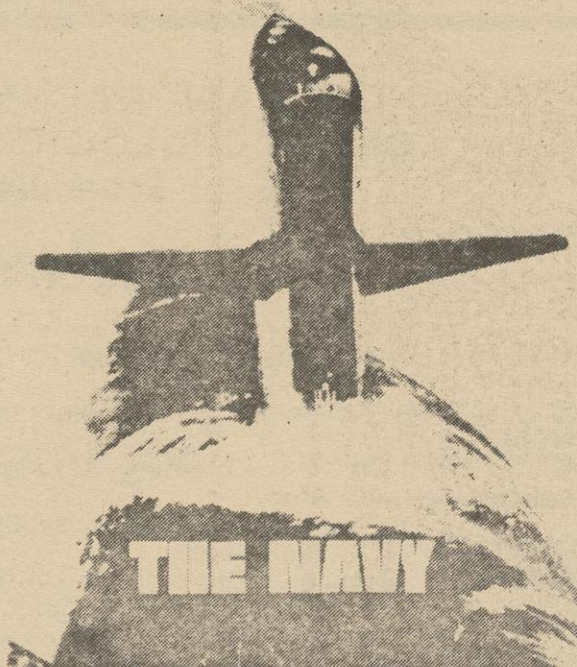
Your horizon's unlimited at St. Luke's Hospitals in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where a challenging career in total patient care is no longer a possibility, but a probability.

Martin Lombardi, the manager of personal services at St. Luke's will be at Bascom Hall on April 9 to talk informally with you and your friends about the opportunities available to you. All nursing students are welcome.

If you would like to participate in this open and frank discussion of nursing concepts and practices at St. Luke's, please register with the placement office or contact Mr. Lombardi on April 9.

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26 March 1973

Women: All in the Family

By A WOMAN
of the Fine Arts Staff

Family of Woman is a lesbian-feminist rock band from Chicago. The words are from a song they wrote and performed at a Friday night concert as part of the weekend March 8 International Women's Day celebrations. The all-woman group played to a very enthusiastic crowd, mostly women, which completely filled the Union South assembly hall.

The band has written two of its own songs: "Family of Woman" a song about the love and sisterhood developing among all women, and "She Was God to Me," a beautiful lesbian song. Their other songs were take-offs on familiar rock songs—Jefferson Airplane's "Triad", Beautiful Day's "White Bird"—with the words modified to make them relevant to women.

Family of Woman didn't disappoint anyone who came to

hear them. The content of their songs was a refreshing change from the sexist mentality characteristic of the lyrics of most rock bands. Missing also were the disgusting gyrations between the male guitarists' body and his instrument. And yet the performance wasn't sterile—many songs were, in fact, very sensual.

It was just a different kind of sensuality, one that I, as a woman, was more able to identify with. It was a great concert.

SOGLIN
The Soglin for Mayor campaign needs volunteers for office work every afternoon this week. All interested persons please drop by the office at 458 W. Gilman St.

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Harry Chiu All-American

By AL LAWENT
of the Sports Staff

Harry Chiu dueled his way to sixth place and All-American honors in the college ranks as the UW fencing team placed 19th in the NCAA tournament at Johns Hopkins University this past weekend.

While many UW sports fans had their eyes glued to their television sets to watch another NCAA tournament, this one taking place in Boston, Chiu and company were battling for glory of their own just a stone's throw from Chesapeake Bay.

"It was a very good team effort against good competition," said Badger coach Tony Gillham in complimenting his team's finish among 47 competing schools.

CHIU, A FOIL fencer needed wins in two of his last four matches to ensure himself a berth on the All-American team which is comprised of the national meet's top six finishers on each weapon. He did more than necessity required, winning three of the four bouts, including beating Illinois' Dave Littel, who was last year's second place finisher.

After also beating a member of Australia's 1972 Olympic team who is rated fifth worldwide in the Under 19 class, Chiu became the first Badger All-American since Dick Odders in 1969.

