



# **The daily cardinal. Vol. LXXIX, No. 147 June 20, 1969**

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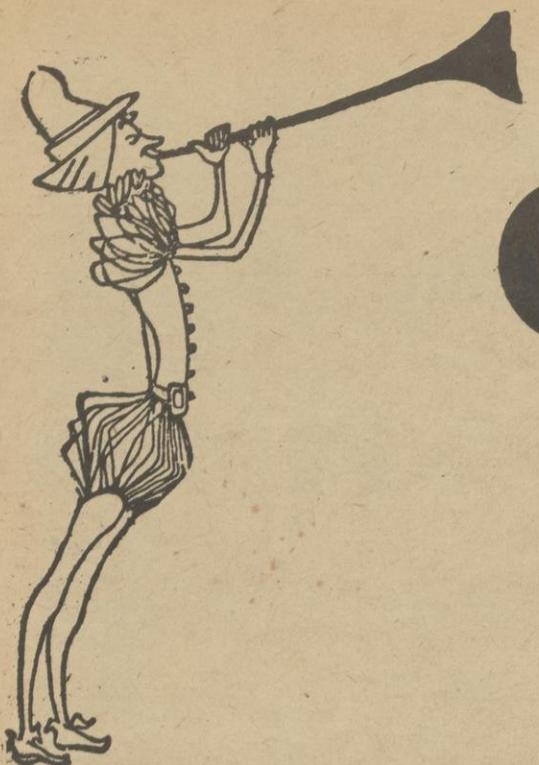
Section I

The Daily Cardinal Summer Registration Issue



2—Summer Registration

Friday, June 20, 1969



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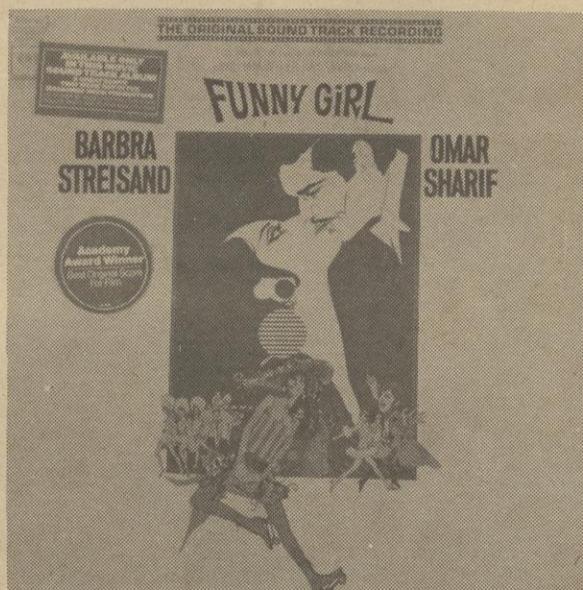
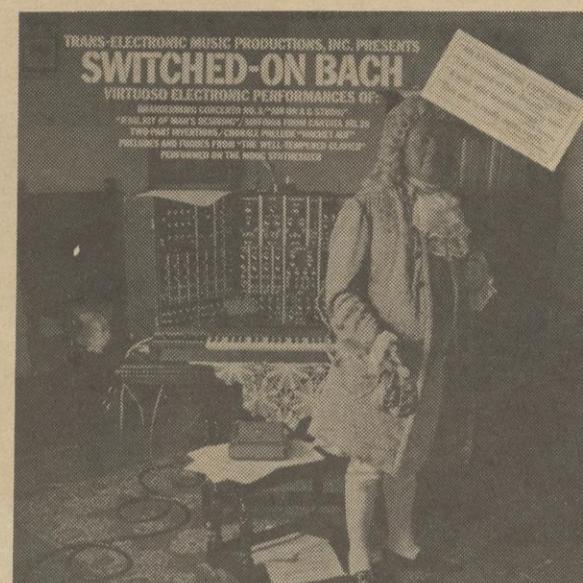
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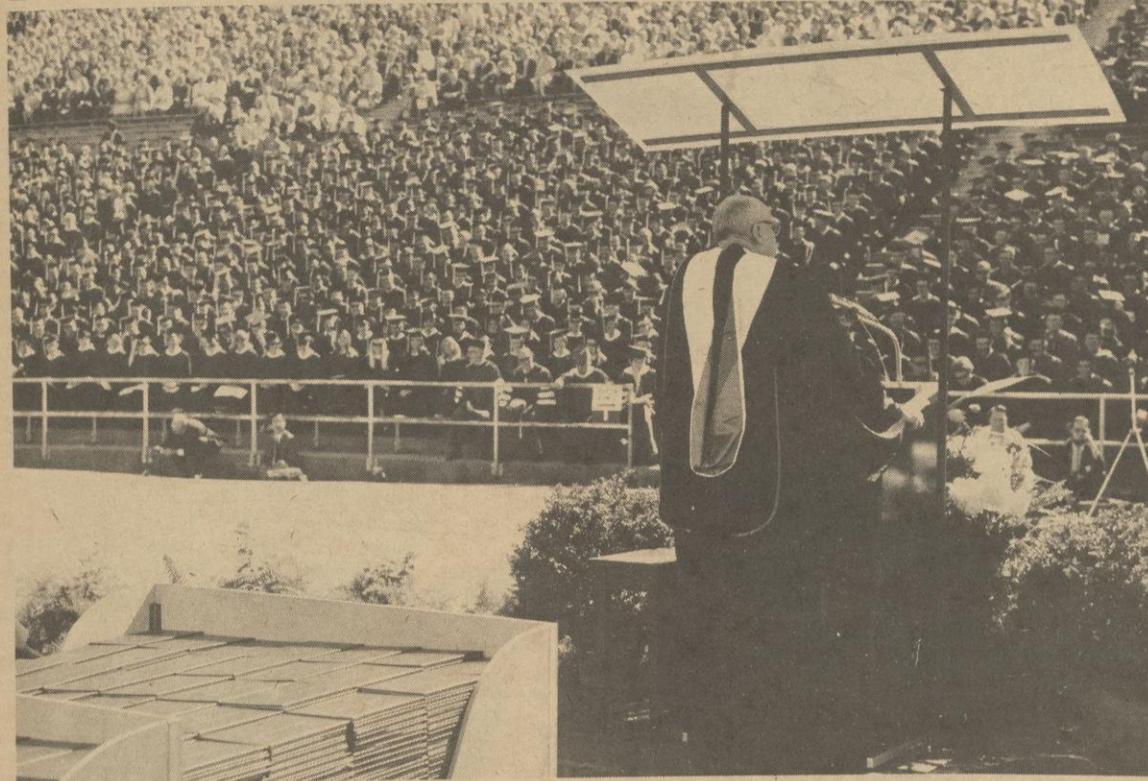


# The Daily Cardinal

VOL. LXXIX, No. 147

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin 53706. Friday, June 20, 1969

FREE COPY



About 4300 students—the largest graduating class in University of Wisconsin history—received their academic degrees in a colorful ceremony at the 116th spring commencement of the Madison campus

Monday. This photo from the commencement platform was taken as University Pres. Fred Harvey Harrington gave his charge to the graduates.

## Regents Recommend Return of Coed Hours

By GENE WELLS  
of the Cardinal Staff

Reinstatement of women's hours for freshmen this fall was unanimously recommended by a regent committee June 13 and final action is expected July 25 in Sheboygan.

The recommendations would require all unmarried students under 21 to live in supervised housing unless excused by parental consent. They also would forbid visitation in some supervised units and require parental permission to live in a unit with visitation. Where allowed, visitation between sexes in student rooms would be limited to Friday, Saturday and Sunday between noon and 11 p.m.

The hours restrictions would apply to freshman women under 21 living in supervised housing. Hours would be midnight on week-

days and 2 a.m. on Fridays, Saturdays, and days preceding holidays. Both limits are one hour later than the limits in effect when hours were abolished by the board last year. Freshmen living in unsupervised housing with parental consent would not have hours.

At least two regents have changed their positions since abolition of hours was approved last year with Regents Walter Renk, Sun Prairie, and Maurice Pasch, Madison, dissenting.

Gordon Walker, Racine, said he would vote for the recommendations if they were acted on but supported a one-month delay requested by Pres. Fred Harrington.

Bernard Ziegler, West Bend, said his change of position was due to changes both in the students and in the campus environment.

He said freshman coeds entering this fall do not have the same emotional makeup as those entering two years ago and also noted that this is a time of crisis and violence and that the campus is not as quiet as it used to be.

What appeared to be a major showdown between the administration and conservative regents was averted when Harrington assured the board that the decision could be delayed for a month and still take effect this fall.

Renk said he was told that the change could not go into effect in the fall of 1969 unless approved at the June meeting. Harrington noted that administration proposals which meet opposition from some regents are usually delayed and suggested that the board should extend the same courtesy to the administration.

Regent James Nellen, DePere, said he felt the board could act as late as August and have the change take effect in September provided that students were promptly notified by mail of the change.

Renk, chairman of the committee making the recommendation, said he had been asked to keep the recommendation confidential

(continued on page 10)

## Dyke Committee Probes Disorders

By WENDY KNOX  
Night Editor

Mayor William Dyke's appointments for the three-member Commission of Mifflin Street Disorders were approved by the City Council, despite efforts by several aldermen to alter or defeat the resolution.

Eighth ward alderman Paul Soglin protested that the commission was getting under way too late to be of any use, that the mayor had refused to discuss the appointments with him, and that the commission was too small. "This whole thing smacks of secrecy, and I don't like it," he added.

Alderman Eugene Parks (Fifth Ward) said, "We can predict that the Mifflin Street incident is not going to be dealt with," charging that the commission was created in such a way as to present a one-sided view.

Aldermen Leo Cooper (Ninth Ward) and Alicia Ashman (Tenth ward) suggested that a Mifflin resident, a student and a woman be appointed to the commission but their movements were defeated and Dyke's appointments were approved by a 15-5 vote.

\* \* \*

In the first hearing of the Mayor's Commission on the Mifflin Street Disorders June 16, testimonies concerning the events of May 3-4 showed sharp differences of opinion about what exactly happened the evening of May 3.

Seven speakers appeared, but two, Madison Police Inspector Herman Thomas and Douglas Kammer, 122 North Basset Street, a university law student, demonstrated the differing perspectives of police and students.

Thomas testified that he went to investigate a complaint of an elderly woman in the 500 block of West Mifflin of noise and "pulled

(continued on page 12)

## University Gives 5,600 Degrees To Class of '69

By JUDY SHOCKLEY  
News Editor

The largest graduating class in the 120-year history of the University, and one of the largest in the nation, received degrees last week in the June commencement exercises.

Degrees were presented to 4,200 students in Madison and about 1,400—including some who will be completing their studies in summer sessions—at Milwaukee.

About 4,000 received bachelor's degrees, nearly 1,100 master's, and about 300 Ph.D.'s, 141 law and 94 medical degrees. More than 1,200 were honored at Milwaukee and Madison for outstanding scholastic achievement and 69 ROTC graduates received their commissions in the armed forces.

Statistics were not available on how many graduates did not attend the ceremonies, but the pomp and circumstance at Camp Randall field house was performed without incident.

Crossing the platform to get their degrees were students from homes in 370 Wisconsin communities, from 62 foreign countries, and from all states except New Mexico.

The conferring of degrees brought the University's total at Madison to more than 183,000 since its first commencement in 1854.

The official graduation party included President Fred Harvey Harrington, Chancellor Edwin Young, Gov. Knowles, members of the University Board of Regents and Board of Visitors, the chaplains, vice presidents, deans and directors, Pres. Raymond E. Rowland of the University's Alumni Association, and candidates for honorary degrees and their escorts.

The ceremony, at which Chancellor Young presided, included procession of the official party, singing of the University hymn, invocation by Rabbi Richard W. Winograd of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, greetings from the state by Gov. Knowles, remarks by Regent Pres. Gelatt, charge to the graduating class by Harrington, conferring of degrees, announcement of the senior memorial by Pres. James Weingart of Shaker Heights, Ohio, alumni welcome by Pres. Rowland, singing of the national anthem, and benediction by Rev. John W. Wimberly of Christ Presbyterian Church. Music was provided by the University Concert Band.

## Honors

Presenting the senior address for the honors students was Michael D. Fullwood, senior in letters and science from Madison. He traced the involvement and exposure of his class from the freshman draft sit-in through the questioning of University and city policies to the most recent issues of ROTC, black studies, and traditional University policies of *in loco parentis*.

"No program, no policy, no heretofore cherished principle of the University of Wisconsin has remained sacrosanct, or is escaping a critical and radical re-examination," said Fullwood.

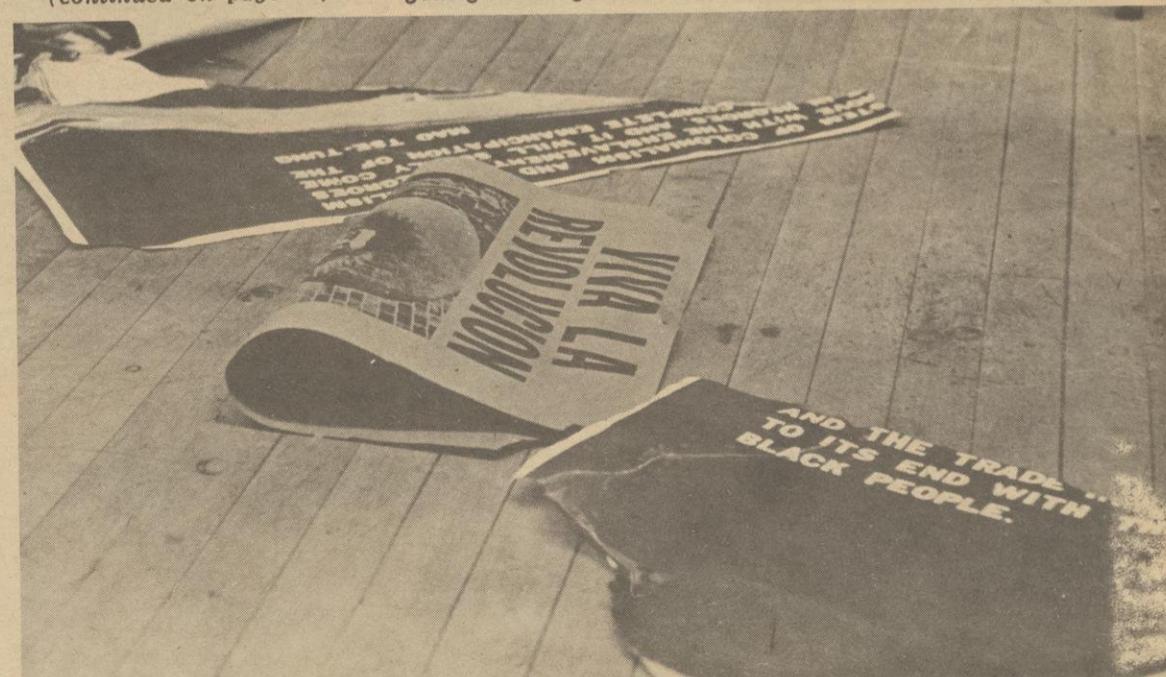
"Wisconsin is in many ways a stronger and more progressive school than it was in 1965," he said, concluding that "universities must respond with imaginative new programs to meet problems before they reach the protest level."

The main speaker at the honors convocation was Robben W. Fleming of the University of Michigan, who received his UW law degree in 1941 and his honorary Doctor of Laws degree from the University at the commencement ceremony last week.

Fleming joined the University faculty in 1947, teaching law and economics and serving as director of the Industrial Relations Center. From 1952 to 1957 he held the post of director of the University of Illinois Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations.

\* \* \*

Nearly 75 per cent of the 1969 graduates were Wisconsin residents, and statistics compiled by the university records offices showed that 60 per cent of the graduates were men, 37 per cent of whom were married. The figures also showed that men are getting their first degrees at the average age of 23 years 2 months while women are getting their degrees at 22 years 6 months.



Early Tuesday morning a secretary in King Hall gained admittance to the Land Tenure Center for foreign students, 430 King Hall, and tore political

action posters off the walls. The secretary later apologized and repaired the damage.

Mickey Pfleger

# The Daily Cardinal: Summer 1969

## The News

The Daily Cardinal will be published twice weekly during the eight week summer session. Since immediate coverage of all news will be impossible, The Cardinal will attempt to present important news in a context which will enable the reader to comprehend the news as it affects him as a student. The newspaper will need reporters interested in and capable of understanding the summer's events. Call Dennis or Allen, 262-5854

## Editorial Page

Editorial page is the Utopia, the Hell, the trust, and the mistrust which lies in the minds of people who read this paper. Having an opinion on paper is much more difficult than most people suspect. We don't publish everyone's opinion, but we are interested in it. Anyone interested who has something to say about this world, this University, and the way they affect the student—we need you this summer. If you are here, fine. Otherwise, mail it in.

## Fine Arts

Madison is a very beautiful city in the summer. This summer The Cardinal will accept anything: poetry, short stories, pictures, reviews, etc. We want to be real this summer. We want to share swimming, sunshine, and the wind which unites us to the earth, the people, and even the bad guys. Be a good guy and stop bottling up beauty inside of you. We want people to see the world on paper. Someday it will be real. Call Allen or Dennis, 262-5854

## THE DAILY CARDINAL

a page of opinion

## Happy at Having You



Mickey Pfleger

## Letters to the Editor

### Symbiotic Relationships

#### To the Editor:

The path that trails the shoreline behind the University buildings provides this campus with a natural glen that must be unparalleled for sheer beauty among the institutions with which Wisconsin is frequently compared. The deep blue of the sky gradually dissolves into the deeper blue of the lake which is perceived through the leaves from the path as a mottled mosaic of soothing colors. But for those who descend to the water's edge expecting to find a clear surface whose movement creates rippling shades of the rocks and twigs beneath, the piles of yellow-white foam drifting against the shore and the less concentrated traces of suds which blotch the surface for twenty yards out create a sudden, unanticipated sense of revulsion.

But the surface by no means belies that which lies beneath it. Nourished by the filth, a proliferating bright green vegetation all but obliterates in some areas the rocky bottom which in earlier springs was so perceptible. Without drawing immediate conclusions, one can't help but wonder about the cause of death of a large-mouthed bass who, apparently unscathed by a fisherman's hook, is floating belly-up among the bubbles. Perhaps my disgust is accentuated by the impression that somehow a symbiotic relationship should exist between a university and its natural physical environment. One is better prepared to expect destruction and pollution as the byproducts of American industry, but the contamination wrought by the urine of a university is exceedingly difficult to reconcile with its ostensible nature and goals.

Jim Lincoln  
LS-5

Welcome to summer school.

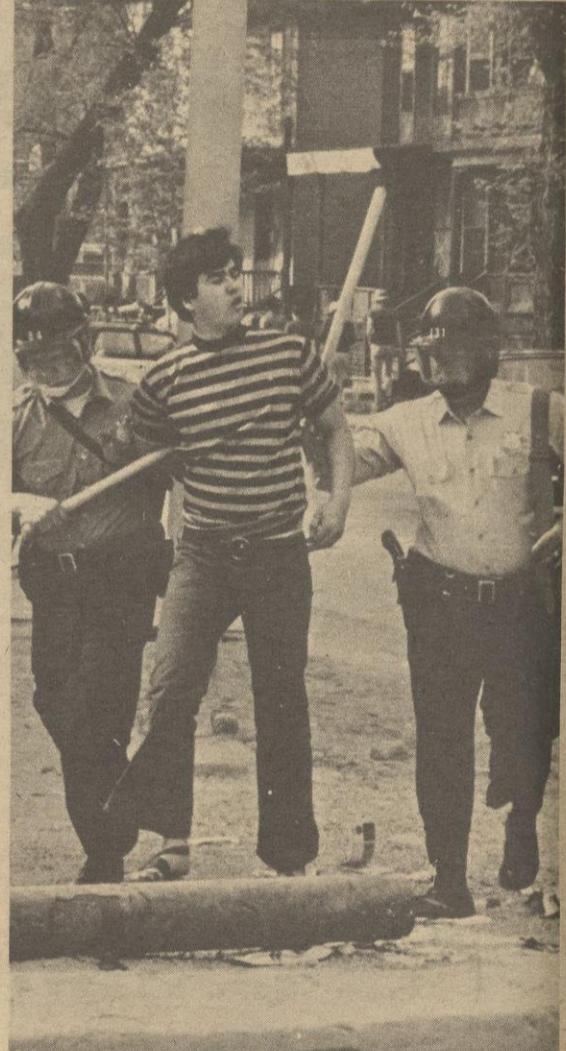
You are the second group. The first one was here for spring registration. Toting a stack of University pamphlets, they inspected the library and the dormitories; they learned how to work the fire extinguishers in case of fire; they studied the rules of the University by reading their personal copies of guidelines; they toured; they laughed; and foremost they mused to themselves, "starting in September this is where I will spend the next four years . . . of those beautiful ivy covered walls . . ."

Last semester the students of this University were gassed, maced and clubbed by a police force gone mad during a peaceful block party. In February 2000 National Guardsmen were called to Madison in an obvious political maneuver after black students made vital demands upon the University. The Broom Street Theater's production of Peter Pan was labeled obscene by city officials and prohibited from being held on this campus. On the same matter, The Daily Cardinal was attacked by University regents and subsequently punished by revocation of an office subsidy. A couple was arrested for illegal fornication. Students were busted for using marijuana—by their housefathers.

The lawmakers skyrocketed the tuition while trying to mutilate the University's budget. The quota for out-of-state students was lowered to 25 per cent for the upcoming semester and to 15 per cent to be reached in two years. A regent was exposed in a Cardinal series as having conflicts of interest which interfered with his running of the University. The legislature and Gov. Warren Knowles signed into law a stop and frisk bill permitting police to search "suspected" criminals.

But here you are for a summer of fun. Fresh out of high school in Appleton; a sophomore from Skidmore College on an adventure; or a young sophisticated from Highland Park. The life is easy. Entertainment is around you everywhere. And the bars are numerous. They say that Madison is a nice place to be in the summer. Don't be deceived.

ALLEN SWERDLOWE  
Summer Managing Editor



Mickey Pfleger

## On the Soapbox

### Student As Worker

Rolf Panny

It was September a year ago when I arrived in Madison. I had accepted a work contract here and I was to go to work as a foreman. The warm evenings of the ending summer were breathing through the foliage along the lake. People everywhere were either at play or in love. A beautiful city. I sensed acutely the difference in climate, pace and purpose after all the previous years I had spent in graduate school.

As the school year began, the weather changed. It got cold and colder. The greens vanishing from its shores, the lake covered itself with the lifeless gray of its frozen waves. Buildings bared their blind facades; campus and city suddenly lay there, numb and desolate, as if someone at the point of boredom had tipped over his toy box and strewn his building blocks amidst Wisconsin's geography. In this absurd huddle of house fronts, ventilators, and

smokestacks, smoke pouring and rain falling, Wisconsin's greatest production plant, the University, had gone back to work.

And look now: there comes the work force, their tools in satchels—books, paper, pencils. They throng into the workshops, they pour out of them as the bells pierce the quiet shuffle of their feet in the halls and stairwells. You can see them sitting at their work benches indicating their readiness for work with that sullen stare, while the neck-tied foremen are wending their way to the assigned work rooms.

I am one of these foremen. I teach here. I make work for workers. When the last shriek of the bell leaves behind a sudden silence, I start talking. Not any sooner. Nor three seconds later. A prolonged silence could suck the work-load I have brought with me into nothingness. So I talk and distribute the workload among the

workers. Divided labor can make my work easier. They labor and I control. Of course I see to it that the work is hard, in fact so hard that some of them cannot do it. That's an American virtue. And I shall reward my workers or dock them, for I know the pay scale of our company. It is based on many factors.

I have to spend time without pay developing such factors in cooperation with management teams. The colder the winter outside, the warmer is my passion for work ethics in our industry. The very concept of work is coupled here to an idea of justice which I thought I had barely escaped only two years ago. I am beginning to understand now that justice has to be built on certain factors, such as tests, scores, memorization, recitation, devaluation, indignation, and graduation—all kinds of devices from

(continued on page 11)

# date-lines



Vol. 1, No. 25

Registration Issue

The University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison 53706



tennessee  
williams  
film  
festival

preshouse  
731 state

6/27 night of the iguana  
7/11 period of adjustment  
7/25 sweet bird of youth

# date-lines



Vol. 1. No. 25

Registration Issue

The University of Wisconsin-Madison

## the summer ahead

### tennessee williams film festival

June 27, 9 p.m.  
*Night of the Iguana*  
starring Richard Burton, Ava Gardner, Deborah Kerr, Sue Lyons and Cyril Delevanti.

July 11, 9 p.m.  
*Period of Adjustment*  
starring Jane Fonda, Tony Franciosa, Jim Hutton.

July 25, 9 p.m.  
*Sweet Bird of Youth*  
starring Geraldine Page and Paul Newman.

Admission is \$.80 per movie or \$2.00 for a series ticket. All films will be shown at the Preshouse chapel, 731 State St. Tickets are available in advance.

### wisconsin players summer sessions

July 9-12  
*An Italian Straw Hat*  
a comedy with songs by Eugene Labiche and Marc-Michel in the 19th century French farcical vaudeville tradition.

July 23-26  
*The Birthday Party*  
a modern drama by Harold Pinter with his

August 6-9

August 1-3  
*Black Sunday*  
horror movie based on Nikolai Gogol's "The Viij," stars Barbara Steele.

August 8-10  
*Bye Bye Braverman*  
starring Joseph Wiseman and Godfrey Cambridge. Directed by Sidney Lumet.

August 15-17  
*Having a Wild Weekend*  
starring the Dave Clark Five, and Barbara Ferris. John Boorman's first film.

### studio films

3:30, 7:00, 9:00 p.m. shown in the Union Play Circle, \$.75.

June 25  
*The Scarlet Empress*  
stars Marlene Dietrich as Catherine the Great of Russia. Directed by Joseph von Sternberg.

