



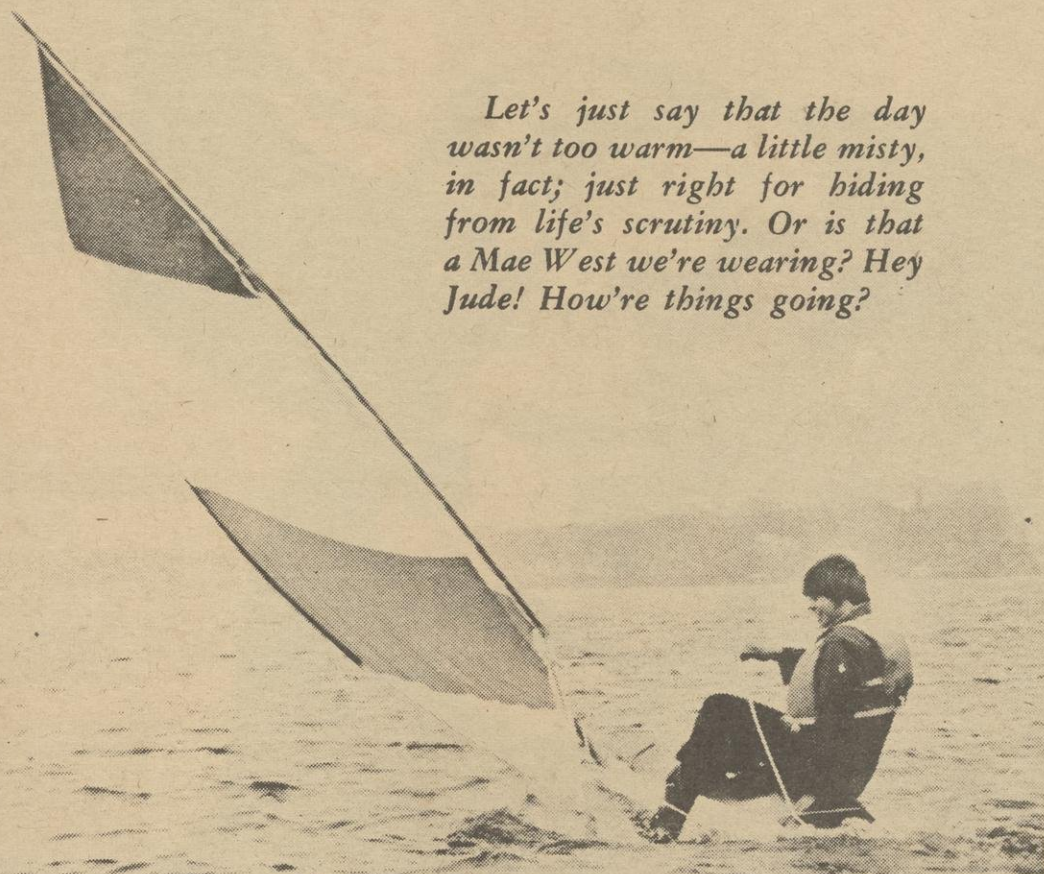
The daily cardinal. Vol. LXXX, No. 119 April 18, 1970

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Let's just say that the day wasn't too warm—a little misty, in fact; just right for hiding from life's scrutiny. Or is that a Mae West we're wearing? Hey Jude! How're things going?

—Cardinal/Benjamin Morgan

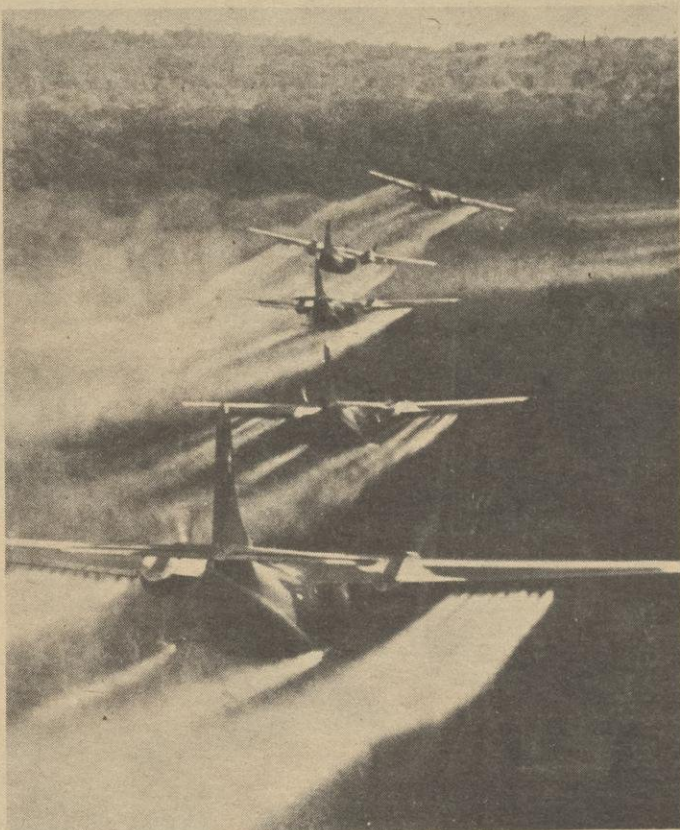
During the last few weeks, the war in Vietnam has been abandoned, at least in the minds of the nation, in favor of the "war in Indo-China." Senators have gone on record asking the federal administration not to consider sending troops or materials to Cambodia, Vietnam's neighboring country. Other public figures speak about the disappearance of any discernable battle boundaries between Southeast Asian nations.

The dumping of Prince Sihanouk as head of Cambodia has jolted governments around the world concerned with the possibility of a general Asian war growing out of the five year long war in Vietnam.

What lies behind the coup which overthrew Prince Sihanouk? Was the U.S. involved? Does it have anything to do with the major battles now taking place in Laos?

In today's Cardinal, Adam Schesch, one of the few knowledgeable authorities about Vietnam in Wisconsin, attempts to analyze the tensions that have produced the war in Laos, the new guerilla movements in Thailand, the continued growth and military success of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam, and the coup in Cambodia. The special four page section provides a detailed analytical history of the Laotian crisis and the course of the war in Vietnam.

Broadside: Special Section Discusses War in Indo-China



C-123's dropping herbicides over Vietnam

Council Fiasco: Bus Co. Drivers Get Shuffled Off

By MAUREEN SANTINI
City Editor

The city's agreement with the Teamster bus drivers didn't get resolved in the special session of the city council Friday night called specifically to deal with the issue.

However, the three-hour meeting wasn't completely wasted.

Aldermen took the opportunity to debate and vote on at least two motions to recess, and at least three motions to adjourn.

They also proposed resolutions, amended them, laid them on the table, took them off the table, debated them extensively, compromised them, reconsidered them, and, ultimately, referred the issue to the next council meeting April 28.

That meeting will be the first of the new council, and who knows, the cycle may begin all over again.

Meanwhile, as debate on such items was going on, aldermen clustered for caucus in little groups on the council floor. Rarely were the specific issues in the Teamsters agreement mentioned.

The special meeting was called to consider a recommendation of the Board of Estimates on the Teamster agreement, which is needed for the city to be eligible for federal aid to purchase the Madison Bus Co.

The council, which met at 5 p.m. did adopt the board's report, but not until 8 p.m., after other topics had been exhausted.

The report recommended that the city:

- Get a ruling from the Wisconsin Employment Relations Commission of the legality of the proposed Teamster agreement.
- Seek an opinion from the U.S. Secretary of Labor as to whether in fact the agreement guarantees Teamsters more than federal regulation requires in order to get the funds.
- Seek a second extension of a letter of no prejudice from the U.S. Department of Transportation.
- Inform the Board of Estimates of the state of the agreement on April 23.
- Dump the ultimate decision on the issue

(continued on page 3)

cardinal staff
meeting
4 p.m. sun,
union

WSA Solicits Funds
For King Scholarships
Story on Page 13

MTU Membership
Won't be Disclosed
Story on Page 3

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MTU Won't Reveal Membership List

By ELAINE COHEN
Cardinal Staff Writer

Summonses issued Thursday to 13 members of the Madison Tenant Union (MTU) to appear in court April 24 mark the first step in a possible law suit on charges of "interference with and conspiracy to interfere with the lease contracts" of landlord Philip Engen of Be-Enco Investment Co.

Such a procedure is undertaken when the plaintiff, in this case Engen, lacks the necessary information to file a complaint.

Though the nature of next Friday's hearing is to investigate "all books, records, papers, documents, memoranda, accounts of rents withheld from plaintiff, check-books, bank statements and any other materials relating to the plaintiff, the Madison Tenant Union and any lessees of the plaintiff," the action does not constitute a court

order for the information.

One of the prime points of interest in the case seems to be the MTU membership lists. At the first bargaining session with Engen in January, the landlord requested to see the lists, "so we know who not to rent to," he was quoted as saying then.

By order of the MTU constitution, however, membership lists may not be shown. Philip Ball, one of the 13 named in the summonses, told the Cardinal Friday that the union will not disclose those listings.

The MTU has been conducting a two month rent strike against Engen and a boycott of his buildings. Presently involved in the strike are some 65 tenants and \$14,000 in withheld rent payments.

Summoned Thursday night were 10 tenant union members who signed the original MTU constitution and three members of the MTU-Engen bargaining team. As of yesterday, 10

of the summonses had been served. The hearing is set for next Friday afternoon in Dane County Circuit Court.

According to Ron Dean, MTU legal adviser, "interference with and conspiracy to interfere with contracts" are actually two separate torts, or civil wrongs.

Interference with implies that MTU people contacted tenants of the plaintiff, while conspiracy only means that they were planning to pursue such action.

Dean explained that the latter term is imprecise and therefore most dangerous. "Conspiracy is the most hated and most mistrusted law in all dictatorial countries," he said. "With conspiracy, you can do almost anything."

At the April 24 hearing, Engen's attorneys will be allowed to question those summoned about the union records. If the inquiries exceed the scope of that discovery,

however, tenant union lawyers will have grounds to object.

In order to file formal charges against the MTU, Engen must act within 20 days of the time the summonses were issued. If no action is taken, the union may demand a complaint and file a countersuit for damages allegedly brought on by Engen if they so desire.

Several MTU members stated yesterday that Engen's latest tactic may be less designed to institute formal legal proceedings than to bust the union, but they feel the move has the opposite effect. "He is finally recognizing us as a legal entity," one spokesman concluded.

Engen has been advised by his attorney, Archie Simonson, not to issue any statements to the press. Simonson is in New York and will not return until Monday.

WSA Seeks \$100,000 For King Scholar Fund

By GREG HILBERT
Cardinal Staff Writer

Seventy-five cents is what the Wisconsin Student Assn. (WSA) is asking in the way of per student contributions to the Martin Luther King Scholarship fund this week.

The overall goal is \$100,000, of which \$80,000 is being sought from faculty, administration, and foundation sources. The money would put an additional 40 underprivileged students into the Martin Luther King Special Program next year. Only 160 are now provided for.

After their first year, the University is obliged to maintain financial aid for the special program students for an additional four years. The program is designed to develop effective educational programming for low-income students, especially those from minority groups, without lowering academic standards.

"The University has failed for years to provide for underprivileged students, even from Wisconsin," said Tammy Stark, coordinator of the WSA Martin Luther King Week.

WSA tried to get President Harrington to match whatever students raised for the fund, but his special assistant, Dennis Bloomer "pooh-poohed the idea," she said.

Professor Millard Sussman, under the auspices of the Human Responsibility Coalition, is seeking to raise funds from faculty members, the com-

munity at large, and foundations. A payroll check deduction for the fund may be arranged. The Human Responsibility Coalition was founded in 1969 to help raise funds for the King program.

Student support has diminished since the fund was originated in 1968. "It's a tragedy that it has to be this way, but student support is vital to the program," said Stark.

"Beyond its fund raising aspect," she said, "Martin Luther King Week deals with intellectual and emotional commitment to provide for the education of lower-income groups."

To achieve this purpose WSA has scheduled a variety of activities for the week.

Perhaps the most interesting is "No Snakes In This Grass," an original 45 minute play by James Magnusson to be staged at Tripp Commons at 8:30, April 19. In the play, a white Adam and a black Eve view God in their own respective colors. God, however, reacts to them on a different basis—He has no color.

Another feature of King week will be micro-labs aimed at racial understanding.

"A micro-lab," explained Brook Horwitz, "is an experience in group communication dynamics."

"Through a series of set exercises, both verbal and non-verbal, people are taught the dynamics of communication, such as becoming more open, sharing and developing trust," she said.

The times and places of the micro-labs will be announced, and leaflets concerning other activities will be circulated during the week.

Council Has Fiasco

(continued from page 1)

into the lap of the new city council on April 28, two days before the city must buy the bus company.

The letter of no prejudice in effect guarantees that the city's chances for federal aid will not be lessened if the city buys the bus company before fulfilling all of the federal requirements for the aid.

