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Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, October 18, 1968

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The Daily Cardinal

VOL. LXXIX, No. 25

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin 53706, Friday, Oct. 18, 1968

5 CENTS A COPY

OCT. 18

The Issue: An Introduction

It is obvious that everyone is uptight. Whatever uptight is—frustration, unrest, pressure spheres, or what-not—it is the one thing that has come to dominate this year. The Presidential campaign (Wallace's appeal should surprise no one), Chicago, Columbia, Sorbonne, Czechoslovakia, the recent drug busts and its politics, Peter Pan, ditto,—their connections and the connotations of their connections stand as evidence.

On this campus we have seen it in the dorms. If last year's attempt to liberate or liberalize (it really makes no difference which) SSO was not enough of a cry, then rumors like the one about a floor in Witte Hall which tried to secede three or four weeks ago, should be convincing. We have seen it on the intimidated faces of professors who on the first day of classes (even before we had time to protest) promised to make their courses rele-

vant and to answer questions at the end of lectures, etc. From the administration to the Regents each "Man of Responsibility" seems to have a sword of Damocles over his every move. Just this week, the governor of this state promised his constituents a "hard line" recommendation on university unrest. To enumerate further is frightening to this writer.

So here we are on October 18—a day which to many in this community was a catalyst to their uptightness. Last year.

This issue is designed to go back to that day, say what happened, and approach the anxiety that hangs over this community historically and politically. We are talking about politics because we believe that every move we make, every inhale-exhale, is a political one.

Rob Gordon
News Editor

Evan Stark: Alive and Well at Minn.

By HAROLD SOURS

At the time of last year's Dow protest Evan Stark was a graduate student in sociology. Long active in campus politics, he was very much a leader in planning the demonstration.

Shortly after Oct. 18, Stark withdrew from the University. He is presently living in Minneapolis where he is Director of the Eastside Citizens Community Center and a member of the Executive Committee of the Peace and Freedom Party.

This reporter contacted Stark at his home Tuesday night.

"Dow made the student appreciate that there is a world of difference between University complicity with the war machine and the University actually being a part of that machine," and that "reform of the University is meaningless without a more fundamental reform of society," Stark said.

He likened the University to a corporation that is producing finished goods for society and "like any corporation it

must meet production schedules."

Stark blames neither the administration nor the demonstrators for the violence which took place. "The violence was not inherent in the personalities involved, but it was inherent in the structure of the University . . . If it had not been Dow, it would have been something else."

While Stark did not blame former Chancellor William Sewell for the violence, he felt that Sewell could have done more to hold down the level which the violence reached. He described the Chancellor as "very liberal" and "a nice guy who felt that he was in control of the situation, but during the demonstration he froze and wouldn't leave his office."

Stark also told of his efforts during the week preceding the demonstration to get Sewell to meet with the demonstration leaders. He had hoped that such a meeting could have led to an understanding which might have headed off the violence which ensued. Sewell

kept referring him to former Dean of Student Affairs Joseph Kaufmann, whom Stark described as being mistrusted by students.

Stark said that the Dow demonstration had two far-reaching effects. The first of these is that students became aware that there are only two different alternatives available for the structuring of the University. One alternative is what Stark called a "liberal technocracy," and the other is a normal State U. run by political hacks. "The student sees these alternatives as offering no real choice. It's much like the problem people are facing in the Presidential campaign."

The second major effect of Dow is that no student, "not even the most reactionary," can look upon an administrator with any kind of genuine trust because "you know he will use a club if he needs it." Stark compared the way students must view administrators with the way ghetto people view the police.

"Poor kids look at cops with fear,

because they are men of violence. Students cannot look upon the administrator as a friend for the same reason," he said.

"I was very much impressed with the people who were in the Commerce Building. They were not those people who usually showed up for everything, but those who had been involved in the civil rights movement in the South three and four years ago and had become disillusioned with campus protests. They just poured out of the walls for this protest. I have great respect for them."

Stark said that he had been against the class strike because it detracted from Dow, which he considered to be the major concern of the demonstration.

Stark seems to have grown disillusioned or at least indifferent to campus politics after having worked out in the field for a year. "You can't look at the student as nigger after you've seen the real niggers of society."

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Long-Range Effects of '67 Dow Demonstrations Include Legal Maneuvering, High-Level Secrecy

By RENA STEINZOR
Day Editor

The aftermath of Oct. 18, 1967 included a few shattered careers, a number of bitter memories and several law suits brought to court by such diverse personalities as the chairman of Students for a Democratic Society, the state attorney general.

When the gas and dust finally cleared, three students had been expelled from the University, five sentenced to jail terms, the constitutionality of the University and state statutes governing disorderly conduct challenged in court, and the whole process by which the University carries on undercover surveillance of the radical movement uncovered.

The legal maneuverings resulting from the Dow debacle were carried out through three major channels: the state courts, the Federal district court under the jurisdiction of Judge James Doyle, and the University Administration and faculty committees on student conduct.

On Oct. 21, students William Simons, Carlos Joly, Evan Stark, Robert Cohen, Stuart Ewen, Richard Samson, Edward Ruhe, and Robert Weiland were reported to have been suspended from the University for violation of Chapter 11.02 of the University's Rules and Regulations. This rule states that students have the right to free speech and assembly but warns that disciplinary action will take place if "disruption" occurs.

On Oct. 26, Judge Doyle is-

sued a temporary restraining order on the University prohibiting them from taking any disciplinary measures against the students involved in the protest, indicating that the constitutionality of the statute was in doubt.

The attorneys for the students had argued that the statute was overly broad and vague on its face and could infringe upon constitutionally guaranteed First Amendment rights.

The restraining order did not prohibit the University from pressing charges against the student protesters in civil courts. On Nov. 8, Doyle extended his restraining order and announced that a three-judge panel would be appointed to consider the constitutionality of 11.02.

Meanwhile, state Attorney General Bronson LaFollette sought to turn the tables on the radical students involved in the Dow demonstrations and gained an injunction in state Court aimed at eight students, allegedly leaders of planned obstruction of CIA campus interviews scheduled for later that month, and the campus chapter of SDS. The injunction declared illegal any intentional obstruction of University buildings which denied members of the University community free access to all entrances and exits of such buildings.