July 9  
*The Magnificent Seven*  
starring Yul Brynner, Eli Wallach, Steve McQueen, Horst Buchholz and James Coburn. Directed by John Sturges. Showings only at 7:00 and 9:30 p.m.

July 23  
*Hatari*  
African western starring John Wayne, Red Buttons, Hardy Kruger. Directed by Howard Hawks; music by Henry Mancini.

Vera Miles, Edmond O'Brien, and Andy Devine. Directed by John Ford.

## this week

### friday saturday

June 20 and 21

Noon Movie Time  
*Rio Bravo*, Union Play Circle. \$.75. Continuous until closing.

### sunday

June 22

Noon Movie Time  
See June 20.

5:00 Carillon Recitals  
Carillon Tower. Tower.

7:30 Israeli Folkdancing  
Hillel, 611 Langdon St.

### monday

June 23

Summer Session Registration

9-5 Computer Course Registration  
non-credit short courses in computer techniques  
of the Center.

7:00 Hoofers Meeting  
Sailing Club membership meeting. Union.

7:30 Carillon Recitals  
Carillon Tower.

### thursday

June 26

10-4 Union Committee Signups  
Cafeteria corridor. All summer students.

6:00 "Dr. Strangelove"  
plus a short, *The Hand*. Science Students Union, B-10 Commerce, donation. Also at 8:00.

6:00 Movie  
*Forbidden Planet*, 180 Science Hall. Also at 8:00. Sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance.

7:00 International Forum  
Union. Free.

### friday

June 27

Union Open House  
Displays, demonstrations, dances, food. Free. Entire Union building.

10-4 Union Committee Signups  
Cafeteria corridor.  
Continuous until closing.

August 6-9

Luv

the successful Broadway comedy which lampoons the avante-garde drama and enables us to laugh at man's shortcomings.

All productions will be performed in the air-conditioned Union Theater, starting at 8 p.m. Tickets, available at the Union Box Office approximately 10 days before the production, are \$2.50 and \$2.00. Season tickets for all three shows are \$5.50 and \$4.50.

## summer movie time

Every Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Continuous showings from noon in the Union Play Circle. \$0.75 admission.

June 20-22

Rio Bravo

starring John Wayne, Dean Martin, Ricky Nelson, and Walter Brennan. Directed by Howard Hawks.

June 27-29

Don't Look Back

starring Bob Dylan. Filmed on a tour through England. Joan Baez, Donovan, Albert Grossman and others also appear.

July 4-6

Cul de Sac

starring Donald Pleasance, Lionel Stander, and Francoise Dorleac.

July 11-13

Ugetsu

epic of the samurai period, most famous film of Japan's legendary director, Kenji Misoguchi.

July 18-20

What's Up, Tiger Lily?

Japanese melodrama dubbed with a Woody Allen soundtrack. Guest appearances by Woody Allen and the Lovin' Spoonful.

July 25-27

Contempt

starring Brigitte Bardot, Fritz Lang, Michel Piccoli, and Jack Palance. A Jean-Luc Godard film.

Vera Miles, Edmond O'Brien, and Andy Devine. Directed by John Ford.

## travel-adventure

July 15

Around the World in 80 Days

This special travel-adventure film will be shown at 3:30 and 8 p.m. in the Union Theater. Admission is \$1.25.

## film flickers

Classic silent movies will be shown every Monday night at 9 p.m. starting June 23 on the Union Terrace. They will be accompanied with traditional piano music played by John Schellkopf.

## indian association

June 28

"Ram Aur Sham"

movie with English subtitles; also *This Wonderful World India* a documentary. 105 Psychology at 7:30 p.m. \$1.50 for members, \$2.00 for non-members.

July 12

Picnic

departure from Union at 11 a.m. Tickets may be purchased at movies or at the Union Box Office from June 30 to July 7. Price is \$1.50 for non-members and \$1.25 for members.

August 16

Movie

105 Psychology.

September 13

Reception for new Indian students  
Union

September 20

Movie and Elections  
105 Psychology.

9-5 Computer Course Registration  
Credit short courses in computer techniques  
of the Center.

7:00 Contemporary Scene Forum

Union Great Hall. A credit course in the Speech Department, but open to the campus for general interest. Weekly speakers, but first session is orientation only. Prof. Vancil. Every Monday.

9:00 Film Flickers

Silent movies with piano accompaniment by John Schellkopf. Union Terrace. Free.

## tuesday

June 24

Eight Week Summer Session Begins

9-5 Computer Course Registration  
see June 23.

3:30 & 7:30 Tryouts for "The Birthday Party"

Wisconsin Players, Union. Open to all students whether enrolled in summer session or not. Also on the 25th. (Tryouts for "Luv," same times on June 30 & July 1.

4:00 Lecture

"Estimation of a Location Parameter," Prof. Charles H. Kraft, Universite de Montreal. 2515 Math Research Center.

7:00 Hoofers' Outing Club  
meeting.

8:00 Meeting

Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, summer plans. See Today in the Union for room.

## wednesday

June 25

3:30 Studio Film I

*The Scarlet Empress*, Union Play Circle. Free. Also at 7:00 and 9:00 p.m.

3:30 & 7:30 Tryouts for "The Birthday Party"

See June 24.

6:00 "Dr. Strangelove"

plus a short, *The Hand*. Science Students Union, B-10 Commerce, donation. Also at 8:00.

10-4 Union Committee Signups  
Cafeteria corridor.

Continuous until closing.

4:00 Lecture

"Education and Science in Academic-Town, Siberia," Prof. R.I. Soloukhin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. 114 Van Hise.

4:00 T.G.I.F.

Grad Club coffee hour. Union main lounge.

6:00 "Dr. Strangelove"

plus a short, *The Hand*. Science Students Union, B-10 Commerce, donation. Also at 8:00.

6:00 Movie

*Forbidden Planet*, 180 Science Hall. Also at 8:00. Sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance.

## saturday

June 28

Noon Movie Time  
See June 27.

7:30 Indian Movie

*Ram Aur Sham*, also *This Wonderful World India*. Sponsored by India Association. 105 Psychology. \$2.00 for non-members, \$1.50 for members.

9:00 International Club Dancetime  
Union Tripp Commons.

## sunday

June 29

10:00 International Club Picnic  
for new foreign students. Picnic Point.

Noon Movie Time  
See June 27.

2:00 Grad Club Picnic  
Vilas Park.

7:30 Israeli Folkdancing  
Hillel, 611 Langdon St.

# old tennessee

Perhaps the best gauge of the success of an American playwright is how many of his plays have been made into movies. By this standard Tennessee Williams is the most successful of all.

This summer, Preshouse will present three of his works in a special Tennessee Williams Film Festival. Included are *Night of the Iguana*, *Period of Adjustment*, and *Sweet Bird of Youth*.

In *Night of the Iguana* Richard Burton portrays a defrocked clergyman who cannot accept God, but also cannot remove himself from the throes of despair. Played against the backdrop of an obscure Mexican resort, the title of the film is derived from the analogy it draws between the clergyman and a struggling, helpless lizard.

*Period of Adjustment* is a rarity in that it is a Tennessee Williams' comedy. Drama and humor are blended in an examination of the lives of two newlyweds and a couple married five years. Williams' aim is to explore the delicate and fragile nature of the husband-wife relationship.

In classic Tennessee Williams style *Sweet Bird of Youth* presents the viewer with a slice of the ominous passions lurking just below the surface of a sleepy southern town.

Geraldine Page and Paul Newman turn in exceptional performances as an over-the-hill movie star and her gigolo, each preying on the needs of the other until their self-pity, insincere flattery and reliance on sex and drugs exacerbate them into a redemption of sorts.

Ed Begley's role as a vicious southern autocrat won an Oscar for best supporting actor. Shirley Knight, as his daughter and Newman's ex-girl friend, is Williams' classic view of the southern woman powerless against the hatred of the men around her.

Together these four characters develop a graphic indictment of men's shallow hypocrisies and weak, transparent defenses.

For time and ticket information see inside.

Still active as a playwright—although his most recent play was given a sharp rap by the critics—Tennessee Williams is difficult to assess in terms of lasting importance. However, many critics feel that two plays alone—*The Glass Menagerie* and *Streetcar Named Desire*—are enough to establish him as the most important contemporary American dramatist.

Understanding the man is equally difficult. Although shy in his personal relationships, professionally he seems to enjoy the lurid gossip of alcoholism and homosexuality which surrounds him. Adding fuel to the fire, he often tells interviewers that he gives his characters no vice which he hasn't found in himself.

## Date-Lines

Reprinted from the Daily Cardinal  
Summer Registration Issue

Published weekly when The University of  
Wisconsin-Madison is in session.

Dwight Burton, editor  
Gail Emerson  
Barbara Hogan

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*Date-Lines* covers events for the campus community  
and general public, sponsored by University departments  
and registered student organizations.

Taken seriously this is a shocking statement since Williams' plays are chock full of a whole range of aberrations and brutality. Much of his work reflects the best and worst of his reflections of his southern boyhood.

Born Thomas Lanier Williams in the Episcopal rectory in Columbus, Mississippi, he spent his adolescence in St. Louis and soon grew to hate it. Returning as a successful playwright in 1947 he apologized for some derogatory remarks about the city by explaining he could not remember with kindness a city where he spent "a fairly lonely and miserable boyhood."

As a high school student, Williams wrote poetry and short stories, often winning small prizes and fees for his work. Williams' father was a boisterous shoe salesman who later became the model for Big Daddy of *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* and Boss Finley of *Sweet Bird of Youth*. To this day Williams is still bound by his father's financial standards of art. Thus a play must draw a big audience over a long period to satisfy his lust for success.

Feeling he was wasting money on poor college grades, Williams' father pulled him out of school to work in the St. Louis warehouse of the shoe company. If he disliked the city before, he hated it now.

This "contact with reality" laid the basis for several un-Williamsian characters such as The Gentleman Caller in *The Glass Menagerie* and Mitch in *Streetcar Named Desire*. It also created visions of the little man at the mercy of the machine, and business as an insect—themes which run through a number of his stories.

Turned into a confirmed hypochondriac by the exaggerated fretting of his mother, Williams exploded a mild heart dysfunction into a complete physical collapse. Recuperating at his grandparents in Memphis, he got his first introduction to the theater by co-authoring a play for a local theater group.

"That was when I realized that this was the medium that was most attractive," Williams later said. "I discovered the thrill of people reacting to my work in front of my eyes."

A stint in the New Orleans' artist quarter, followed by a six months stay in Hollywood as a screenwriter led him up to his first major successes of *Battle of Angels* and *The Glass Menagerie*.

## think cold

If anyone can think about skiing in this weather, the January semester break ski trip planned by the Hoofer's Ski Club is a good one to think about.

For \$245 to \$278 per person, depending on whether one goes to Courchevel, France, or Davos, Switzerland,

## Weekly Events

**Monday**  
University Forum on the Contemporary Scene,  
Union Great Hall, 7 p.m.

Film Flickers, silent classics, Union Terrace, 9 p.m.

**Thursday**  
International Forum, 7 p.m.

Bridge Lessons, six week session at Union,  
8-10 p.m. Tickets at box office.

**Friday**  
Grad Club T.G.I.F., Union Main Lounge.

**Saturday**  
International Dancetime, Union Tripp  
Commons, 9 p.m.

**Sunday**  
Carillon Recital, Carillon Tower, 5 p.m.

Israeli and International Folk Dancing,  
Hillel, 611 Langdon St., 7:30 p.m.

skiers can enjoy a full week of their sport. Trip prices include charter fare, bus transfers, housing, and all tips and taxes.

At Courchevel, a recently developed ski area rated among the top ten in Europe, the \$245 price includes tow tickets and eight nights lodging in apartments with baths and kitchenettes.

The Davos option includes a double occupancy room with private bath, plus breakfast and dinners in a hotel with an indoor pool. Davos, an international village noted for a variety of activities, has 150 miles of ski trails.

The trip, departing January 23 and returning February 1, has 400 spaces available for students, faculty, and staff of the University. Information is available by writing to "Ski the Alps '70," Box 504, Wisconsin Union, 800 Langdon St., Madison 53706, or by stopping in at the Union Boathouse at the foot of Park St.

## team effort

If you're having trouble finding a fourth for bridge, better skip this. But if you can scrape up enough men for a softball or soccer team, then intramural sports might be a pleasant way to have some exercise and fun this summer.

Team entries are now being accepted for softball (fast and slow pitch), soccer, volleyball, tennis, and golf at the Intramural Sports Office, 1017 Men's Gym, 2000 Observatory Dr.

Hurry—Wednesday, June 25, is the last day to sign up.

## In the Galleries

**Photo Design**  
Photography work from the University Art Department course in photo design. On display in the Union Theater Gallery until July 6.

**Sculpture and Prints by Ellen Milan**  
Madison artist residing at 2703 Mason St. On display in the Union Main Gallery from June 22 to July 13.

**Paintings and Prints from the Union Collection**  
Six recently acquired works. On display in the INN Wisconsin Dining Room from June 24 to August 18.

**Arthur Pierson / M.F.A. Show**  
Paintings on display in the Humanities Building, 7th floor, until June 27.

# Lawmakers Study SDS, Disorders

By JUDY SHOCKLEY  
News Editor

Lawmakers on the university, state, and national levels have become increasingly concerned with campus disorders and are making extensive investigations in an effort to discover and stem the causes behind them.

Preventive measures have been particularly obvious on the university level where only last week all political organizations were banned from freshman orientation programs today after the University Board of Regents learned that Students for a Democratic Society were scheduled to participate.

Vice Chancellor F. Chandler Young said that exposing incoming freshmen to various organizations would prepare them for the fall semester, but most of the regents opposed the orientation program.

Regent Gordon Walker, Racine, assailed the "poor logic" of the administration and Regent Maurice Pasch, Madison said he was "shocked and surprised." Walker contended that the "troublesome attitude" on the Madison campus was keeping the best students in Wisconsin away.

Under the orientation program, SDS was to be one of a number of organizations with which incoming freshmen could visit at the conclusion of a mid-summer orientation program. Other groups included student government, fraternities and sororities, religious organizations, and the Hoofers group.

Young noted that attendance would be voluntary at any of the sessions and that the program had been initiated because of organizational attempts to contact new students last year.

Young was asked to prevent these contacts this year but said he could not control legal activity on the streets.

The joint legislative committee here is also investigating campus disorder and, according to a recent article in the Capital Times, there may be some misconceptions about Students for a Democratic Society—the organization which is often blamed for campus disruption.

Economics Professor Dr. John Bowman serves as faculty sponsor of SDS. "I believe they have a right in the market place of ideas on the campus," he said.

Sen. Gordon Roseleip, (R-Darlington), asked Bowman if he would support the expression of ideas "even if they were damaging to the University."

"I can't imagine an idea per se being damaging to anything or anybody," Bowman replied.

Assemblyman Jack Steinhilber, (R-Oshkosh), criticized Bowman for detachment from University problems.

"We know that this country isn't perfect," he said. "We know that only heaven is perfect. But I consider it amazing that you can look upon what's happening to your University with such detachment because the walls are crumbling down."

Bowman said he is concerned about University problems, and has remained as sponsor of SDS since 1965 to "attempt to avoid violent confrontations."

He explained that no single ideology characterizes SDS members, but that they are united by a common belief that "we are a totally morally corrupt nation."

He said he has been booed off stage at SDS meetings and does

not always agree with SDS positions. But he has occasionally contributed money to save the group from extinction, he said.

After hearing testimony from Bowman and Atty. Gen. Robert Warren, the investigating committee voted to ask the Legislature to extend its deadline for submitting a report from June 15 to October 15.

Warren said he favors the committee's intention of introducing legislation declaring higher education to be "a privilege and not a right," although he said it may not have any "legal impact."

He also told the committee the idea of "implied consent" under which students would automatically agree when enrolled to obey university rules, might not be constitutional.

\* \* \*

In an unpublicized and privately financed tour this past month of more than 50 campuses from coast to coast, 22 Republican legislators made observations which could have a significant effect on the response made by the Nixon administration and congress to this spring's wave of campus disorders.

One of the congressmen—sixth district Rep. William A. Steiger, a 1960 Wisconsin graduate who served as an officer of the Young Republican National Federation in his senior year—explained that the purpose of the project was to discover student perspectives.

"We didn't try to argue or lec-

ture to them" said Steiger. "We wanted to listen, and we received a very good response from everyone we met."

At least one visit was timed to maximize the impact on the touring Congressmen: Reps. Donald W. Riegle Jr. (Mich.) and Paul N. McCloskey Jr. (Calif.) were teargassed while meeting with students at Berkeley.

Until the report is submitted in a couple of weeks, Steiger and the other legislators have resolved to make no public disclosure of the details of their observations. Steiger told the Capital Times that there were some points on which the Congressmen agreed, however.

"First, the degree of dissatisfaction, alienation—whatever you want to call it—among students is much greater than any of us dreamed it would be," he said.

"Second, it doesn't apply just to the universities. You can't isolate what's happening on the campuses from the rest of society. The students are dissatisfied with society as a whole—not just with the universities as institutions."

The report being drafted for the White House will contain two sections: one summarizing the Congressmen's observations and another containing their recommendations for future action.

Steiger said that there would probably be agreement on the first part, "but the second part may present some problems."

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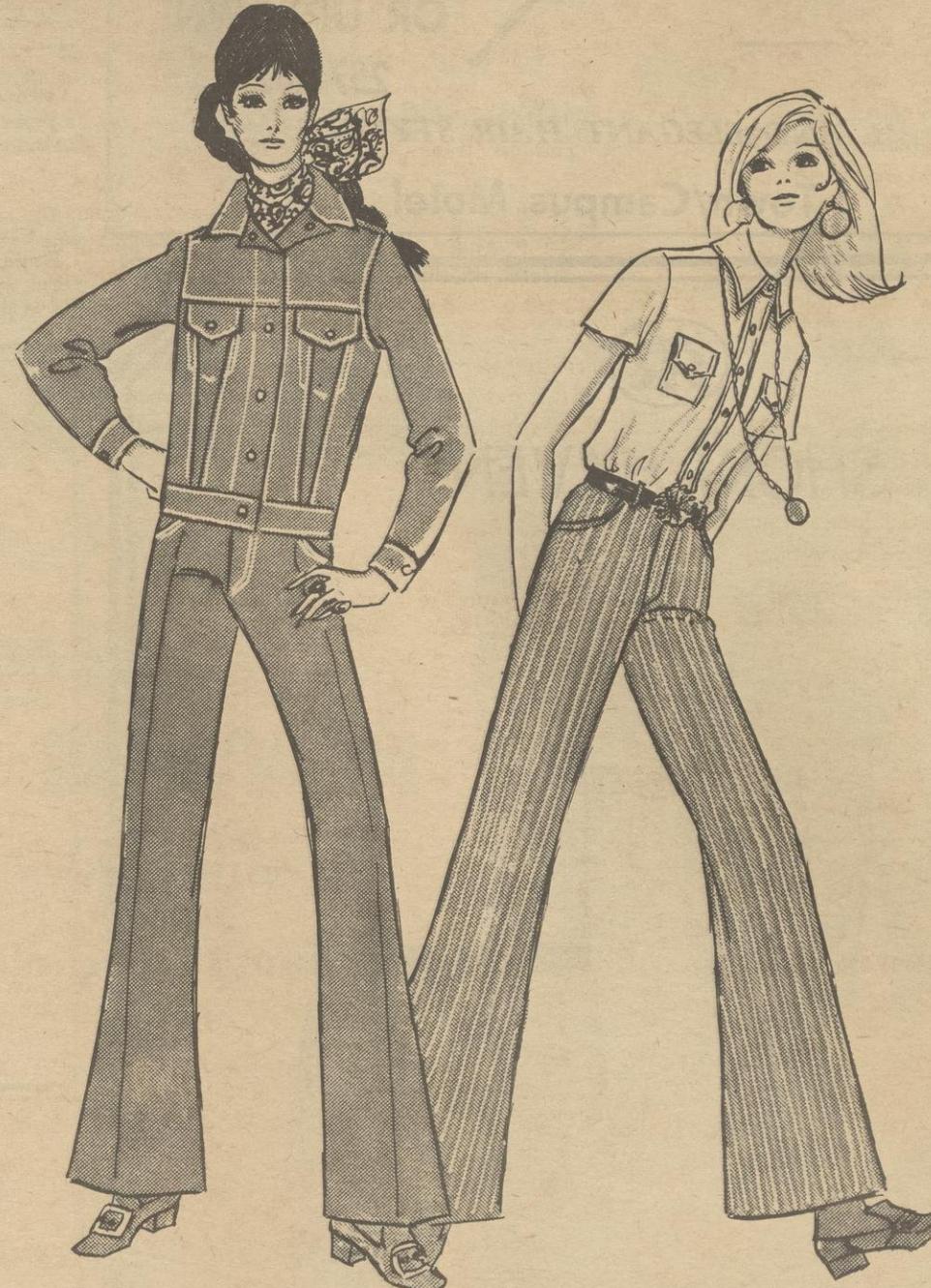
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# Return of Coed Hours Regents Rap U

(continued from page 1)

until the June meeting. He did not say who made the request for secrecy or why.

One effect of the confidentiality is that students who are not in Madison this summer will probably not be aware that reinstatement of hours has been recommended until after the recommendation is acted upon in July.

A University official said some students have already been informed in communications from their living units that there would be no hours restrictions next fall. He added that mailing of the University handbook containing the University rules will be delayed as long as possible pending the regents' decision.

The separation of supervised housing into units with visitation and units without visitation will be difficult to enforce because many students have already signed living unit contracts for next year. It is possible that students who have signed contracts for units with visitation without parental permission to live there will be forced to move. An alternative possibility is that the effective date of the provision on visitation could be delayed for a year.

If the recommendations are approved in July, it will be the second time this year that late consideration of major policy changes for this fall has created problems. In March, the regents approved a cut in nonresident enrollment after processing of non-

resident applications for admission had begun. A hold was placed on nonresident applications for about a week pending the regent decision.

Renk said his committee had interviewed 31 people, representing various viewpoints and including students, before the recommendation was decided upon. He did not say whether a majority of the persons interviewed favored a tightening of restrictions.

The Renk committee also recommended that the administration review the present system of using housefellow to supervise housing. Renk said some of the housefellow did not perform satisfactorily last year.

By GENE WELLS  
of the Cardinal Staff

University regents attacked the administration for allowing a University student charged with attempted arson to finish the spring semester at the board's June 13 meeting.

The student, Eric Sliman, withdrew under charges effective at the end of the semester shortly before the semester ended. The University rules allow a student to withdraw under charges but the possibility of making the withdrawal effective at a later date is not mentioned.

Sliman received credit for this semester's work but cannot re-enter the University without permission. Some regents charged that he could transfer to another school in the fall and that he has not really been punished. University counsel George Bunn said other schools would be notified of the charge against Sliman. Bunn noted that Sliman could be sent to prison for seven years if convicted.

Outgoing Regent Pres. Charles Gelatt, LaCrosse, said the board was ready to hold a special meeting at any time to discipline Sliman and said the matter should have been brought to the regents' attention before the end of the semester.

Regent Walter Renk, Sun Prairie, said the board was foolish to "let this guy crawl out." He said it means that any student can set fire to a building, say he's quitting school and get away with it.

Regent Frank Pelisek, Whitefish Bay, urged the board to consider the severity of a seven-year prison term as compared to expulsion.

The resignation of Leon Epstein as dean of the college of letters and science was accepted by the Board of Regents on June 13. It will take effect in September.

A Madison newspaper said the University's budget problems may have been a factor in Epstein's resignation. Epstein will continue as a professor of political science. He is a University graduate and joined the faculty in 1948. He was appointed dean in 1965.

In other actions at the June 13 regent meeting:

\*Regent Bernard Ziegler, West Bend, announced that the Coordinating Council on Higher Education has still not taken a formal position on the regent decision reducing nonresident enrollment from 25 per cent to 15 per cent. Ziegler said the nonresident cut was discussed at the most recent CCHE meeting, and he interpreted the failure to take a position to mean that the CCHE would accept regent recommendations on nonresident enrollment at least for the present.

\*Room rates at the University Hospital were increased in amounts ranging up to \$18 per day. Rates for some special services such as laboratory tests and X-rays were decreased.

\*University Pres. Fred Harrington announced that a Defense Department cutback in university research has not hurt the University as badly as other major educational institutions.

\*Regent Gordon Walker, Racine, asked the administration to present a report in September concerning what the University is accomplishing in the education of the underprivileged.

Dr. James Nellen, DePere, was elected president of the Board of Regents on June 13.

Nellen has clearly established himself as a conservative during his term on the Board. He succeeds Charles Gelatt, LaCrosse, who did not seek re-election.

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# Student As Worker

(continued from page 4)

A to F. The actual work, I noticed, goes very slowly. I can tell because there is a clock in the classroom—pardon—I mean the workroom. The eyes of my workers frequently scale the walls always traveling past that clock and then back again, until they come to rest upon the tools before them. And sometimes the whole head comes down on the tools. I suppose we need coffee breaks more often. At times, but never for very long, one of them will even look at me. He is taking a personal interest in his foreman. But the stare in his eyes is so cold that I have learned to read his feelings. You and I, he says, do not belong together. You do not have the same class experience that I have. This made me wonder. I think now (and I share this knowledge with only a few of my colleagues like a secret) that upon due consideration our workers are building a class consciousness. I mean that in a terribly old-fashioned sense. It is preferable not to talk about it, but I know that they have been reading the important manuals and have found out that their presence in our workshops is comparable to the situation of the workers in other industries. Though we pay them in a different coin, they invoke the right to strike, and, like any other worker in this beautiful land, are deeply alienated from their work. They indicate their alienation to me by growing beards, by doodling on company property, by stalling the assembly line with unnecessary questions, and worst of all: by taking unauthorized leave.