One such requirement, and the major hangup, is the agreement between the city and the Teamsters which must guarantee that the position of the Teamsters will not be worsened when they become public employees.

City and Teamster negotiators bargained this agreement in length and depth before the present proposed agreement was drawn up. Bargaining on this issue concluded Feb. 24.

However, it came to light Wednesday that the mayor and some other city hall members feel the agreement is too broad in scope and guarantees the Teamsters too much.

Thus, the city will now submit the matter to both the U.S. labor secretary and the WERC for a ruling.

Donald Eaton, secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 695, told The Daily Cardinal Thursday night that the union is unwilling to renegotiate the agreement. Friday, he told the Board of Estimates the same thing.

After the meeting, Eaton said the secretary of labor will probably contact the Teamsters when the city's inquiry is received.

He indicated that the usual practice has been for the U.S. labor department to consider heavily the position of the labor union involved. The Teamsters don't feel the agreement is too broad.

One of the city's main objections to the proposed contract is a provision which enable Teamsters to have an "agency shop" which requires all bus drivers to pay union dues regardless of whether they are union members.

Although Asst. City Atty. William Jansen refused to comment to The Daily Cardinal, he has told the State Journal that this is the only provision which is considered to violate state law.

According to Ald. William Dries Ward 21, the real issue is whether municipal unions—such as the Teamsters will be when the bus company becomes city owned—can

operate like industrial unions. "We just happened to be the first city in Wisconsin to buy a Teamster bus company," he said.

Meanwhile, the wage contract of the Teamster expires May 10. According to city representatives, negotiations for a new contract will begin next week.

However, Eaton said no one from the city has contacted him about negotiations and he has plans to be out of the city next week.

Eaton said further that if the federal agreement is not signed by the time wage negotiations begin several provisions in the agreement will be bargaining issues.

If the WERC makes a ruling unfavorable to the Teamsters, it will be appealed.

In other developments:

* Paul Reilly, city comptroller said he had not seen a copy of the proposed agreement until Friday. His signature is required by state law on the agreement to certify that the city has the money to cover the costs of the contract.

* Acting Transportation Director John Bunch said the city has a "fair" chance of getting an extension of the no prejudice letter.

* City Finance Director Andre Blum said he could make no estimate as to what the costs involved in the agreement would be. As far as the "crisis" meetings of the city council go, Friday night's was typical.

Ald. Leo Cooper, Ward 9, challenged the city attorney: "You're making decisions I've never heard before in this council."

Ald. Eugene Parks, Ward 5, challenged the aldermanic sanity. "Who has been taking LSD?" he asked before he walked out of the meeting.

Ald. Paul Soglin, Ward 8, had questions. "Every few months when this thing comes up I get confused," he said.

Teamster Sec. Eaton watched the spectacle from the sidelines. He looked bored.

A statewide Revolutionary Contingent has been organized for today's anti-war demonstration. All people concerned not only with U.S. presence in Vietnam but with victory for the National Liberation Front the Pathet Lao and Black Liberation forces in America are urged to meet in People's Park at 12:30. The major slogan for the contingent will be "Free Bobby Seale," in support of the national chairman of the Black Panther Party.

Berkeley Disorders Into Third Day; 22 Arrests

By LEO F. BURT
Cardinal Staff Writer

In a third straight day of disorder at the University of California, scattered confrontations between police and students resulting in 22 arrests took place despite a lull in organized militancy.

In the face of massive police presence (300 officers from 20 different police departments), the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Radical Student Union (RSU) at a noon rally urged a moratorium on militant action.

The organizations urged instead a rally at the Berkeley courthouse at 2 p.m. to protest the inordinately high bails of students arrested in the previous two days. Bails

were reported to be in the \$5,000 range, with those arrested charged with felonies.

At approximately 1 p.m. an unidentified man with a red flag began a march of several hundred toward the courthouse, which was quickly broken up by police. After this, students made their own ways to the courthouse.

The rally, however, never took place as Berkeley police moved in to force the demonstrators into nearby Provo Park. Isolated confrontations occurred there, resulting in several arrests, and at least one case of alleged police brutality.

According to sources at the Daily Californian, one policeman cornered a small girl, clubbing her

to the ground and continuing the beating until stopped by the police chief. The incident reportedly occurred before CBS cameras. The girl was not arrested.

From Provo Park several hundred protesters moved to nearby Berkeley High School where they engaged in short battles with police. High school students compromised a substantial percentage of the fighters at this point.

Berkeley Chancellor Roger Heyns said that the state of emergency on the campus would not be lifted until "conditions warrant." In further action, he expelled SDS, comprised wholly of Progressive Labor Party sympathizers, from the campus, and suspended ten students from the University.

Saturday Antiwar March Schedule

MADISON AREA PEACE ACTION COUNCIL
SCHEDULE OF WORKSHOPS

Saturday, April 18, 1970, 4:30 p.m.

SKILLS WORKSHOP IN THE MASS MEDIA; Madison Area Peace Action Council, P.K. Powers, WISM radio; Roger Mann, WKOW-TV; and a member of the newspaper working press, St Francis House, 1001 University Ave.

WORLDWIDE YOUTH RADICALIZATION AND THE VIETNAM STRUGGLE; Young Socialist Alliance, Che Guevara Movement Center, 202 W. Gilman.

PEACE AND THE MEDIA; New Democratic Coalition, John Patrick Hunter (Capital Times); Arnold Serwer (Progressive Magazine); Bill Wineke (Wisconsin State Journal); Larry Saunders, moderator. First United Methodist Church, 203 Wisconsin Ave.

PUBLIC EMPLOYEES AND THE WAR; Library Committee to End the War, Joel Grossman, American Civil Liberties Union; Joseph Thompson, United Federation of Postal Clerks, University Catholic Center, 723 State.

NONVIOLENT ACTION TO END THE WAR; American Friends Service Committee, Helen Allen House, 2006 Monroe.

U.S. IMPERIALISM, ACCIDENT OR DESIGN? New University Conference, Lincoln Statue, Bascom Hill.

REPEALING THE DRAFT; Wisconsin Council to Repeal the Draft, Calvary Lutheran University Chapel, 713 State.

NIXON'S WARS AGAINST PEOPLE; Welfare Rights Organization, George Wiley, 105 Psychology building, Charter & Johnson Sts.

ONE COIN, TWO SIDES: MURDER IN ASIA, HUNGER IN AMERICA; Welfare Rights Organization, Fr. Henry Mahaney, 117 Psychology building, Charter & Johnson Sts.

NIXON'S DUAL DECEIT: PEACE AND PROSPERITY; Welfare Rights Organization, John Hunter, Blakeman Hall, University United Methodist Church, 1127 University Ave.

HOW LONG CAN WE POSTPONE NOW? United World Federalists, Fellowship Hall, University United Methodist Church, 1127 University Ave.

THE CHRISTIAN AND WAR—HOW ARE THEY RELATED? Lutheran Campus Ministries. Discussion of what individual Christians can do for peace, led by Rev. Lowell Mays, Lutheran Campus Center, 1025 Univer-

sity Ave.

IMPACT OF THE WAR ON WOMEN; Women's Action Movement, Luther Memorial Church, 1021 University Ave.

NEWSREEL FILM ON LAOS; SLIDES AND DISCUSSION OF CUBA; Mother Jones Revolutionary League, Broom Street Theater, 152 W. Johnson.

For location of the following workshops, see room assignments in UW Union:

CAMPUS COMPLICITY AND THE WAR, Student Mobilization Committee; STATEWIDE AND CAMPUS ORGANIZING, Student Mobilization Committee; HIGH SCHOOL ORGANIZING, Student Mobilization Committee; POLITICAL ECONOMY OF U.S. EXPANSION, Wisconsin Alliance, Dick Krooth; INDO-CHINA WAR: LAOS AND CAMBODIA, Wisconsin Alliance, Adam Schesch; LABOR HISTORY AND THE NEED FOR A LABOR PARTY, Wisconsin Alliance, Lester Radke; CHINA, Wisconsin Alliance, Rich Pollak; REVOLUTION IN THE PHILIPPINES, Wisconsin Alliance, Miriam Hall; IMPERIALISM, THE ROOT OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION, March 8th Movement and Mother Jones Revolutionary League, Suzanne Korey and Joy Schulman.

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"CUCKOO" at 3:35 and 7:45



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OPEN AT 6:00
SHOW AT 7:00

Participants in Demonstration Sentenced to Jail by Court

A young Madisonian, Alex M. McKinney III, 20, was sentenced to a jail term Friday for striking a Madison Police officer during an anti-ROTC demonstration on campus December 12. Judge Richard W. Bardwell sentenced McKinney to 18 months probation, with the first two months to be served in the Dane County Jail.

Bardwell imposed an identical sentence Thursday on another an-

ti-ROTC demonstrator Paul J. Musial, 21, charged with the same offense. Both pleaded no contest to the charges, after originally pleading not guilty.

McKinney and Musial, a former University student expelled as a result of his arrest last December, are now employed in Madison. They will participate in the Huber Law program which frees jailed individuals during the day who have steady jobs.

TAs Refused Aid by Board

The City Welfare Board decided to continue the supplemental payments to Aid to Families with Dependent Children, although aid to members of the Teaching Assistants Association (TAA) was refused.

The city has been making these supplemental payments since last December to make up for the recent state welfare cuts, and will continue to do so until June 9. TAA members do not qualify for benefits because they are receiving a post high school education and are not full-time employees, which conflicts with the board's present policy.

The board has decided to pay the installation costs as well as the previously paid monthly bills of medically necessitated telephones for recipients.

The board also passed a resolution backing Nixon's proposed welfare program, calling for a guaranteed minimum wage. The bill, which has been passed by the House and is currently being reviewed by the Senate, will now go to the Madison City Council for approval.

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FOUNDED APRIL 4, 1892

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Broadside: The Indo-China War

By ADAM SCHESCH
(Copyright 1970)

Editor's note: Mr. Schesch is a Ph. D. candidate in Southeast Asian history. His publications include *AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF VIETNAM*, an M. A. entitled, "The Organizing Tactics of the Vietnamese Communist Party Before World War II," and a book length manuscript entitled, *THE COMING REVOLUTION IN THAILAND*, which is presently at the publishers. He has been active in the anti-war movement in Madison since he helped found the Committee to End the War in Vietnam in February, 1965.

Over the last two months, two events have shaken a public which had slowly come to accept the idea that Richard Nixon was actually engaged in getting the United States out of its Indo-China commitment. He had come to office riding on a wave of discontent with Lyndon Johnson's handling of Vietnam, and a promise of a "new plan" to end the war.

The renewed crises in Laos hit people with the effect of a cold water shower. First, a major counterattack by the armed forces of the Pathet Lao, the Laotian equivalent of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, with the support of troops from North Vietnam managed to completely wipe out the gains made during the 1969 fighting season by right wing Laotian infantry supported by massive United States air strikes and American advisers. The counterattack for the first time threatened to go beyond the Pathet Lao's self-imposed previous stopping point of the 1962 Geneva Agreements truce line (see Map III).

The public was shocked partly because it had not been informed by Washington that the U.S. in fact had been so involved in Laos. Only recently has it come to light that American casualties in Laos had been secretly shipped to Vietnam and reported under the Vietnam statistics. Helicopters too were dealt with in this way. When the U.S. began reporting its plane and helicopter loss, the first week's totals were more than had been acknowledged for the previous several months. (Interestingly enough a semi-hush has again settled back on these statistics.)

A second shock was the announcement of the heavy U.S. involvement in the response to the counterattack. The least of the news was an announcement that U.S. helicopters had flown two Thai battalions to the defense of an internal Laotian stronghold guarding the road between Vietiane and Luong Prabang.

With alarmed reports still flashing across the air waves from Laos, the American public was then stunned by the news that Prince Sihanouk, the head of state of Cambodia, had been overthrown by a military coup d'etat, led by General Lon Nol, the Sihanouk appointed Prime Minister and head of the Cambodian armed forces, who at the time was virtually unknown in this country.

As the situation has developed since, the public now finds itself facing, not the "Vietnamization" of the Vietnam War, but the very real prospect of a new and even bloodier involvement in a general war in Indo China.

The roots of this crises lie not in any single event of the last few years, but rather in the general social conditions on the mainland of Southeast Asia—conditions that our official and unofficial foreign policy makers have known about, and have been quiet about because the solutions they wanted to adopt were not meant to solve the problems in a manner we would call rational in the interests of ordinary citizens, or humane.

THE GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF THE INDOCHINA WAR

The conditions which have brought about the resurgence of the guerilla movement in the Philippines, the collapse of the Laotian War, the overthrow of Sihanouk, the guerilla movements in Thailand, and the victory of the National Liberation Front

in South Vietnam stem from basic policies of the U.S. government, its overseas investors and its client governments. Specifically they have refused to deal positively with the two basic causes of revolution on the mainland of Southeast Asia: the economic exploitation of the lowland rice growing peasantry of the dominant ethnic group in each country; and the continued social, cultural and political suppression of a large number of minority peoples, who add up to a population total of 5 million individuals, and who reside almost uniformly in the border areas of each country involved.