Co-captain and a senior, Chiu said prior to the meet that his major goal would be to earn a spot on the All-American squad. His dreams were realized, and in the

process he may have finally cast off the shadow of Neil Cohen.

COHEN, WHO graduated last year, was a star Badger fencer who was always considered better than Harry, but who never finished higher than seventh in the NCAA's. Cohen, however, won two Big Ten titles to Harry's one.

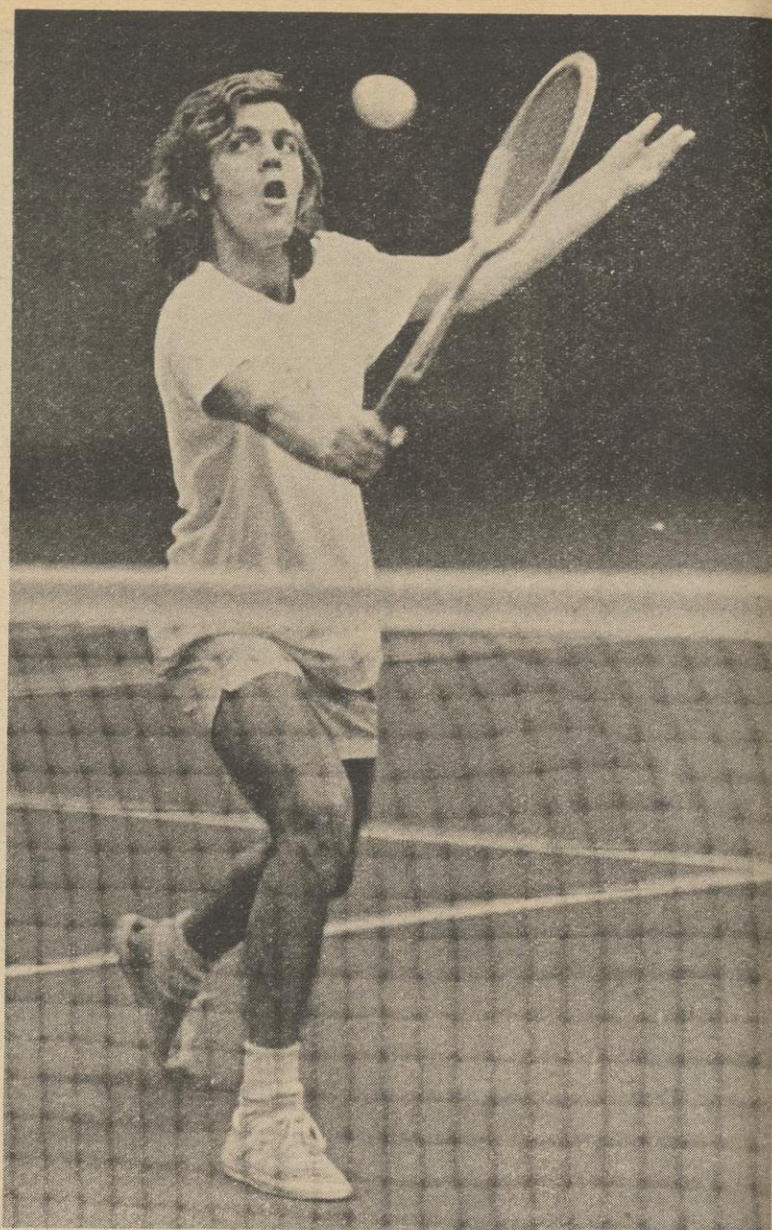
The other two Badger fencers who competed at the meet were Dale Johnson on epee and Stu Rosenberg on sabre. They finished with 3-7 and 4-5 records, respectively.