Some, I understand, have even thrown monkey wrenches into the works. Running down the hallowed halls, they tossed open the doors shouting, "On strike! Shut her down!" But fortunately, the company could identify them as non-workers. If any of my alienated workers did remove themselves from their work benches, I was satisfied to know that no greater evil befell them than drinking beer or watching TV in the Rats-Canteen.

Winter and spring came and went. We have just brought the last quarter of hard work to a successful termination. Production is up this year, and so are the earnings. Great numbers of our 1969 models should by now be in the show rooms all over the nation. The gray-haired gentlemen of our management who—admittedly—are confused about the real owner of our plant are acting again as our able sales personnel as they have always done at this time of the year. With that rare combination of aggressiveness and smug satisfaction they reveal in ceremonial manner our latest product to a stunned public: the class of '69. Their sales pitch rarely changes: "Workers for the American economy with experience in social elitism, bigotry, discrimination, yes-Sir, and even oppression, exploitation and—new this year—with experience in the uses of various anti-personal gases. We know our product is not the best, but we have tried hard. Good luck, fella's, and good sailing

in that lonely career."

\* \* \*

The rest of our young workers have gone home, of course, simply to get away from production. The halls stand pretty empty, except for the few foremen who are making ready for the next shift, the 1969-70 work season. From the top of the luxurious executive apartments, our managers look down upon the green foliage around the lake where people are at play or in love. Empty are the streets cutting across the corps of the campus. Thank God for this respite from people. Orderly and well-regulated lies the plant,—dead. But wait: the workers will all return. And every time they return they will bring with them the will to build, against foremen, managers, owners, the consciousness of themselves as a class. Not the class of '70. A student class in 1970 no less! In 1980. And in 2000. And I, one of their foremen, will soon have to decide when it is my time to join that class in 1970, and to be an active part in the class struggle uniting students of the world.

## The Daily Cardinal

"A Free Student Newspaper"

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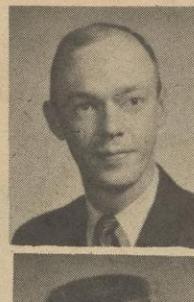
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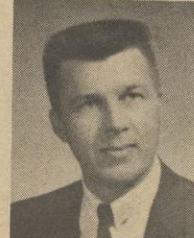
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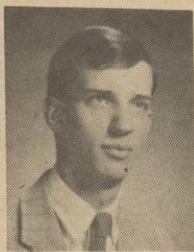


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## Mifflin Street

# Inspectors Uncover Housing Violations

By WENDY KNOX  
Night Editor

After some stalling by Building Inspection Superintendent Ray Burt, the results of inspection of housing in the Mifflin Street area were revealed to have uncovered 208 violations of building and sanitary codes.

Supt. Burt balked at revealing the records of violations for several days in order to keep the landlords from being bothered by "nuisance" calls before they got the violations corrected, he said.

The report was finally revealed to the press, however, a list of violations compiled by inspectors who visited the area on the request of Mayor Dyke.

96 of the 208 violations were maintenance items—plastering, painting, broken doors and windows etc., 35 were electrical code violations, 27 were safety violations and 26 were garbage and rubbish complaints.

Six building inspectors inspected a total of 140 buildings (338 dwelling units) in an area bordered by Broom and Bedford streets and Dayton Street and West Washington Avenue. One of the inspectors, Norbert Bollenbach, said that the last time the area had been inspected was in 1967 and that most of the new violations were "minor" and it was difficult to assess exactly who was to blame.

Maintenance items would be the responsibility of the landlords; however, some of the safety and electrical violations were the fault of the tenants in cases of overloaded electrical sockets and suitcases stored in exit areas.

There were also 16 plumbing violations, five on heating and three on rodents and pests.

After the building inspectors got through, the Capital Times did a little research of its own, revealing that nearly 70 per cent of dwellings in the area are owned by absentee landlords and speculators.

According to Dave Zweifel of the Capital Times, the "Mifflin-Basset Street student area is obviously a haven for land dealers, speculators and virtually anyone who has enough money to invest and the ambition to make an extra buck."

Most of these investors are local real estate developers, speculators, doctors, lawyers and builders and most of the tenants are students. Many of the real owners are camouflaged by their numerous transactions over the past few years.

107 of the 157 residential buildings checked were owned by absentee landlords, most of the rest were owned mainly by older couples or widows who had lived there all their lives.

The largest property owners in the area are Donald I. Hovde of the I. Hovde Realty Co., Richard M. Heins, a prominent Madison developer, Phillip Stark, a partner in the Paul E. Stark Realty Co., Patrick J. Lucey, another Madison investor, and Lucien Hanks, president of the Dane County Title Co.

\* \* \*

Two students have been acquitted in trials stemming from arrests during the Mifflin Street disturbances and one has been fined.

Kenneth M. Pietrzak, 21, a Milwaukee junior who resided at 202 Bashford-Tripp hall, won an acquittal on a charge of unlawful assembly. Several police officers testified that they warned Pietrzak to disperse from a distance of 40 or 50 feet but he did not do so.

Pietrzak testified that he heard no orders to disperse and had only been walking down Dayton Street with a companion when arrested. The jury deliberated for an hour before delivering its verdict.

Another student, George C. Lee, 23, of 111 N. Orchard Street won an acquittal on a charge of obstructing an arrest. Lee testified that he was returning from walking a girl to 415 Fitch Ct. on the evening of May 5 when he heard cries for help from a man being beaten by another in a basement hall.

Lee pulled the men apart and the assailant fled. Lee then realized for the first time that the downed man was a police officer.

James Scrivner, the police officer, then testified that he had been pursuing the man because he had threatened him with a bottle and that Lee's actions permitted the assailant to escape. Lee, however, was acquitted.

Robert P. Ragir, 21, from Chicago, living on Route 2 Madison, was fined \$78 by Circuit Judge William Sachtjen on a disorderly conduct charge. Ragir pleaded no contest to the charge stemming from an arrest for throwing an egg at a policeman during the disorders.

## Mifflin Hearing

(continued from page 1)

the plugs from the amplifier and shut the music off." He then told the crowd that they could not have their party and returned to the police station.

Returning later with riot-equipped officers, Thomas said the officers were pummeled with "rocks, bricks, stones, firecrackers, eggs and feces." He announced that the students would have to clear the streets.

Fifth ward Alderman Eugene Parks then arrived and asked the crowd to "keep it cool" until he could contact the mayor or police chief. His efforts were to no avail, however, and when Parks returned to speak to the crowd, Thomas ordered his men to disperse the crowd "in whatever manner they saw fit."

He testified that he saw three policemen "felled by large objects" and that the crowd used language that was "general gutter-type obscene filth" and that he saw no night sticks used by police, nor did he hear his officers using "improper" language.

Kammer, however, said he saw policemen using night sticks on students. "I saw a number of people beaten and not arrested," he said, describing the use of the night sticks as "generally an overhand stroke, fairly straight down, toward the top of the head."

Kammer also testified that "Policemen would make a grab at a person, miss, and wind up arresting someone else." His house was also "charged" by a police squad car, his wife had stones thrown at her by a policeman, and a policeman lobbed a tear gas cannister onto their apartment balcony.

Kammer also testified that Sunday night, May 4, at the City-County Building he witnessed a student demonstration in which college-age persons were being "roughed up" by high-school age "townies."

"The police charged us and drove us into the group of young toughs and then retreated," he said. Several protesters, including himself, were beaten by the townies, Kammer added.

A color film was then shown to the commission and audience with scenes of a policeman charging a group of students and smashing them with his night stick, and of other policemen making arrests, rushing porches, chasing residents and shoving and questioning students.

## The Daily Cardinal

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## The Power of the Pentagon

The Progressive has granted The Daily Cardinal permission to reprint segments of their special June issue entitled "The Power of the Pentagon." The issue contains the edited transcript of the "Congressional Conference on the Military Budget and National Priorities." Participants included politicians, scientists and scholars, and former Presidential advisors, who met to discuss the implications of militarization in this country.

While attempting to keep this article readable, The Cardinal has edited it substantially because of limited space.

The following is excerpted from the prologue entitled "A Crisis of Conscience."

The signs of spring point ominously to another long hot summer of domestic strife. The warning signals are plain in every corner of this unhappy land. The cities crackle with tension—and occasionally with gunfire. The colleges, and increasingly the high schools as well, are engulfed in turmoil. Even those ultimate bastions of conformity, the armed services, are discomfited by unprecedented manifestations of dissent and disobedience. The nation is racked by a crisis of conscience the likes of which we have not seen in our time.

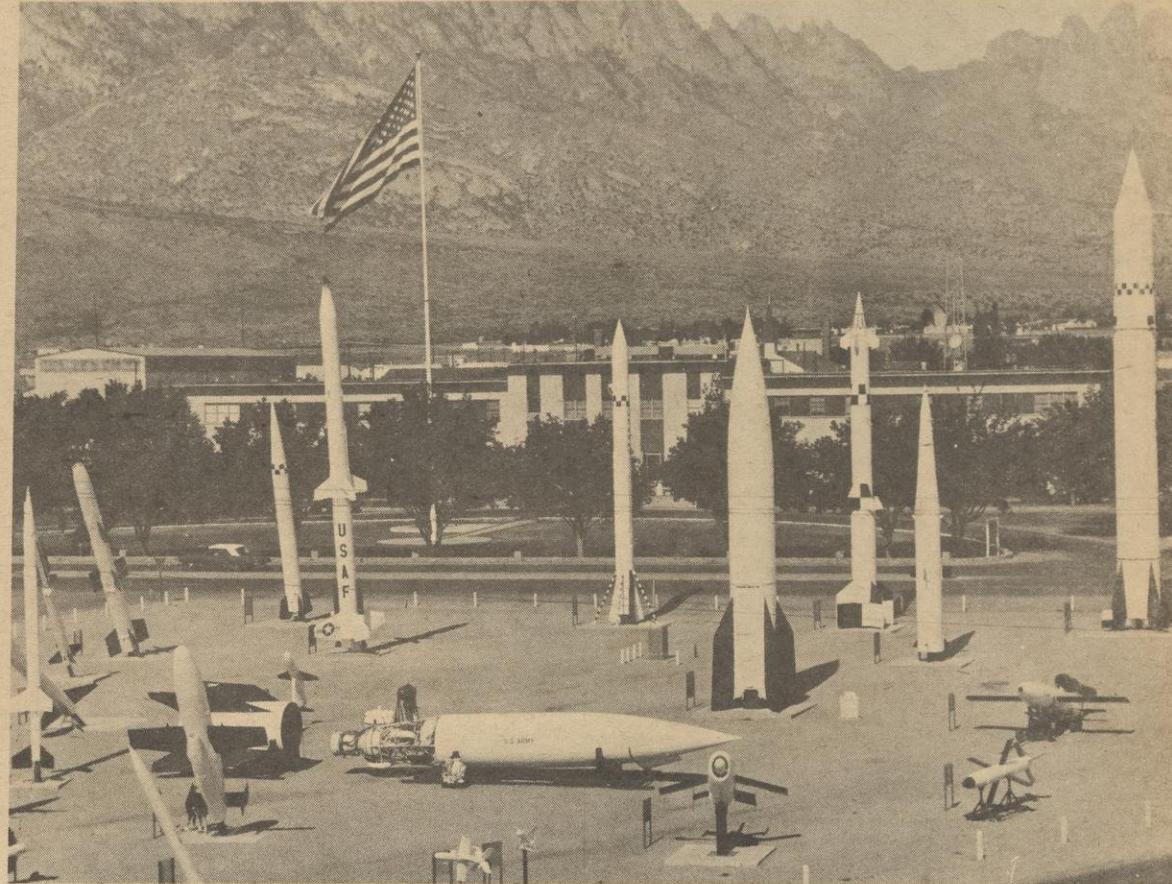
More is at stake—much more—than merely putting out a few more fires, mobilizing a few more regiments of National Guardsmen, hauling a few more demonstrators off to jail, putting a few more statutes on the books to preserve "law and order." America is not merely confronted with a minority of malcontents—the poor who claim a share of the national affluence, the blacks who demand the rights denied them for 300 years, the young who insist that society's actions should match its rhetoric. America is confronted with the challenge of delivering on its historic promises. Time is running out. The nation is confronted not only with the insistent clamor for change by the picketing, protesting minority forces; the nation is confronted, too, by a rising tide of discontent among countless middle-aged, middle-class, and generally middle-of-the-road Americans who are expressing deepening despair over the country's mounting stockpile of unsolved problems and unfulfilled promises.

The grim lessons of spiraling domestic disorder seem to have been lost on the men who wield power. The most glaring injustices, the most blatant contradictions in our society are blandly accepted as inevitable, or rationalized as desirable, or, at best, deferred for possible remediation at some unspecified future time.

"The Nixon Administration has decided for the present against a major Presidential-level attack on hunger." The Washington Post reported at the end of April. "Lack of available money in the reduced fiscal 1970 Federal budget is a prime reason for the decision. Another reason is some White House officials are not convinced hunger is a serious national problem."

For "lack of available money," ten million Americans are to continue suffering the agony of hunger or chronic malnutrition. For "lack of available money," twenty-two million Americans remain below even the Government's minimal poverty line. For "lack of available money," more than twenty million Americans are ill-housed. For "lack of available money," the Administration has proposed reducing the Federal share of Medicaid payments. For "lack of available money," elderly couples dependent on Social Security benefits now subsist on the magnificent average stipend of \$118 a month.

There is no "lack of available money," however, for the monstrous military machine that has come to dominate the nation's life and casts its shadow over the entire world. Appropriations for "defense" consume the lion's share of the Federal budget. The catastrophic adventure in Vietnam continues to gobble up \$30 billion a year—precisely the sum that President Johnson's half-forgotten Commission on Domestic Disorders proposed to spend on urgently needed domestic programs. Senator Stuart Symington, a former Secretary of the Air Force, has advised Congress that the nation's "total investment in what are now acknowledged to be unworkable or obsolete missiles... totals over \$23 billion," but the Administration bends its undivided political energy to the task of securing Congressional approval for a new departure in missile madness—the anti-ballistic missile system—that will not only cost more billions but set off another perilous round in the arms race. Still other costly baubles for the Pentagon are being energetically peddled to the Congress by officials who profess to be preoccupied with protecting "the free world." Meanwhile, freedom at home stands in the gravest peril....



MISSILE PARK. White Sands, New Mexico.

## People vs. the Pentagon

The authors of this introductory essay written especially for the Progressive are Senators George S. McGovern and Gaylord Nelson, Representatives Georges Brown, Jr., Phillip Burton, John Conyers, Jr., Don Edwards, Donald M. Fraser, Robert W. Kastenmeier, Benjamin S. Rosenthal, William F. Ryan.

On March 28, 1969, two separate but ironically related events occurred which insistently pointed to the most urgent public issue of our time: the role of the military-industrial establishment in the United States.

The first event of that day was the death of Dwight David Eisenhower, himself a hero of the American military heritage. As a departing President he had started the nation with his Farewell Address, in which he warned of a military establishment supported by an immense arms industry which "has the potential for a disastrous rise of misplaced power." Eight years later his words take on new import—after at least \$500 billion dollars sunk in military expenditures, a disastrous war in Vietnam, a senseless intervention in the Dominican Republic, more than forty-two treaty commitments to as many countries to intervene "in case of aggression"—all this while acute poverty and distress persist within the United States itself.

These misplaced priorities were the setting for the other event of March 28, the Congressional Conference on the Military Budget and National Priorities, which brought together former Government leaders, foreign policy scholars, experts on weapons technology, economists, Senators and Representatives to investigate the actual enormity of that "misplaced power" of which President Eisenhower warned.

We initiated the Conference in the conviction that Congressional control of military policy must be reasserted and that the level of Congressional analysis of these critical issues can be raised through a greater intimacy be-

tween the legislative branch and the intellectual community. Our purpose was to articulate the basic issues of the militarization of American society for the general public as well as for Congress, and to examine concrete proposals for restoring democratic control over the military budget. The substance of our discussions is included in the pages which follow, but two principal themes should be underscored.

The first is the nature of the national security bureaucracy itself. It is composed of the Armed Services, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, the Atomic Energy Commission, and other bodies provided for in the National Security Act of 1947, and it is closely linked to the aerospace and armaments industry, segments of the labor movement, and a new middle class of scientists, engineers, businessmen, and universities with defense research contracts. This complex is not a conspiracy; it is an enormous, self-perpetuating institutional organism. It receives such a disproportionate amount of Federal funds that there is no effective counterbalance to it, and such decisions as those on Vietnam and ABM are generated from institutional momentum rather than conscious policy decisions.

Second, to reassert control over this enormous bureaucracy we must undertake a new look at our own role in the world, assess the nature of our own social, economic, and political institutions, and redetermine our national priorities. Without such a public debate, we will be unable to translate public anxieties into political realities and forge a new political will to reverse our present priorities.

We hope this Conference will

be a forerunner of a debate that will be taken up by local organizations, political clubs, university groups, and every individual man and woman who cares about the society in which he lives. There is a fundamental decision to be made by all of us, and that is how we want our tax dollar to be spent. We are heavily taxed by Federal, state, and local levies. Even with added sales taxes, gasoline taxes, surtaxes, not enough money is generated to provide for such necessary services as schools, public transportation, parks, pollution control. The pattern is nationwide.

The urgency of our concern is underscored by the critical juncture at which we stand in the development of nuclear weapons. The reason we called for the postponement of ABM deployment, a moratorium on testing of MIRV (multiple individually-targetable re-entry vehicle), and immediate commencement of strategic arms talks with the Soviet Union is that the time for such talks may soon pass the point of no return. Because of the impossibility of detecting the number of warheads inside the deployed missiles we will reach a stage in a few months when neither nation will be able to accept a limitation on its strategic force. The Soviet Union has been pressing for such talks, and we have been putting them off while we complete testing.

A profound indication of the acceleration of the arms race is the fact that our own military strategists are presently engaged in a debate to shift the basic question of defense policy from preventing nuclear war to surviving it.

Unless we act decisively within the next few months, the opportunities for maintaining any kind of security in the next decade may be almost non-existent. The bureaucratic momentum of the defense establishment, with its parochial view of the world, is projecting decisions that are contrary to the needs of the nation and to the well-being of mankind.

The staggering costs of this proposed arms spiral cannot be measured accurately in dollars or in percentage of Gross National Product. The proper measures are in "opportunities foregone": permitting excessive contractor costs to go unchecked, or providing Head Start education for 2,250,000 additional children plus enough school lunches to feed twenty mil-

lion children for a whole year; spending this year's Safeguard funds, or training 510,000 more hard-core unemployed.

In the decade from 1959 to 1968, direct defense outlays of the United States came to more than \$551 billion. This is twice the amount spent for new private and public housing in the same decade, and nearly twice as much as Federal, state, and local governments allocated to education. In 1967 alone, a conservative estimate of military-related spending was \$100 billion. This was more than all Federal, state, and local expenditures on health, hospitals, education, old age benefits, welfare, unemployment, and agriculture.

This order of priorities prevails at a time when twenty million Americans live in dilapidated, rat-infested housing while the building industry cannot even keep up with the population increase and is in fact declining in productivity; when there are close to forty million people living in poverty with little access to medical or welfare care; while millions of children are doomed to lives of misery and poverty because of inadequate or non-existent school facilities.

The degree of economic damage done each year by the massive allocation of resources to military spending has been noted by such economists as Kenneth Boulding, who points out that by reducing "domestic consumption by about fifteen per cent and by diverting the growth resource into the rat hole of competitive weapons systems, or even space technology, it unquestionably diminishes the rate of growth by as much as two per cent per annum."

Unlike investments in education or in new factories, expenditures for missiles add nothing to the nation's productive capacity, although they do generate income for a certain segment of the population. Other costs are just as great, although less easily quantified. Civilian businesses suffer because they cannot match the salaries offered by subsidized defense firms; scientists and engineers are trapped into doing research that is contrary to life-serving causes; a new class of business executives arises—men who know little about marketing or cost controls, but who know how to negotiate effectively with Government officials.

The most striking evidence of (continued on page 2)

## People vs. the Pentagon

(continued from page 1)

the decay of our society is that we have sought to meet the local crises of race and poverty by increasing militarization—by training more than 400,000 National Guardsmen and police in local riot control. THE PERVERSIVE USE OF MILITARY MEANS TO SOLVE OUR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS IS THE MOST ALARMING INDICATION OF THE EMPTINESS OF OTHER CONFLICT-RESOLVING INSTITUTIONS.

In many other subtle ways individual values and ideals have been eroded. We are slowly becoming conditioned to the acceptance of regimentation, wiretapping, snooping, and spying by large national and internal security related agencies. In many communities the existence of large defense installations has retarded necessary social reform by reinforcing prevailing patterns of segregation and economic rigidity. In industry the military have taken over fundamental business decisions, even necessitating security clearances for business executives.

Eventually we must recognize that the factors which determine our massive military budget are to be found less abroad than they are here at home. The reason we are able to move a wounded Marine from the jungles of Vietnam to the finest medical care in minutes, yet cannot do the same for a sick child on the Mississippi delta or on an Indian reservation, is very much bound up in our image of ourselves.

Being the greatest power in the world carries not only political and economic implications, but psychological elements which many of us have not yet truthfully faced. We do a great deal to buttress that image of power. Other sacrifices we find harder to make. We are six percent of the world's population using more than sixty per cent of its goods and developed resources. We are convinced that the American way of life is the best in the world, that American management and enterprise are the best in the world, and that capitalism is the best tool for development. The result is that our foreign policy is not dictated as much by external threats, as we would like to think, but is an extension of our own economic, political, and social institutions.

The questions we must ask ourselves are not who are the Russians, or what are the Chinese or Vietnamese about, but who and what are Americans? If anti-Communism is all we can agree on as a national credo, we will never be able to break the psychosis of force and destruction which is the American tragedy.

Our national priorities were set out in the Constitution. Somehow we have forgotten them. The priorities of our forefathers were "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, and to provide for the common defense." Our first task is to reinterpret these great goals in light of the realities of the Twentieth Century and the dawn of the Twenty-first Century.

"To form a more perfect union" is to end the racism and discrimination that have long permeated American life. "Our society is moving toward two societies, one white, one black—separate and unequal." The extraordinary Kerner Commission Report on Civil Disorders outlines the decisive deepening of the racial division of our country. To continue on our present course can only lead to the fragmentation of America into increasingly violent and repressive factions and to the ultimate destruction of basic democratic values. Despite all our talk of strength and wealth and power, we are a weak and divided society.

To form a more perfect union is surely our first task.

"To establish justice" is to end the exploitation of the poor and the weak and to make our legal system one that will insure we are governed by laws and not by men.

At a time when we have equated justice with law and order, it is important that we take a look at the "crime" in our society. The crime we talk about in America is crime in the streets. What about the

crime of a society which would shoot a sixteen-year-old for looting a television set but think nothing of hungry children in a land of surplus food? What is not talked about is the crime of a society with dual standards of justice, where property is protected at any price while the costs of extortion, price-fixing, racketeering, restraint of trade through duress or threat, blackmail, and consumer frauds are either ignored or passed on to the citizen in the form of higher prices. Organized crime drains the body politic of an estimated \$22 billion per year. This crime does not appear in the statistics, but it underlies the moral fabric of our society and gives a hypocritical ring to cries for law and order. The real issue is justice.

To ensure domestic tranquillity" is to redefine the difficult yet essential role of the police in contemporary society; to assist them in becoming more effective and creative servants of a pluralistic society; and to make sure that their role is not reduced to that of mere agents of a local power structure. The continued training of police and National Guardsmen in military techniques will not eliminate the economic and social failures which generate discord and disruption.

In the next five years twenty million Americans will leave the rural poverty in which they no longer can eke out a livelihood and migrate to cities which cannot house, feed, educate, or employ them. Massive disorder will be the inevitable result.

In the next few years millions of students will rebel against institutions which allow them no real responsibility, offer them careers they find abhorrent, and send them off to die for wars in which they cannot believe. They will disrupt the only segment of society over which they have any control—schools and universities.

The police and National Guard can quell riots. They cannot bring tranquillity. "There is no more urgent task than to break down the walls of isolation which surround our local police," warned the President's Commission on Law Enforcement. Our police are isolated from the society they serve, and the redefining and reorganization of our entire system of law enforcement—police, courts, and correctional apparatus—are essential to ensuring domestic stability and tranquillity.

"To provide for the common defense" means in the nuclear age to find new ways of leading in international cooperation, of building international institutions which can provide effective arms control and disarmament. The common defense does not require maintaining an American force for every conceivable contingency, however remote, nor does it require an endless arms race of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons which, if used, would destroy exactly what we are trying to protect.

One nuclear exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union would claim at least 120 million American lives. To offer up a percentage of our population as a human sacrifice is not to provide for the common defense.

The current strategic plans of our armed forces do not meet their Constitutional obligations as historically defined. To provide for defense in the nuclear age is to formulate and carry through a policy aimed at a stable peace. It means, at this point in time, a moratorium on further testing, no further ABM deployment, and successful arms limitation and disarmament agreements with the Soviet Union and other nations. A policy consciously directed towards creation of a stable peace which allows for profound change in the third world must now be fashioned to provide for the common defense of the United States.

How can we reassert the realities of our national priorities?

It is clear that President Nixon will be no more able to control military spending than were Presidents Johnson or Kennedy. The size of our national security institutions precludes any partisan responsibility. The most urgent challenge confronting the Congress today is to reassert con-

trol of the military bureaucracy and the policy decisions it has preempted.

This can be accomplished only by effective Congressional leadership backed by a broadly-based, informed, and concerned public constituency. In recent years the military budget and weapons policies have been determined by the Pentagon and the Armed Services Committees without critical evaluation by the Congress or the public. Last year the House Armed Services Committee held months of hearings on the military budget, but of hundreds of witnesses only two were not employees of the Pentagon.