THE RACE QUESTION IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

If one examines the first two maps in this article carefully, an enormous discrepancy emerges between the formal political boundaries of each country and the ethnic boundaries of the resident groups. The minority question in Southeast Asia is living proof of the double edged sword of nationalism. For in Southeast Asia, nationalism and the race question have operated at two deeply conflicting levels.

Historically, Southeast Asia has been divided into two worlds the world of the lowland, wet rice growing, more technologically advanced kingdoms, and the world of the nomadic and semi-nomadic hill peoples, who lived in small bands, sometimes organized into loose confederacies, rarely into chiefdoms.

The hill peoples practiced a completely different kind of agriculture, usually a slash-and-burn-dry agriculture which exhausted the soil after a number of years, forcing the entire population of the band to move on to another location. The much smaller food surpluses, and the necessity of "travelling light," hindered the development of the technology and organization we call higher civilization. The lowland peoples developed "higher religion, art, music, architecture, consumer goods, and weapons of war and organization for war due to the large surpluses of food they were able to produce.

As each dominant ethnic group developed through the centuries, the hill areas, whose population is speckled in on map II, found themselves serving as the buffer zone and whipping boy for the aggressive lowland kingdoms. The hill people of Laos Burma, Thailand and Vietnam were uniformly called "slave" by their lowland neighbors. This term was not an epithet but a scientific form of usage. The lowland Lao call the hill people in Laos "Kha" to this day.

With the exception of Thailand, the rest of mainland Southeast Asia came under western colonial rule during the nineteenth century. As each dominant ethnic group faced the possibility of independence the question of the minorities came up—usually in a painful manner.

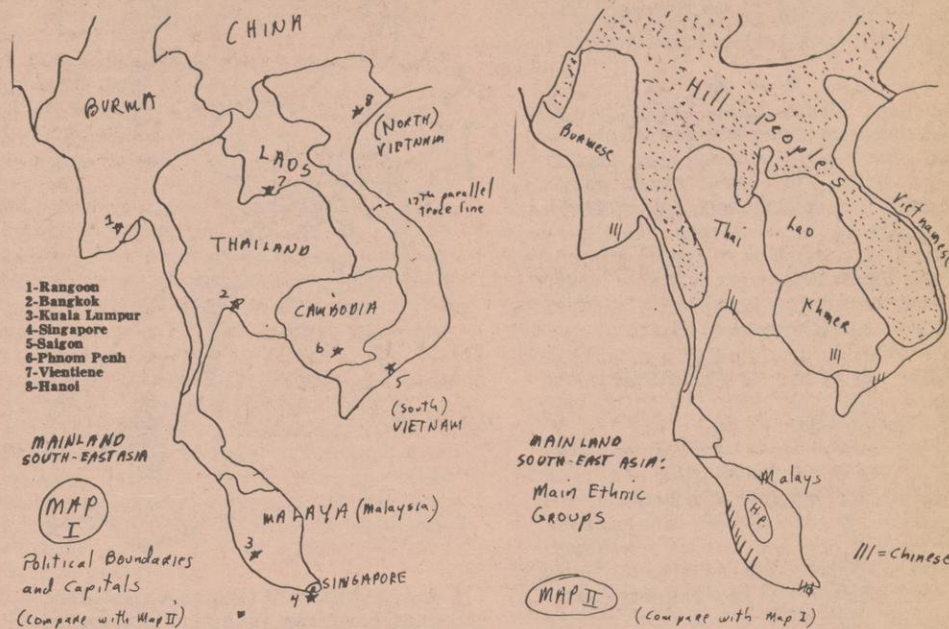
Each ethnic lowland group faced the question of what to do with the hill peoples. Some situations were worse than others. In order to understand today's crises, some differentiation is needed.

Laos and Thailand are mutually embroiled in the minority question through the imperial settlements of the nineteenth century. The Lao people, first cousins to the lowland Thais of Thailand, are uneasily defined as a lowland group themselves. They had a kingdom of sorts during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and various princes ruled for abbreviated periods after that.

The Lao became part of the frontier between an expanding Vietnam and Thailand during the 18th and 19th centuries, and were artificially divided in half in the late nineteenth century settlement between Thailand and France. The French had developed ambitions to dominate the Mekong River valley. What all this has to do with the present is simple. Laos is a non-state. Its boundaries make no sense. Nine of the ten and a half million Lao live in what is now northeastern Thailand, much to their discomfiture. They have been abused and neglected by the Bangkok monarchy and military dictatorship alike since their acquisition in the nineteenth century. With the lowest standard of living in all of Thailand, they have been the center of leftist activities in Thailand since the thirties.

Immediately on the other side of the Mekong River which, as one might guess, is much more of a highway than a boundary, the situation shifts into extreme reverse. Here, the lowland Lao have, in a gentler way, carried on the same kind of treatment with regard to their "minority" as has been practiced on them in Thailand. Just as the Mekong is a nonboundary, the eastern frontier with Vietnam plays an equally divisive role. The hill tribes are not a minority in Laos at all. They are a majority, who can walk across the jungle division unnoticed to visit with fellow tribesmen, now living under an entirely different kind of situation.

Until the August Revolution of 1945, the Vietnamese had not overtly practiced a



policy much different from the other lowland groups. The Vietnamese Communists, however, had faced up to a practical problem as early as the early thirties. Looking at the French empire, they had come to the conclusion as Vietnamese nationalists who also were communists, that the hill peoples would be a definitely necessary ally if they were to throw the French out. The answer they developed was the only practical one for the mainland of Southeast Asia—local autonomy including cultural, political, economic and social powers, for minority groups which can be territorially defined. The doubting reader is urged to compare the various chapters on minorities in the United States Army Area Handbook Series to see the detailed substantiation of this briefest of descriptions.

The Vietnamese revolutionary policy grew during the first IndoChina War against the French. The Vietnamese were able to completely reverse the traditional British and French success in pitting the minority groups against the dominant ethnic body in a divide and conquer strategy.

Viet Minh organizers went into the hills and unlike even the most dedicated Christian Missionaries, adopted the customs of the hill tribes, in order to demonstrate their respect for the hill peoples' way of life. With blackened or filed teeth, breech cloths and sometimes minority tribe wives, the organizers prepared alphabets for many of the languages which had never been written down, and won most of the tribes over to the cause of independence and national revolution through a platform of local autonomy for the minority tribes.

In the Democratic Republic of Vietnam today, in complete contrast to Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, South Vietnam, and Burma, the minority groups have almost complete political control over two huge areas which extended over a large part of North Vietnam. In Hanoi, a college for minorities has been built with university courses taught in minority languages. There is almost total equality in health and other public welfare services between the most inaccessible highland regions and the lowland delta.

The minority policies of the Saigon government stand in complete contrast. A key factor in the last decade has been that the hill tribes have been able to see a real alternative to the policies of assimilation, forced resettlement, and complete political integration into a unitary state. And they have overwhelmingly been supporting that alternative.

One other source of tension between ethnic groups must be mentioned. In addition to the hill tribe lowland cleavage, in Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and in South Vietnam, there is also the problem of a spillover of a dominant ethnic minority in one area into what is now the territory of another group. The present boundaries of Cambodia are a shrunken remnant of the once dominant kingdom of the Khmer people. For several centuries, the Thai and the Vietnamese have been slowly encroaching onto Cambodian territory.

Today perhaps three hundred thousand whole or part Cambodians reside in South Vietnam, and another hundred thousand live in Cambodia, where they dominate the business community with the immigrant Chinese community. The crude call by General Lan Nol for an anti-Vietnamese crusade as a way of putting pressure on NFL-DRV troops who had been given sanctuary by Prince Sihanouk completely covers up one of the key reasons why Sihanouk, a vehement nationalist, has sided with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

Unlike Thailand, which still claims chunks of northern Cambodia, and unlike the Saigon government which claims all of Cambodia's offshore islands, the NFL has recognized the present boundaries of Cambodia as the permanent boundaries. In addition, the NFL has applied its mi-

nority policy to the Khmer minority in South Vietnam as opposed to the Saigon policy of minority integration which went so far, at one point, as to attempt to force the minority groups to adopt Vietnamese names.

AGRARIAN UNREST IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The perennial charge of peasant unrest due to exploitation is frequently sluffed off as the "perennial charge."

Yet in each country with the exception of Laos, we are concerned with rural indebtedness, low levels of health, economic avarice by middleman, widespread tenancy, and landless peasants. These problems are not only the historic key but the immediate explanation for the growth of a guerilla movement.

Prior to the French conquest there had not been much of a land problem in Vietnam. Overpopulation had been met by migration to frontier areas. Within the villages communal lands were periodically redistributed to the families that needed them. During the French period, the communal lands were divided up between the local wealthy peasant, absentee landlords, French companies who leased the land, and the Catholic Church. Famine funds fell into disuse as the wealthy landlords produced for the export market and fought a device which would counter their desire to lend rice money at high interest rates.

By the end of the French era, most peasants had become debtors to their landlords through a process of high interest rates, sale of land at low prices, and then high rents. Impoverished peasants were increasingly thrown off their land or forced to flee their villages because of their inability to pay their debts. This resulted, for the first time in modern Vietnamese history, in a giant gap between the rich and poor.

By World War II, landless peasants comprised 24 per cent of the population in northern Vietnam, 14 per cent in central Vietnam, and 57 per cent in southern Vietnam—the Mekong Delta and the Saigon area. A few people owned most of the land. In cold statistics by 1940, 6,300 families held one third of all the rice land in Vietnam. In the northern half of Vietnam, the situation was alleviated after 1954. After Diem unilaterally proclaimed that the French truce zone in Southern Vietnam was a separate state, the Viet Minh in the northern zone became a separate government. Although they did make mistakes which were successfully blocked by peasant resistance, the Viet Minh did carry out land reform. North Vietnam has experimented with different forms of collective, cooperative and small landholdings in solving its land shortage problems.

In the South, land reform did not go much beyond the publicity stage. The Diem government overthrew the land reforms of the Viet Minh. It passed its own land reform bill which allowed the wealthy landowners to keep up to 300 acres per owner, where a comfortable family farm is only 10 acres big. Of the 8 million acres of rice land, only 1 million ever "changed hands," and this reached less than 10 per cent of the country's 1.2 million tenant families. As Bernard Fall pointed out for 1961 in his book *THE TWO VIETNAMS*: "A situation in which 2 per cent of the landowners hold 45 per cent of the land, and 72 per cent hold 15 per cent is an obvious field for thorough going land reform."

Today the key to the success of the NFL has been expressed by one FEER writer as follows: Right now, all the land has been distributed, and at the same time none of the land has been redistributed. That is, the NFL has carried out a complete land reform program in most areas of the South, while Saigon has carried out almost no reform. For the peasant, NFL victory means confirmation of his

A NOTE ON THE SOURCES

THE U.S. ARMY HAND BOOKS FOR LAOS, CAMBODIA, SOUTH VIETNAM, NORTH VIETNAM, AND THAILAND; FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW (a major business magazine published in Hong Kong by Western business interests); KEESING'S CONTEMPORARY ARCHIVES; FACTS ON FILE; THE NEW YORK TIMES; & LA-MONDE. Books: Thailand—Louis Lomax, THAILAND, THE WAR THAT WILL BE; Laos—B. Fall, ANATOMY OF A CRISIS and H. Teye, LAOS; no decent books exist on contemporary Cambodia; Vietnam—G. Kahin and G. Lewis, THE U.S. IN VIETNAM and M. Gittleman, ed. VIETNAM.

The maps are based on maps in the following books: Map I and II D. Hall, ATLAS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA; Map III B. Fall ANATOMY OF A CRISIS; Map IV, sources explained in article.

new holding, Saigon victory means no confirmation at all. The author, pleading for yet another land reform program, points out the obvious choice of the South Vietnamese peasant. (FEER, 5/16/68 and 4/24/69).

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In nearby Thailand, the emergence of a landholding problem is a recent phenomenon. Its roots lie in the increasing interest of the Thai elite, whose wealth and power have traditionally come through their place in the country's small bureaucracy, in getting involved in the developing scientific agrobusiness. Over the last decade, using profits derived from U.S. aid, and huge business investments (graft in Thailand is a most respectable way of life for top officials), the Bangkok elite has been buying up rice land at an increasing rate.

In a country where the farmer gets only 28 per cent of the price of rice on the retail and international market, the cost-price squeeze has put him increasingly in debt, not only to the traditional Chinese merchant, but now, to the elite. The U.S. Department of Commerce estimated in 1968 that in the central rice districts around Bangkok, only 30 per cent of the farmers now own their own land—a drastic drop from the 85 per cent of only two decades ago. The resulting tensions, which are now complicated by a huge migration of landless peasants to the sprawling urban slums of Bangkok, are obvious.