University Regent Maury Pasch, Madison, addressed the court to urge issuance of the injunction. On Nov. 18, the injunction was issued by Judge William Jackman.

The CIA eventually cancelled the campus interviews.

On Nov. 16, Judge Doyle discontinued his restraining order prohibiting the University from taking disciplinary measures against students involved in Dow.

On Nov. 29, the University began hearings by the administrative section of the Committee on Student Conduct for Cohen, Simons, Weiland, Joly and Mana Jennings. The first session was disrupted as students rang cowbells, wrote on the blackboards and heckled the committee from the audience.

Three defendants—Cohen, Simons, and Weiland—walked out of the second session of the hearing on Dec. 1 and were immediately expelled by the University. Simons and Weiland are now in Madison. Cohen is at the University of Buffalo. No action was taken against Joly. Miss Jennings had withdrawn from school.

The state opened fire on student protesters again when on Dec. 12, the trial of six students charged with disorderly conduct convened before the jury in state Circuit Court. The six tried were accused of such acts as spitting, using obscene language, and blocking the doorway of the Commerce Building.

The defense, led by attorneys Michael Reiter and Percy Julian Jr., based their case primarily on testimony by eye witnesses on the scene who charged police brutality. Five students, all except Cohen

(continued on page 6)

The Daily Cardinal

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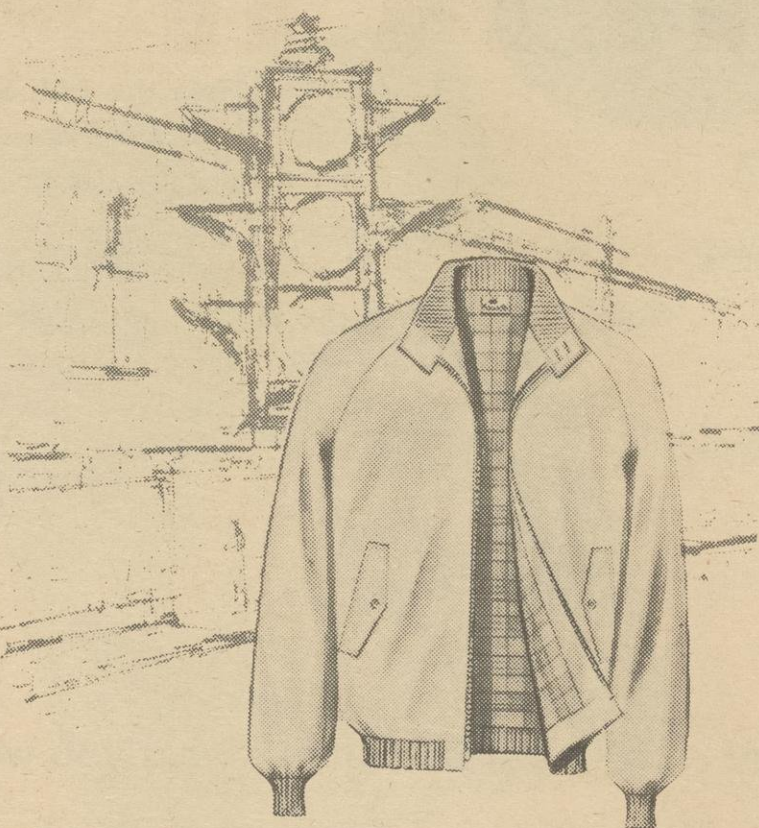
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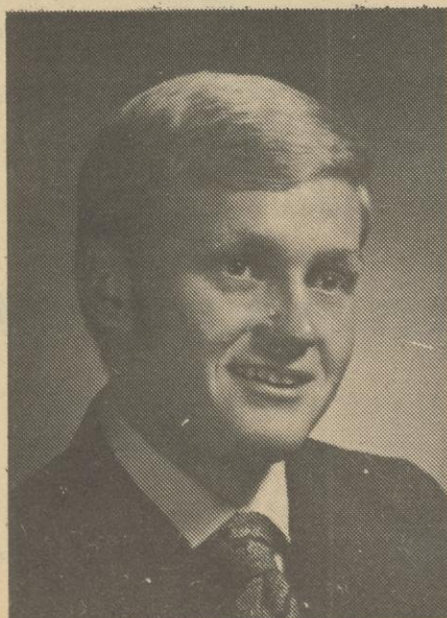
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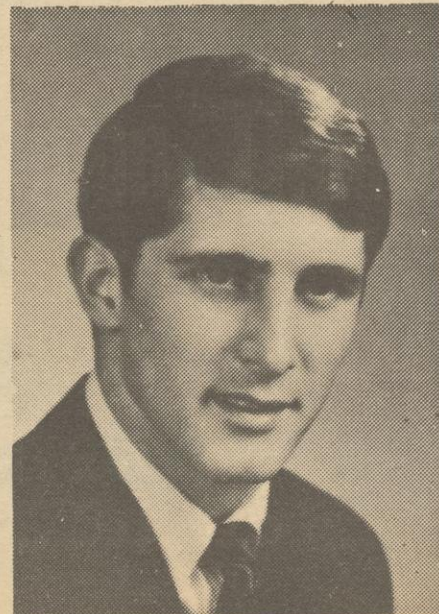
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COMMENTS FROM DOW AND BOEING

By MIKE GONDEK
Cardinal Staff Writer

A spokesman for the Dow Chemical Company has stated that the corporation will recruit on the Madison campus on Nov. 7 and 8, and, that despite the protests that have occurred against Dow's presence on college campuses in the past, "We haven't changed our basic policies in regard to recruiting."

Dan Wolf of the public relations department of Dow said "The times and places of our recruiting are

arranged by the various colleges and universities, and we consider ourselves the guest of the university involved." Speaking about the confrontations between students and corporate recruiters such as occurred at Madison last Oct. 18, Wolf stated "The University is the responsible party."

The Dow spokesman refused to speculate about whether the company would agree to recruit off campus if specifically requested to do so by a university. Wolf said "We cooperate with the Uni-

versity, and we have never been asked by any school to take our recruiting off campus." Madison faculty instructed the University Placement Service to schedule interviews for Dow this year, despite controversy which arose over recruiting last fall.