The size and complexity of the military budget make effective review almost impossible once the appropriations measures reach the floor of either House. This year some of our colleagues will attempt to impose a ceiling on the military budget, a ceiling of \$50 billion, which would match the Soviet Union's military budget plus an additional twenty per cent. An attempt will be made to analyze the budget on a line-item basis which would permit us to explore the policies underlying the equipment for which we are asked to vote. If we are asked, for example, to vote millions of dollars for high speed troop transport, we should ask whether or not we want to be able to move troops around the world to various trouble spots at a moment's notice, and if we do, why? Our policies should determine our weapons and not vice versa.

This Conference reflects a new depth and awareness in the public mood which for the first time seems ready to translate concern into effective action. It is our hope that the Conference itself will serve as a catalyst to develop similar debates across the country which will allow us to assert our role as legislators for programs of the future rather than speechmakers on the problems of our past.

From this point the text excerpts from the conference itself.

**Larson:** We are at a turning point in our whole military policy. It is long overdue for complete reappraisal and overhaul. We have a new Administration which has the flexibility and freedom of movement to do something about this much needed overhaul.

Think of some of the changes of the past few years. For one, we have learned, without any doubt at all, that we can't have everything we want on the military side and have everything we need on the domestic side. We used to hear speeches about how we

**Arthur Larson, chairman of the conference, is director of the World Rule of Law Research Center at Duke University.**

could have them both. We now know better. This transforms the whole discussion of the military budget: Instead of starting out to see how much the military needs and dividing up what is left over for everybody else, we are now heading into a period when we will have an honest competition among the demands of our domestic economy, education programs, industry programs, and the rest.

In the past we seemed sometimes to have a contest. I sat in on some of those budget discussions in the Cabinet. But it was never a fair fight. The outcome was prejudged in advance. We would hear that "our boys overseas must have anything they need." Now people are beginning to say, "Our children back home must have things they need, too." This is what is implied in the title of our Conference, which links the military budget with national priorities.

Second, we have learned we can't be the world's policemen. Everybody says that nowadays, though few were saying it a few years ago. Then we were saying, "If there is a threat to freedom anywhere at any time, we will be there." Few talk like that any more.

The third big change is that we will now have to approach our military budget as a part of the total political environment—part of the question of what kind of world this will be and what part we will play in it.

Military policy must be a function of political policy, and not



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Herblock in The Washington Post

"By the way, what ARE we developing to protect our cities?"

the other way around. Instead of permitting essentially political decisions to be governed by military considerations and commitments, we will have to decide in advance how we are going to use our strength. The world power situation has been profoundly changed since we adopted the basic military policies that we still seem to be following.

It is not overstating the case, for example, to say the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China are at war with each other today. Just think how this transforms the world from what it was when people assumed there was only one real contest—the contest between the Soviet Union and the United States, and when an anti-Soviet stance was the beginning and end of all our policy. Our military decisions were based on the idea that the moment one power or the other obtained a little nuclear superiority over the other, it would obliterate its opponent. Let me suggest for a start that we have a much different balance of power situation in the world today. Why would the Soviet Union want to obliterate the United States when it has a war on its hands with the Chinese? This is something to ponder. There are many other great changes from the situation of a few years ago...

**Goodwin:** It does not denigrate our very real achievements—from the Marshall Plan to the test ban and nonproliferation treaties—to say that we are today no closer to establishing the conditions of lasting peace than we were when our great global adventure began. The reasons for this failure are many, and much is in the hands of the global realists; those who proudly proclaim their tough-minded pragmatism. Theirs is a policy that leapfrogs the continents seeking, as best it can, to put down hostile forces wherever they emerge and supporting the status quo—any status quo—that does not appear to be our enemy.

This is the policy that supported Batista and ended up with Castro, encouraged the Latin Amer-

**Richard Goodman** is a former special assistant to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

ican military and lost an oil company, led Marines into the Dominican Republic and exiles into Cuba. It is a policy that has failed to maintain a common purpose among the Atlantic nations, forfeited our influence with the Arab states, helped to trivialize the United Nations. It is a policy that has failed to bring about the control of nuclear arms, which is clearly in the interests of both great powers—and led us to our first major military failure since the War of 1812.

In the grip of this policy, we still fight a war in Vietnam which, however it ends, will hardly have increased the confidence of others in our wisdom and strength. The Middle East is on the edge of conflict. A hostile China is becoming a nuclear power. The arms race is gaining momentum. And perhaps most seriously, in the eyes of much of the world—and especially among the young—we seem to have forfeited any moral right to leadership of the forces of liberty, justice, and wise re-

straint....

Behind this policy lie deeply resistant attitudes. They are not some secret malevolence or hidden imperialism. There is, rather, timidity and the lack of confidence which makes it easier to move from crisis to crisis than to act when events do not demand action, or to withstand the pressure of immediate fears in pursuit of a long-range goal. The timidity is often matched with ignorance—ignorance as to where our own interests lie and what is really important to us. Many of those who talk most confidently about national interest know neither this nation nor its needs.

Of greatest interest, there is the growing militarization of our policy: not simply rising armaments but the even more dangerous tendency to rely on force and the calculations of force in dealing with world events. Increasingly, military men share in policy discussions for which they have little qualification or experience. This is not so much their fault as that of the civilian officials who heed them, and who often are fatally attracted to the kind of analysis which can be reduced to rigorous logic and fed into a computer. Thus, military plans for the Bay of Pigs were approved, even though any hope of success depended on Cuban hostility to Castro—for which there was no evidence. A military officer assured our highest officials that the Dominican rebels would lay down their arms when the first Marine, resplendent in battle dress, appeared on their beach. Twenty thousand troops later they still resisted, for no one knew what these rebels were like and what their convictions were....

In the war game rules and around the conference table we developed our options in the name of flexibility—amphibious forces, airborne forces, helicopter forces, special forces—seemingly unaware that when you have the ability to do something you will become powerfully tempted to do it. You can ask a computer whether you have the military capacity to accomplish an objective. It will answer either "yes" or "no." It will never say, "Yes, but it is not a good idea." It will not do to blame the generals. Force is their business. It was rather the civilian leadership which created this machine and gave it the tools to justify and explain and provide both the logic of fear and that exotic language of strategic theory which is used to baffle common sense.

**Morgenthau:** We are living, for better or worse, in a revolutionary period. Much of the uncommitted third of the world is characterized by pre-revolutionary conditions. The choice before us is therefore not between a status quo which pleases us and a revolution which displeases us, but rather between two different types of revolution. Either the revolution will be Communist-led against the United States, or it will be led by other forces—forces at least not hostile to the United States.

I should say in passing that considerable segments of the Catholic Church in Latin America have been able to grasp this basic fact (continued on page 4)



### JULIAN BREAM

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**Pentagon**

(continued from page 2)  
and act accordingly.

We, on the other hand, have devised clever schemes going by the name of "counterinsurgency," by which we have tried to suppress and forestall revolution. We have transformed ourselves from

Hans J. Morgenthau is professor of political science and modern history at the University of Chicago.

what was once the revolutionary nation par excellence into a replica of Metternich's Austria, which tried to stifle liberal revolution from 1815 to 1848. In consequence, we have applied to a revolutionary situation simple-minded and doomed military policies. We have completely misunderstood the character, for instance, of the Castro revolution in Cuba, thinking that Castro was just another Latin American dictator superimposed upon an unwilling people, and assuming that a thousand poorly armed emigrants landing in Cuba would overthrow him.

Similarly, we still seem to believe that all that is needed in Vietnam is a series of so-called military successes over the Vietcong, and that a government which we installed in Saigon will somehow rally the people to its colors. In order to maintain this simplistic position, we must deny the existence of a national and social revolution and instead assume that what we are fighting is foreign aggression.

Finally, I think we have in good measure abdicated our own judgment in the face of so-called military expertise. I personally know absolutely nothing about electronics, for instance, but I claim to have common sense—if you wish, political judgment—as to the military and political consequences of the operations of the ABM or other military hardware. In other words, the really important questions, the really decisive questions in the field of military technology are not sci-

entific or technological—they are political. When it comes to political judgment, you and I are as well qualified to pass judgment as the so-called experts.

Here is a practical point which members of Congress ought not overlook—a point on which they have tended to abdicate in the past in the face of so-called expert judgment: Even if we don't know anything about the technological intricacies of how certain military hardware works, we still are capable of knowing what the likely consequences are when it comes to decisions concerning military hardware.

York: I also start from the position that in the present world we need military technology. The problem is not how to get rid of it in its entirety, but rather how to control it—how to prevent the creation of a Twentieth Century Frankenstein's monster that could, despite all good intentions to the contrary, destroy us.

First of all, I would suggest that when hearing Defense officials and officers one must insist on asking how a particular proposal or weapons system fits into the total national security picture

Herbert York is professor of physics at the University of California in San Diego.

and what its influence would be on the arms race. Surely the matter of the arms race itself is one of the most important factors bearing on our national security. One must not allow such questions to be brushed aside because they involve some mysterious secret, and one must not accept without further argument such simplistic answers as, "It is an intrinsically defensive system and therefore not threatening."

We have seen a singularly simple case of this last matter in connection with the ABM. The pro-ABM people have quoted no less an authority than Premier Kosygin as saying ABM is defensive and therefore not threatening. And therefore not an accelerating factor in the arms race.

I would say to both Premier

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Kosygin and the Americans who quote him that our present multiple warheads program, the program we call MIRV, and the penetration aids programs are our reply to the first hint of a Soviet ABM system, and that these multiple warheads, as I think anyone who has looked at the problem knows, are one of the most serious factors in the arms race.

Leggett: I would hope that this Conference could orient itself towards setting a national policy on a reasonable relationship between defense expenditures and domestic expenditures.

If we could settle on that and settle on the fact that we would

Robert L. Leggett is a Democratic member of the House of Representatives from California.

like to do this within the framework of a balanced budget, then I think we might make a meaningful contribution towards our own security and domestic progress. We have to get into a balanced economy again. When we sanction continuous inflation, it seems to me it is nothing more than theft from people on fixed income—the poor, the old and retired.

I would not like to substitute my judgment for the judgment of General Powers or General Wheeler, or some of the other experts in our defense structure. I would rather stand back and say, "Let's agree that a certain percentage of our income should be voted for defense—say fifty per cent or sixty per cent of our Federal budget."

Then you could apportion that among the various services and let them provide the best defense possible within that framework. Unless we do that they have up their sleeve in the Department of Defense more than \$20 billion of new systems in addition to the ABM. There is going to be tremendous pressure to deploy those systems, and I think many are needed. But I would rather not have us decide on a political basis which of them to deploy. I would rather have the decisions made by the professional

soldiers we have trained with our tax dollars.

Galbraith: I would suggest, too that we can't have a crusade against military men as such. Indeed, our purpose is to restore the military profession to its historic and honored role. The armed ser-

John Kenneth Galbraith is Paul M. Warburg professor of economics at Harvard. He has served as advisor to the National Defense Advisory Commission.

vices were meant to be the servants and not the makers of national policy. They were never intended to be commercial subsidiaries of General Dynamics.

Our problem is essentially one of bureaucratic power, of uncontrolled bureaucratic power which, in the manner of all bureaucracies, including those which many of us here at this table have been associated with, governs in its own interest and in accordance with its own parochial view of the world.

It is the problem of a vast bureaucracy going considerably beyond the Pentagon, embracing the intimately associated industries where increasingly the line between what is public and what is private can't be distinguished; and to all its outriders and intellectual allies in the Department of State and the intelligence agencies, including members of the Congressional armed services committees.

The principal instrument of power of this bureaucracy is fear. It is fear that gave it this enormous power and autonomy in the 1950's and early 1960's. This fear caused us to consolidate and delegate power—in effect to say, "Here, we will give you all the money you can use, all the authority you need, and you deal with the danger of the Soviet Union and the Communist world."

It is interesting proof of the role of fear that the Secretary of Defense, when he was here talking about the ABM, when he was seeking approval of the so-called "Safeguard" system, immediately resorted to the tactic of trying to scare the hell out of everyone—

(continued on page 6)

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(continued from page 5)  
body. I think one can say of the Secretary of Defense that he is a man who fully learns his business.

Since this power was born in an age of fear, it will be curbed only as we resist fear; only as we resist the temptation to scurry for cover when anybody talks about Communism; only as we look upon the world, Communist and non-Communist, with a certain calm intelligence.

I think we should also bear in mind this is a power which traces to a period in our history not distant in time, but quite different in character. This delegation of our power of the late 1940's and through the 1950's was in a period when it was possible to believe Secretary Rusk's haunting dream of a Communist imperium, completely united and probing out at any soft point on its perimeter and without—and with no objective short of the ultimate destruction of its opposition.

We must remind ourselves how distant that world is from the world that we now see—a world of bickering Communist states coming to the edge of actual conflict on some obscure island in Asia, a world where the Soviets have to move troops into Czechoslovakia "to have comradely talks." The most pregnant fear in the world today is the fear some Communist states have of other Communist states. There has been in the past twelve months no depth of alarm in the West comparable to that felt in Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia about the intentions of the Soviet Union.

There was another aspect of the 1940's and 1950's that we must also bear in mind. This was a period when the memory of the Great Depression was strong in

all of our minds. In some measure we were spending money because we did not have an easy alternative to sustain employment. Liberals, those of us around the table who went through that period, never liked to say that was one justification of the military budget, but it is in some measure the truth. In 1964 we were forced to reduce taxes essentially because we could not find civilian objects of expenditure that were acceptable to Congress.

We have now moved, in less than a decade, into a drastically different society in which the balance which all societies must sustain between their public and private outlays has been deeply disturbed. This is a practical matter. We must have a balance between what kids see on television and the quality of the schools they attend. We must have a balance between the concentration of urban work forces and what we do to make our cities livable. We must have a balance between the living standard that we have and the enormous amount of refuse in which that living standard comes packaged and which has to be disposed of.

It is a pervasive thing. For nearly twenty years we have allowed this enormous military budget to preempt a large part of the public expenditures which maintain this balance. We have had expansive private consumption and tight public expenditure designed to balance off this growth.

There is much psychological speculation involving race, the nature of poverty, and the like, to explain the agony of our cities. I am forced to confess to the somewhat old-fashioned view that damn few of these problems would not be substantially solved by a considerable increase in the budget.

Twenty years ago, we were alarmed about the vision of the Communist imperium, but every-

body around this table today is far more alarmed about the crisis of our cities. Therefore, the ultimate task which confronts us is to bring the sense of priority that we have of our national responsibility abreast of the anxiety we all manifest.

Falk: There are at least two kinds of pressures, in my judgment, that have consistently led to a distortion of priorities and to excess appropriations for military purposes.

The two distortions parallel the distinction between nuclear and non-nuclear weapons. In the nuclear area, we have consistently been overdesigning weapons systems on the basis of the most conservative possible estimate of

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what the other side's intentions might be under implausible sets of circumstances.

This logic of "defense" is communicated to our adversaries, who imitate it because they are somewhat behind us. They apparently feel that since we think and act this way then they have to think this way too. The Soviet military budget has been consistently sensitive to increases and decreases in U.S. military spending.

That establishes a kind of logic at the strategic level which assures a continuing dynamism in the arms race, with both sides overdesigning to cope with what they think the other side may be doing in an unlikely circumstance. This process might have been a tolerable luxury in the pre-nuclear age. It might even have been a tolerable luxury in the early years of nuclear technology. But it increasingly leads to a dangerous kind of confrontation as these weapon systems escalate in their

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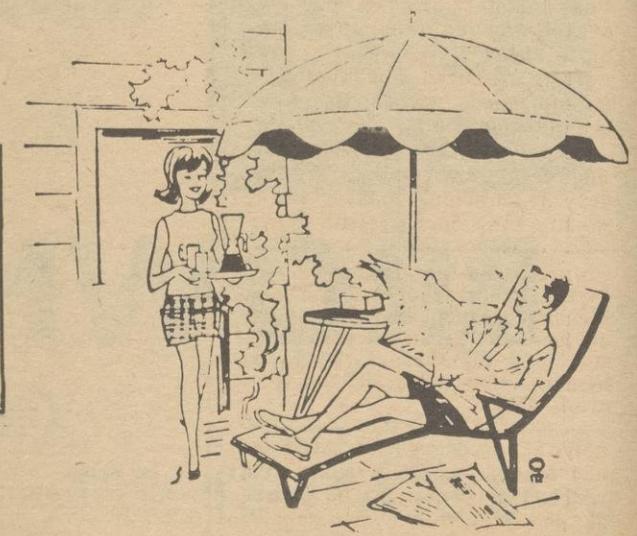
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capabilities and decrease in the time needed for their delivery, and as the financial burden increasingly withdraws resources from other needs of the society and the world.

There is a parallel distortion in the conventional weapons area. The demand for weapons acquisition generates a kind of political pressure to demonstrate that the demands were justified. The consequence is to encourage an interventionary diplomacy. We conceive of missions to justify earlier assertions that needs existed. A propensity to intervene arises out of the very argument that counterinsurgency capabilities are essential to national security.

Barnet: Within that context we could begin to look at specific elements of the military budget in terms of the rationale for which they have been offered. If you look at the historical rationale for overseas bases, for example, the initial justification was that they were needed because there were

Richard Barnet is a former consultant to the Department of Defense and the State Department.

no intercontinental forces available in the U.S. Air Force. When it became clear that that was no longer the situation, the Air Force and Department of Defense came up with other rationalizations—political rationalizations—for keeping those bases. They contend that the United States must have presence for political reasons in many of the countries in which we have established bases. This is a prime example of how the military have been allowed to determine the basic national interest of the United States.

Goodwin: Because this power, this technological apparatus, has been given to the Defense Department, I doubt if it is possible ever to win arguments decisively on individual weapons systems. There is no limit to the ingenuity by which systems or a particular base or a particular program. There is almost no limit, no theoretical limit, to what can be justified as in some way or another increasing our security.

What we have to do, therefore, is go back almost to where we were about 1960 and say there are some risks that we won't accept and some that we will. One risk we will not accept—to the extent we can prevent it—is the risk of being blown up by the Russians. That is obviously unacceptable, so nuclear deterrent is a critical element. Beyond that, there are few world situations that could arise in a conventional sense where you would not have adequate time to build from the large reserves that we have, from our tremendous productive capacity, to meet it if danger arises.

Saxbe: I think we should concentrate on the assumption of risk: the risk of peace. We must turn the focus from the risk of war

William B. Saxbe is a Republican member of the Senate from Ohio.

to the gamble for peace. We can't say we will guarantee in every instance that there will not be a disruption here or there in the world. But getting away from the fear that Dr. Galbraith spoke about would be a breath of fresh air, not only for this country but for the world.

Raskin: One basic fact is that the United States with six per cent of the world's population, uses more than sixty per cent of the world's resources for itself, for its own needs, to keep this society going in one form or another.

Secondly, we are a great empire. And we are imperialists. We like very much being top dog in the world. That carries with it not

Marcus Raskin has served as a staff member of the National Security Council, as educational advisor to President Kennedy, and as a member of the U. S. Disarmament delegation at Geneva in 1963.

only a psychology but a politics and economics. That is one point which I think has to be looked at and looked at very hard. I throw this out as a challenge to see whether or not people are

prepared to accept or deny that view.

We can't say we will be tender imperialists, like the massive retaliation people of the 1950's (and when I was a member of the White House staff in the Kennedy Administration, I was the only person who favored massive retaliation, for just exactly the reasons Dick Goodwin suggests).

But we must now be prepared to ask: Do we want to be an empire? Do we intend to be top dog in the world? Are we prepared to intervene all over the world? And are we prepared to pay the price? That price is a high one. A great Swiss historian, Burkhardt, said, "A great nation has only one purpose, and that is to get more power. But what it gives up in the process is freedom."

What we are really talking about here today is not only such questions as how large should the standing army be, is the uniformed military different from the militarized civilian, and so forth, but the question of the actual transformation of the United States into a different sort of civilization, into a national security state. Should we attempt to control this national security state, to mediate it along the lines that Dick Goodwin suggested? Or should we assume the task of undertaking to dismantle the national security state?

I would suggest that those really turn out to be the two basic choices to which members of Congress and members of the scholarly community must address themselves. Do they think they can ride this tiger, mediating here, setting some sort of budgetary

limits there, or are they prepared to undertake the more difficult task of dismantling the national security state?

Since passage of the National Security Act of 1947, a group of bureaucratic institutions have formed the basis in the Government of the national security state. They include the Department of Defense, the National Security Agency, the Central Intelligence Agency, the AID agency—at least in part, the Atomic Energy Commission. They are buttressed, of course, by such state-subsidized corporations as General Dynamics and Boeing. A third component is the labor unions, which have in fact been brought into this national security state structure to the extent that at least three and a half million workers are directly involved in its operations.

Another bulwark of the national security state is the Keynesian idea that a dollar spent on anything, no matter what, is equal to a dollar spent on anything else. We need a basic revision of our definitions of economic growth, or we are going to be spending even more billions on madness and thinking that we are growing economically, when in fact what we are doing is producing a negative effect on the society.

A whole series of systems and habits of mind has developed with the national security state. One is the classification system—the notion that the public must be denied access to information that everybody needs to make obvious moral and political judgments.

Secondly, there is the elaborate system of spying on citizens. We not only spy on people at the

edges of the empire; it has also become a habit of mind within the country itself.

There is the removal of decisions from public bodies, such as Congress, except in those cases where particular Representatives and Senators operate as permanent undersecretaries, in effect, such as the defense appropriations subcommittee chairmen. The rest of the Congress becomes a permanent talk group which arrives at no decisions and effects no changes in terms of the actual direction of the society.

Whether or not Congress will be able to stop the ABM will be a test of whether the national security state is sunk in concrete for this next generation. If Congress proves unable to stop the war in Vietnam or change the direction on ABM, my judgment is that public bodies in this country will be nothing more than ornamental talk groups. They will have no effect on the actual policies of the nation.

The national security state has developed its own pension classes—large groups of people directly dependent on expenditures voted by Congress for old wars or new wars. Further, a substantial part of the educated class now depends specifically on the national security structure. The universities operate in part as instruments of the national security state. The engineers find themselves in a situation where they have to keep their laboratories hot because they have no other place to go. You may recall that in 1962 the only real reason given for the resumption of nuclear testing by President Kennedy was the fear that

the engineers could not work, that we wouldn't be able to keep the labs going. We have built up a technological force that doesn't fit into the business or commercial side of the economy.

Beyond that, this whole structure of the national security state has created an incredible malaise in the country. The rhetoric of who we think we are and how we describe ourselves has nothing to do with who we are and how we operate. We put billions and billions of dollars into killing, while we talk as if we really just love life. Part of the reason young people are so alienated from our society is this contradiction between the rhetoric of how we describe ourselves and what is actually going on.

We find ourselves in a continuous situation of intervention and engagement, so that the American empire, if it continues to go in the present direction, will find itself constantly at war. One result of that will be that more and more black people will be fighting those wars abroad and will come back to become guerrillas at home. We will have guerrilla groups forming in the cities to attempt "national liberation."

I am not attempting to scare anybody, but to provide a reasonable political, scientific analysis.

Perhaps one place to begin is to go back to the National Security Act of 1947. Revise it. See what it brought to America. See the groups that have attained power as a result of it. See its structure and begin to see how in fact that Act can be radically changed.

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## How Arms Race Works

(continued from page 6)

**Stone:** The Department of Defense has become an inventor and a merchandiser of exaggerated fears. It has become an unscrupulous lobbyist for the weapons to answer those fears. Worst of all, through the action-and-reaction phenomenon, its aggressive pursuit of the arms race has greatly undermined the security

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of the nation by stimulating unnecessarily Soviet efforts to keep up.

The Department of Defense has never been responsible for a serious effort to halt the arms race by negotiation. It has been extraordinarily complacent about many serious threats to our survival. It has traditionally taken the view that the only nuclear danger the country faces is premeditated Soviet aggression. It has taken the view that this danger could be resolved with certainty if only the United States bought every new strategic weapon that might conceivably work and in larger numbers than the Russians.

Meanwhile, the survival of this country has fallen under a cloud. We can now be destroyed in an hour as a result of unintended escalation—perhaps beginning on the German Autobahn. This is not true of Brazil or Australia today. And it was not true of the United States twenty years ago. In the name of security, the Defense Department has developed rules and ways of thinking that undermine security. There is a cost to buying too many weapons, and that cost is an uncontrolled arms race. I want to explain how that arms race works.

In the 1950's, the accepted U.S. doctrine was massive retaliation. The United States was worried about Soviet aggression in Europe, and it prepared to respond by attacking the Soviet Union directly. In such a war, the United States would probably be able to attack Soviet missiles before they were launched against us. The Russians would start the war in Europe. But we would start the strategic attacks. From that time on, and still today, the Defense Department has spent billions to give our missiles the ability to destroy Soviet missiles on the ground. In this sense, our strategic posture has always been a first-strike posture, not a retaliatory posture only. Every serious scholar of these matters knows this is so.

This policy requires far more weapons, and far more accurate weapons, than are necessary just to destroy Soviet cities in retaliation. In order to get the weapons, the Defense Department bureaucracy has created, permitted, encouraged, and fostered three different missile-gap scares in this decade alone.

First there was the missile-gap scare of 1960; the entire country was alarmed by exaggerated future estimates of Soviet missile production, even while U-2 planes showed clearly that the Russians had no ICBMs at all. Secretary McNamara admitted, in his famous September 1967 speech in San Francisco, that the United States had started far too many missiles in 1961. Spurred by missile-gap fears, the United States opened a missile-gap in reverse which took the Soviet Union five to seven years to close. In 1962 we began to build one missile per day, while the Russians were building only one per week. They did not become capable of building one a day until 1967. They did not catch up in numbers until we had shifted our emphasis to increasing the efficiency of each missile and therefore ceased for three years to increase the numbers of our missile launchers.