In nearby Cambodia, a more discreet form of agrarian exploitation prevails. Here, the main villain is the Chinese. Instead of attempting to dispossess the peasantry, the Chinese simply hold on to the debt, content with an annual bite out of the peasants' rice income.

In Laos, the situation is much less severe. The key economic grievance is not the problems of the wet rice growing Lao in terms of land holding or marketing of rice. The peasants are still very much subsistence farmers. Rather, the Lao peasant, has become extremely aware of the vast gap in living standards between himself, and the tiny Lao elite which has been living off the feeding trough of U.S. aid since the mid-fifties. A British scholar Hugh Toye, describes in his study LAOS, one of the simple ways in which the Pathet Lao organizers began to make inroads among the ethnic Lao lowland peasants. They simply asked the peasants to go into the opulent centers of the key cities and look at the way the elite was living. The contrast between high life in the cities and the desperately poor villages was overwhelming. The results, which will be discussed shortly, were predictable.

STRATEGY OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Since World War II, the importance of the U.S. in the southeast Asian scheme of things has risen from a fairly minor place to the dominant fact of existence for the region. U.S. government involvement stems from two key motivations. Southeast Asia is a growing area of investment for U.S. business.

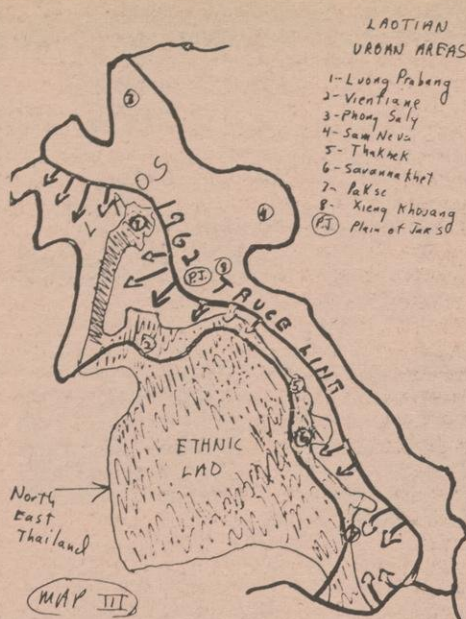
It is also a strategically important area in terms of the U.S. foreign policy of opposing any social revolutionary movement in the Third World which directly or indirectly might threaten U.S. business interests, and of containing China's political and economic interests in the region through military confrontation.

In Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia, the economic sector has been the key focus of activity. Laos, Vietnam and now Cambodia have mainly been regarded as a buffer zone whose revolutionary movements were setting a dangerous precedent for third world people interested in obtaining complete control over their own economic and political futures.

Washington, acting through A.I.D., its embassies, and its military programs tries to carry out these goals in two basic ways. First, through economic and social development programs, it seeks to provide the necessary stable political climate, economic support structure, social class structure, and trained labor for investment success. The programs range from material aid programs to provide transportation, communication and electric power facilities, to programs of industrial education for rural peasants entering the labor force, to programs providing school books for elementary school children in rural areas and medical clinics in rural areas as part of the cooperative effort to "do something" for long neglected sections of the population.

These same economic and social development programs also have security implications. Road networks in Thailand are examined for their ability to transport counterinsurgency forces during operations. Government agents establish radio receivers in villages to ensure continuous village contact.

Alongside these software programs, the military training and military equipment programs help prepare the elites of Southeast Asia to defend their own interests and Washington's too.



A key factor in all the programs is the recognition of the primary interest of the elite in any changes being made. Economic aid to farmers is technical and material aid. Very rarely do U.S. advisers attempt to pressure the governments to alter the economic relationships. The "kid gloves" treatment of the landholding elite in Vietnam is the most blatant example. According to the anti-communist historian, Joseph Buttinger, 20 per cent of South Vietnam's rice land could have been bought and redistributed to landless peasants in the early 1960's for 250 million dollars. The elite felt that its power rested on the land and prevented this kind of program from taking place.

The same pattern of program design—bringing in only that which will not threaten the elite—follows in the U.S. paramilitary relations with the hill tribes. In Vietnam and Laos, the CIA and Green Berets have gone into the hill areas trying to win over the tribesmen. They promise protection from the central governments as a part of their aid, knowing full well that Saigon or Hanoi will attempt to reassert tight control as soon as the tribe has been "pacified" and that the central government has no intention of allowing the kind of autonomy the hill tribes seek.

With the underlying social and economic factors, and with U.S. policies in mind, one can now examine in a broader framework the road to ruin which has been followed without deviation in Laos, Vietnam, and Thailand, and which has led to the present Cambodian crises.

THE DESTRUCTION OF LAOS AS A NEUTRAL STATE

The history of the Laotian crises can be summed up in one sentence.

It is a history of a group of ideologically motivated men opposed to any kind of social revolution, refusing to accept a compromise that a revolutionary movement repeatedly agreed to, until the basis for such a compromise had eroded away. The group of men consisted of various members of the Lao aristocracy working closely with the Cold Warriors of two key U.S. government agencies—the C.I.A. and the Agency for International Development. They worked most of the time with, but sometimes without, the knowledge and approval of the highest elected officials in Washington, D.C.

The most right wing Western scholars have generally agreed that there is a genuine Laotian revolutionary movement which leads a separate political life from the Vietnamese revolutionary movement. The Pathet Lao is the product of a marriage between a small band of Western educated upper class Lao revolutionaries and a radicalized coalition of hill tribes living in the highlands region running the length of the Vietnamese-Laotian border.

During the early years of struggle against the French after World War II, the Viet Minh was able to attract the support of a small group of Laotians who soon started organizing their own revolutionary struggle.

By the time of Dien Bien Phu and the Geneva Agreements in 1954, the Pathet Lao, with the help of the Viet Minh held more than one third of Laos. The fact that it was highland, jungle area should not be allowed to minimize the importance of the holding. More than half of the population is non-Lao and most of the non-Lao live in the jungle highlands.

The Pathet Lao, whose titular head is Prince Souphanou Vong, had lost out at Geneva in proportion to the area under their control. The Geneva agreements called for a unified Laos, less than half of whose territory was in the historic boundaries of the country. Two northeastern provinces, Phong Saly and Sam Neua, had been left as an undefined regrouping area for the Pathet Lao military units until a formal political guarantee could be worked out that would ensure that a disarmed Pathet Lao revolutionary party would be able to participate freely and without harassment in the elections and administration of the country as a whole.

The Pathet Lao distrust of right wing intentions was reinforced by the continued harassment of the neutralist efforts under the leadership of Prince Souvanna Phouma. The first of a long series of assassinations of left wing and neutralist leaders occurred during the 1954 negotiations when Kou Vorayong, the neutralist Defense Minister and head of the "reconciliation" efforts of the Prime Minister was murdered by a pistol and grenade attack in Vientiane.

Finally in 1957, an agreement was signed in which the Pathet Lao formally turned over the two provinces under its control of Vientiane, agreed to the integration of its armed units into the national army, and prepared to participate in a special election to be held in 1958. In that election, the Neo Lao Hakset, the Pathet Lao's political party, and an allied left-wing neutralist party won 13 of the 21 seats up for election. They ran on a program of reform, local development, respect for minorities and neutralism. Despite the fact that the 13 seats were only a small fraction of the total number of 59 seats, the right wing immediately organized a new committee of National Defense to deal with the situation.

The carefully worked out agreements for a coalition government and cabinet were thrown overboard as the rightists proceeded to close down the National Assembly and to dump Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma. Shortly after, the army surrounded the two Pathet Lao brigades waiting to be integrated into the armed forces and forceably tried to disarm them. One brigade managed to escape.

On July 28, 1959 Prince Souphanou Vong and seven other leading members of the Neo Lao Hakset party, who were still in the capital attempting to resolve the crises peacefully, were arrested and threatened with a treason trial even as a right wing junta took over the right wing cabinet that had replaced the coalition government.

In 1960, the right took what it thought would be the last step in eliminating the Pathet Lao by holding new elections. In a campaign heavily subsidized by CIA money, all 59 seats in the National Assembly were won by the right. As Keesing Contemporary Archives reported it, a typical race saw an Army supported candidate get 18,189 votes against 11 for an independent and 4 votes for the Neo Lao Hakset candidate.

Faced with the obvious attempt to crush it, the military arm of the Neo Lao Hakset party, responded by renewing the guerilla struggle.

The imprisoned political leadership of the Neo Lao Hakset had managed over the course of their ten month confinement to convert their prison guards, and early in May 1960, the prisoners and guards escaped from the police camp outside Vientiane and joined the guerillas in the hills.

At this time, a triangular struggle gradually emerged. The neutralists had been powerless in the face of the CIA-U.S. Embassy backed junta and right wing politicians. During the night of August 8-9, 1960, however a completely unknown officer, Captain Kong Le, a peasant Mon-Khmer, overthrew the junta on behalf of the neutralists and forced the restoration of Souvanna Phouma. The neutralists triumph was short lived. The U.S. government was still sure it could eliminate the leftists and bring Laos into the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization and the Western camp.

For almost two years, the Eisenhower, and then the Kennedy administration, defied British and French pressure for a renewed Geneva conference and a restoration of a coalition government. Souvanna Phouma, the legitimate prime minister and Captain Kong Le, were denied U.S. military aid while a huge military buildup in the southern part of Laos took place under the direction of General Phoumi Nosovan and Prince Boun Oum. After two years of repeated attempts to crush the now united neutralists and Pathet Lao forces, the junta was faced with a debacle. Map III shows the basic territory consolidated by the Pathet Lao during this period. More than 2/3 of Laos and 1/2 of the population was now living in liberated areas.

In May 1961, after several right wing military drives had failed, the now panicked rightists finally agreed to participate in a new Geneva Conference, and the U.S. finally declared its willingness to guarantee the neutrality of Laos. A series of conferences in Laos and Geneva began. They lasted over a year. Once again, actions in the field cast serious doubt on U.S. intentions.

On May 23, 1962, a major article in the conservative London Times revealed that the C.I.A. in Laos was seriously involved in pouring money and equipment into yet another attempt to rebuild the right wing military forces. General Phoumi Nosovan stated himself that he could disregard the American Embassy and the military advisory group because he was in communication with "other American agencies."

The capstone to the entire period was yet to come. Even as the final arrange-

ments were being worked out during 1963, several new assassinations of neutralists and leftist politicians took place including the murder of Quinim Pholsena, the neutralist foreign minister, on April 1, 1963 and Colonel Khamti Sisoupanthong on April 12. On December 5, 1963, Colonel Leung, head of Prince Souvanna's intelligence department was also murdered by the right.

On April 19, 1964, just as the final differences between the leftists, neutralists and rightists were supposedly being worked out and a true tripartite cabinet created, a right wing military junta once again carried out a new coup d'etat. This time however, the neutralists could not be saved by military force. The right had infiltrated the neutralists army outposts which brought about the eventual break up of the neutralists as a third grouping. By 1966, Captain Kong Le had been forced out of the country for opposing the forced integration of the neutralist and right wing forces, several neutralist units and local leaders had fled to the Pathet Lao, and Prince Souvanna Phouma, who once had enjoyed the confidence of the Pathet Lao, had become a defacto prisoner of the right wing forces.

Shortly thereafter, the independent development of the Laotian crises came to an end. The bombing of North Vietnam and the introduction of U.S. combat troops into South Vietnam as a desperate effort to save the collapsing Saigon government had begun. By 1966 major military construction was going on in Thailand and advanced radar outposts were being established in the middle of Pathet Lao territory in order to guide U.S. bombers on their way to Hanoi and the Red River Delta.

With the acceleration of the Vietnam War, Laos seemed to be forgotten. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, the conservative British news service and one of the key information sources for Laos, has not had a major report on Laos since 1966. In fact, however, two major events have marked the last five years.

On the one hand, the Pathet Lao have settled down into a never ending struggle against repeated attempts by the Vientien government to penetrate inland from the Mekong River towns and cities it controls.

This seesaw pattern of invasion and repulsion has been complicated by the military role of the United States. In addition to supplying observers and training personnel, the U.S. has contributed two of its special military tactics to the struggle. An intensive napalm defoliation, bombing, and forced evacuation campaign which has created a refugee population of approximately 5-600,000 people out of a total population of under 3,000,000. And, secondly, a massive attempt by the CIA and the Special Forces, to win away some of the hill tribes supporting the Pathet Lao, and to maintain bases deep within Pathet Lao territory from which harassment operations can emerge.

The sequence of events leading into the current Laotian crises is so entwined with events elsewhere on the Indo China mainland, that a pause to bring the other areas into the picture is appropriate.

THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE VIETNAM WAR

The words "Vietnamization" of the Vietnam War conceal a fact of enormous importance for those who are trying to comprehend both the events of the last couple of months, and the chaos of words coming out of Washington.

The government today speaks of turning over more and more responsibility for fighting the war to the Saigon government.

Official Washington rhetoric conceals a simple truth—the Vietnam War WAS Vietnamized, and it was lost.