Wolf stated that Dow has sent representatives to other campuses to make a statement of the company's position to students who opposed Dow's presence on cam-

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THE DAILY CARDINAL—5

pus, but that they have not done so at Wisconsin. He also said that he could not categorically accept or refuse any such invitation for Nov. 7 or 8.

Dow is holding a news conference for campus editors at their headquarters in Midland, Michigan on Monday, October 28. The editor of The Daily Cardinal has been invited and will attend.

A Madison student group requested a speaker from Dow last spring, Wolf stated, and the company accepted, but the student group never contacted Dow again to make specific arrangements.

Jud Hubbard, manager of recruiting advertising for Boeing

Aircraft Company, also said that his company has no control over the times or locations arranged for their recruiting interviews on campus.

Hubbard said that that he did not understand the reasons for protests occurring when Boeing recruits, because, he stated, "Of Boeing's annual sales, which are over \$2 billion, only a small percentage involves defense and military contracts." He also said that Boeing's only products in use in Vietnam are helicopters, and that the old B-52s used there are no longer produced by the company.

Boeing will be recruiting on campus today.

Friday, Oct. 20

Students Strike; Picket Buildings

By STEVEN REINER,
SALLY WEINSTOCK,
and CAROLYN ORZAC
Cardinal Staff Writers

Continuing their enraged protest, 3000 students twice converged on Bascom Hill Thursday in response to the general class strike called Wednesday night.

The first rally, at 8:30 a.m. heard speakers discuss the student position in the strike and suggestions for further action. Leah Johnson of Concerned Black People, comparing the current situation of the students with that of the black community four years ago, told the students that mere protests are futile, and that violence is the only way they can achieve their goals.

Professor Fain, philosophy, discussing the functions of the University, stated that the University educates and licenses. "We are part of a society and we have to fit you into this society whether we like it or not!"

As the rally was being continued, other students were forming picket lines in front of Bascom Hall, Van Hise, Van Vleck, Birge Hall, Commerce, Social Sciences, North Hall, and South Hall, Education, Law, and Music Hall.

The meeting then passed a general resolution delineating their views stating:

1) That the police be removed from and never again be called to this campus to disperse a peaceful demonstration by students and faculty.

2) That the University take no legal or disciplinary action against students, T.A.'s, or faculty participating in the demonstration on Oct. 18 or any subsequent peaceful demonstrations.

3) That the University Administration enter into public negotiations with the Committee for Student Rights to satisfy the above demands and, furthermore, to define what constitutes disruptive activity and grounds for discipli-

nary action.

4) We feel that the outcome of these negotiations and the termination of this strike should be approved by a campus referendum.

The rally then dispersed to, as one leader said, "move to action and stop talking."

The second rally convening at 2 p.m. discussed the faculty meeting scheduled at 3:30. The crowd, while screaming, "We want our rights."

Paul Soglin, also a member of the Committee to Confront Dow read the five basic questions of student concern:

- 1) Will we tolerate police brutality?
- 2) Will we demand the resignation of Sewell and Kauffman?
- 3) Will we organize student employees?
- 4) Will we prevent disciplinary action taken against students?
- 5) Will we strike until we win?

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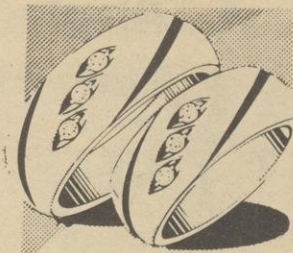
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In Court after Dow

(continued from page 3)

who agreed to leave the state and paid a \$100 fine, were sentenced to 30 days in jail each.

The last trial case involving an individual protestor took place in March when Robert Zwicker who had dropped out of school in early November following the Dow demonstration, was refused readmission. He was told when he withdrew he would be readmitted on academic grounds when and if he chose to return.

The day after Zwicker dropped out, a hold form was placed in his folder by the then Dean of Student Affairs Joseph Kauffman. The hold form stated that Zwicker would not be readmitted to the University until he had appeared before the Administrative Division of the Committee on Student Conduct.

The Administrative Committee denied him readmission and Zwicker appealed his case to the faculty-student division of the

Committee which subsequently denied his readmission, also. Zwicker is currently residing in Madison.

During the Zwicker trial, it was revealed that the university has a file on all radical activists on campus; the campus police send undercover men and photographers to all major demonstrations; the hold form technique is used against some 50 students a year, and guidelines for demonstrations are arbitrarily decided by campus administrators just before they occur.

In addition to the court cases, the State Senate convened hearings in November to investigate the Dow protest. Michael Goldman, then president of SDS and Robert Cohen brought suit against the State charging not only that the hearings had nothing to do with any legislation pending before the

legislative body and that they served to "intimidate witnesses and inhibit them from exercising their constitutional rights."

Dec. 9, Judge Doyle issued a restraining order prohibiting the Senate from continuing their investigation on the grounds that the students were subject to questions on their prior and future activities and that the situation would be "irreparable harm" to them if continued.

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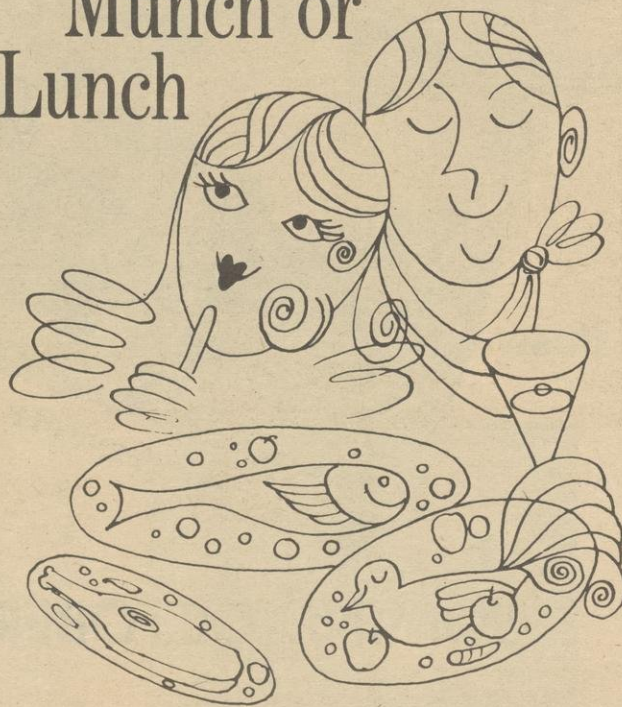
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Thursday, Oct. 19

Police Halt Protest with Clubs, Tear Gas

By MATTHEW FOX
Managing Editor
and STEVE SHULRUFF
Cardinal Staff Writer

Under the bell-ringing Carillon, every Monday chiming out the ancient tune of Dona Nobis Pacem, erupted one of the most violent student-police confrontations in University history.