Next there was the anti-missile gap. The country was given the impression that the Russians might be building an "air-tight shield" over the Soviet Union requiring massive increases in numbers of U.S. warheads. The Department of Defense then began to insist on increasing the number of targetable U.S. warheads from 2,400 to 8,000 or 10,000 by putting many missiles on each ex-

isting missile launcher. This is the MIRV program. Now the Deputy Secretary of Defense admits that the Soviet Union has made no commitment to a missile defense of any significance. Has the MIRV program been stopped? It has not. Instead, in the old pattern of strategic opportunism, the Department of Defense is openly putting high accuracy on the 8,000 additional warheads, so that they can be used to attack Soviet land-based missiles. And it is going forward with a missile defense that is bigger than Sentinel—one that will open an anti-missile gap in reverse.

Faced with this imminent threat of accurate multiple warheads, and the threat of a U.S. missile defense, the Soviet Union must multiply its missile force as quickly as possible to maintain a retaliatory capability. The SS-9 missile, which can be given multiple warheads, is an efficient way to do this promptly. But the Defense Department has seized on the Soviet build-up of SS-9's to argue that our land-based missiles may be attacked if the SS-9 ever gets anywhere near as accurate as we have already made our missiles.

We are in no danger whatever of losing our deterrent. We will soon have the ability to destroy 160 Soviet cities with each one of our forty-one invulnerable submarines. Nevertheless, the Department of Defense has seized upon this threat to land-based missiles. It has used it as its sixth rationalization for a missile defense. And, in the same pattern of strategic opportunism, it has expanded the old Sentinel missile defense proposal so that it might try to shoot down Soviet submarine-launched missiles. These missiles are the only kind of Soviet deterrent that cannot be destroyed on land in an initial attack.

What is this Defense Department pattern? It is one of undermining the Soviet deterrent while complaining that the other side may, in the future, undermine ours. The pressures in the Department of Defense go far beyond their traditional underestimate of costs of U.S. weapons and their overestimate of effectiveness. The Department invariably exaggerates the Soviet threat and uses these exaggerations to get public and Congressional support for weapons that will undermine the Soviet deterrent. This means a permanent arms race. Some countervailing pressure must be found. The size and zealousness of the Department of Defense now constitute a distortion in our society.

This is the last clear chance to do something about the arms race for several years. Once we have modified and completed our tests on MIRV, and begun substantial deployment, it will be impossible for either side to know how many warheads the other side has on its missiles. There could be eight or ten at the top of the missile. Nobody would know. On a Polaris missile you could put ten; on the Minuteman, three. But you could put more or less. The Russians won't know whether or not we have 10,000 warheads or 5,000, or what.

If the Russians seek to do the same thing, we won't know what they have on their warheads either. This is why former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford testified recently that in six months or a year "technological developments may well make any arms limitation agreement more difficult to develop and enforce a year from now, than it is today." The two things we would hope to talk the Russians out of in the strategic talks, the MIRV and the ABM, the two things those talks are about, the two things we would hope they do not do, are the very two things this Administration seems to be putting on the road irrevocably. And this, at a time when the Russians are pressing for talks, as everybody in Washington knows, and at a time when the Administration seems to be saying we have to wait for a proper climate.

I think it is worse than a disgrace to permit us to go past another point of no return when there is a real chance for stability, perhaps the best chance in

twenty years.

If there were a moratorium on both sides at this time, we would not have to worry about the SS-9. All the fears expressed are about the mid-1970's. If things stop now there will not be need for fear on either side. If things do not stop now, and if the Defense Department continues in the same pattern, what we will have is a permanent arms race.

In my opinion much of the problem is that the Defense Department has no counter-balancing pressures resisting it. Some way must be found to confront a bureaucracy so large and entrenched, so zealous and so parochial, with opposing points of view.

**Nelson:** The fact is that we will bring the military-industrial complex under control, or we will get a President and a Congress who will. And the delay will not continue beyond the time when this generation starts voting and taking active leadership in the politics of this country—that is, the next six, eight, ten years. Members of Congress who are not prepared to undertake to do the job will not be back. And it's starting right now.

We are reacting badly, as a country, to the youth of America. We run around asking, "What's wrong with the kids?" It isn't

**Gaylord Nelson** is a Democratic member of the Senate from Wisconsin.

what's wrong with the kids; it's what's wrong with the country. They are reflecting what is wrong with the country, and what is wrong with the world in every country—Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, America, Southeast Asia.

The older folks say, "We can't understand the kids," but the kids understand their parents only too well. The kids understand the system, and they don't like the system. They have good reason for not liking the system. They are sick and tired of being involved in a war in Vietnam for which we haven't yet figured out a purpose.

I remember hearing Dean Rusk say, time after time, "We have to contain China." There isn't a single Chinese soldier in Vietnam yet.

We cannot find a reason any more for being in Vietnam, and neither can the kids. They aren't going to kill people and get killed for no cause at all.

So in a handful of years we will manage the military industrial complex, I think, all right enough. As the young people look at our institutions and the institutions of every other country, they see what we are doing in terms of killing each other. They see we are expending vast sums in military enterprises that do not solve problems but create them. They see we are devastating the environment in which we live, polluting the air, contaminating the water, killing the animals and birds, denuding the forests, destroying the beauty of the world. They see all this and that it is all done in the name of "progress." You could substitute the word "profit" and you would be more accurate.

The institutions we have created are destroying the livability of the whole world; and the young people know it. They may not articulate it well, but they sense it. They feel it.

I speak on campuses all the time. The first issue raised by the students in the past few years has been Vietnam, because that is immediate and reflects their rejection of the militarization of this country and other countries. But the second issue often raised is, "What are we doing to the livability of the world? What are we doing to the air? What are we doing to the water of the country? What are we doing to the beauty of the nation?"

So they are looking at what we are doing, and they are rejecting the institutions that are doing it. Thank heavens they are rejecting them.

But we say what they are doing on the campus is not related to what we are talking about. The only thing they can do on the campus is what is within their jurisdiction to do. So they raise hell with whatever part of the institution they can, because that is where they are, and that is where that institution is. The sooner we

understand that, the better off we will be.

I am much more optimistic than some of the rest here that the problems will come under control as soon as we throw everybody out of office who is not interested in bringing them under control. And that will happen pretty soon, and the sooner the better.

**Falk:** I agree completely with what Senator Nelson just said. One way of expressing my agreement is to suggest that the one positive effect of the Vietnam war has been to give the youth of America an invaluable learning experience.

Vietnam has led the young to question why they are being asked to make senseless sacrifices. But it has also provoked much more fundamental questions which have started to discredit both the institutional structure that exists in America and the value priorities that have dominated our society in recent decades—especially the imposition on a local community and a society and a world of values that are based on selfish economic and social considerations and on an obsolete image derived from a pre-nuclear world of the content of national security.

I want to make one additional comment that relates to what George Kahin said earlier about Vietnam and responds, in a sense, to what Senator Fulbright has said.

It is essential that both the leadership of the country and the public in general have an understanding of one element in the process of trying to settle the war: So long as a condition of an honorable settlement is that that settlement be acceptable to the presently constituted Saigon regime, the prospects for a negotiated peace are exceedingly poor. The Saigon regime understands that it cannot survive peace, and it therefore has a maximum incentive to do everything possible to obstruct the settlement of the war.

The only way that the United States Government can obtain the kind of leverage that would allow a negotiated political compromise to occur in Vietnam is to begin to withdraw troops. Only when a phased withdrawal (50,000-100,000 per two months) with no specified terminal point is initiated will there be the kind of leverage that will lead Saigon to broaden its regime, to abandon its control or be overthrown, or to seek a bargain on its own. So long as Saigon retains the option of sustaining a military stalemate, the Thieu-Ky leadership has a maximum incentive to obstruct, and no incentive to cooperate in the search for a negotiated settlement. So long as that option remains open, the U.S. Government has virtually no leverage other than its presence in Vietnam by which to influence the present Saigon government.

Therefore, there must be an assertion of Congressional influence that makes these two points: first, that phased withdrawal is the only source of American leverage; and second, that such leverage must be used to reconstitute the Saigon regime in some manner that gives it a chance of surviving after settlement. The political prisoners to whom George Kahin referred must be released and given an opportunity to participate in the political life of South Vietnam without harassment. Third force politics is the key to a political compromise in South Vietnam.

American leverage must be used to that end if there is to be any prospect of ending the war within a reasonable period of time. Unless this issue is clearly presented and justly resolved, I just don't believe action is likely to take place within a reasonable period of time. To "de-Americanize" the war, as the Nixon Administration apparently proposes, is to move in the wrong direction, encouraging rigid diplomacy on Saigon's part and equipping this isolated military government to fight against the bulk of its own population, and not just against the NLF.

**Morgenthau:** Certainly the Vietnam war is extremely unpopular and it has been opposed time and again by experts in foreign policy and in the affairs of Southeast Asia; but the war goes on.

Certainly we are all agreed on the weaknesses of the military

establishment; but the military establishment is still in power.

The question then is, "How do you translate expert knowledge and the popular mood into political realities?" An individual citizen—and even a member of Congress—is enormously handicapped in arguing against the military establishment, because that establishment is not only the guardian of the safety of the United States—which, under present conditions, means the existence of the United States—but it also holds a monopoly of confidential information and exerts very great social power. How are you going to pit your personal judgment against this enormous authority of the military establishment?

**Schultz:** I believe, naively perhaps, that the real problem with military budgets and military com-

**Charles L. Schultze** is professor of economics at the University of Maryland. He was director of the Bureau of the Budget, 1965-1968.

mitments is that the great majority of the American people will buy anything once it is wrapped in the flag and the Joint Chiefs say it is necessary for security.

It seems to me this is the key need: Whatever fundamental restructuring there must be in the long run, the need now is to reveal to the American people that what comes out of the Pentagon is not oracular. And it is not terribly hard to reveal that when you have appropriate instruments for evaluating the relationship of foreign policy commitments to military contingencies to military structures to weapons systems.

**Larson:** Our discussions have ranged from the most urgent current issues of foreign and military policy to the most far-reaching inquiries into the kind of society Americans want and the kind they are liable to get.

As to immediate issues and steps, there was strong support for some of the following lines of action:

One—Postponement of deployment of the ABM pending prompt negotiations with the Soviet Union on limitation of strategic defensive and offensive weapons systems.

Two—Postponement of final testing of MIRV for the sametime and the same purpose—pending talks with the Soviet Union—particularly because completion of testing of this weapons system would produce a situation in which an arms control agreement would no longer be self-enforcing since it would be impossible to detect the size of a missile force utilizing an unknown number of multiple warheads.

Three—Immediate commencement of strategic arms talks with the Soviet Union—a matter of extreme urgency, since for the reasons just indicated the possibility for such talks may pass the point of no return as a result of recent technological developments.

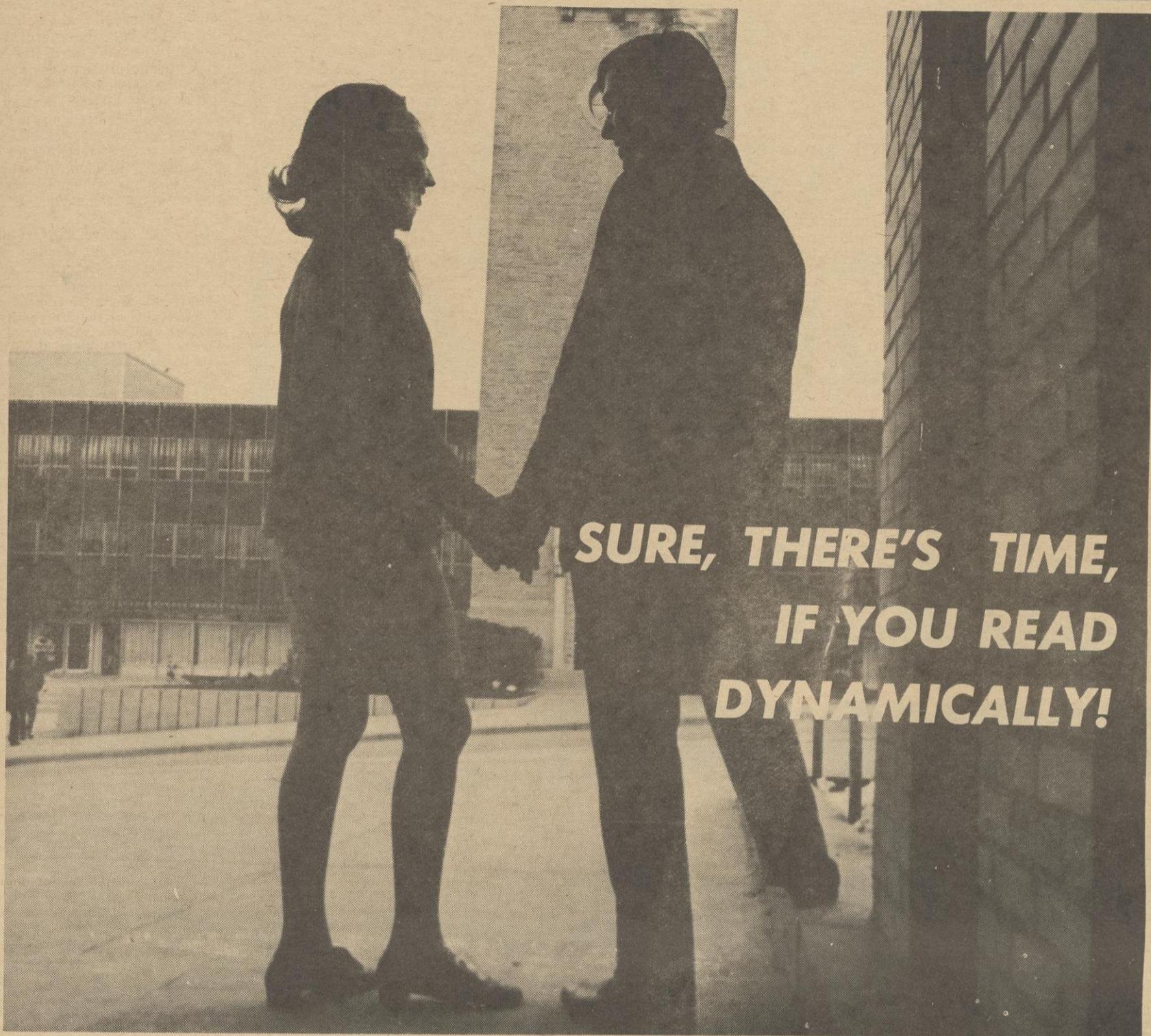
Four—Negotiation of a mutual standstill in testing and deployment of new systems during the talks, since they may continue for a long period of time.

Five—Intensive public education to prepare the American people for the kind of settlement that will be necessary if the Vietnam war is to be ended—a settlement in which the United States cannot expect to get everything it wants.

Six—Promotion of general understanding that a transitional regime in Saigon involving NLF participation will be necessary to supervise determination of the national will as to the form and composition of a permanent government which may or may not turn out to be a coalition and may or may not turn out to be to our liking.

**Excerpted from Epilogue**  
"The only point of government," George Wald, the Harvard biologist and Nobel Prize winner, observed recently, "is to safeguard and foster life. Our Government has become preoccupied with death, with the business of killing and being killed. Our business is with life, not death."

The people are beginning to recognize—through their basic instinct for survival, perhaps—that the Government's business should be "with life, not death." Now the people must tell that to their Government before it is too late.



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servoir of creative energy in mindless toil. We have opened the prospect of man's development from an elemental mass, bitterly divided by economic conflict, racism, imperialism, war, privilege, and class interests, into a free community of creative beings, each the master of his own destiny.

Technologically, we have achieved man's historical goal of material abundance and security. But socially and culturally, we are mired in the economic relations, institutions, attitudes, and values of a barbarous past, of a social heritage created by material scarcity. Despite the potentiality of complete human freedom, we live in the day-to-day reality of material insecurity and a subtle, ever-oppressive system of coercion. We live, above all, in a society of fear, be it of war, repression, or dehumanization. For decades we have lived under the cloud of a catastrophic thermonuclear conflict, streaked by the fires of local conflicts in half the continents of the world. We have tried to find our identities in a society that has become ever more centralized and mobilized, dominated by swollen civil, military, and industrial bureaucracies. We have tried to adapt to an environment that is becoming increas-

ingly befouled with noxious wastes. We have seen our cities and their governments grow beyond all human comprehension, reducing our very sovereignty as individuals to ant-like proportions—the manipulated, dehumanized victims of immense administrative engines and political machines. While the spokesmen for this diseased social "order" piously mouth encomiums to the virtues of "democracy," "freedom," and "equality," tens of millions of people are denied their humanity because of racism and reduced to conditions of virtual enslavement.

Viewed from a purely personal standpoint, we are processed with the same cold indifference through elementary schools, high schools, and academic factories that our parents encounter in their places of work. Worse, we are expected to march along the road from adolescence to adulthood, the conscripted, uniformed creatures of a murder machine guided by electronic brains and military morons. As adults, we can expect to be treated with less dignity and identity than cattle: squeezed into underground freight cars, rushed to the spiritual slaughterhouses called "offices" and "factories," and reduced to insensibility by monotonous, often purposeless

work. We will be asked to work to live and live to work—the mere automata of a system that creates superfluous, if not absurd needs; that will steep us in debts, anxieties, and insecurities; and finally, deliver us to the margins of society, to the human scrap heap called the aged and chronically ill—desiccated beings, deprived of all vitality and humanity.

Hypocrisy pervades every pore of this society. We are expected to equate political opportunism with civic virtue, cheap palliatives with social reforms, middle-class prostitution with love, television with culture, napalm bombs with freedom, advertising with art, profit with social responsibility, a philistine stupidity with intelligence, business with religion, pharmaceuticals with good health, dogmatism with knowledge, money grubbing with idealism, competition with human solidarity, salesmanship with friendship—and when the anxieties, insecurities, and hypocrisies engendered by our society become intolerable, we are asked to equate tranquilizers with serenity.

## Process of Social Breakdown

The debasement of social life—all the more terrifying because its irrational, coercive, day-to-day realities stand in such blatant contradiction to its liberatory potentialities—has no precedent in human history. Never before has man done so little with so much; indeed, never before has man used his resources for such vicious, even catastrophic ends. The tension between "what-could-be" and "what-is" reaches its most excruciating proportions in the United States which occupies the position not only of the most technologically advanced country in the world but also the "policeman of the world," the foremost imperialist power in the world. The United States affords the terrifying spectacle of a country overladen with automobiles and hydrogen bombs, of ranch houses and ghettos, of immense material superfluity and brutalizing poverty. Its profession of "democratic" virtue is belied daily by racism, the repression of black and white militants, police terrorism, Vietnam, and the prospect of Vietnam's to come.

Is it surprising, then that a basic, far-reaching disrespect and a profound disloyalty is developing toward the values, the forms, the aspirations, and above all, the institutions of American society? On a scale unprecedented in American history, millions of people, especially among the young, are shedding their commitment to the society in which they live. They no longer believe in its claims. They no longer respect its symbols. They no longer accept its goals, and most significantly, they refuse almost intuitively to live by its institutional and social codes.

This growing refusal runs very deep. It extends from an opposition to the Vietnam war into a hatred of political manipulation in all its forms. Starting from a rejection of racial discrimination, it brings into question the very existence of hierarchical power as such. In its detestation of middle class values and life-styles, it rapidly evolves into a rejection of the commodity system; from an irritation with environmental pollution, it passes into a rejection of the American city and modern urbanism. In short, it

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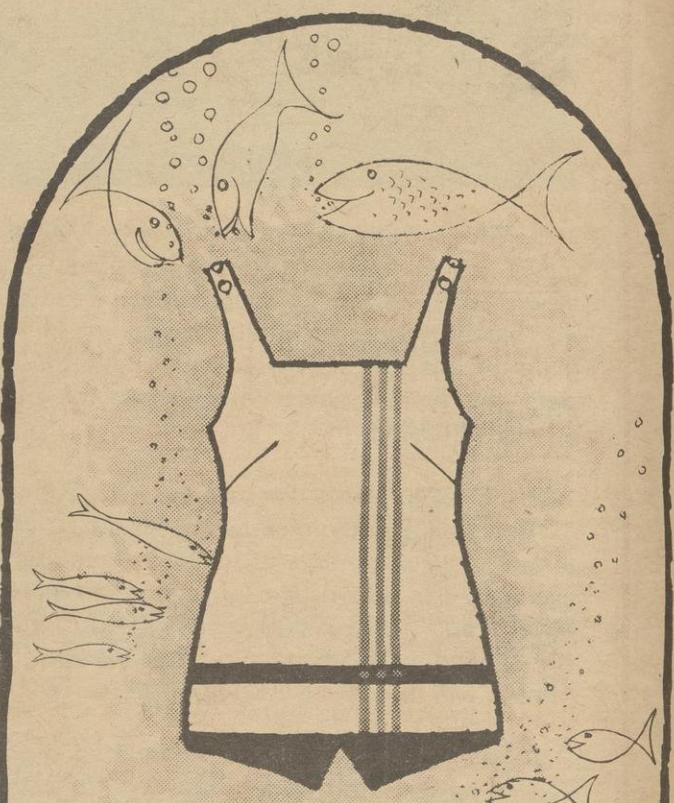
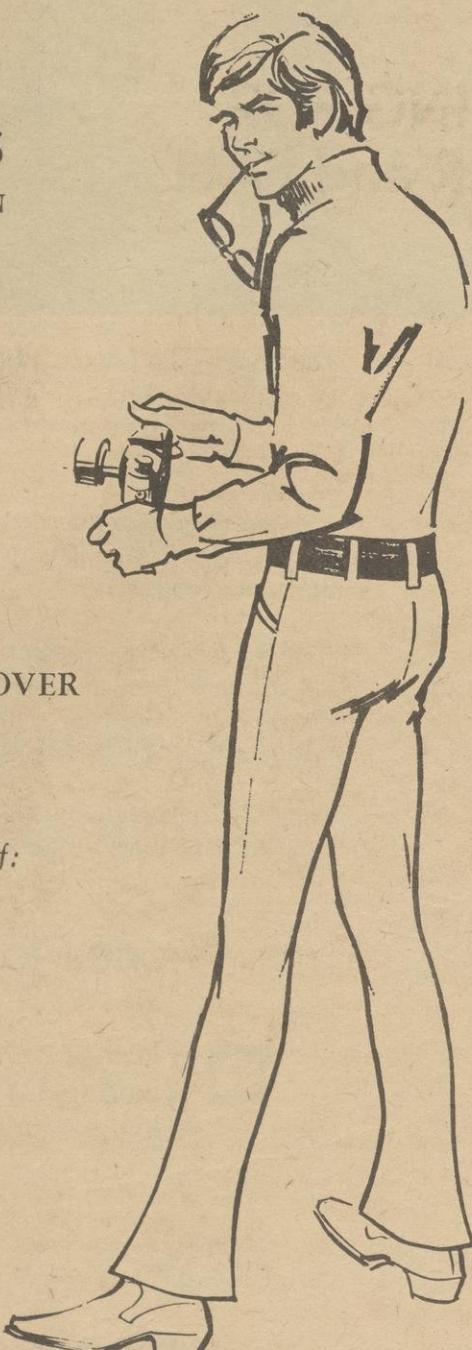
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# The American Perspective and S.D.S.

tends to transcend every particularistic critique of the society and evolve into a generalized opposition to the bourgeois order on an ever-broadening scale.

In this respect, the period in which we live closely resembles the revolutionary Enlightenment that swept over France in the eighteenth century—a period that completely reworked French consciousness and prepared the conditions for the Great Revolution of 1789. In both cases, the old institutions are slowly undermined by molecular action from below, long before they are toppled by mass revolutionary action. This molecular movement creates an atmosphere of general lawlessness: a growing personal, day-to-day disobedience, a tendency not to "go along" with the existing system, a seemingly "petty" but nevertheless critical attempt to circumvent restriction in every facet of daily life. The society, in effect, becomes disorderly, undisciplined, Dionysian—a condition that reveals itself most dramatically in an increasing rate of official crimes. A vast critique develops of the system—the actual Enlightenment itself, two centuries ago, and the sweeping critique that exists today—which seeps downward and accelerates the molecular movement at the base. Be it an angry gesture, a "riot" or a conscious change in life style, an ever-increasing

number of people—who have no more of a commitment to an organized revolutionary movement than they have to the society itself—begin to spontaneously engage in their own defiant propaganda of the deed.

A second parallel with the Enlightenment is the emergence of an immense and ever-growing "declasses," a body of lumpenized individuals drawn from every stratum of social life. The chronically indebted and socially insecure upper and middle classes of our period compare loosely with the chronically insolvent and

flighty nobility of pre-revolutionary France. A vast flotsam of educated people emerges in both epochs, living at loose ends without fixed careers and established social roots. At the bottom of the structure we find a large number of chronic poor: vagabonds, drifters, people with part-time jobs or no jobs at all surviving on public aid and on the garbage thrown off by society, a threatening, unruly sans culottes—the poor of the Parisian slums, the blacks of the American ghettos. Permeating this mass of "declasses" is the growing number of

dropout youth—hippies, hip revolutionaries, runaways—who are developing invaluable forms of libertarian and utopian affirmation: the right to uninhibited sexuality, the formation of communes, the practice of mutual aid, a new regard for spontaneity, and a disavowal of money, commodities, and the work ethic.

The majority of the American population—its workers, technicians, white collar employees, professionals, and even the majority of its youth—cannot drop out. But the dropout youth culture exerts a profound effect on the coun-

try at large, irrespective of the number of its adherents. It influences millions of young people whose outlook has not been orchestrated by the economic crises of the thirties. This influence widens as we go down the age-scale into youth in high schools and elementary schools, in trade and vocational schools as well as those in pre-academic institutions. Indeed, it cuts in one degree or another across virtually all class lines, emerging as subcultures which tend to challenge the moral, behavioral, and intellectual veri-

(continued on page 12)

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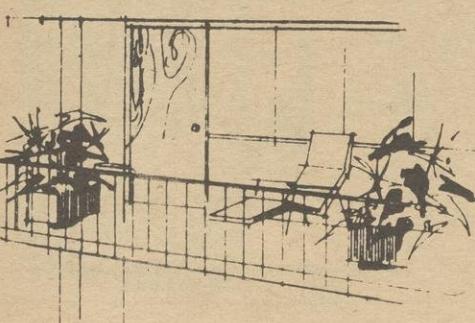
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**Social Breakdown**(continued from page 11)  
ties of bourgeois society.