Though everything has changed in Vietnam in terms of the magnitude of events since March, 1965, when the first large contingents of U.S. combat troops began to arrive in coastal bases, nothing has changed in terms of the ratio of support for the two sides in the Southern civil conflict, or in sheer military strength that would indicate that re-Vietnamization can be any more successful than it was the last time.

As the following analytical outline indicates the epic attempt to prevent the military defeat of the Saigon government which began in March, 1965, came to a grinding halt in a five month nationwide battle from February to June 1968. By any standards one wants to apply, the last twenty months since the TET battle ended one has been witnessing not a war, but the torture of innocents. If this is true, then the words "Vietnamization of the War" can mean only two possibilities. Either it is an elaborate plan to withdraw without losing face before another debacle begins, or it is an equally elaborate plan to remain while at the same time eliminating much of the impatient pressure coming from ordinary American families who no longer think the war is worth the price they are paying for in blood—the third highest total of American dead and wounded since independence.

The line from the earliest defensive actions by the victims of early Diem round-ups to the six day battle of Binh Gia from December 28, 1964 until June 2, 1965 was a straight one.

The earliest significant victory against the government forces by the organized NLF guerrillas occurred on Sept. 1-2, 1961, when two NLF battalions estimated at 600 strong captured the capital of Phuoc Thanh province only 55 miles away from Saigon. By early January 1963, the NLF forces were able to take on in open frontal assaults major Saigon army units.

In Ap Bac, located in the Plain of Reeds which lies between Saigon and the Cambodian border, 300 NLF guerrillas defeated 1,500 Saigon troops shooting down five helicopters and damaging eleven others along the way. This victory indicated that the NLF had successfully adjusted to helicopters warfare, the most important innovation the Pentagon had made over the previous French efforts.

In November 1963, in the same month that Diem was overthrown for his suppression of the Buddhists, his oppression of the hill peoples, his backing of the land lords, and his dictatorial policies, a military training camp only 20 miles from Saigon was overrun and a supply of weapons big enough to arm a full battalion was captured.

In its April 18, 1964 issue, Keesing's Contemporary Archive summed up the situation this way:

"By March, 1964, the Viet Cong controlled up to 70 per cent of some provinces in the fertile Mekong delta, and it was feared that by autumn rice shipments to Saigon might be cut off. The Saigon correspondent of The Time (London) wrote on March 30: 'In many parts of the country at present it is the Viet Cong administrations which seem to be the Government with Saigon forces and representatives the intruders...'"

Even as Lyndon Johnson was going on the campaign trail promising that American boys would never be sent over to the Asian mainland, the NLF's armed forces were reaching another of their "highest peaks yet," as Keesing had to phrase it report after report.

"The Government forces suffered one of their worst defeats of the war in the southern Mekong Delta on July 10-12. After guerrillas had attacked Vinh Chieu (one of the last government held posts in Chuong Vinh province), five militia companies supported by aircraft were sent as reinforcements but were forced to withdraw, and two regular battalions which finally reached the village after a running battle with the Viet Cong found it in ruins. Government troops lost 200 killed, wounded, or captured and over 100 weapons."

On December 28 the aforementioned battle of Binh Gia began. In it 1,600 well coordinated NLF troops stood off 3 Saigon battalions with heavy air support. Only one month later an even more significant battle took place. On February 8 two companies of Saigon troops were overrun by the NLF north of the coastal town of Phumy in Binh Dinh province which lies halfway up the coast to the 1954 truce line at the 17th parallel. The loss of several hundred Saigon troops was not the significant aspect of the battle. Rather, the NLF was on the verge of completely cutting South Vietnam in half.

One month later U.S. troops began arriving in strength. The excuse was the spectacular but peripheral pair of attacks on two U.S. bases, Bien Hoa on October 31 and Pleiku on February 7, 1965. That very same month the myth of a massive invasion from North Vietnam was created overnight.

Myth is the only way to describe the official explanations for the beginning of the bombing of North Vietnam, which Theodore Draper, an anti-communist journalist, demolished in his book Abuse of Power. As the Saigon correspondent of the New York Times had written on March 6, 1964:

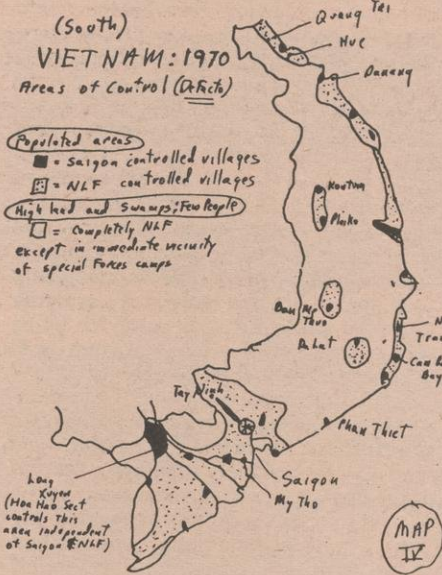
"The war is largely a conflict of Southerners fought on Southern land. No capture of North Vietnamese in the South has come to light, and it is generally believed that most Viet Cong weapons have been seized from the South Vietnamese forces...Some Viet Cong cadres have been trained in the North or have served in the North Vietnamese Army, but they are Southerners. Special teams such as medical or demolition units have also been trained in the North. The regular guerrillas are Southerners who have rarely left the South."

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With this knowledge and the record of the previous four years behind then one can return to the basic problem confronting the military planners in the winter of 1964-65. It was not public knowledge then, but is now, that desertions from the Saigon armed forces had risen to over 50,000 men for 1964. The desertions reflected an increasing disparity felt as the NLF forces increased the size of the attacks they were launching. In the battle of Ap Bac, for example, U.S. military "advisers" attributed the defeat to the lack of fighting spirit of the Saigon troops including their officers who refused to obey their superior's orders.

The three year period leading up to the TET offensive in February 1968 is so unified and yet so involved as to constitute a war unto itself—a ballet of death.

The U.S. intentions were clear: U.S. combat troops were to attempt to seek out and engage the main combat units of the National Liberation Front, thus creating a breathing space for Saigon during which time the training, armaments and morale of the Saigon army could be built up. The troops were to operate integrally with a kind of combat air war whose primitive roots lay in experiences of the colonial air forces at the end of World War II. The backbone of the air strategy lay in several technological innovations: the defoliation and detection equipment; the helicopter combat gunship; the helicopter transport system; and the high altitude bomber.



Initially the NLF attempted to meet the new ground forces with the frontal assault strategy and weapons systems they had been using just before the arrival of American troops. The overwhelming military technology brought to bear against them brought about three major changes: an eventual reversion to a semi-guerrilla warfare as the major form of combat; the introduction of a new weapons system designed for guerrilla use; and, finally, combat support from North Vietnam.

1965, as might be expected, was a year of chaos. It can be divided into roughly four major phases. February through March 15 marked the beginning of a sporadic and limited air offensive by the U.S. against North Vietnam. The ground attacks by the NLF, contrary to official expectations, did not stop. This was noted by Washington's decision to commit U.S. ground troops to combat in support of South Vietnamese troops. At the same time the air attacks on the North became a continuous event during the March 16-June 15 period.

August through October 1965 was a period of an increasing American buildup and a major new rainy season offensive by the NLF. From November onwards, the Pentagon launched an offensive in the central highlands in order to prevent the NLF from completing their drive to cut the country in half.

The commitment made by the Johnson administration to place large numbers of ground troops in Vietnam took place in an atmosphere of increasingly large NLF frontal assaults. Binh Gia, Dongxoi, Duc-co, Binh Dinh, Van Tuong and Pleime were but a few of the pitched battles fought in 1965. All were marked by heavy casualties and, according to American sources, American victories—that is, the National Liberation Front troops withdrew from the field first. No sign was given, however, that the area involved was permanently pacified.

"Myth is the only way to describe the official explanation for the bombing of North Vietnam."

IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE HERE THAT THE INCREASE OF U.S. TROOPS FROM 23,000 TO 150,000 TROOPS BY NOVEMBER 1965 WAS NOT MATCHED BY A BUILDUP OF TROOPS FROM NORTH VIETNAM. MATCHING WASHINGTON'S 50,000 MEN THAT FALL WERE ONLY 15,000 NORTH VIETNAMESE REGULARS.

During 1966, the NLF managed to win an apparent theoretical argument with North Vietnamese military advisors concerning the advisability of continuing to meet the U.S. in large pitched battles.

The NLF had reverted to the basic strategy of the Viet Minh against the French: force the enemy to choose constantly between assembling large forces for attacks on supposed NLF strongholds or military units, or on keeping enough forces dispersed throughout the country

to be able to maintain some ground control over the communications network, and some military security in civilian areas immediately adjacent to one's base.

How did the West report 1966, the year in which giant coordinated ground air assaults should have been destroying the NLF regular forces in order to pave the way for a new pacification program in the villages. According to the FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, the WALL STREET JOURNAL of the Asian business world, the Pentagon had won several large pitched battles, but the NLF continued to make gains in the villages and continued to hold its sanctuaries in the highland areas.

So strong was the NLF position vis a vis food, according to FEER, that in areas of the Mekong Delta under its control, it was able to reduce rice taxes during the 1966-67 winter, causing much embarrassment to Saigon, which was carrying out a series of rice tax raids into sections of the Mekong where NLF influence was strong.

In an article entitled "South Vietnam '66," (1/6/67) P.M. Jones reported that: "The losses in men and equipment inflicted on the Viet Cong (it is claimed) are relatively trivial and their territorial control has grown wider if anything. Not a single region has been recovered from the Viet Cong. After a battle is over, the Americans and South Vietnamese forces abandon any fresh ground they may have occupied for lack of men to hold it."

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Unknown to the Pentagon, the period of grace, the period of shock during which the massive injection of weapons and men might have crippled the NLF, had already passed, and the next year was actually to be the period during which the NLF, now supported by major combat units from North Vietnam, would plan its assault on the U.S. invasion force.

The Pentagon planners had decided that 1967 would open with a big buildup in the Mekong Delta as a way of taking the offensive in South Vietnam. Everything pointed to an attempt to upset the continuing NLF expansion by attacking their "safe" area, three large sections of the delta which had not been touched for years. But, just as the NLF had upset Saigon-Pentagon plans to take the highlands, so it now upset the 1967 dry season plans by threatening areas Washington had hoped to hold in constant while it went into the delta. The military history of the first half of 1967, rather than hinge on a U.S. build up in the Mekong revolved around the crash attempts to bolster units both in the Central Highlands and in the provinces immediately below the Demilitarized Zone.

The situation so deteriorated in the Central and Northern areas that even the preliminary units in the Delta had to be withdrawn to bolster up the threatened areas in the North.

If one doubts the huge turnover in the optimism, it is only necessary to note articles in January 1967, describing Senator Tower of Texas' planned visit to Vietnam. As the New York Times put it: "The visit to the U.S. 9th Infantry Division and the U.S. Navy in the Mekong Delta bares the open secret in Saigon that the 9th Division will be the first U.S. combat unit assigned to the IV corps area of the Delta." Later, the Times presented material estimating that the preliminary force in the Delta was expected to grow to a combat team of 30,000 men. It never grew.

Instead, a steady series of NLF attacks in other parts of the country once more sent General Westmoreland to Congress with plea for more troops. By late spring of 1967, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Congressional Armed Forces committee were calling for another 150,000 to 200,000 more men. They officially got 50,000 more troops to raise the U.S. total from about 475,000 in the

north of Saigon right on the delta/highlands border. The NLF held out until November 3 in the center of the town, occupying the local district headquarters and symbolically raising the NLF flag over the building.

More troops were rushed out of the central region. Then, having drained troops out of the Saigon Delta area to the far north, and drawing highland troops south, the third blow was launched. On November 3, Da Nang, a major highlands base was put under siege, in a major battle lasting three weeks.

THE ACTUAL MILITARY CONDITION OF THE TWO PRINCIPLES AND THEIR TWO BACKERS DEMANDED A NEW COURSE OF ACTION.

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That January, as the NLF and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam were making new offers for a settlement, the U.S. military faced a bizarre situation. A country with 200 million people had two divisions of troops left at home for shipment overseas. No more than 40,000 men could be sent over to Vietnam, without a basic reserve call up, or a huge draft increase. North Vietnam, on the other hand, had 3 full divisions sitting just North of the 17th parallel, three more just a little further up the coast, and a total of 300,000 front line troops that could be immediately committed to combat. One possible out for the Pentagon was the huge reserves in Formosa and Korea, but even another 100,000 troops from these sources was obviously not going to do the trick. The key lay in the success, or lack of it, in the pacification program.

The determining factor in any evaluation of the war, according to all analysts, was the state of readiness and morale of the Saigon armed forces, and the degree of success of the U.S.-Saigon program in breaking the backbone of the National Liberation Front in the ordinary village. If these two areas were going well, then the formal military battles could be seen as necessary costs to pay. By January, 1968, even as General Westmoreland and the Agency for International Development was claiming the best progress of the war, this battle had actually been lost.