Twenty-five helmeted Madison special riot-squad policemen, armed with two-foot billy clubs, forcibly removed nearly 400 students from the main hall of the Commerce building Wednesday as Tuesday's peaceful anti-Dow protest turned into a bloody, glass-breaking, club-wielding, tear gas-slinging battle.

According to James A. Marks, engineering placement director, Dow Chemical Co. plans to conduct its scheduled interviews on the Engineering campus today. Chancellor William Sewell said they would be suspended pending the outcome of today's 3:30 p.m. faculty meeting.

At noon, with close to 2,000 demonstrators and on-lookers chanting outside, those obstructing rooms 102 and 104 where the Dow interviews were to take place began to lock arms and close in their ranks. Along the north corridor of the building, students were sitting three deep, allowing a through passage for students, professors and personnel, not entering the interview rooms, to pass freely.

Linked arm-in-arm, around the two entrances, 102 and 104, students numbering in the hundreds stood ready for the riot squad waiting in front of the Social Science building. University Police, city officers, hired by Protection and Security Chief Ralph Hanson that morning, stood in the office and classroom doorways awaiting the

helmeted squad.

An interviewee, trying to get into the Dow interviews was attacked and barred entrance by the demonstrators.

At approximately 1:30 p.m., on direct orders from Madison Chancellor William Sewell, Hanson related to Madison Police Chief Wilbur Emery that University forces were unable to clear the building. At that time, Emery's riot squad crossed over to Commerce and entered the building, some through windows they had to break with billy clubs.

When asked who made the final decision to call in help from Emery's forces, Dean of Student Affairs Joseph Kauffman said "The Chancellor will take the full responsibility for the use of the police." Sewell was unavailable for comment.

Hanson, trying to coordinate his forces, said that the riot squad was under his control as far as possible. About forty police were called in during the day.

The 25 police after entering the building began to violently remove the obstructors. and when meeting with overt resistance, freely used clubs to disperse the protestors. Everyone dropped to the floor, heads between legs, arms protecting heads, all glasses were removed. Girls began to scream, and both men and women students staggered sobbing from the building, many with blood dripping from head wounds.

Six of the first students dragged by the police out of the building were put into a city paddy wagon. They were finally released after the commerce building had been cleared when the van was surrounded by students and the air was let out of its tires.

About an hour after the first police entered the building, with

students raging to an hysterical pitch around its perimeter, Emery ordered tear gas to be brought in. The crowd of injured, weeping, bleeding protestors, professors and students coming from their class cleared the area slowly with burning eyes and handkerchiefs over their mouths.

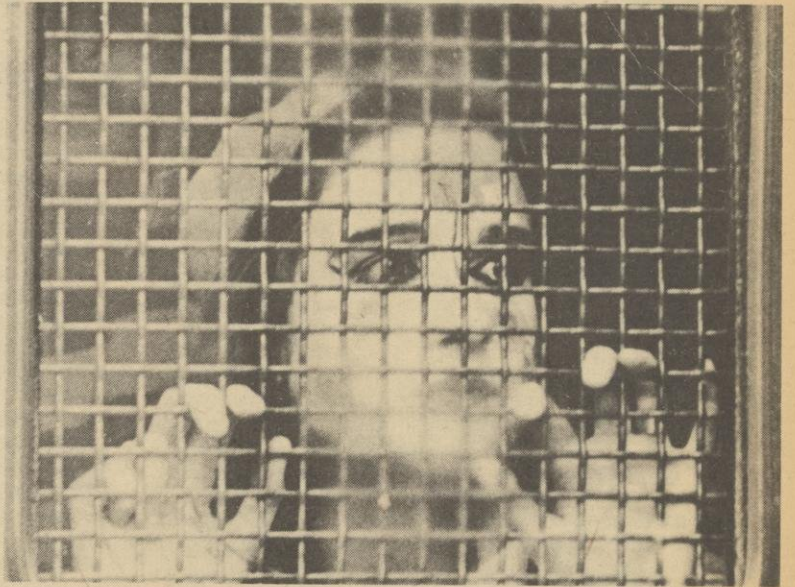
With nearly four thousand students yelling and crying police brutality, the many beaten and bruised protestors were aided to private cars and taken to the hospital. Sixty-three students were treated at the emergency room and released.

Four officers were also injured in the foray: Tom McCarthy, a detective with the Madison Police, having been hit with a shoe in the face was treated for a broken nose; Roger Cary, also of the city police, was admitted to the Methodist Hospital with a broken leg; Ted Kemp of the University police was hit in the face with a rock; and Bart Hoffman of the Madison force suffered from a bruised throat.

For hours after the melee, tear gas lingered in and around Commerce, Bascom and Social Science. The Fire Department was called in to the Hospital to help clear air of gas brought in on the clothes of injured students.

At the end of a violent day, over forty police guarded all entrances to a ransacked, but empty Commerce Building.