What we are witnessing, in short is the breakdown of a century and a half of bourgeoisie and an erosion of all bourgeois institutions at a point in history when the boldest concepts of utopia are realizable. And there is nothing that the present bourgeois order can substitute for the erosion of its traditional institutions but bureaucratic manipulation and state capitalism. This process is unfolding most dramatically in the United States. Within a period of little more than two decades, we have seen the collapse of the "American Dream," or what amounts to the same thing, the steady

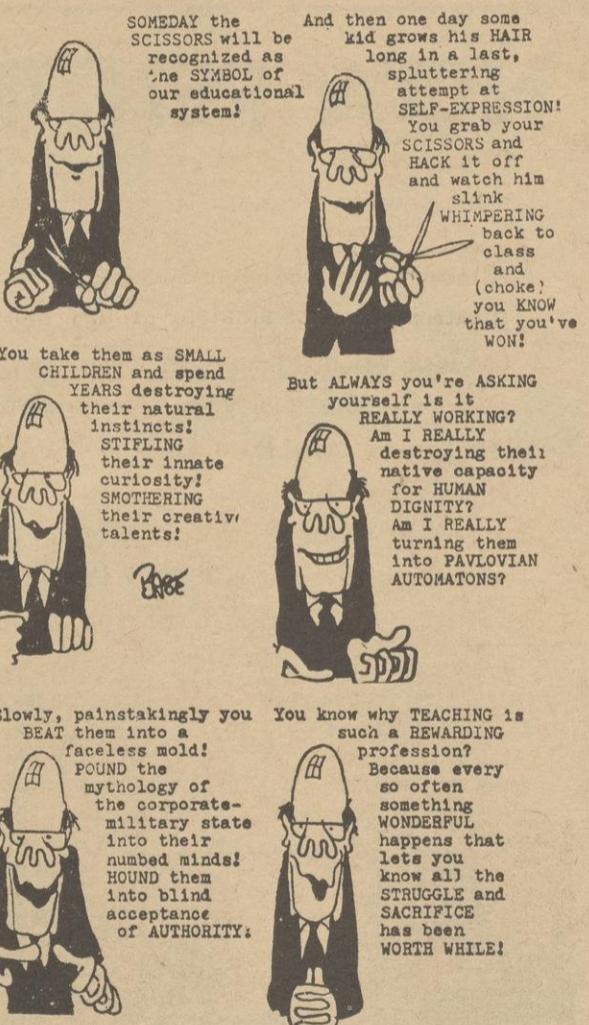
elimination in the United States of the myth that material abundance, based on commodity relations between men, can conceal the inherent poverty of bourgeois life. That revolution is envisioned in the United States is due precisely to the fact that the process of demythification, of debourgeoisism, of deinstitutionalization began earlier and is occurring more decisively, here, than anywhere else in the world. Whether this process will culminate in revolution or in a disastrous form of fascism will depend in great part on the ability of revolutionaries to extend social consciousness and defend the spontaneity of the revolutionary development from authoritarian ideologies, both from the "left" as well as the right.

**The Role of S.D.S.****S.D.S. and the  
Youth Revolt**

As historic processes bring us increasingly closer to the threshold of a classless society, we are faced with the decomposition of the culture and institutions that emerged from class society. The elemental demands of the youth revolt for uninhibited sexuality, community, mutual aid, spontaneity, indeed for communism, and its rejection of the commodity relationship, the work ethic, the patriarchal family, the degradation of women, the existence of hierarchy, and the use of co-

ercion—all of these demands do not emerge accidentally. They prefigure culturally the possibilities opened by the development of a post-scarcity technology, however intuitive and inchoate these demands may seem. They constitute an ever-widening challenge not only to bourgeois values and social relations, but to those reared by propertied society historically. Thus the social development tends to return to its beginnings, but with the work and gains of history behind it. And it is precisely the fact that these demands are intuitive and inchoate that we know we are dealing, here, with elemental social forces—forces that emerge not from books and form—

(continued on page 14)



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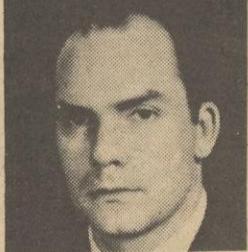
**LLOYD BRAY, JR., DIRECTOR**

**OPENING DATE: JULY 23**



### MEET MICHAEL MURDOCK

Mike is a graduate teaching assistant in The Theatre Division of the U. W.—pursuing a Ph. D. Mike has done four seasons of summer stock in Colorado, Massachusetts, and most recently at the Long Wharf Equity Theatre in New Haven, Connecticut. He has toured Israel, Europe, and the United States as a professional actor. In 1968 he was one of eight non-British actors who participated in an overseas training program at the London Academy of Music and Dramatic Art. Last seen in the Wisconsin Players production of *Enrico IV* (in the title role) and as Hecuba in *The Trojan Women*, Mike is well known among U. W. students for his outstanding acting ability.



### MEET LLOYD BRAY, JR.

A Doctoral Candidate in Theatre at the University of Wisconsin, Lloyd's most recent directing assignment was the Compass Theatre's production of *The Glass Menagerie*. In the early 1960's, Lloyd was head of producing, directing and programming for the U.S.O. in Germany where he served active duty. Currently employed by the U.W. Art Council, he has directed over 30 community and college productions and, for the last two years, has been Film Advisor for the Wisconsin Union.



### MEET RAFF BREWSTER

Raff's theatre background is built on experience from coast to coast. He operated the Madison Theatre-Go-Round for seven years and produced 49 shows, 23 of which he directed. A graduate in drama from the University of Washington he taught stagecraft at Centenary Junior College, and was technical director for Tryout Theatre, Seattle, and Regent Productions, Los Angeles. His last Madison credit was director for the Center Players production of *A Raisin in the Sun*. Mr. Brewster is well known in Wisconsin theatrical circles for his fine acting and directing abilities.

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# The Role of S.D.S.

(continued from page 12)

ulas, but from the very social development itself.

This process of social decomposition not only anticipates the post-scarcity revolution to come; it is vitally important to its achievement. The bourgeoisie attained economic dominance over feudal society long before it achieved political dominance. Post scarcity society does not enjoy this historic advantage. It cannot replace bourgeois society economically without a social revolution. But it can make meaningless the "rewards" with which bourgeois society coopts large numbers of people in the western world and it can win the very generation from which the State recruits the forces for imposing its will.

If S.D.S. chapters are to play any role in this youth revolt, if they are to contribute to its

extension and consciousness, there should be a reconsideration by every chapter of its structure, aims, and internal relations. It is patently absurd to believe that a chapter, structured along bureaucratic lines and dominated by an elite of "politicals," can have any relevance to the youth culture that is percolating in this country. Either the chapter will develop the revolutionary, post-scarcity forms of relations within themselves—the relations of brothers and sisters, not merely of ideological "associates" or "comrades"—or they will isolate themselves completely. Either they will place a new emphasis on lifestyle or they will ossify along bureaucratic lines.

There is no formula for achieving these internal changes. The atmosphere and structure of a

chapter is ultimately determined by its goals. If the chapter is occupied entirely with the conventional political issues of the Old Left, it will become an Old Left organization: elitist, bureaucratic and centralized in structure, held together primarily by conventional programmatic issues. If, on the other hand, political issues are organically combined with lifestyle issues, the internal relations within the chapter will change accordingly.

S.D.S. is above all a youth movement and particularly a youth movement on college campuses. If the measure of its achievement is the influence it exercises on youth and students, it has failed miserably. For all the talk of a "student-workers alliance," S.D.S. has not even won a substantial number of students to its side, much less youth generally. In withdrawing into a hardening sectarian shell, S.D.S. will be well on the way toward losing whatever influence it has exercised in the past on campuses. Either it will make contact with the living student issues and youth subcultures on and off campus, or it will smother in the flood of "theses," "position papers," and doctrinal documents generated by the Old Left types in its midst.

To avoid this deadening stagnation, we believe that chapters should try to deal with campus issues in all their forms, to carry on a struggle whose essential goal is to convert the campus into a liberated space for students and the community. Together with the issues of racism and the concrete expression of American imperialism, S.D.S. chapters should also deal with the authoritarian structure of the university, the idiocy of grading, the right of students to form their own classes (with teachers merely as consultants), the determination of campus policy by student assemblies, and ultimately, the conversion of the university into a liberated space, a community center in the fashion of the Sorbonne and particularly of Censier in the French revolt of May and June, 1968.

S.D.S. chapters should also become an organic part of the youth revolt both on campus and off. The ties established between stu-

dents and street people in Berkeley over the People's Park issue are, in many ways, a model of the kind of development chapters could follow in breaking out of the sectarian shell that has enveloped them. Similar possibilities undoubtedly exist throughout the country and off-campus youth involve not only street people but also high school and vocational school youth, ghetto youth, and young workers. Few if any of these young people will be drawn to S.D.S. because it has the "correct transitional program on imperialism"; they will be drawn to S.D.S. only if it expresses their drive for life and articulates their detestation of deadening middle class and proletarian values.

The sectarianism of the past year has already created the "S.D.S. type": a humorless, poker-faced "political" with arteriosclerotic ideas that were hot news in 1968. Unless the chapters succeed in developing a new elan, new cultural improvisations, indeed simple humanity and spontaneity, they will become completely repellent to the most vital youth in this country. The chapters stand at a crucial juncture, today: either they will develop along lines that have meaning and relevance to the needs of young people on and off campus—or they will ossify. Either they will become a liberated space in their own right or they will become indistinguishable from the system of domination, elitism, and hierarchy created by the very society they profess to oppose. And no amount of revolutionary rhetoric, "theses," "position papers," elitist posturing, red flags, portraits of Che, and stormy sloganizing will conceal this reality.

## S.D.S. and the Community

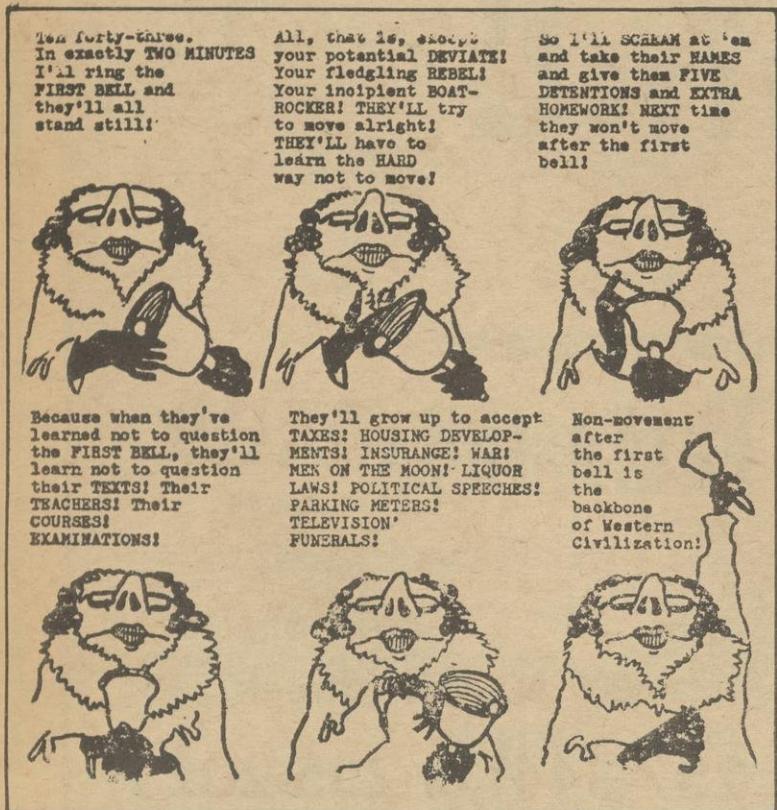
S.D.S. should follow the paths of least resistance in its struggle against an archaic society that is decomposing unevenly but still retains a tremendous inner strength at its core. By "paths of least resistance" we do not mean that S.D.S. should compromise its principles, modes of struggle,

or goals, but simply that it should devote its main efforts to those sectors of the population that are most susceptible to radicalization. If these are minority groups or workers or sections of the middle classes, the energies of the chapters should be distributed to those sectors. To preconceive issues in advance of a struggle, to strait-jacket reality by formulas borrowed from the past would be a grave error. The revolt of our time cuts across virtually all class lines. Capitalism increasingly antagonizes people from virtually all strata of society. It has heightened the crisis not only of racism, imperialism, and exploitation but also of the family, suburbia, urbanism, environmental pollution, the status of women, sexual repression, etc. It has produced not only material poverty for the underprivileged, but spiritual poverty for the privileged. Not to see these profound contradictions in all areas of social life is to wantonly ignore all that is unique to the present historical period.

S.D.S. chapters should face these contradictions without any preconceptions about "priorities." Capitalism today decays as a whole. It produces crises in every sphere of life. All the major issues are interconnected by the general social crisis of the system. The real challenge to the chapters is whether they can deal with living issues—issues that have meaning to youth and the local community—or whether they will work with contrived preconceptions of reality and such solutions out of an archaic body of theoretical formulas.

S.D.S. and the Third World

The best way S.D.S. chapters can help the Third World is by changing the First World. To declare that the main priority of S.D.S. is to create an anti-imperialist "front" is to guarantee that imperialism will have no problem from S.D.S. in shaping public opinion in the United States along imperialist lines. While this may be the priority of the "politicals" in S.D.S., by no means does it reflect the living priorities that can bring about revolutionary change in the United



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States. Moreover, if imperialism is presented in abstract terms, its concrete manifestations—which can have a profound effect upon the social development in the United States—will float in the limbo that the “politicals” have created for so many other living issues. To the vast majority of the American people, the word “imperialism” is an abstraction unless these concrete manifestations are clearly and decisively fought. The casualty figures in the Vietnam war have meaning; conscription has meaning; a youth overshadowed by the prospect of military service has meaning; the bombing of villages and the killing and maiming of people has meaning; the repressive way of life in military units has meaning; even the wholesale destruction of Vietnamese forests by defoliants and fire has meaning. To pompously proclaim about imperialism and the exploitation of the Third World is relevant only to sectarians, who mistake their own theoretical preoccupations for concrete social issues.

The struggle going on in the Third World is a struggle within the domain of unavoidable scarcity. China, Vietnam, and Cuba are struggling not only to retain their independence, but to industrialize as well. They are confronted by tasks that we overcame years ago in the United States and western Europe—hence the organizational and political forms they adopt. To attempt to emulate these forms in the United States, to borrow the hierarchical, centralized political organizations adopted in varying degrees by the ruling elements of China, Cuba, and North Vietnam would literally amount to a turning back of the historical clock. We must take our point of departure from the sweeping material opportunities provided by technological developments in the United States and western Europe. The First World has problems and possibilities that differ qualitatively from those of the Third World and from those of the past. We fight on the most advanced terrain in history—a terrain that opens the prospect of a post-scarcity, libertarian society, not a sub-

stitution of one system of hierarchy by another.

### Conclusions

The revolution we seek is centered around the elimination of man's domination by man. Domination is not a problem of social structure alone; it is also a human condition. The poison of domination is fed to us almost at birth—in the family milieu, in the games we play, in schools and universities, in the army, in jobs, in the market place, in periodicals, books and the mass media, in religion, in organizations of all kinds, ad nauseum. Rarely are we conscious of the extent to which domination flows into us from our entire sensory apparatus and reveals itself in the way we think, talk, and even walk. Unless we begin to remake ourselves, unless we begin to alter our life-styles and values, domination will mold all our concepts of social change, our estimates of what constitutes “effectiveness” and “efficiency.” Life style is related as intimately to revolution as revolution is to life-style. This is not a tautology; it is an interplay, a dialectical relationship if you will, which must be resolved. A “revolutionary” movement that fails to take account of this relationship, indeed, that fosters the spirit and reality of domination by its structure, theories, strategies, and tactics, is destined to achieve only one kind of “success”: counter-revolution.

In seeking to function within the youth revolt of our time, we seek also to rid ourselves of all the elements that so often betray the revolutionary to the very society he is fighting. We seek to make our own movement the liberated space that we strive to achieve in society as a whole. The revolution that ushers us into a post-scarcity society must be a complete revolution or it will be no revolution at all. It must eliminate not only the exploitation of man by man but also the domination of man by man, the splits between man and nature, town and country, work and play, mind and physical activity, theory and practice, reason and sensuousness,

survival and life. If we do not overcome and transcend these splits, if we do not decentralize our cities into ecologically balanced communities, if we do not produce for human needs instead of profit, if we do not restore the balance of nature and find our place in it, if we do not replace hierarchy, the patriarchal family, and the State by genuine, open, human relations, social life itself will be annihilated.

Our movement should attempt to reflect in its own structure and human relations the kind of society it is trying to build. It should decentralize so that it will not dominate the future society but rather dissolve into it. It should leave the power with the people in the only sense that is meaningful: dissolve power so that every individual will have control over his everyday life. It should decentralize for tactical as well as strategic reasons: each chapter should be free to evaluate local issues without “directives” from above, for it alone has the closeness of contact with an immediate situation that allows for a proper determination of priorities. There are very important general issues that require coordination and common action between chapters on a regional and national scale; but there are also a host of local issues that can

Friday, June 20, 1969

Summer Registration—15

best be dealt with by a chapter in a given locale. There should be a thorough grasp of the fact that “the issue” consists of many issues, local as well as national, and national as well as international. Either we will understand that we are living in a period of general breakdown, a dissolution of bourgeois society as a whole with a multitude of issues that cut across virtually all time-honored social strata or we will remain blind to events, their victims rather than catalysts of consciousness and revolutionary change.

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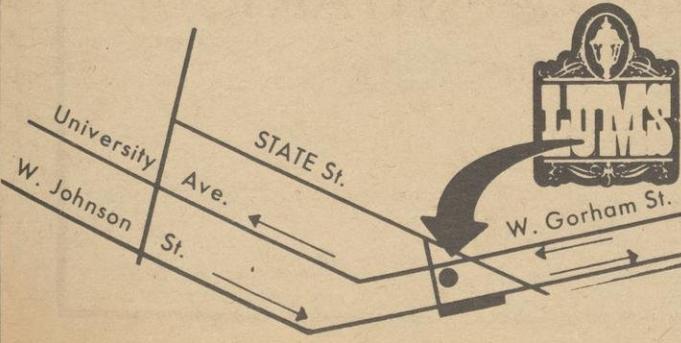


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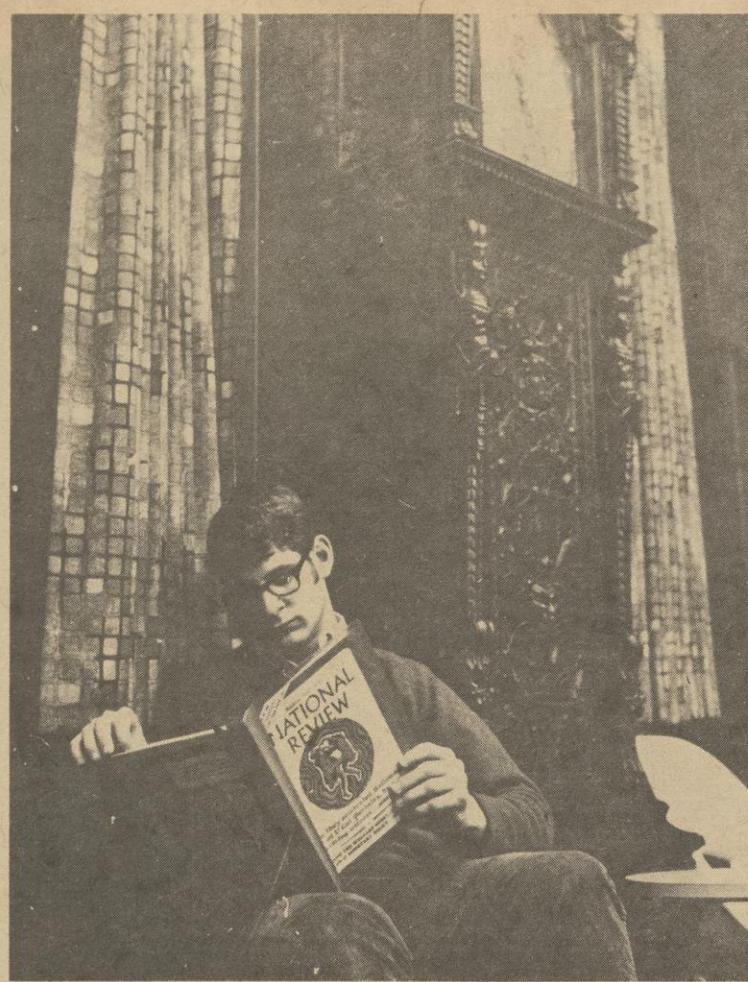
Presented by Wisconsin Union Music Committee

Section III



Summer Registration Issue: The Memorial Union

YOU'LL BE ABLE to wile away the hours in the Union Browsing Library this summer reading magazines and newspapers and listening to classical music. Located on second floor the Browsing Library will be open for your enjoyment this summer.



For relaxed summertime reading the Union's Browsing Library is a natural. Open daily from 11 a.m. to 10 p.m. during the summer session, the library has books, magazines, including the "New York Review of Books," "Poetry," "Ramparts," "Village voice," "Stone's Weekly," "Atlas," and other newspapers, including the daily and Sunday New York Times; and a variety of foreign newspapers, newsletters, and pamphlets. Books may be checked out for 3 days.

Another part of the Browsing Library is the record-lending service maintained by the Union Music Committee. A \$1.00 permit available in the Theater Office and good for the summer session entitles students to borrow two records for 4 days. The collection includes primarily classical records but also has some jazz, folk, and speaking records.

The Music Lounge, across from the Browsing Library is designed especially for those who enjoy studying to music. The music is piped in from the library where students can ask the attendant to play a certain record for them, then just sit back and listen.

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# Union Provides Summer Fun



Mickey Pfeifer

The Memorial Union is the social, cultural, and recreational center for summer session students.

When students throughout the country think of summer at Wisconsin, they think not only of classrooms and labs but also of the Union—our campus living room by the lake.

From sailing regattas to Film Flickers on the terrace, from dancing under the stars to chalking a billiard cue, the Union provides the setting for a wonderful summer.

All regularly enrolled students are automatically members of the Union, and eligible for membership in Union committees and clubs.

Union Hooper Club events are of particular interest to summer students. Sailing, mountaineering, riding, and outing are the special interest clubs—all part of the general Union Hooper outing organization—which function throughout the summer.

The pier at the east end of the Union terrace is open daily from 7 a.m. to 11 p.m. with lifeguards present for students, faculty, and their guests.

The Union games room provides billiard, bridge and chess facilities, and is open Monday through Thursday, 9 a.m. to 10:30 p.m.; Friday and Saturday, 9 a.m. to midnight; and Sunday, noon to 10:30 p.m.

The Union browsing library, located on the second floor next to the main lounge, is open daily from 11 a.m. to 10 p.m. during the summer. Maintained by the Union Literary Committee, the library offers leisure-time reading—books, magazines, foreign newspapers, newsletters, and pamphlets. In addition, books may be checked out for three days.

The music lounge across from the browsing library, is maintained by the Union Music Committee. It is designed especially for those who like to study to background or classical music or who merely enjoy listening to good music. Available recordings are listed in the browsing library; all one must do is sign up with the attendant in the library to have the record played at a con-

venient time. The music will then be piped in from the library—all anyone has to do is relax and enjoy the music.

Also for the music-minded is a record lending service. New and outstanding classical records will be lent through the Browsing Library for a period of several days.

Tickets to Movie Time films and other programs in the Union Play Circle, can be purchased at the Play Circle box office at the west end of the second floor. The Union Theater box office will be open all summer from 12:30 to 5 p.m. daily. Wisconsin Players season tickets will be on sale during the first week of summer school, as well as tickets to other theater programs scheduled throughout the summer.

The Union workshop is located up the stairs from the Play Circle lobby. Equipment and materials are available in the workshop for all types of arts and crafts projects which students may wish to try their hands at this summer. Also available in the workshop area are complete darkroom facilities for students interested in photography.

Many students spend their between class moments and evenings relaxing on the Union terrace—many come inside to watch color television in the main lounge, which is located on the second floor and serves as a perfect spot for leisure-time activity. Daily newspapers from Wisconsin cities are available in the lounge as a special service for students who want to keep up with things "back home."

The Main Desk of the Union across from the main lounge is the place to obtain information about room locations and programs, to make reservations for dining at INN Wisconsin and for guest rooms, to cash checks (\$5. limit), and to buy candy, cigarettes, magazines, and newspapers.

Information and concessions are available at the cafeteria desk, located on the east end of the first floor. In addition, this desk sells such articles as toothpaste and film, as well as providing

(continued on page 11)

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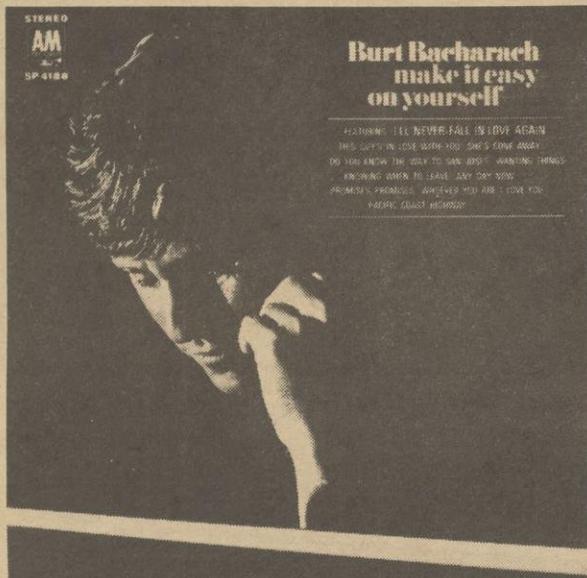
Pottery, anyone? There's a potter's wheel, molds, and kiln. Copper enameling? Materials, findings, and soldering equipment. Hi-fi? Two Heath-Kit soldering sets may be checked out for a week.