There had been some signs that the war was not going well at the Saigon end. By the end of the first half of June 1967, U.S. casualties were double those of Saigon and the trend had continued upward. This trend, which actually had gotten started in the middle of 1966, might have been explained away by pointing to the fact that the Saigon armed forces were taking over the arduous task of pacifying villages on a full time basis. This explanation, and several optimistic reports that the "Revolutionary Development" effort was going well, were beset by some immediate facts.

First of all, in the latest of a series of changeovers, the complete pacification program had been symbolically taken over by the U.S. military command from the Vietnamese by appointing General Westmoreland as the overall chief of the program. While Chief of State Nguyen Van Thieu defended the performance of South Vietnamese Army units in providing security for the pacification teams, the shift had become necessary for American military planners simply because of the wretched anti-guerrilla warfare record of the regular Saigon forces. Far Eastern Economic Review had reported one incident where one Vietnamese ranger company, the best section of the Saigon armed forces, operating just south of the 17th parallel, had made as many contacts with the National Liberation Front guerrillas in one month as a whole DIVISION of conventional ARVN troops operating in the same region for the same period. These were the units that were supposed to be protecting the 59 man pacification teams that had been launched with much publicity during 1966.

The efforts of the teams and their supposed protectors seemed in doubt by the end of 1967 for another reason. There was a solid indicator that control of the villages had slipped. On January 7, 1967, Nguyen Cao Ky signed into law two bills providing for elections in only 1,000 of South Vietnam's 2,500 villages. Even this official admission of weakness was undercut by later voting statistics. The September 1966 national elections had taken place in close to 1,000 villages. The 1967 spring elections for hamlet and village councils were set for less than 900 of the 1,000 villages the law had provided for.

On March 25, R.W. Apple informed the readership of the N.Y. Times of a startling fact—the total number of local elections was not going to exceed one third of the villages and less than one quarter of the hamlets.

The poorer participation meant that either the government was unable to hold elections in all the hamlets of all the villages it claimed control of, or it only controlled the less populous villages, or both. The statistic is important because one explanation for the substantial number of villages controlled by the NLF on AID maps was that they were the smaller, less

accessible ones, and that large numbers of peasants had migrated away from NLF villages to Saigon-controlled villages.

The military failure to pacify the villages was tied in with the failure of the Revolutionary Development program. As William Corson devastatingly documents in his book *The Betrayal*, the program could not succeed as long as Saigon was uninterested in carrying out the reforms which were absolutely necessary to win the peasants away from the National Liberation Front.

As the Pacification Program faced 1968, it also faced the same peasant grievances of each previous year: the failure of the principal administrators to enforce the many land reform laws on the books, allowing landlords to charge exorbitant rents and rich peasants to retain holdings well above the legal limit established in the early days of the Diem regime; the pillaging carried on in the villages by Saigon troops ostensibly there to protect

rounding wealthy suburbs and the Saigon equivalent of the Pentagon.

While all this was happening, the assault on Khe Sanh continued. Between Jan. 21 and Feb. 15 the U.S. Air Force dropped more than 120 million pounds of bombs—greater than the explosive impact of both the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs. Even so, in a bunker system which made "the World War I structures at Verdun appear simple," the North Vietnamese were able to continue the siege until April 7th.

Official Washington and Saigon statements maintained that the NLF had been shattered in this "desperate," "last ditch," "death rattle" assault. On May 5, 1968, 119 provincial centers and U.S. installations were simultaneously shelled, signaling a series of attacks which lasted until mid-June. They were followed by a "third wave" of assaults in mid August which lasted for over a month.

High military and civilian officials maintained for a long time the major pur-

"The importance of Tet was not only its accomplishments, but what they represented in organization and support for the NLF."

the villagers from the Viet Cong; and as Feer puts it, the "exemption of the more influential villagers from such unpleasant duties as the corvée labor and the draft." American viewers were not the only ones who noticed Saigon "cowboys" zipping around on motorcycles while their sons died.

Some people are always able to see new hope as some new scheme or in a change of command. Sometime after the TET offensive of 1968 had ended, one news story should have effectively squashed for all time the notions of reforming the committed landlords in Saigon. On November 21, 1968 the New York Times reported that Premier Tran Van Huong had ordered troops and pacification workers to stop helping landlords collect back rents from peasants in rural areas formerly controlled by the NLF. He stated that troops should not side with landlords against peasants in disputes over the land as they had been doing. He ordered military and civilian officials in rural areas to POSTPONE the collection of debts and taxes UNTIL THE SITUATION STABILIZED—i.e., until the enormous gains made by the NLF during TET had been reversed. The implications of the statement, however, were missed by certain parties.

American officials, in November, 1968, twelve years after the first land reform bill was passed by the Saigon government, were reported to be "pleased" by the move, commenting that the action would help the new intensified pacification effort.

By January, 1968, an increasing paralysis had set in on the peasant-based army. Official desertion figures confirmed this. 50,000 men had deserted in 1964; 113,000 in 1965; 116,000 in 1966; and 10,000 to 12,000 men a month were reported deserting in 1967 at the end of the year. This would have added up to a total of 120,000 to 140,000 men. The 1967 statistics were never released, and no annual statistics have been issued since.

On the other hand, the NLF had continued to grow in the South. Recruiting at 12,000-15,000 men a month, it had built up its armed strength from about 180,000 at the end of 1965 to about 300,000 at the end of 1967. This excluded the 60,000 North Vietnamese troops the Pentagon estimated were in the South. At the same time, NLF desertions for 1965 were 11,000 and 20,000 each for 1966 and 1967, according to Pentagon figures, which the New York Times asserted were inflated.

All these facts weighed heavily on the Pentagon as they faced the new year of 1968 and the necessity for a new strategy.

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The world, however, never had a chance to see what the Joint Chiefs and General Westmoreland might have been planning. On January 21, 1968, the siege of Khe Sanh opened up. It followed three weeks of non-stop attacks around the country. Then, on the night of January 30, 1968, a nationwide attack, whose intensity and total surprise can only be equalled by one of the major offensives of World War II, was launched. The TET offensive—which was to last from February through June, had begun.

The TET offensive of Jan. 30, 1968 was a simultaneous attack on more than 120 separate targets throughout South Vietnam. Attacks were launched on 30 of 44 provincial capitals. The assaults on Saigon and Hue received the most coverage, even though many of the others lasted several days. The first battle for Saigon lasted over three weeks until February 23. The NLF forces in Hue did not slip out of the Hue citadel until Feb. 24. Single sites were attacked in a variety of ways. In Saigon there was a three-pronged assault: simultaneous attacks on the Presidential palace, the radio center, and the U.S. Embassy; a peaceful occupation of the entire working class area of the city; and attacks on Tan Son Nhut airport, its sur-

pose of the assault was the capture of Saigon, the destruction of the Saigon army, and the sparking of a nationwide rising in all the urban areas. In *Visions of Victory*, a monograph published by the Hoover Institute on War, Revolution and Peace, Patrick McGarvey, a research staff member for the U.S. Vietnam Mission to Paris, uses a number of key translations of articles and broadcasts from the NLF and DRV armed forces in conjunction with other military information to reconstruct both the goals and nature of the TET offensive.

First, the major goals of TET were quite specific and were accomplished: the key goal was the destruction of the Pacification Program. In addition, the NLF carried out its other goals of wrecking the Saigon administrative apparatus and demonstrating that Saigon did not have control over any part of the South in any meaningful sense of the term.

Keesing's summed up the rural situation on May 18, 1968: "All reports confirmed that the offensive, by diverting U.S. and Government troops from the rural areas to the towns, had given the Viet Cong control of very large areas of the countryside and that the Government's pacification program had virtually collapsed. (Specific details follow)...Independent observers here agree with the NLF claim that the area now controlled by the enemy has been, and is being, reduced to a number of district capitals and towns, and includes only a small portion of the countryside."

The most important aspect about TET, however, was not the physical offensive itself, nor the goals it was able to achieve. The importance of TET was what it represented. As McGarvey states, though General Giap, the hero of Dien Bien Phu, and the North Vietnamese were involved in the planning and execution of the offensive, the main credit for the success of TET must be assigned to the NLF. TET demonstrated both the strength of the NLF and the totality of the support of the SOUTH Vietnamese population for it. While the overall strategy was worked out centrally, the specific details of the assault were worked out locally. Planning had started in the summer of 1967. INCREDIBLY, INCOMPARISON TO SIMILAR SITUATIONS ON THE ALLIED SIDE, NOT A SINGLE MAJOR DETAIL OF THE ASSAULT LEAKED OUT DURING THE SIX MONTHS BEFORE IT WAS EXECUTED. The thoroughness and imagination of separate attacks further demonstrated the strength of local leadership. Finally, an equally important fact was that MANY ATTACKS WERE LAUNCHED FROM, AND THROUGH, VILLAGES AND URBAN AREAS CONSIDERED TO BE THE SAFEST AND MOST CONTROLLED IN VIETNAM, WITHOUT A SINGLE ONE BEING BETRAYED TO THE AUTHORITIES.

This analysis of the war and TET concludes with a reference to MAP IV, which this author believes conservatively portrays the situation in Vietnam at present. The basis for the Map is a Dec. 31, 1967 Hamlet Evaluation System Map prepared by the U.S. Pacification Program and released by Senator Clark in February, 1968. Working from it, and using over thirty articles in Feer, as well as Keesing's and the New York Times, I attempted to portray the situation as it existed AFTER the conflict had settled down into the relative calm of the last year. The map speaks for itself.

CONCLUSION: THE COLLAPSE OF THE HOUSE OF CARDS

The events of early 1970 represent the climax of a series of individual decisions pursued in fulfillment of a more general plan. Using the preceding five years as a base for analysis, one can build upon the detailed histories of the Laotian crises and the Vietnam war, construct both a tentative explanation for the coup and an outline of a scenario of what might come.

First, all the threads must be tied together.

Vietnam after TET has been a nightmare for the U.S. high command. As pointed out earlier, there have been no U.S. statistics issued since the end of 1967 on the state of pacification. There is no comment when Saigon claims control over 97 per cent of the population. Statistics on desertions from Saigon and the NLF have not appeared since the end of TET. At that time, it was admitted that desertion of Saigon forces had gone up by 40 per cent in the first four months of 1968, and that NLF desertion had gone down by 75 per cent. Those who thought things were just temporary were caught short by the additional figures which showed that NLF statistics had been declining for several months prior to the offensive.

The military junta in Saigon has maintained itself only through the complete suppression of constantly growing numbers of the formally uncommitted intelligentsia, middle class, and clergy who have come out for direct negotiations with the NLF and a coalition government which would include the NLF.

Keesing's documents the arrests, trials, newspaper closures and other acts the Thieu-Ky regime has had to resort to. The more recent trial of a national Assembly member for contacts with a brother in the NLF is only a lurid example.

The pro-war faction in Saigon has not been helped by the National Liberation Front. Last summer, the NLF made a concrete commitment to its previously stated goal of solving the war by creating a coalition government in which the NLF, itself a coalition, would be only one part. It announced the formation of a Provisional Revolutionary Government. The NLF was joined in this enterprise by a national organization of urban notables which had grown out of the TET offensive. Details have been kept out of the news, but in fact, the NLF has modified its bargaining position quite substantially over the last two years. It now makes it clear that all U.S. forces do not have to be withdrawn before a settlement can be reached. Its position on participation in a government has been stated. In addition it has made it clear that the Provisional Revolutionary Government, which it helped create as a sign of good faith, is only a transitional body, which would be replaced by a government chosen by an open nationwide election.

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While this was happening, the position of the Laotian government substantially changed as the process described in a previous section continued. Peter Dale Scott, documents the military and para-

"Plans for a Maginot Line on the Mekong River are no more absurd than continuing the war itself."

military activities in the New York Review of Books and Ramparts magazine. Feer verified his description of the deliberate destruction of the true neutralists in the interest of creating a completely client government. A client regime was needed, after 1965, so that a forward beach head for air activity against North Vietnam and the Laotian Vietnamese border areas could be maintained.

A sign of the destruction of the bases for a neutral Laos was the flight of Captain Kong Le, who in 1960 had saved the neutral regime, first to Europe, and then to Hong Kong, where he presently is in exile. As he left, he stated quite clearly that the U.S. government, in conjunction with the rightists, had eaten out the neutralist military forces.

The collapse in Laos might have been written off but for the emergence of a genuine indigenous guerilla movement in Thailand. It is not possible here to detail the causes and history of the growth of the Thai guerilla movement, but a few facts are necessary for comprehension of the possible cause of Sihanouk's downfall.

At present, three separate movements are operating on Thai soil. The oldest is a revived guerilla movement in Southern Thailand near the Malaysian border. As Map II shows, one major cause of it is the existence of 800,000 neglected Malays who have been looking across the border at their much more prosperous kinsmen. An additional factor in their growth is a reformed Malaysian Communist Party which had been based mainly in the Chinese community that lives in the border areas and along the Western coast. The Chinese Communists, once somewhat ethno-centric, have developed a new approach in the spirit of a multi-racial movement.