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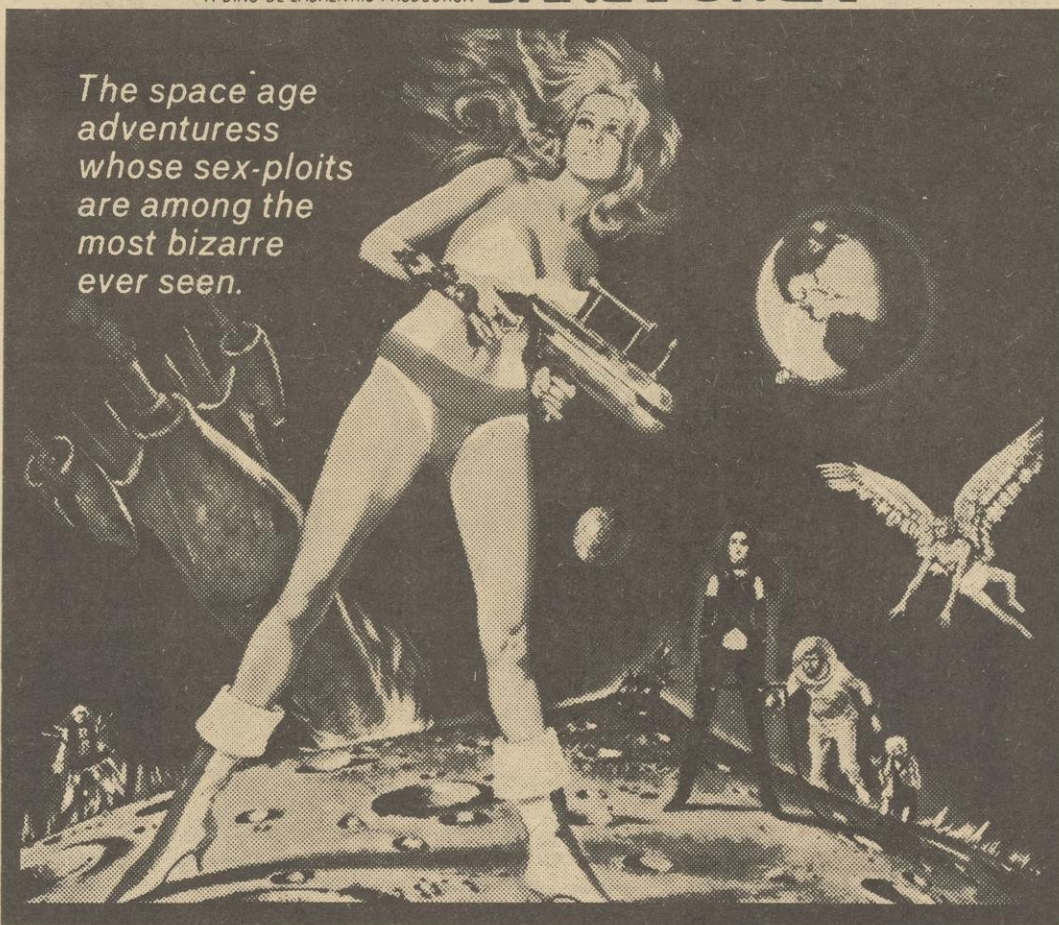
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The French Upheaval: Perspective on the Student-Worker Commune

Prof. Harvey Goldberg

For two months, sprawling across May and June, 1968, revolutionary events threatened the French social and cultural order. Of larger design than the mass strikes of 1936 which launched the Popular Front; of wider appeal than the revolutionary strikes of 1919-20 which enrolled only a militant minority, they joined millions of students and workers to a movement which temporarily cracked the confines of a hierarchical, bureaucratic society. Like the Communards of 1871, the militants of May rejected that society whole, its every repressive part; out of their daily experience they lived a new life--collective, egalitarian, pulsating--within the hardening body of the old. Like the revolutionaries of 1789 who stormed the Bastille, they captured the universities and factories which symbolized their dehumanization. A French movement, responding merely to a decade of Gaullism? Only superficially. In style and sentiment the upheaval of May expressed the global defiance of youth (young students and young workers) in full revolt, like the colonized before their masters, against the humiliation of manipulation and subordination; in its strategy and slogans it articulated the global struggle--by Vietnamese against Western aggressors, blacks against racism, the poor against hunger, the Stalinized against dogmatism--for a socialism rich in essential freedom. It was a fervent moment in the continuous history of the Great Mutation: the dismantling of that civilization, born two centuries ago, bounded on its four sides by the bourgeois, the male, the adult, and the European-American.

On March 22 the students revolted at Nanterre, on May 3 at the Sorbonne; then everywhere, in the lycées and in the provincial universities, they assaulted an educational system deprived, from top to bottom, of flexibility and freedom. The careerists among them deplored the hopelessly outmoded curriculum; the radicals attacked the complicity of education in a repressive society. But in their common opposition to the examinations--the nerve center of a ruthlessly competitive system--reformists and revolutionaries fused into a single community. The first official repression came--the closing of Nanterre--and with it, in the phrase of Edgar Morin, the Student Commune: solidarity, direct democracy, the Petrograd soviet in the courtyard of the autocratic university. The second repression paled the first; the bloody clash with the police revealed--no longer in Algeria or Indo-China but on the beloved streets of Paris--the unmeasured cruelty which hovers beneath the respectable surface.

Like the sailors of the Potemkin, the students mutinied, siezed the Sorbonne, converted its ancient halls into the most astonishing democratic forum of the generation: seminars all day, discussions all night, the free and open university, all subjects, nothing sacred. The best-spirited professors proposed reforms and denounced the police; but when they warned against nihilism, they were like Social-Democrats lost among the Spartakists. The Mandarins had spoken too late and their careers were too suspect. For the Student Commune, isolated by the official Versailles, the enemy was now bourgeois society and all its servants; in widening its vision and exhorting the workers to action, it became the Political Commune.

Amidst the icons and idols of an Americanized France, the workers lived insecure and anomic lives. Their organizations--notably the Communist Party and the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) persistently demanded higher wages and expanded social security. In pressing for reforms while nourishing the myth of revolution, the Communists had managed, or so they thought, to accommodate both the immediate needs and the long-lingering dreams of the workers. But wasn't there more to revolution than voting for the Party at elections or striking for an extra franc? "The liberation of the proletariat will be the work of the workers themselves"--so proclaimed the First Workingmen's International in 1864, and the revolutionary syndicalism of France had long flourished in that soil of self-emancipation: through direct action, the general strike, the worker-controlled factory council as the agency of production. If the old workers, resigned by fatigue and disillusion, had forgotten that rich tradition, the young ones, neither domesticated by reforms nor compromised by paternalism, relearned it overnight.