If you've a mind to, there's wood working equipment to build your own furniture. But bring your own lumber. There's also basketry, flytying, India seedbeads, and

leather and carving tools. And there's everything for matting and framing a picture. Or if it's photography for you, the darkroom has the equipment for developing and enlarging. You provide your own camera and chemicals, but you can get a locker to keep them in. A darkroom permit, available in the Workshop Office, is good for the summer. Both the Workshop and Darkroom are two flights up the stairs across from the Play Circle.

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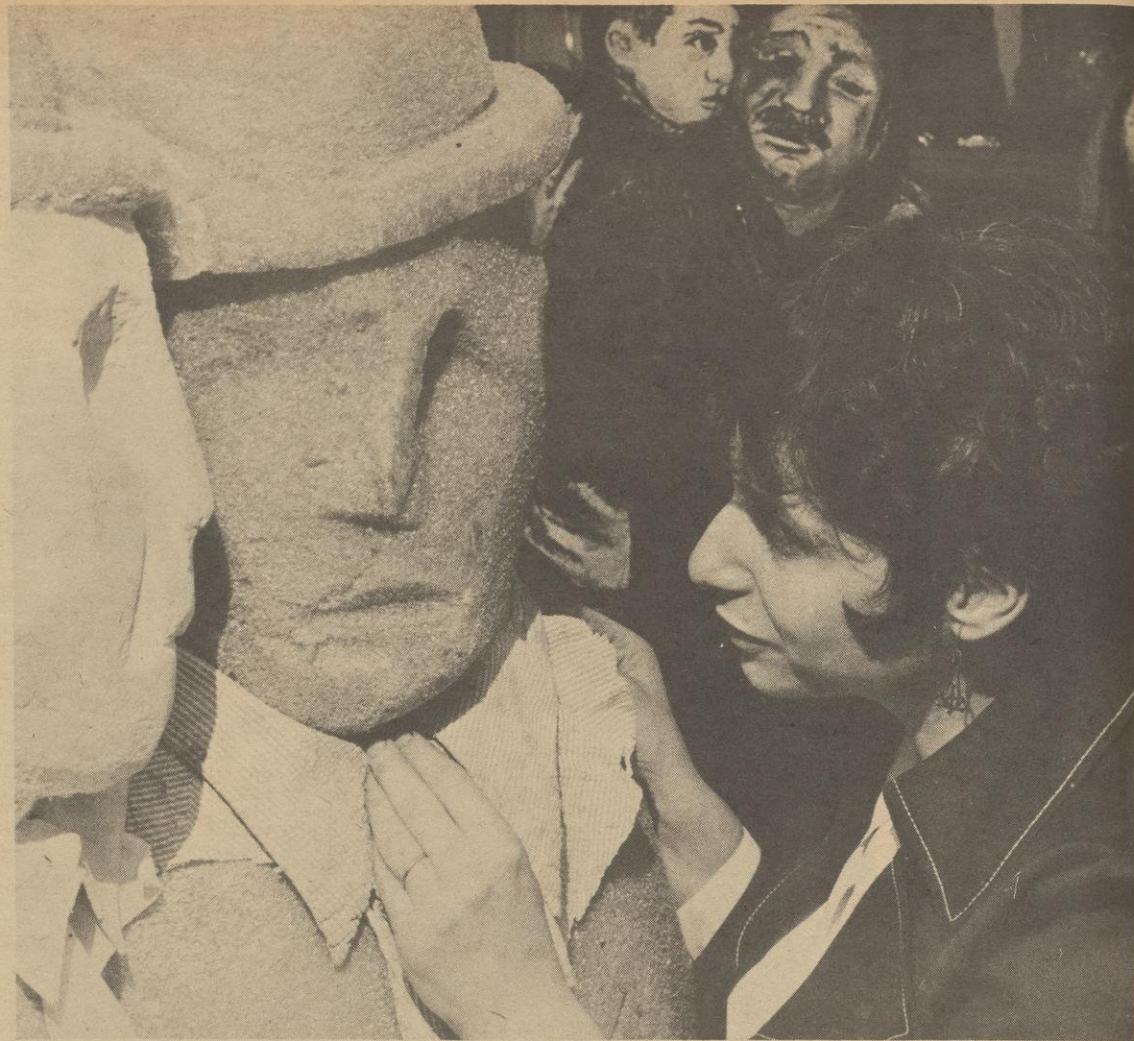


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ELLEN MILAN, a Madison artist, is shown here with two of her life-size styrofoam sculptures. Her recent sculptures and prints will be on display in the Wisconsin Union Main Gallery through July 13.

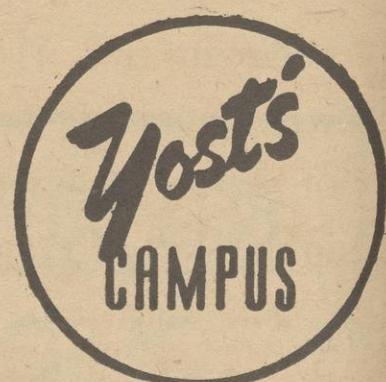
Other shows in the Union galleries this summer will include etchings by Bartolomeu Dos Santos, a Portuguese printmaker, and paintings and prints from the Union collection.

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The Cardinal, which is the voice of over 30,000

university students, is one of the few student newspapers in the country which is not subsidized by any individual or group. Financially independent, the Cardinal receives all its revenue from advertising, subscriptions, cash sales and interest.

During the summer the Cardinal is published Tuesdays and Fridays and is a-

available free.

This summer we will experiment. If interested in giving us a hand come to our office at 425 Henry Mall or call Dennis or Allen at 262-5854. The first organizational meeting for new students will be Wednesday at 7 p.m. in the Union. The room will be posted in 'Today In The Union'. Consider yourself invited.



Faced by the need to provide more room for students and organizations, the Wisconsin Union has begun a number of projects to increase available space and make use of what's already there.

The biggest project now under the Union-South on the northern half of the block bounded by W. Johnson, W. Dayton, N. Randall, and N. Orchard streets. Ground has been broken and the move-in date is expected to be January, 1971.

The three-story brick-faced building, costing around \$3.62 million, will provide dining facilities, activity and guest rooms, meeting rooms, lounges, recreation rooms, bowling lanes, a billiard room, and an office here and there. Since the Union receives no state funds, cost will be covered by a mortgage to be re-

payed from fees and operational surplus.

The Union-South is planned to be not merely an extension of the Wisconsin Union at a different location, but to have an identity of its own, planned to serve the diversified campus area developing there.

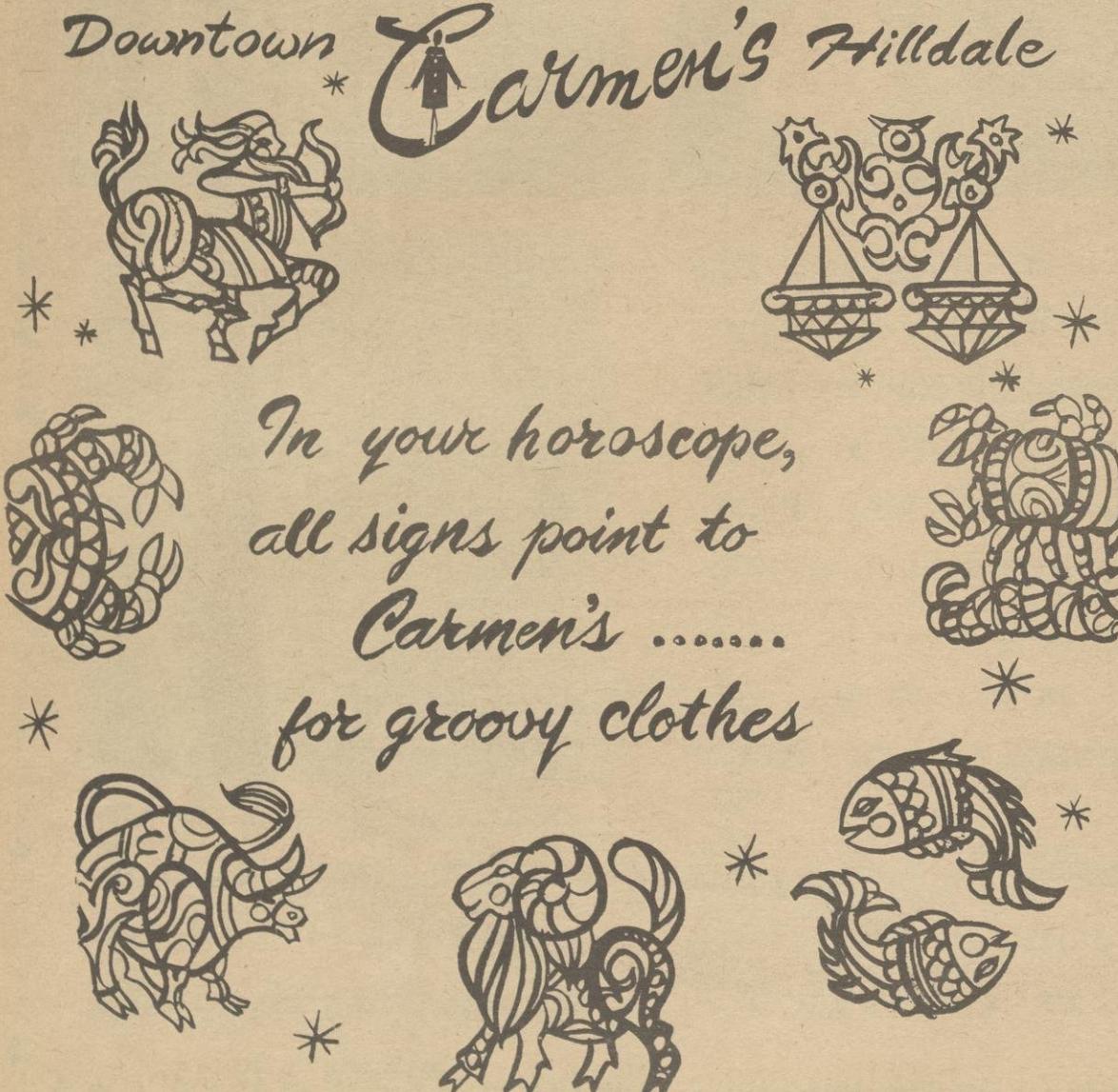
Presently the fifth floor offices of the old Union are being remodeled. Student Organization Advisors and the Union Program Office (Committee Headquarters) have moved into their enlarged remodeled headquarters. The central portion, housing WSA and I-F is now being remodeled and the offices are on fourth floor. They will return to their new quarters this summer.

A contract has been signed with a Milwaukee architectural firm to prepare a master plan for refurbishing the Memorial Union

Building. The study is being financed by the Memorial Union Building Association, an organization of life members of the Union. The work will be done according to a priority list as funds are available. At the top of the list is an extensive redecoration of the Union Theater, Play Circle, and Main Lounge.

Still moving along are the plans for a Union remodeling project which will add a great deal of meeting room, gallery, and food service space.

On the lake edge, from the Union Outing Center to the Alumni House, machines are hard at it preparing for, among other improvements, a swimming beach, a new pier, and a sit-or-promenade area. The new area should be ready for use by early summer. The final beautification of the Terrace, however, will not happen until the building is remodeled.



THIS IS A MODEL of Union-South now under construction at the corner of Randall and Johnson Streets. The Union will be completed in January, 1971.

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**ONIONS** ..... 3 Lb. Bag **38¢**

California vine-ripe  
**CANTALOUE** ..... 3 for **3 99¢**

U.S.D.A. Grade "A" large  
**EGGS** ..... doz. **39¢**

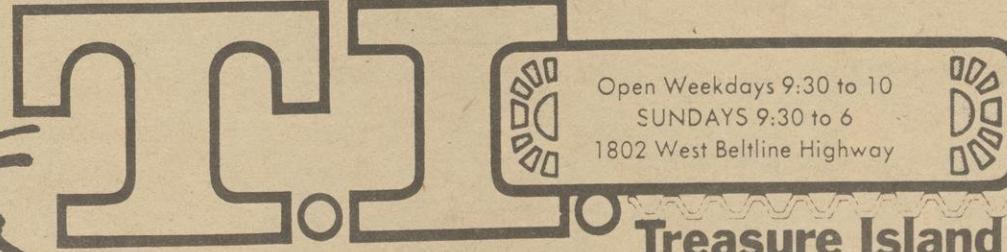
Vine Ripe  
**TOMATOES** ..... lb. **38¢**

Borden's  
**MILK** ..... gal. **91¢**

FRESH FROM OUR IN STORE BAKERY  
 HOME MADE  
**CINNAMON ROLLS** ... 6 for **36¢**

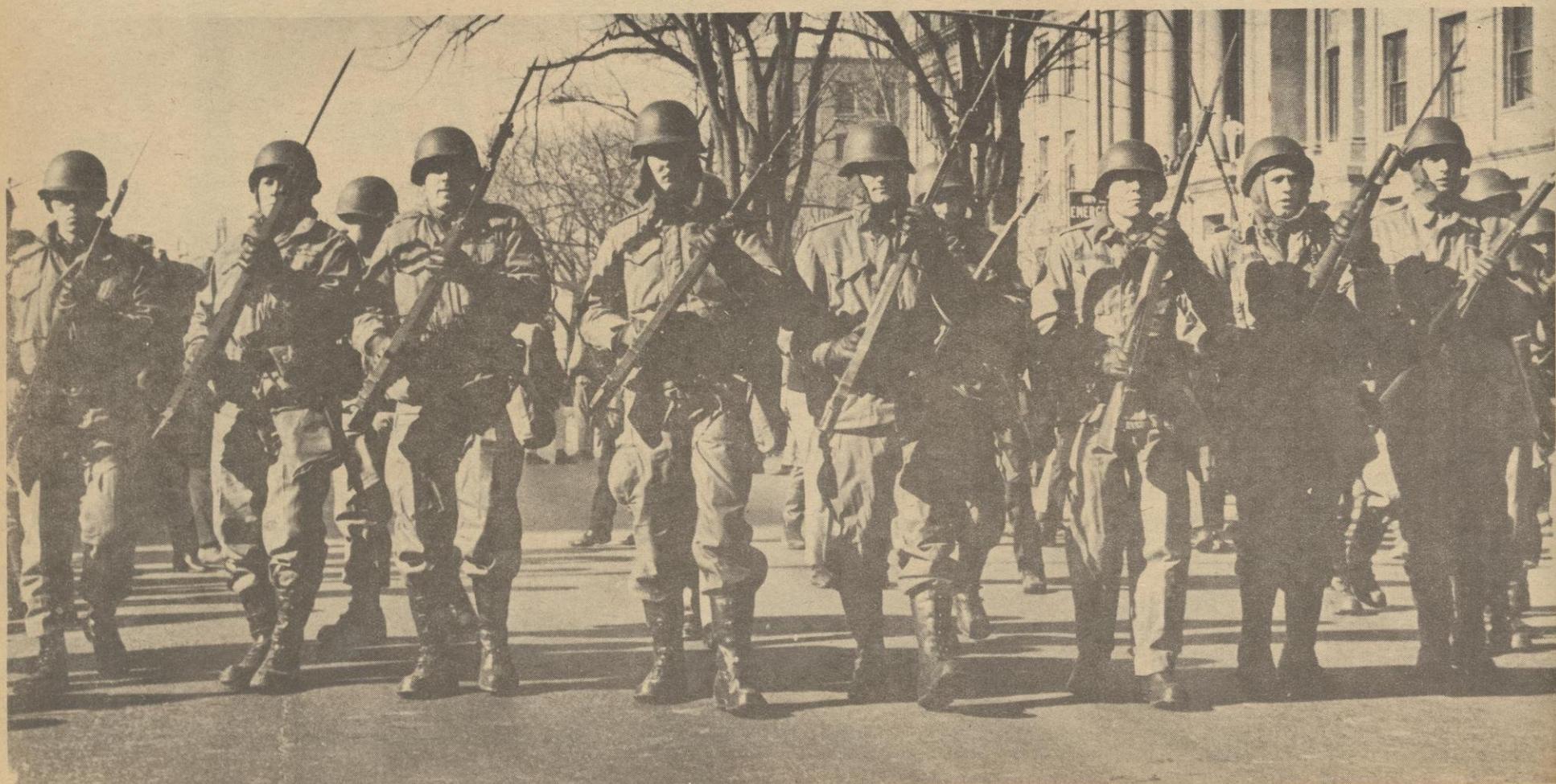
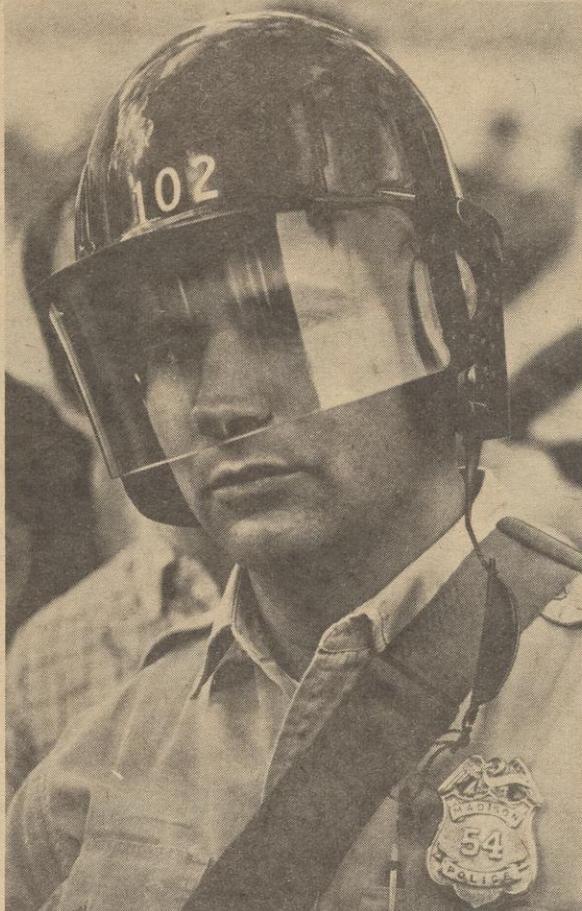
HI-C  
**FRUIT DRINK** ..... 46 oz. can **26¢**

Home Style  
**BREAD** ..... 4 1 1/2 Lb.  
 Loaves **\$1 00**



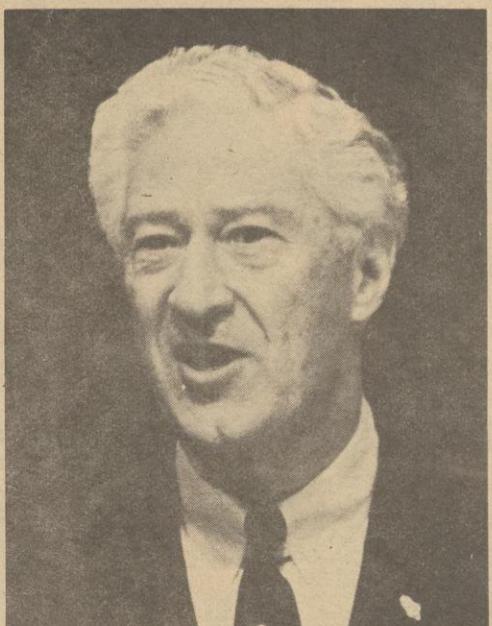


## madison





**photos by mickey pfleger**



# Outing Club Does Its Own Thing



ONE OF THE MANY activities of Outing Club is whitewater boating. Here, UW grad student "Mac" MacCormick is negotiating Horse-

shoe rapid on the Pike River in northern Wisconsin during a July, 1968 Outing Club trip.

—Photo by Alfred Stamm

**RCA**

**wheatfield**  
The Guess Who **SOUL**

The Guess Who? starts the Canadian invasion—and the Canadian invasion starts where England's left off. "Wheatfield Soul" features "These Eyes," one of '69's big hits. Get under the cover.

**CANADA INVADES AMERICA**

Available on RCA Stereo 8 Cartridge Tape

If your thing is hiking, canoeing, kayaking, biking, camping, caving, or just talking about past trips you've been on, join the University of Wisconsin Hoofers Outing Club and you will be sure to be among others who also enjoy doing the same thing. All that is needed, besides the membership fee, is an interest in outdoor activities and a spirit of adventure.

If your thing is canoeing or kayaking, members are given free use of club canoes or kayaks on Lake Mendota whenever the lake is open for boating. Over 30 boats are available at the University Boathouse located on the lakefront of the Memorial Union.

If you've only recently realized that canoeing or kayaking is the thing to do and you don't know the difference between a J-stroke and an eddy, don't despair. Free instruction is provided in everything from the beginning quiet water strokes to the more advanced techniques required for rapids rivers.

If your thing is whitewater boating, Outing Club is the place for you. Outing Club has the most extensive whitewater boating program in the midwest. On nearly every weekend throughout the summer there will be rapids trips led by experienced people to northern Wisconsin rivers such as the Pike, the Brule, the Wolf and the Peshtigo. The trips are graded in difficulty, and beginners are welcome on the easier rapids.

If, after sampling rapids boating, you've decided that whitewater boating is indeed your thing, you can build your own boat if you like. Outing Club has everything necessary to build fiberglass kayaks and decked canoes. Club members are available for assistance.

Other Outing Club activities include bicycling, hiking, and caving trips in and around Wisconsin. After summer session is over, there will be hiking and/or canoeing trips to the western United States and Canada, or wherever you want to go. Trip expenses are low because Outing Club furnishes tents, cooking gear and other camping equipment. Items which the club doesn't furnish, such as sleeping bags and bicycles, can be rented at a discount from the Boathouse.

If you're interested in conservation, the Outing Club sponsors an active conservation program in which members are informed of new legislation affecting our public lands and waters.

Therefore,.... if your thing is an outdoor thing, JOIN-OUTING CLUB. A \$7.00 membership fee, which entitles you to participate in all Outing Club activities, is good from now until Sept. 16. A non-boating membership costs only \$2.00. There are no additional fees or charges other than individual trip expenses. You can join Outing Club at its first meeting, Tues. June 24, during the Union Summer Open House scheduled for June 27th, or at other times at the University Boathouse. There will be Outing Club meetings each Tuesday at 7 PM throughout the summer. (See Union bulletin boards for exact locations. In addition, signup sheets for upcoming trips are posted just outside Hoofers quarters.) See you there!



## APARTMENTS AND SINGLES

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## The Summer and the Union

(continued from page 3)  
ing carry-out service of certain cafeteria items. A Union employee is on hand to describe what foods are available and to assist Union members in general.

Additional Union facilities include: three art galleries featuring outstanding exhibitions throughout the summer, a ballroom, meeting rooms, suggestion boxes throughout the building for your comment regarding Union policies, services and programs, free checkroom service on the first and second floors, lockers, a barber shop, a sidewalk information booth outside the Park Street entrance, free telephones, a ride exchange board, swimming change rooms, and four dining rooms.

The air-conditioned Union cafeteria, with its panoramic view of Lake Mendota and easy access

to the Union terrace, is the principal dining room, conveniently located on the first floor. The cafeteria offers breakfast, lunch, dinner, and snacks; and as a special summer feature, food from the cafeteria may be taken out to the lake front terrace.

Tripp Commons, located on the second floor, is the Union's Tudor-style dining room (also air-conditioned). Tripp serves three table d'hôte menus daily, an additional buffet at noon and a relish table in the evening. Complete with access to Tripp promenade for outdoor dining with a view of the lake.

The old German atmosphere of the ever-popular Rathskeller, the adjacent Stiftskeller, and the tree-shaded terrace are pleasant settings for coffee breaks, snacks, and conversation throughout the day.

## Res Halls Offer Home Comforts

Programs for the Summer Session in the University Residence Halls are planned to provide activities for those who like to be busy as well as for those who prefer quiet leisure. Residents are free to choose whichever life has the greater appeal for them.

Traditional summer programs have included a summer chorus, square dancing, informal dances, picnics, lake cruises, athletic events, variety shows and tours. An outing trip to the Wisconsin Dells includes a boat trip to the Upper Dells, picnic supper at Rock Arbor State Park and the Indian Ceremonial at Stand Rock.

In the Lakeshore Area where both food service and room are provided, residents may enjoy a standard breakfast or a later continental breakfast every day except Sunday. Buffets and special dinners add to the enjoyment of meals in attractive air conditioned dining rooms.

Elizabeth Waters Hall houses women graduates and undergraduates for eight weeks only. Meals are served in the dining room overlooking Lake Mendota.

Graduate women in Tripp Hall and undergraduate women in Kronshage have their meals served in Carson Gully Commons along

with the graduate men from Slichter Hall and Adams Hall and the undergraduate men from the Kronshage Houses.

The air conditioned dining rooms are used for study in the evenings.

Witte Hall is being offered on a room-only basis to both graduate and undergraduate men and women in the eight-week and four-week sessions. There are spacious lounges, recreation rooms, a roof sun deck, and laundry equipment in each wing. The lobby area, lounge, recreational facilities as well as the "Caboose" snack bar on the first floor are shared by all residents.

Various jobs are available particularly in the Lakeshore Halls for students who wish to defray some of their living costs. Applications for work should be made to the Personnel Officer, University Residence Halls, Slichter Hall, 625 Babcock Drive, Madison, Wisconsin 53706. The telephone number is 262-2766.