The problems of the Northeast were described earlier. Roots of the Northeast guerilla movement lie in the 1940's and 1950's. The organizers were disillusioned Lao-Thai who had worked with Prime Minister Pridi Pranyong, the only Thai reformist ever to hold office, in futile attempts to overturn the pyramid structure of Thailand wealth and power relationships. The Northeast movement,

which has been growing since 1962-63, has most recently been joined in disgruntled Meo hill tribesmen in Northern Thailand. Though their total numbers are small—they have caused much trouble for Bangkok, all the more so after it instituted a napalm, bombing and forced resettlement campaign.

This, then, was the situation as Cambodia suddenly burst into the news.

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Though hard information is scarce, a tentative history can be constructed. First Cambodia has been run as a benevolent but autocratic monarchy. Prince Sihanouk's major positive actions have been to keep Cambodia in one piece and to keep a violent war from spreading across his border. He faced a bad social landscape. Five million ethnic Cambodians (the Khmer people) faced about 300,000 Vietnamese, 500,000 Chinese, and a tiny, urban-oriented, educated Cambodian elite in an ever increasingly poor position. The little development money that came into the country went into a few prestigious projects—a "Freedom Highway," a new port, a dam, and some factories. Little money reached the village for needed local projects. The control of all internal trade by the Chinese middlemen has continued. At the same time, the elite in the capital has grown increasingly out of touch with the villages. The Prince himself was the only high official even to show an interest in the welfare of the villagers. He organized a twice a year peasant congress which ostensibly allowed the villagers to voice grievances and share ideas.

The prince, far more than anyone realized until the coup, was sitting on a tinder box. In return for allowing the NLF sanctuary, he had gotten two benefits. First, the guarantee of Cambodia's present borders by the NLF, something which Saigon and Thailand have both refused to do. Secondly, a tacit understanding the NLF would not interfere in Cambodia's internal affairs. This meant not only a complete lack of incidents in terms of bothering Cambodian officials, but secondly, not giving any help to the small but genuinely ethnic Cambodian Communist Party, which had been slowly growing in response to the general stagnation in rural areas.

On the other hand, the capital was occupied by a small younger generation Western educated elite, who have harbored memories of the later fifties and early sixties when their prestige and income grew as they became involved in comparatively small but important U.S. military and economic aid projects. It was known before the coup, for example, that General Lon Nol had hoped for a long time for a resumption of U.S. military aid.

The coup, then, has an internal base. The external factor can only be conjectured at this point. Reviewing all the developments this article has tried to bring out, one possibility emerges. That is quite simply that the coup in Cambodia might very well be a preparatory move to fall back to a new battle line which would follow the Mekong River down from its border in China to the Sea.

The original Maginot line was built by the French to keep a German invasion force out. The idea was picked up by Secretary of Defense McNamara in 1966 as a possible way of stopping infiltration from North Vietnam. It was eventually abandoned for both technical, military, and political reasons. Quite simply, a line, in order to have worked, would have had to run across the Laotian border to the Mekong, cutting Laos in half. The U.S. did not want to admit that northern Laos was lost. In addition the line faced another problem—the Pathet Laos in southern Laos and the NLF. A concept was being applied to an irrelevant situation.

Perhaps, however, Washington has decided that writing off Laos and most of South Vietnam would give the military a manageable area to work on. The governments in Saigon, Phnom Penh and Bangkok would then have to contend only with the small Thai and Cambodian guerilla movements and half of the NLF—assuming, of course, a line could be built. Obviously such a plan assumed the cooperation of the Cambodian government. At any rate, it seems to be the only explanation for the U.S. support of the coup that has basis in overall U.S. strategies on the peninsula. And if it seems a bit bizarre, then one can always refer to the irrationality of the continued U.S. military presence in Vietnam and the Indo-China Peninsula.

Whatever the most immediate cause of the coup turns out to be, the implications of the previous information are clear. The reader must face up to the fact that the government in Washington has not been representing anything which can correspond to the interests of the average citizen. The war in IndoChina must be stopped now.

Housing Committee Tables MTU Appeal

By ELAINE COHEN
Cardinal Staff Writer

The Madison Campus Committee on Student Housing Thursday deferred to a later meeting a decision on a Madison Tenant Union (MTU) request to remove the properties of Philip Engen and James Devine, Sr. from University housing lists.

The tenant union has been conducting a rent strike against Engen since February and a boycott of both landlords' buildings.

The committee, which includes faculty, students and administrators, tabled the MTU appeal, probably until next Thursday, because of a lack of time to discuss the issue.

The tenant union demand was based on the contention that both Engen and Devine are renting out their buildings under unsatisfactory conditions.

Kannel explained that Devine Towers, a new highrise apartment being completed at 626 Langdon St., has no parking space and very

little open space. What open space there is, he said, is not available for tenants' use, aside from a rooftop sundeck.

The new apartment house, opening in September, is being built under a special ordinance which allows higher density and less open space. Rents will vary from \$225 to \$285 per month, with nine months' rent due before occupancy in September.

Kannel told the committee that

since the beginning of the boycott, which he described as successful, Devine has refused to bargain with the MTU, or even communicate with them by telephone.

In regard to the Engen buildings, Kannel explained that the landlord's tenants can only lease for 12 months, with rent paid in four installments. He also charged Engen with a number of his tenants' grievances on the MTU files.

Director of Student Housing New-

ell Smith, however, is expected to advise the committee against dropping the two owners from his office's lists.

In a letter to the tenant union, Smith stated that the MTU claims do not constitute adequate criteria for such action. The only conditions presently required for listing are non-discrimination and certain physical facilities.

MTU chances for withdrawing

Engen's and Devine's listings, however, could change if the committee adopts an added criterion currently under consideration.

The new stipulation would add "discretionary factors," including "integrity of operation, general satisfaction by former tenants, appropriateness of shared facilities, reasonableness of lease arrangements and other pertinent factors."

Cardinal Staff Meeting Sunday 4 P.M. in the Union

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Drastically Reduced

Summer prices, starting at \$40 mo. Also renting for Fall

ACT NOW!

PROPERTY MANAGERS

505 State St.

257-4283

SUM. SUB. 1 to shr w 3, 4 bdrm. W Gilman. Cheap. 255-7819. 10x21

SUM SUB, for 3 brand new apt. Air cond, ex loc. 251-2251. 8x18

SUM SUB on campus. Nice furn. Pref. couple. \$300—best offer. 256-3616 12x24

SUM 2 to share w 1. Own bdrms. 133 E. Gorham, air cond. 255-6110. 20x6

SUM SUBLET 133 E Gorham. 3 bdrm, air cond. 255-6110. 20x6

SUBLET new 3 bdrm, June 1, dishwasher, air-cond, 3 mos. lease, spacious. \$195, 257-1159. 7x18

SUM SUB — 4 bdrm apt. Air cond W Gilman, 251-2835. \$75 ea. Neg. 10x22

SUM SUB for 3 or 4, 3 bdrms. Great loc. 256-6966. 6x17

THE CARROLLON

620 North Carroll Street

257-3736

1 bedroom apartments

for 2 or 3 persons

Renting for fall 1970

Model apartment open xxx

SUMMER LARGE apt for 2-3. W. Doty. 256-3283. 14x30

SUM apt for 3. Close to campus, \$125 ea. Jun 16-Aug 31, 1910 Birge Terrace apt 3, 233-9459. 3x11

SUM SUB, perf loc, 3-4, furn., air-cond. Call 257-7874. 8x22

GIRL to share house on lake with 3. Own room. Great location. 255-0468. 8x22

Pad Ads . . .

SUB-HOUSE 3 bd 1 1/2 baths, gar utl. pd. Campus. Rent neg. Girls. 255-4174. 6x18

OWN ROOM in huge house for summer. Quiet neighborhood, backyard, comfort (dishwasher) See at 1713 Chadbourne Ave. near stadium. \$55 mo. 238-3562 10x24

SUMMER SUB on Square. 262-6688. 262-6690. 6x21

1-2 MEN: Start Sept. Share w 2, two bedroom house, \$160 mo. Chris 255-7629. 5x18

CAMP-CEN-SO. May 1st, sum, fall, 3,2,1 bed, eff & rooms. 222-9798. 10x25

SUMMER w OPTION for fall. Effic. apt 1 blk from campus. 2 females or married couple. Carpet. Air Cond. Reasonable. Phone 251-2813 after 5 pm. 6x21

FRIENDS & OTHERS interested in co-op living call 255-4655. Openings for summer & fall. 5x18

SUM BEAUT. need 2 girl to shr 4 bdrm apt, 615 N Henry No. 1. 255-9954. 6x21

SUM SUBLET—1 bedroom apt. air cond. 256-6314 anytime. 6x21

SUM SUBLET 3-4 mod furn dw air cond, campus, hosp. 231-1583. 5x18

STADIUM AREA—furn studio, 1-2 bdrm apts. Yrly. June lease. Call after 6 pm. 233-3570. 15xM2

LANGDON AREA—furn. 1-4 persons sum or fall. Lge rms. Call after 6 pm. 233-3570. 15xM2

S PARK SUBLET—June 1 to Aug 31. Furn, 1 bdrm, air, pool, bus. 262-1057, 256-7895. 6x21

4 CHICKS. Sum. sub. Screened porch. Good loc. 256-3427. 5x18

SUM. SUB. for 2. Perfect loc. 445 W. Gilman 255-7375. 11x29

SUM SUB 2 bdrm mod kitch air cond carpeted 4 or more. Lg bath furnished. Call 262-7184. 5x21

SUM SUB. furn, 1 bdrm apt. 1 East Gilman 2 bldks from lake & park. 255-2397. 7x23

SUM SUB N Henry nr lake. 1-2 girls best offer. 256-4940. 6x22

THREE GIRL apt. avail. for summer. Large, furn., fine loc., parking. Negotiate? 255-9001. 5x21

SUM SUB. female eff, living-kitchen comb. Private bath. Newly remodeled. Chandelier. Classic old house. 1/2 blk. to beach. \$115 mo. Util. incl. 104 E. Gilman. 251-0691. 4x18

SUM SUB 3 bdrm apt for 3-4. Near campus, free parking, sun-deck. Cheap. Call 256-0962. 7x23

SUM SUB 3 or 4, 2 bdrm. Good location. Negotiable. 251-2460. 7x23

SUM APT for 3 \$125 ea Jun 16 to Aug. 31. 1910 Birge Tr 233-9459. 3x18

SUM. SUB 1 girl to share with 1. Large apt. Free parking. Univ. Ave. \$55 mo. 231-3036, or 238-4736. 4x18

SUM SUB 4 bdrm flat near hosp. Large living area 255-9857. 10x28

SUM SUB Girl to share house w 1. Own room. 10 mins west. Pets. 233-7256 or 262-1728. 4x18

SUMMER SUB Modern studio apt. For one or a couple. Air cond, carpeted roomy very close to campus reasonable 255-1345. 12x30

SUM SUB Large apt. for 3. \$36 a month each 256-7993. 6x22

SUM SUB UW-Vilas area up to four girls \$50 month. 256-8611. 6x22

SUM SUBLET 3-4 girls \$65 ea. Util incl. Call 256-2831 eve. 4x18

SUMMER 2-3 close to campus. Cheap 238-1631 utilities inc. 6x22

SUM SUB. 3 bdrms for 4. Stadium. \$45 mo. inc util. 257-6497, 255-0712, 255-5747 aft 6. 6x23

SUM SUBLET: Lg. 1 bdrm. near stores and laundry. Free parking. Cheap. 255-5747 aft 6. 5x23

GRD CPL wants 1 bdrm house frnshd or un strng June or Sept. 262-1472 8-10 pm, gd ref. 4x22

SUM SUB. 1 bdrm apt air cond. Near campus. 231-2773. 5x23

SUM SUB State St., 1-2 people. New furn, skylight, parking, option for fall. 251-1645. 4x22

FRIENDS CAMPUS CENTER, 437 W Johnson, a co-ed co-op has openings for summer (\$10 wk) and fall (\$540 for 9 1/2 mos). Call Gandalf at 251-0156 for more information on community living at F.C.C. 3x21

Pad Ads . . .

SUM SUB modern apt 1 girl to share with 1 State & Johnson air cond 257-2768 eve rush! 7x25

SUM SUB and-or fall for 3. 1010 Vilas 256-6171 or come. 10x30

MEN: Very lg room. Great loc., avail now. 60 mo. 256-0095. 5x23

SUM SUB beaut. large 3 bed apt. Dishwasher, yard, great loc. 407 W. Johnson. Call 251-0090. 5x23

CAMPUS SUB now studio apt for 1. Quiet fem grad stud or sr. \$100 mo utils incl. 255-9254. 2x18

SUM SUB 1 bdrm. furn. for 2. 215 N. Frances, air cond. \$400 for sum. 255-4159. 6x24

SUM SUB new 1 large bdrm, carpet. 2 air cond. \$160 mo. 215 N. Frances 257-7080. 6x24

SUM SUB. furn. lg 4 bdrm, air cond. \$250. 256-3397. 6x24

SUM SUB large apt. Hawthorne Ct. 1 single, 1 double. 255-0491. 4x22

SUMMER SUB apt for 4. \$160 mo. Ideal location across from Painsans. 262-8436, 262-8553. 4x22

University Courts

2302 University Avenue

238-8966

Efficiency, 1 and 2 Bedroom

Furnished Apts.