"ROSENBERG LOST his last bout which he should have won," said Gillham, "and he just missed qualifying for the semifinals". The fencers were divided into pools of 12, with the top six in each pool advancing to the next round. "The loss was largely due to a scorer's mistake," Gillham added. "Nobody seemed to care when we brought it to the officials' attention. To put it bluntly, he (Rosenberg) was screwed."

Johnson did get out of the preliminaries into a quarterfinals round, but also was eliminated in short order.

"THE LACK OF strength of the Eastern teams surprised me," said Gillham, who noted that despite New York University's first place finish, the Midwest had four of the top six foil fencers.

With the quest now over, neither Harry Chiu nor any other Wisconsin fencer have possession of the Holy Grail, but at least Harry won consolation laurels to close out his fine career as a Badger fencer.



Cardinal photos by John Placheta
Jeff Kratz, Wisconsin's #4 singles netter, displays his backhand form in the Badgers' 8-1 romp over UW-Whitewater Tuesday afternoon.

Pat Cannon

Reasons why...

Sports Staff

"It was a very tough decision, because I'm very fond of John as a person. There's no value to going over the pro's and cons of the last three years. I don't want to hurt John or his future. For the good of the Athletic Department a change was needed." Elroy Hirsch after the dismissal of John Coatta.

On December 3, 1969 the UW Athletic Department decided to change the fortunes of Badger football.

On March 23, 1973 the Athletic Board will meet to decide the fate of Wisconsin basketball.

IN THIS WRITER'S opinion it is a decision to either continue the mediocrity of the present administration, or to opt for success.

Tom Butler's theory that Wisconsin teams can never win has been annulled by the meteoric rise of the hockey team to national prominence. Even though Butler's excuses are legendary and Gary Bender's apologies for losing seasons are rehearsed each year at the state tournament, it is time to critically evaluate the failures of the last five years. Three years ago Elroy Hirsch indicated that he had sought advice from many football people and had several game films analyzed after the season. (Check out the Northwestern film if your mind is not made up.) Consider the following:

ONE: JOHN POWLESS is a good recruiter. Last year he brought in one of the finest freshman teams in the country. In other years he handed Tom Barao, an All-American from Massachusetts; Lloyd Adams, an all city choice from New York; and Gary Watson, another New York alumnus. Those three players were unable to adjust to the atmosphere at Wisconsin and moved to other schools. Last year two freshmen, Tim Paterick and Kessem Grimes, both threatened to leave for greener pastures.

He is a good recruiter but how many of the bluechippers stay? Powless also has a tendency to recruit players of commensurate ability. Last year he recruited three guards from the same area, all with different skills. This practice creates tension, for only two guards can play at one time.

TWO: POWLESS CAN not adjust to black ballplayers. Al McGuire, like him or not, says that one doesn't bring in black players to ride the bench. He feels that the integrity of the athlete in the ghetto is degraded if he goes back to his hometown a pinewarmer. If Powless wants to have players on tender that sit the bench, they might as well be in-staters. It's cheaper.

THREE: POWLESS is not a good teacher. Wisconsin under Powless has advocated a disciplined style of play. But the Badgers are always weak on baseline defense, fail to play off and to the ball, and invariably average around twenty turnovers a game. Kim and Kerry have improved immeasurably in two seasons, but do either of them rival the inside skills of Steve Downing? Neither can execute a baseline drive, hook with both hands, and one is hardpressed to remember Kerry's last power move.

This is not meant to be a criticism of specific players but in my two years as a varsity player Powless never made any attempt to instruct individuals about weaknesses in their games. Ask Janesville and Madison fans if they recognize the play of Tim Paterick and Gary Anderson.

FOUR: JOHN POWLESS is not a good coach in pressure situations and cannot adjust to momentum changes in the course of a game. This year, as in others, the Badgers lost 13 point leads to Marquette, and Oral Roberts, booted away all but two of a twenty point bulge against Illinois, lost a nine point lead at Northwestern, and most recently saw a six point spread disappear at Michigan State in twenty seconds. The best example of his tendency to choke in pressure situations is the series with the Wildcats. Wisconsin always has better material than the Cats but Wisconsin is never inspired. In such a situation the game is usually decided on coaching. Look at the record, Mr. Hirsch, it's 1-5.