Autogestion was the explosive new word in their vocabulary: as the students had taken over the schools, they would occupy the factories. And revolution: as the students refused careers imposed by the bourgeoisie, they would defy the authority imposed by their bosses. Spontaneously the workers of Nantes--first in Sud-Aviation, then in a dozen other plants--occupied the city's factories and ran them. In every neighborhood their families organized to educate the public; in the surrounding countryside the peasants formed committees to exchange their produce for factory goods. No middlemen; no excess profits or prices; peasants, for the first time, marching the streets of Nantes behind the workers' red banner. From Nantes the movement spread until ten

million workers were on strike, the major services paralyzed, and the great factories occupied. Bourgeois legalism, long the cadre of working-class action, had cracked. Like the revolutionary surge of the primitive proletariat in the 1840's, the most militant workers had recovered the spontaneity and equality long smothered under the bureaucratic weight of their own organizations.

The Communists protested--and still do--that the workers wanted reforms not revolution; that the students were blind anarchists (if not police provocateurs); that change must come through elections and with the majority; that the summer elections proved the hostility of that majority to insurrection; that a civil war would have invited bloody repression (and for the PCF the loss of its advanced positions in French society). Their arguments are apologetics--at best only partially true, at worst an echo on the Left of the noise from the Right (between Rene Andrieu in "L'Humanite" and Raymond Aron in "Le Figaro" the agreement was broad). But when Seguy, the Secretary-General of the CGT, signed an agreement with Premier Pompidou on May 28, the workers, young and old alike, rejected it; when the CGT leadership opted for negotiations, its rank-and-file replied that "power is in the streets." Many workers, perhaps a majority, thought only to improve their individual lives, but others, an increasing number as the events progressed, thought to transform their collective lives.

Yet the young are not always wise nor the courageous inevitably far-sighted. There were nihilists among them--students who would have destroyed learning along with authority, workers who would have transformed society without a plan. Syndicalism without politics is half a strategy; spontaneity without organization (the martyred Rose Luxemburg as my witness) is even less. But mistakes are transitory. More permanent is that extase de l'histoire which filled those historic weeks: the joy of self-liberation (that fete, as Simone Weil once put it, of capturing the machines and dancing round them); the generosity of collective action; the communication of workers and students; the irrevocable defiance of ritualism-called-civilization. An advanced industrial society, Marcuse taught us, permits no other dimension of thought than compliance. He was wrong. When the journalists of ORTF struck French radio and television, they proved that men and women, even in the notorious mass media, hang on to their minds; and when workers occupied the factories, they proved that men and women, even in the golden age of temptation, hang on to their humanity. Thus - the first act---

Students and Workers in the French Uprising of 1968

Prof. Jack Barbash

The main probing action for revolutionary power in France in the spring of 1968 came from the proletarianized university students (an intellectual proletariat as it were) not from a working-class proletariat. In fact the leaders of the working class proletariat seemed to have moved in on the scene to prevent the student revolt from infecting the working class, whose main objective as it turned out was not revolution but reduction of hours, increase in pay and union recognition.

The actors in the French revolution this spring thus refused to perform according to the roles assigned to them in the unfolding of the Marxist drama. The drama has meant many things to many people for more than a century but one motif has remained undisputed as the central core of Marx: the primary role in the revolutionary process belongs to a working class made increasingly conscious of its mission by the regime of alienation which a developing capitalism necessarily

has forced upon it. The revolutionary role assigned to the intellectual was to articulate the theory of revolution but not as a displacement for, and surely not as a rival to, the proletariat.

The driving sentiment in the French revolutionary drama of the spring of 1968 proved to be the students' alienation from the hypermaterialistic consumerism which dominated values under capitalism. But the acting out of their alienation was made possible by the ability of their middle-class parents to accumulate enough surplus value to send them to the universities; only 10 per cent of the French university students come from working-class families.

The source of student alienation even if not according to Marx was nevertheless real enough. The 19th century university system was tragically inadequate to deal with the educational and ideological needs of students in the affluent society and the welfare state of the 20th century.

The students' ideology did not communicate itself to the workers whose chief complaint against the consumer society condemned by the students was only that the workers were not getting their full share. When the students' militancy did communicate itself to the industrial workers they utilized it to bargain shorter hours and higher wages for themselves rather than to make a bid for socialist power.

The sense of momentary common cause--perhaps common mood is a more apt description--turned out not to be proof against the barriers of class which divided workers and students, as the following colloquy between students and workers outside a Citroen plant gate and reported by a French journalist, illuminates:

"Aren't you and your co-workers discussing politics?"

"No, We're not concerned with politics here."

"What are the workers inside doing?"

"Playing cards."

"Couldn't you be doing something more useful?"

"We're not used to working for nothing."

"What do you think of the union orders not to join us in street demonstrations?"

"We've got enough to do here. We haven't got time to throw paving stones. And anyway, we don't feel at ease with the children of bourgeois."

"Sure we're the children of bourgeois, but we repudiate what our parents stand for."

"Where are your parents right now?"

"Spending the weekend in the country."

"I wish I had the money to go to the country."

"What good would it do you if we're still being exploited by the capitalist system? You've got to think beyond a 10 per cent wage increase."

"First, I'd like to have the wage increase. I've got three kids."

One student to another, sotto voce: "They can't see any further

than their daily bread."

A worker called for attention and read a CGT communique that said: "We wish to thank all the students here for their interest, but the CGT has not been consulted about your presence here, and is opposed to all unconsidered initiatives which might be interpreted by the

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Due to an error, it was not noted on Thursday's editorial page that the lead article by Capital Times writer John Patrick Hunter was reprinted with permission from Wednesday's Cap Times. Hunter's story originally appeared as a news story, but the Daily Cardinal editors felt that the news story evaluated Gov. Knowles' concern with the University and higher education better than any editorial possibly could. The Governor had been described the day before by University President Fred Harvey Harrington as "a great friend of the University."