Inquiries concerning these halls should be made at the Assignment Office, University Residence Halls, Slichter Hall, 625 Babcock Drive, Madison, Wisconsin 53706, telephone 262-2788.

★ Charles Musselwhite ★

★ Otis Spann ★

★ Magic Sam ★

★ J. B. Hutto ★

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★ J. B. HUTTO & HIS HAWKS

Thurs-Fri-Sat-July 3-4-5

★ OTIS SPANN BLUES BAND

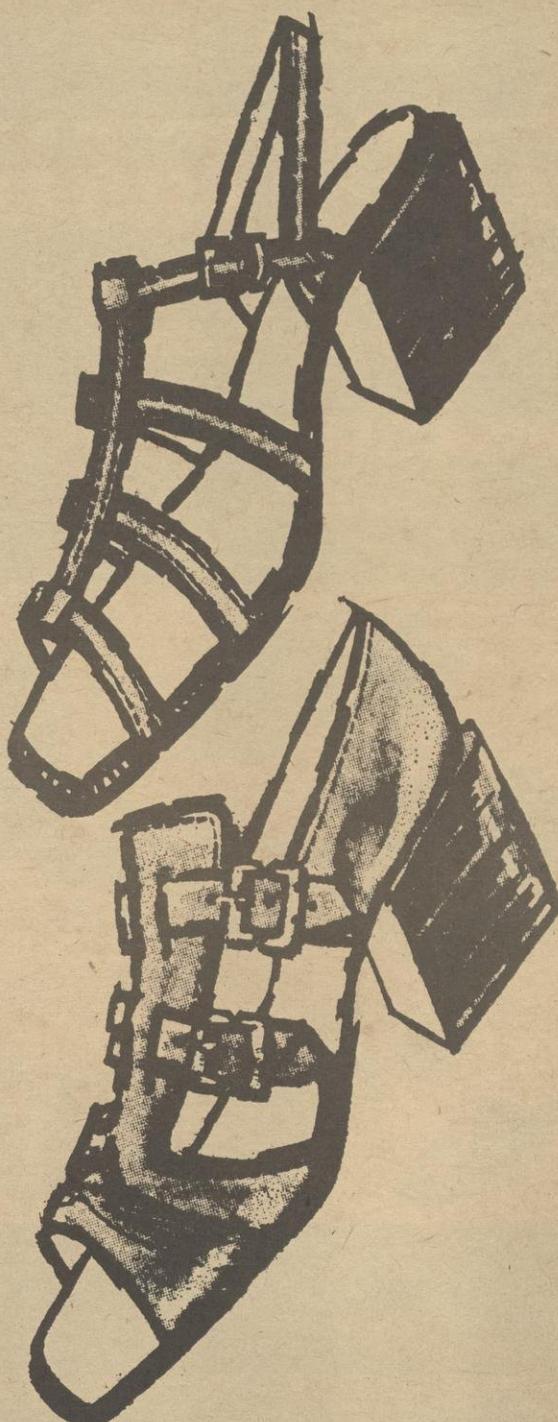
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Magazine

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SHIRLEY TEMPLE IN  
'LITTLE MISS MARKER'!"

— LOS ANGELES HERALD-EXAMINER

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Heironymus MERKIN  
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and find true happiness?"

Anthony Newley · Joan Collins · Milton Berle in  
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co-starring Bruce Forsyth · Stubby Kaye and George Jessel as "The Presence"

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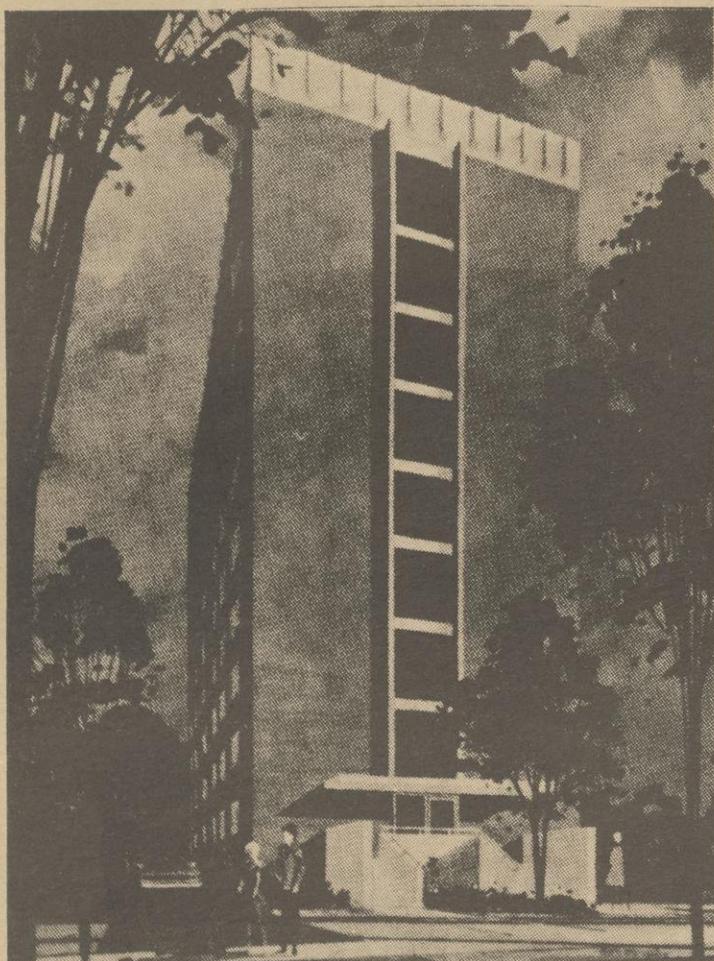
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# Wisconsin Players Feature Comedy in Three Plays

The Wisconsin Players will offer a light touch to the summer season with the presentation of three plays in the Wisconsin Union Theater.

Opening the season July 9-12 will be "An Italian Straw Hat," a 19th Century French farce by Eugene Labiche and Marc-Michel. Written in the vaudeville tradition, the fast-paced comedy includes songs and many scenes and characters. The lively action begins when a young bridegroom's horse devours a rare Italian straw hat owned by a lady who is having a love affair. The bridegroom, Fadinard, must replace the hat or

the lady's husband will discover her secret.

During the furious search for a new hat, Fadinard, followed by his bride, her angry father, and the entire wedding party in eight cabs runs into an old girl friend, interrupts a recital being held by a snobbish baroness, piques the curiosity of the enraged husband of the lady whose hat caused all the trouble, and almost brings down the militia upon all of them. Amid the confusion Fadinard manages to find a hat to save the day.

Turning towards the contemporary, the Players will present Harold Pinter's "The Birthday

Party" July 23-26. This, Pinter's first full-length play premiered in London in 1958. Subsequent productions of "The Birthday Party" occurred in 1964 in London and in 1967 in New York. A film version of the play has also been made.

The sinister comedy concerns the life of Stanley, an ex-musician who is hiding from the world in a run-down boarding house. Typical of Pinter's characters, Stanley lives with vague fears that are realized when two strangers arrive and suspiciously charge him with having "betrayed the organization." They hold a birthday party for him, although it is not his birthday, and during the celebration terrorize Stanley both verbally and physically, stripping him of his defenses and personality.

One of the most impressive of the new playwrights, Pinter has also written "The Caretaker," "The Dumb Waiter," "A Slight Ache," and "The Homecoming." He has written the screenplays for "Accident" and "The Servant."

The smash Broadway hit, "Luv," will close the season August 6-9. Written by Murray Schisgal, the comedy opened on Broadway in 1964 and ran until 1967. A satire on love and its many aspects, "Luv" also mocks the self-pity seen in the avant-garde drama,

Three morose souls suffer all the fashionable ills that modern man can imagine. Their misery and pain is exhibited by Schisgal who does not keep a straight face before the pious obsessions of the contemporary world—alienation, loss of identity, and inability to communicate. The result provides us with a hilarious look at ourselves and mankind.

Season tickets for the Players' productions are available at the Union box office or at campus booths beginning Monday, June 23. Tickets may also be ordered by mail. All performances begin at 8 p.m. in the air-conditioned theater.



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**RIO BRAVO** (June 20, 21, 22). **DON'T LOOK BACK**•**CUL-DE-SAC**•**UGETSU**•**WHAT'S UP, TIGER LILY?**•**BLACK SUNDAY**•**Others**

## FREE STUDIO FILMS

The Scarlet Express	June 25
The Magnificent Seven	July 9
Matari!	July 23
The Man Who Shot	
Liberty Valance	Aug. 6

3:30, 4, 9 p.m. WEDNESDAYS

## UNION PLAY CIRCLE

## FILM FLICKERS

Silent Screen Classics. Piano Accompaniment, Sing-a-long with **JOHN SCHELLKOPF**.

FREE under the stars, UNION TERRACE, Mondays — 9 P. M.

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Jules Verne's Immortal

**"AROUND THE WORLD IN 80 DAYS"**  
 Mike Todd's beloved spectacular, starring David Niven, Shirley MacClaine, Cantin Flas and a host of International Film Stars.

## WISCONSIN UNION THEATRE

TUESDAY, JULY 15 TICKETS at \$1.25 on sale June 30  
 3:30 & 8 P. M. at the UNION BOX OFFICE

From the home-town newspapers to copy machines and a game room, the Union has a variety of services—most of them free—to make your summer easier and more enjoyable.

In the Main Lounge, daily newspapers from 50 communities in Wisconsin are available for those who want to keep up with the news back home. The papers are arranged alphabetically in a rack at the front of the lounge. Downstairs in the Cafeteria lobby there is a copy machine where copies of books, manuscripts, and notes can be made for 10¢ a copy.

Lockers where you can store those heavy books, bathing suit and towel, lunch, or a tennis racket are available in a variety of sizes. Rental fees for the summer vary according to size. Inquire at the Main Desk.

The Union Game Room complete with billiard, bridge and chess facilities will be open from noon to 10:30 p.m. Sunday through Thursday and from noon to midnight Friday and Saturday. The Game Room also houses the lost and found service where students may turn in found items and inquire about lost ones.

The center for tickets for Union and campus events is the Theater box office just inside the Park St. entrance. Hours are 12:30-5 p.m. daily.

You're needed this summer—to help plan the Union summertime activities. Several all-student committees are looking for summer members. There's Crafts, Literary, Music, Gallery, Social, Recreational, Forum, Publicity, and Film—something for everyone.

Committee signups will be held Thursday and Friday, June 26 and 27, at a booth in the Union Cafeteria corridor from 10 a.m. to 4. All summer school students are welcome.

★ ★ ★

The number to remember for information and schedules in the Union is 262-6545. This recorded service gives the caller up-to-date information on what's on sale at the box office and other information to help answer questions regarding campus programs. Please call this number before dialing the Box Office or Main Desk.

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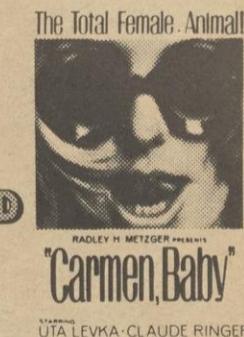
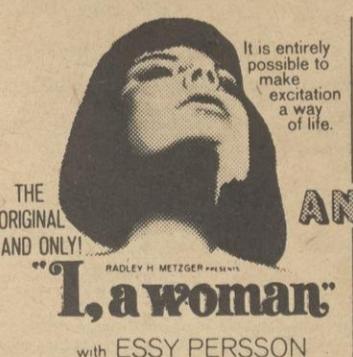
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BASED ON THE NOVEL BY PHILIP ROTH, AUTHOR OF PORTNOY'S COMPLAINT  
 A STANLEY R. JAFFE PRODUCTION STARRING RICHARD BENJAMIN, JACK KLUGMAN, AND INTRODUCING ALI MacGRAW  
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 MUSIC BY THE ASSOCIATION  
 NEW SONGS BY LARRY PEARCE  
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Mickey Pfleger

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**Friday**  
**Fish Special**  
**\$1.50**

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 Open this summer on  
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 Grads and undergrads on  
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 Eight-Week Session

ASSIGNMENT OFFICE  
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1x20

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 Smester break Jan. 23-Feb. 1. 8 days-8 nights. Jet Charter non-stop Chicago/Milwaukee & return, open bar & hot meals. \$245 for Churchvel, France in apts with bath & kitchnettes. 8 day ski lift incl. \$278 for Davos, Switzerland in dblle rm. with bath. Swim pool & all meals & capp lunches. All tips including airport tax in. Writer: Hoofers ski the Alps. Box 504, Wisconsin Union, Madison. 48x024.

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Madison, Wisconsin 53706

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Starting Date

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Category

Name

Phone

## Wisconsin Union Summer Hours

### BUILDING HOURS

Sun.-Thurs.	6:45am-10:45pm
Fri. & Sat.	6:45am-12:30am
MAIN DESK	7:40am-10:45pm
Mon.-Thurs.	7:40am-12:30am
Fri. & Sat.	8:00am-10:45pm
Sunday	7:00am-7:00pm
CAFETERIA DESK	7:00am-12:00midnight
Mon.-Thurs.	11 am-1:30 pm & 4:30 pm-midnight
Friday	11:00am-1:30pm & 4:30pm-7:00pm
Saturday	Continuous from 12 noon to midnight
Sunday	12:30pm-5:00pm
MOVIE TIME	11:00am-10:00pm
Fri.-Sun.	7:30am-5:00pm
THEATER BOX OFFICE	12 noon-5:00pm
Mon.-Sun.	11:45am-12:45pm
BROWSING LIBRARY & MUSIC LOUNGE	5:30-6:45pm
Mon.-Sun.	Brunch: 10:30am-1:00pm
INFORMATION BOOTH	Smorgasbord: 5:30-7pm
Mon.-Sat.	12 noon-1:15pm & 5:45-7:15pm
Sunday	Closed Saturdays, Sundays, Mondays.
BARBERSHOP	8:00am-12midnight
Mon.-Fri.	8:00am-5:30pm
Saturday	8:00am-12 noon
CAFETERIA	6:50am-7:00pm
Mon.-Fri.	11:45am-7:00pm
Sat. & Sun.	8:00am-10:15pm
RATHSKELLER	8:00am-12midnight
Sun.-Thurs.	11:45am-12:45pm
Fri. & Sat.	5:30-6:45pm
TRIPP COMMONS	Brunch: 10:30am-1:00pm
Mon.-Fri.	Smorgasbord: 5:30-7pm
Saturday	12 noon-1:15pm & 5:45-7:15pm
Sunday	Closed Saturdays, Sundays, Mondays.

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Hiawatha	Hiawatha				Hiawatha	Hiawatha
3:13 pm	1:22 pm	Lv	Columbus	Ar	12:25 pm	5:08 pm
5:17 pm	3:48 pm	Ar	La Crosse	Lv	10:19 am	3:01 pm
5:54 pm	4:30 pm	Ar	Winona	Lv	9:44 am	2:26 pm
6:55 pm	5:42 pm	Ar	Red Wing	Lv	8:46 am	1:22 pm
7:45 pm	6:40 pm	Ar	St. Paul	Lv	8:05 am	12:40 pm
8:20 pm	7:20 pm	Ar	Minneapolis	Lv	7:30 am	12:15 pm

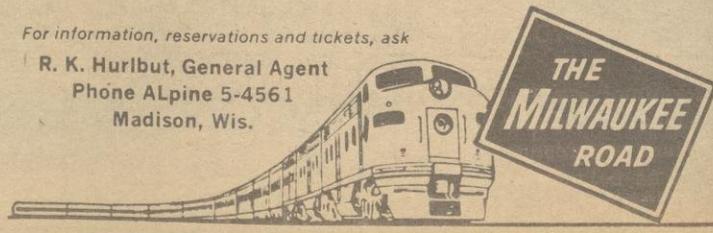
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# Forums to Discuss World Trouble Spots

International forums will give students this summer an opportunity to hear first hand what's going on in the trouble spots of the world. Sponsored by the Union International Club, these weekly forums discuss timely political situations as they develop around the world. Ordinarily students from the country being discussed are on the panel.

Several programs have already been planned for the summer. On July 10 a panel will discuss the implications of the Peruvian situation. Panel members will include a political science professor and two Latin American students. The French elections will be discussed on July 24 and the German elections on Aug. 7. Other programs this summer will deal with lunar politics and Czechoslovakia. These Thursday night pro-

grams are free and all students are welcome.

Another International Club program, Dancetime, is just what the name implies—dancing each Saturday night to records and live music. Dancetime is held in the Union and is free.

The Club will also sponsor two picnics this summer—one especially for new foreign students at Picnic Point and another at Tally-ho.

The International Club is a membership organization for foreign and American students alike. Although the club's activities are open to all students, members receive reduced rates for many functions. Students may obtain International Club memberships at the Union Open House June 27.

Street signs directing students to the highways and byways of the Union will be featured at the annual Summer Open House Fri. June 27.

The night's entertainment is free and fun-filled.

Straight ahead on second floor "Don't Come Back" will be playing in the Union Play Circle. Continuous from noon, the admission is 75¢.

## OPEN HOUSE

Up two flights in the Workshop craft equipment will be displayed and demonstrated. How-to's on silk screening, pottery, picture framing, and woodworking will be included.

Across fourth floor to Great Hall there's a mixer with a rock band providing the music. Back down to second floor it's the Grad Club nightclub with entertainment by Ken Solon, the International Club reception featuring folk dancing and folk music, and a display of recreational equipment in the Main Lounge.

Follow the arrows downstairs to the depths of the building for the Discotheque in the Twelfth Night Room. Continuous music, a light show, and go-go dancers will be featured.

Also downstairs is the Hoofer Open House in Hoofer's Quarters. Officers from the riding, sailing, and outing clubs will be on hand to answer your questions.

Open House is free and all students are welcome.

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## NOTICE:

Summer Session students are invited to visit the University Placement Offices relevant to their interest. Offices and locations are as follows:

Career Advising and Placement Services—117 Bascom Hall  
Agricultural and Life Sciences  
116 Agri. Hall  
Business—107 Commerce.  
Chemistry—1309 New Chemistry  
Education—202 State St.  
Engineering—1150 Engineering  
Law—236 Law

Some employers are scheduled to interview PhD candidates in engineering, mathematics and the sciences during the period from July 29th to August 8th. For further information check with CAPS in room 117 Bascom Hall. Teachers will find in this office pertinent occupational materials for use with students during the school year.

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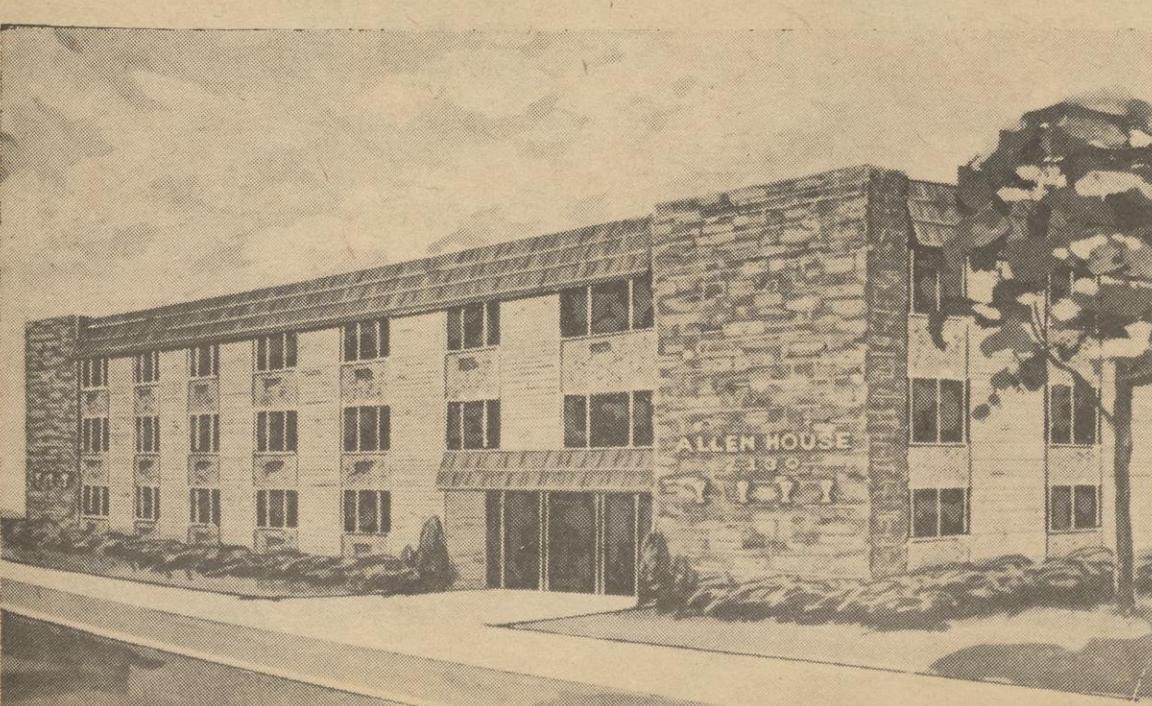
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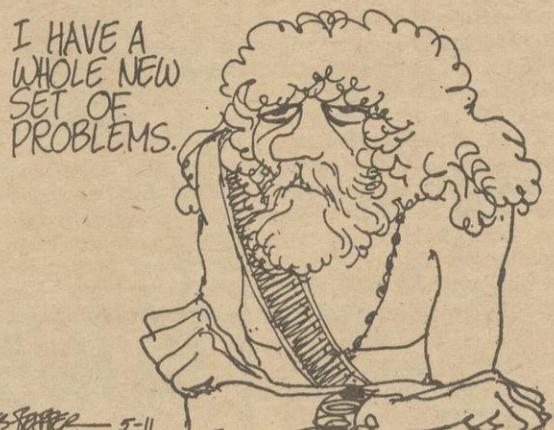
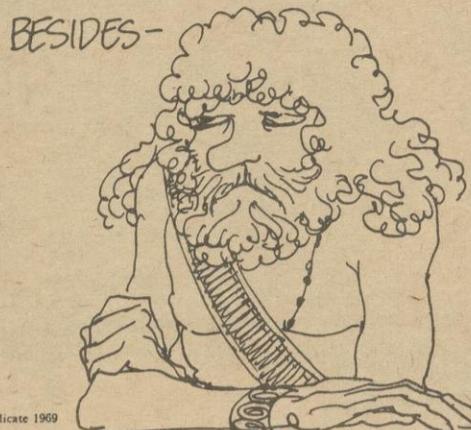
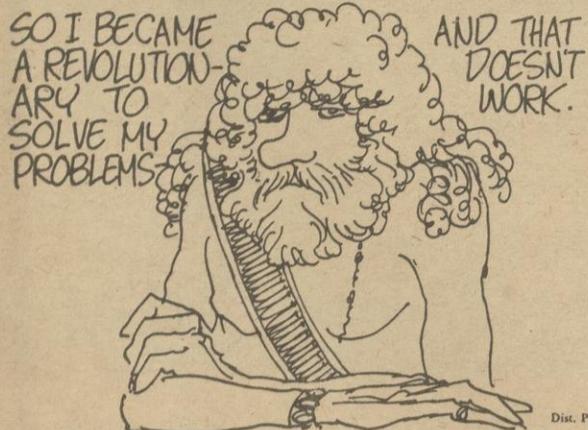
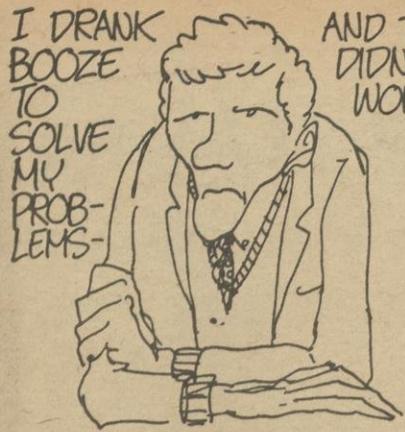
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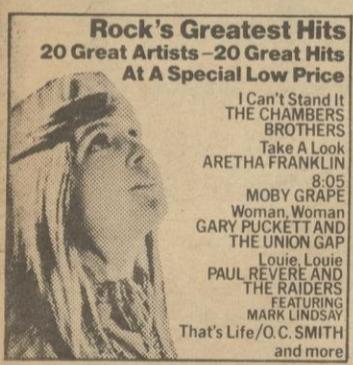


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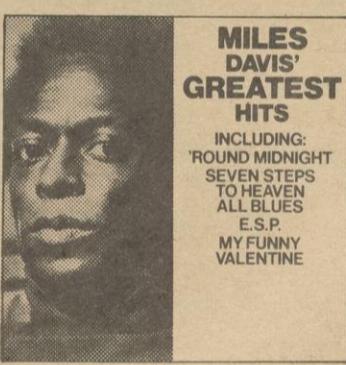
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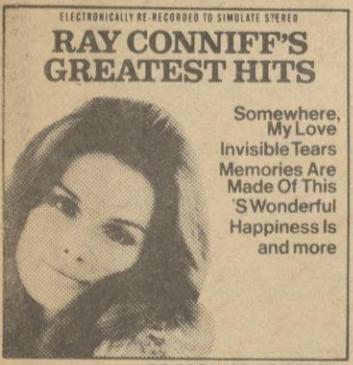
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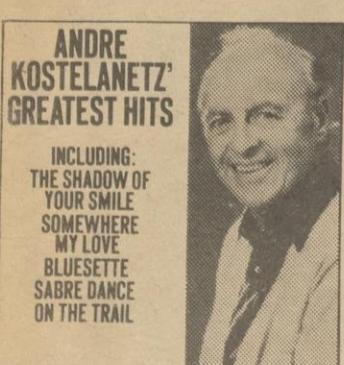
MORE TODAY  
THAN YESTERDAY  
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INCLUDING:  
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OUR DAY WILL COME FOR ONCE IN MY LIFE  
THIS GUY'S IN LOVE WITH YOU

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HITS  
INCLUDING:  
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SO YOU WANT TO BE  
A ROCK 'N' ROLL STAR  
MY BACK PAGES

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