FIVE: JOHN POWLESS will never win. He has been given five years to build a winner and failed. Two years ago the excuse was that he did not have his own material. Last year the theory looked as valid as the record swelled to a robust 13-11. This year the Badgers finished 11-13. This is not acceptable. Bob Knight, Wisconsin's first choice five years ago, came to Indiana and in less than two years with inferior material has guided the Hoosiers to the NIT and now to the NCAA in St. Louis. If any diehards watched the Marquette-Indiana game they were treated to basketball par excellence. Fred Schaus, in only one year has made Purdue a viable title contender.

Next year Wisconsin will have the best material in the Big Ten and quite possibly in the Midwest. If John Powless remains coach that material will stagnate. Five years of .385 play in the Big Ten is intolerable.

Brad Snyder resigned at Northwestern realizing the futility of his situation there. Wisconsin does not have to buy its way into big time contention. But I feel it is essential to the program that the players perform at the optimum level of competence, rather than competing for the conference turnover title.

It is the Athletic Board's decision to opt for a winner. Above all a coach must be able to relate to his players. Powless cannot. Why else would he deny Rick Mathison the right to be captain? Why do players openly break curfew? It seems that Coach Powless can no longer talk to his team. These are problems which must be discussed Friday March 23 at 3:00 p.m. in the W Club Room at Camp Randall. Be there.

Netters crush Whitewater

By JOHN WILUSZ
of the Sports Staff

Relying upon their reserve strength, the Wisconsin tennis team defeated UW-Whitewater, 8-1, Tuesday at the Nielsen Tennis Stadium.

Most Badger netters had little problem with their opponents. But things could have been worse for Whitewater as Wisconsin Coach Denny Shacter gave his top five men the afternoon off. Shacter substituted his #6 through #11 players into the match.

Whitewater got their only singles points from Chuck Warriner as he defeated Badger Paul Schimelfinyg, 5-7, 6-2, 7-5, in a marathon number one singles match.

According to Shacter, the purpose in playing Schimelfinyg first man was to find out just how good he is. "He hasn't had any stiff competition playing sixth man," said Shacter. "He has to play someone good in order to assess his ability." Shacter also

noted that he had met a good player in Warriner.

In number two singles, Badger Scott Niedermeyer easily topped Dave Recknagel, 6-1, 6-1. Playing next to him in number three singles, Steve True stopped Dan Lynch in straight sets, 6-1, 6-2.

Wisconsin swept the remaining singles play as Jeff Hartz defeated Tom Watson, 6-1, 6-0; Tom Gelpert defeated Kevin Monahan, 6-4, 6-2; and Dan Collins defeated Jon Held, 6-4, 6-0.

Shacter was able to go to his reserves because of the great back-up strength he feels his team

possesses. "We've also got a lot of young players," Shacter said he liked to play as many of the team members as possible.

In doubles play, Wisconsin recorded a clean sweep led by Schimelfinyg, who teamed with Niedermeyer for a 6-0, 7-6 victory. Other doubles results were: True-Hartz over Lynch-Watson 6-3, 7-5 and Wisconsin's Moldenhauer-Bava downing UW-W's Monahan-Held 4-6, 6-0, 6-2.

The Badgers' next meet is this Saturday at 1 p.m. against De Paul at the Nielson Tennis Stadium.

Today is the last day to register to vote in the spring election in Madison. If you are unregistered, you must go to the nearest fire station, public library, or the City Clerk's office in the City-County Building downtown. If you've moved within Madison since the November or March election, simply call the City Clerk at 266-4601 to give your new address. The City Clerk's office closes at 5 p.m. Remember—if we don't push, Dyke won't jump.

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