A Year After the Dow War - sds and the student movement

By STEPHEN LEBERSTEIN
SDS-WDRU

The student movement on American campuses has come a long way since the Dow protests of the last academic year. Last fall when numerous campuses erupted with violent clashes over the recruiter for Dow Chemical Co., student activists felt outraged by a war few could make much sense out of, and one that no one could do anything about. The result was often a position of moral intransigence: It is wrong for a company that makes napalm used to burn Vietnamese peasants to recruit its chemists on our campus. But that moral outrage fed on the frustrations of impotence - the absolute lack of power folks had to change what they felt to be a betrayal of a certain American tradition. Yet in their inability to stop the Dow recruiting, as in their failure to affect the course of the war, students were still primarily concerned with a war half way around the world from their lives. Few had begun to make the connection between their powerlessness to affect American foreign policy and their powerlessness in their own lives. After all, college students were the leaders of tomorrow.

The bitter experiences of the Dow war "radicalized" many students. Having confronted the university with

the fact of its direct connection with the business of the war in Vietnam, students found that the university responded with violence and repression to their demand for change. While many of us tried to restore that purity that the university claimed for itself, in the unhampered pursuit of truth or "sifting and winnowing," we discovered more and more how the university was linked with everything that seemed to be a mistake in our society: the war, giant corporations unresponsive to human needs, problems of slums and poverty in surrounding communities. In Madison, the focus was on recruiting for Dow, CIA, Army and Navy OCS, as well as the demand that the university liquidate its interest in the Chase Manhattan Bank, which supports the racist apartheid regime of South Africa.

More recently, the University Industrial Research Program has invited the Ansul Co., the major producer of arsenic defolants for Vietnam, to build a new plant in Madison in order to be able to use the university's research facilities. Both the Land Tenure Research Center and the Army Math Research Center provide services for the government that are not so very different from Ansul's. Similar projects are carried on by Columbia and the University of Chicago through their

links with the Institute for Defense Analyses. Severance of Columbia's ties with the IDA was a major demand by students there during last spring's revolt. Just as important at Columbia and Chicago was the school's ownership of much of the black ghettos surrounding their campuses. Rather than providing a force of progress in those ghetto communities, both universities contributed to their stagnation simply by reaping the profits from high slum rents and summarily evicting the tenants when they wanted to expand their virtually white-only facilities.

At first, the demands that the University cease its obnoxious domestic activities and sever its links with war-related agencies was made in the spirit of the university's ideal of freedom and purity. The struggle against racism and imperialism within the university had the effect of de-sanctifying that institution. Now, when some college dean or other administrator mounts a podium to proclaim the goal of the free university in a free society as the unhampered pursuit of truth, most students, if they happen to be caught off-guard listening, just say

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Election in 1968 - The Forces of Oppression

By BILL SNYDER
SDS-WDRU

Vote for the party of your choice, but Vote! America's quadrennial public service message has never been repeated more frantically nor rung so hollow to so many ears in recent memory. Desperately columnists, commentators, pundits, and pros try to convince us of the earthshaking significance of "Campaign '68," but beneath their slick glibness is a bit of cynicism, a carefully smothered ennu, a touch of fear a few inches below their pancake makeup freshness. Sometimes that fear and panic slip, as when Walter Cronkite, after dinner Father-confessor to millions blew his cool in Chicago watching his respectable fellow pros being treated like every other nigger by Mayor Daley's sometimes color blind pigs. But the moment of nakedness soon passes, and we are again assured that we must after all take all the factors into consideration, and maybe we were a bit hasty in our judgement, and besides reasonable men can always work out their differences, "can't we, Walter?" "yes sir! Mr. Daley."

Among the young, frustration, anger, and incredulity dominate. Who would have believed that after three years of the most widespread protest movement this country has ever seen, after 400 "agonizing reappraisals of foreign policy," after three years of total military defeat at monumental cost of life, that we would be faced with the truly incredible choice of Nixon and Humphrey, with Wallace thrown in ask the joker in the deck. If so much fire, blood, and tragedy were the outcome of the "crucial" 1964 elections that were supposed to save the world for American liberalism, what can possibly be the outcome of 1968? There was a sad joke that was current about two years ago that said, "Did you go all the way with LBJ in '64 and get screwed in '65?" If the election of '64 that promised a

real choice produced that sad mockery, what can we expect of the elections of '68 that don't even bother to promise?

For years the new left has been saying that democracy in America is a sham, a fraud and a hoax. For years the left has said that we are no less slaves because we get to vote for our masters every once in a while. But nothing we have ever said or done has come as close to demonstrating the validity of our arguments as the actions of America's rulers in the past year. It seemed to us that McCarthy was never more than a desperate attempt to win back the shattered allegiance of the young to "politics as usual." In fact the unusually candid Senator as much as admitted that in a newspaper ad seven months ago saying "he has brought our children home to us." Brought them home to what? To the belief, that

America is basically OK, and that all we need is a president who writes poetry, doesn't have shit on his boots, and doesn't show the world his belly, and that nasty Draft, that unfortunate mistaken War, and all those impatient blacks who don't really understand what's good for them and burn cities, will just go away? I'm afraid that you have failed Eugene. Even those who once believed that you would end the war, in spite of your abysmal record of voting for every single war appropriation to date, in spite of voting for the Tonkin Resolution, in spite of your statements calling for an American presence in Asia, now no longer believe in you or your ilk. They have seen you refuse to strongly oppose Humpty Dumpty, they have seen you sabotage their half-hearted and desperate attempts to place your name on the ballot as an independent, and then

run off to the Riviera when the going got rough. The false promise that you held out was smashed by your own actions, Senator, as well as the actions of the elite who dominate the Democratic party who decried that half a choice is too much of a choice to allow Americans.