● All utilities included

● Air conditioned

● Mediterranean Decor

● Dishwashers

● Heated indoor pool

● 2 Bedroom Apts. with 2 entries and 2 full baths

MODEL APARTMENT OPEN EVERY AFTERNOON

xxx

SUM SUB 1-2 fem huge mod apt exc loc price negot 255-7926. 6x23

SUM SUB 2 bdrm for 3. Camp Randall area. 257-9710. 5x22

SUM SUB for 2: 1 bdrm lvng rm kitch 419 Pinckney 255-8685. 6x23

HENRY GILMAN apt to sublet for summer. 1 bdrm pool air cond apt 512, 251-1600. 10x29

HOUSE available 238-7957. 8x25

1 BDRM furn W Beltline ac pool \$250 for 6/10-8/31, 271-3012. 5x22

SUM SUB 1-4 girls. Spacious fantastic loc. Util incl. \$56. Debby or Ronda. 256-6796. 15x6

SUM SUB for 2-3 near Vilas Park! Reduced. 255-5273. 10x29

SUM SUB for 2 girls. Pkg \$55 mo. 15 min to campus. 255-1309. 5x22

SUM SUB. 4 bdrm apt. 4-6 per. W. Gilman. Call us 255-2724. 7x24

SPAC SUMMER apt for 2 girls. State St—Nadine at 256-8709. 5x22

SUM SUB large, 2 bath, 3-5 girls, ex loca, N Henry 1/2 block from lake, 251-1307. 12x1

SUMMER SUBLET! 4 bdrms; 2 bath; 4-6 people; near lake, on campus. 621 N Henry. Call 255-2611. 1x18

SUM SUB for 4 255-0601 Vilas 5x24

WANTED 2 girls to share house by Vilas Pk. w 2. Own bdrms sum & or longer. Call 257-1939 4x23

SUM SUB spacious apt huge living rm fireplace 3 bedrooms garage 1 1/2 mi from campus 135 also fall if desired 255-7580. 3x22

141 W GILMAN 4 bdrm luxurious apart to sublet for summer carpeted air cond, want 3 or 4 girls to share w other girl. Call 251-2951, 256-6598. 6x25

SUNNY SUMMER sublet for girls 3 bedroom apt facing JM park & lake 255-2567. 4x23

CAMPUS sum & fall girls grad stu. Lge 3 bed apt 846-3354. 10x1

SUM SUB 1 to shr w 2 or 3. Hawthorne Ct. Large 3 bdrm, parking Call 255-2177. 4x23

ROOMS. Kit priv. Clean Fall, summer rates. Parking. Near stadium. 231-2929, 257-9358. xxx

SUM OR FALL. Newly furnished large 1 bdrm for 3, Birge Terr, \$60 ea. Huge 3 bdrm, formal dining, for 5 or 6. 1805 Univ. \$350.00. Sum apts reduced. Call Ed Markwardt 231-1466, 255-8358. xxx

GIRLS why not live at Conklin House this summer? Kitch priv 255-8216, 222-2724. 4x23

NEAR CAM. 2 pleas spac apts. Non-smokers. 256-8250. 2x21

SUM SUBLET—Great loc. Big 1 br for 2. Liv-din room, 2 air cond. Will bargain. 255-7450. 4x23

Pad Ads . . .

IMMED Apr-June space for guy or chick State—1 blk fr campus, or Doty St. (large house own rm) Must sublet, will take loss. 256-7542, Larry, May. 6x25

SUM SUB—Lg 2 bdrm. Lake Shore apt for 3 or 4. Living rm, fireplace, kitchen, dishwasher. Ideal for summer. 257-4156. 5x24

For Sale . . .

STUDENT furniture reasonable. Sally 249-0556, 849-4690. 16x28

WHY PAY rent? Used mobile home. Leaving in spring. 221-1294. 6x18

RECTILINEAR III speakers—new \$600. asking \$375. 256-0871. 6x21

NEW MIRACORD Turntable. Cost \$150. asking \$90. 256-0871. 6x21

PONCHOS: ONE of a kind hand woven woolen \$35. After 7 pm except Thursdays Sat-Sun near square. 255-8137. 5x18

DRUM SET, good condition, must sell. Also 80 watt stereo with am-fm tuner. Call 233-8641. 4x22

AMPEX 350 recorder with custom 354 electronics. Brand new heads. \$1100 Stoughton Cable Television 873-6692. 5x23

1920's THEATRICAL costumes. New paperback books. 1/2 price. Open Sun. Topaz, 124 N. Carroll 2x18

MONTH old cassette tape recorder. Hardly used. \$55 or best offer. Call Diane 262-7070. 4x23

SONY TC-200 stereo taperecorder Excellent cond. 255-8474. 4x23

xxx

Wheels . . . For Sale

65 SPRITE. Need bigger car. 238-9931. 6x17

50cc Cycle 256-5338. 5x16

HONDA 350 mint cond. 255-2491. 6x18

1967 OPEL great cond. Will sacrifice. \$800. Call 255-1521. 10x25

CHOPPER — Too much to describe. Must see. \$1,450. 238-3562. 6x18

61 PLYMOUTH Fury V8, very good running condition. Automatic, power steering, brakes, new starter, rebuilt radiator, new pushbotons, \$190 or best offer. 233-0147 after 5 pm. 7x23

68 SUZUKI 200 cc 3000 MI. Call Barry 255-1844 or 233-7507. 5x21

1968 HONDA 50 less than 1,000 miles used 1 sum. Call 262-3353 only 130. Elec. satrter. 5x21

WHEELS—1959 Tr3 mechanically sound 2 tops John 257-9888. 5x21

1964 MGB, red, new tires, good condition, Byran, 251-2736. Brand new snow tires too. 4x21

63 RED CORVAIR convertible. Good shape. 255-3209. 6x24

57 HARLEY 165 cc, Good shape. \$110, 257-7085. 4x22

YAMAHA 1967 250 cc. Runs perfect. 256-3663 Bob Brannan. 4x22

COUGAR Xr7 1969 351 cu, 4 v, 4 on floor. \$2900, must sell. 221-0449 after 9 pm. 2x18

FIAT 69 850 Spyder. Excellent condition, extras. 256-8872. 2x18

66 VW Microbus—Camper, 29,500 miles. Steve 257-1340. 6x25

'63 PONT. Lemans 326 cu in V8. Excellent con. 2 new tires Huerst linkage \$350. 255-8365. 4x23

'66 SUZUKI 250-T10 7500 mi. Good condition excellent campus bike 233-2269 Larry. 4x23

1968 BSA 250cc hardly used. Reasonable extras. Call 255-8564 after 7:00. 4x23

xxx

Help Wanted . . .

MEAL jobs: Applications for spring & summer are being accepted at Lowell Hall kitchen. Apply in person 5-6 pm. Use Mendota Ct. entrance. xxx

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Campus News Briefs

W.A.M.

A Women's Action Movement banner will be held in the March Against the War parade. If you want to walk with them be there at Library Mall at 12 noon. After the march, at 4:30, a workshop will be held on the impact of the war on women at the Catholic Center.

PROJECT UNDERSTANDING

Guest speaker at the Project Understanding dinner tonight at 6:30 in Bethel Lutheran Church, 312 Wisconsin Avenue, will be Robert Clark, Mississippi legislator. Clark is the highest black office holder in the state of Mississippi.

Addendum

Yesterday's chart of Wisconsin's war industries omitted one contract for 2.75 rocket fuze parts awarded in 1969 to the Gibbs Manufacturing and Research Corporation of Janesville. Amounting to \$1,985,400, the contract brings the total of Wisconsin Army war business for the past two years to \$300,171,121.

An updated and expanded charting of Wisconsin war production will be published in an upcoming special supplement on Wisconsin corporations written by contributing editor James Rowen.

Mississippi. Tickets are \$4 and may be obtained by calling 233-0352. Project Understanding is an exchange program with Mississippi blacks so that black children may spend some summer weeks in Madison.

FOLK MUSIC

Janis Rothbard and David Montgomery will provide folk music at the Union Social Committee's Stifskellar coffeehouse, tonight from 9-midnight.

THE HOMECOMING

Tryouts for the Madison Civic Repertory production of Harold Pinter's "The Homecoming," will be held today and Sunday at Edge-wood College, Room 104, De Ricci Hall, from 2-5 p.m. The play calls for three men for the 25-35 age playing range and two men in the 55-65 range.

CARPENTERS!

The Hoofers' E-Day Project needs carpenters to construct a lakeshore deck, today and Monday. Go to Hoofers' boathouse.

NAT TURNER

Prof. Joel Roach will discuss William Styron's "The Confessions of Nat Turner," Sunday at 8 p.m. in the Round Table Room of the Union Free refreshments.

POLLUTION TALK

In the Hoofers' pollution series on state and local problems, Prof. Doug Vanggen will speak on "Shoreland Zoning" at 8 p.m. Sunday

night in the Union's 12th Night Room.

WSA CANDIDATES

WSIM, the campus radio station, will feature the four candidates for WSA president, Sunday night at 9 p.m.

JAZZ GROUP

The Tremper Choir from Kenosha will present two programs on Sunday. A "Jazz Mass" will be presented at 11 a.m. at the United Methodist Church, 1127 University. A concert will be presented by the group at 3 p.m. in Mills Auditorium of Humanities.

TOWNS OF EUROPE

N.W. Sample, a Madison architect, will give an illustrated lecture on "The New Towns of Europe and Russia," Sunday at 9:30 a.m. in the Assembly Room of Luther Memorial Church, 1021 University

E-DAY SERVICE

An E-Day service will be held at 10 a.m. Sunday in the Calvary United Methodist Church, 633 West Badger Road. Mrs. Elspeth Taylore, Assistant Administrative Director of the Man-Environment Communications Center, will be a member of a panel exploring ways to cope with population problems.

POPULATION PROBLEM

In observance of E-Sunday, a discussion of the population problem will be presented Sunday morning at 9:30 in the First Congre-

gational Church dining room. Guest speakers will be David Parkhurst, professional plant ecologist who teaches in the Botany Department and David L. Brown, sociology instructor at Carroll College. Parkhurst is a member of Zero Population Growth and Brown belongs to Concerned Demographers a group advocating a humanistic approach to population control.

WHOOPIING CRANE
Whatever Happened to the Whooping Crane will be produced in Madison during May by the newly formed Good Earth Players Group. The play satirically examines a battle between an ecologist and the industrial-advertising complex. The group is anxious to involve persons of all ages and talents. Contact Carl Riemer at 255-3974.

ENJOY THE LONG HOT SUMMER
IN YOUR OWN AIR CONDITIONED
SINGLE OR APARTMENT

- SWIMMING POOL
- SUN DECK
- CARPETED
- LOUNGE

- NOW RENTING FOR SUMMER & FALL
- REDUCED SUMMER RATES, FROM \$40 PER MONTH

THE SAXONY APARTMENTS

305 N. FRANCES
255-9542 OR 257-4283

MOVIE TIME

A Madison Premiere



TODAY THRU SUNDAY

CONTINUOUS FROM NOON

ADMISSION 78c

UNION PLAY CIRCLE

Sponsored by Union Film Committee

ANNOUNCING
a play
mixed full of pleasant mirth
containing the Story
of



TROILUS and CRESSIDA
by Wm. Shakespeare
done by a troupe of players
with direction by Joel Gersmann
at BROOM STREET THEATRE
West Johnson no. 152
April 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19
8 P.M. all invited

IT'S HERE FRIDAY and SATURDAY THE GLASS COW



THE
RED SHED

406 N. FRANCES

(NO COVER)

Luncheons—Live Music, Wednesday thru Saturday

Open 11 a.m. Weekdays
Sundays at 5 p.m.

GRADUATING STUDENT NURSES

If you are interested in:

- a dynamic, teaching, and research hospital
- model city projects
- community involvement

Stop in and see:

MRS. CAROL OSTROW!

Interviews will be conducted

TUESDAY, APRIL 21-9 A.M.-4 P.M.

in: Career Advising and

Placement Services

Bascom Hall

Mount Sinai Hospital

2215 Park Ave.

Minneapolis, Minn. 55404

ALBERT KING

IN CONCERT AT

DEWEY'S

437 W. Gilman

ONE NIGHT ONLY

Tomorrow Night 8:30 - 12:30

ALSO APPEARING

**MILWAUKEE'S
SHORT STUFF**

**\$3.00 PER PERSON
TICKETS NOW ON SALE
At The Following Locations:**

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DEWEY'S 437 W. Gilman