In 1964 the cry was vote for the lesser of the two evils. It turned out that the lesser evil was not lesser at all, except in the area of honesty. Today, however, even that pathetic cry is inapplicable. It is obvious that the veneer of Liberalism that has covered America since the Roosevelt administration is rapidly melting away. Nixon speaks about the war in only the broadest, most meaningless generalities, while Humphrey futilely tries to dispel the stench of four years in bed with Lyndon Johnson. More and more the cry of "law and order" and "crime in

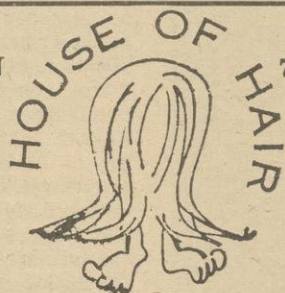
the streets" become the theme of their campaign. It is evident that these slogans are clumsy euphemisms for Wallace's call to commit genocide against the Black people and murderously suppress all dissent. It appears that the major parties no longer even try to convince the voters that what they have to offer them is exciting and worthwhile. Their choices of that incredible, stupid racist Spiro Agnew, and the unknown, bumbling Ed. Muskie as running mates shows the utter contempt with which they hold the American people. It is evident that they just don't give a damn that the vast majority of Americans have grown to hate the war and want to end it.

The wide appeal of Alabama's George Corley Wallace is a symptom of the disintegration of lib-

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Election in 1968

(continued from page 9)

eralism. While it is more than true that he is a racist and a fascist, it is not nearly enough to dismiss him with these epithets. Wallace is so successful because much of what he says is quite valid, and he speaks to the very real and valid fears and frustrations of millions of Americans. When Wallace says that there is not a dime's worth of difference between Humphrey and Nixon he is right and his supporters know it. When he says that the "pencil pushing bureaucrats in Washington think you are so stupid that they have to tell you how to get dressed in the morning," he is right and his supporters know it. When he tells the average working man that the big union leaders don't give a damn for the rank and file because they have sold out to the Washington bosses, he is right and his supporters know it. So much of what Wallace says is valid. Statements like the above or his criticism of welfare-statism are criticisms that the left has been making for years. Of course, Wallace is a complete fraud and a liar when he says that his solutions will help the "common people of America," but his phenomenal rise is an indicator of immense importance.

It has become fashionable for enraged Liberals to blame the left for the rise of Wallace. With anguished cries they have berated us for not backing a good liberal like McCarthy and allowing

the Right to gain so much power. This is utter nonsense. The fact is that Wallace is a success because more than 30 years of Liberal rule in America have been an utter failure. It is clear that moderate, "sensible" gradual solutions are no longer adequate to deal with the mess that America is now in. The War in Vietnam is only symptomatic of the disease that is rotting America. America is so deeply committed to maintaining oppressive regimes throughout the third world to guarantee her continued economic domination of them, that an end to the war would only be a brief respite before the onset of the next. Already we have thousands of Marines and Special Forces in Guatemala, Bolivia, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos. The wars there are the war we were fighting in Vietnam five years ago, what will they be like five years from today?

The liberal policy of integration is an abject failure. More black people are part of the hard core unemployed today than five years ago. Ghetto schools are worse than ever, and the ghettos themselves are in the last stages of complete decay. A short walk through Milwaukee's inner core, home of dozens of liberal welfare projects will convince all but the most unwilling of the utterly, brutalizing and inhuman conditions that liberal America forces our black citizens to live under.

Poor and working-class white Americans are undergoing tremendous frustrations. Their sons are dying and their wages are being cut for a war that they cannot understand in the slightest. Their taxes go for welfare and they see welfare recipients hating the

welfare system. Their unions sell them out and minority groups compete with them for the remaining low-skilled jobs. Is it any wonder that in their desperation and fear that they turn to Wallace? Wallace is the only candidate that even pretends to talk to the huge number of oppressed, white Americans. Because the bankruptcy of the center is so evident, and the left as yet has not succeeded in reaching them, these folks have no where to turn to but to the right.

We in SDS don't see electoral politics as a valid way of changing America. The farces of '64 and '68 will be repeated again and again because the problems that beset America go to its very foundations, and will not be solved by a shining knight on a white charger. Karl Marx said that to be radical is to get to the root, and that is what we want to do; get to the root of the problems that effect our lives.

In a conventional sense cannot offer an alternative to the majority party candidates. We cannot do that because conventional alternatives are essentially, commodities, packaged and brightly wrapped like the latest soap, promising to be all things to all people. We can, however, offer people a chance to regain control over their own lives. In the university we struggle and organize in the dorms and in the departments to gain control over these institutions, to make them relevant to our lives to gain control over them so they serve human needs, our needs, and not the needs of a murderous corporate system. We marched and fought in Chicago at the Pentagon and Oakland to put an immediate end to the draft and the War in Vietnam.

Students and Workers

(continued from page 8)

forces of order as a provocation leading to repression."

The students drifted away.

The French working class was in any case badly suited to a Marxist type of revolutionary role. The French workers who as often as not vote Communist in the elections have nevertheless been unable to muster enough power to achieve recognition of their unions or influence on plant working conditions. Chronologically the French labor movement is in the stage of trade union development which the American labor movement was in before the New Deal, when the struggle for union recognition was yet to be won.

Despite its brave revolutionary ideology the French labor movement, whether Communist, Socialist or Christian, has in fact little standing as an instrument of worker defense on the shop floor. There is thus a "contradiction" between ideology and effective power. Revolutionary ideology is not matched by working-class power and may possibly be a substitute for it.

But something more important is involved here than whether the French uprising was cast according to Marx or not. It has been proved time and again that as the workers see their own condition they are not so alienated from capitalism that they will make a revolution on their own power to destroy it. If capitalism seems capable of improving their lot

the workers will settle for reform in order to maximize short-run advantage, rather than to forgo short-run advantage and maximize the long-run revolutionary prospect.

Socialist - oriented revolutions are thus invariably given thrust by an alienated intellectual stratum never by workers. Psychologically this may be explained by the fact that only middle-class people by definition have had enough material goods to be able to downgrade it in their utility preference schedule, in favor of "broader" revolutionary goals. The student quoted in the colloquy above had it exactly right when he said about the Citroen workers, "They can't see any further than their daily bread." People who don't have enough daily bread rarely can. This is the bitter hard truth which the Communist General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the dominant labor center in France, assimilated when it opposed the student rebellion as hard as the Government did.

Surplus value may however prove to be the revolutionary change agent in a way which Marx never anticipated. Surplus value having proved itself inadequate to motivate its proletariat victims to revolution changes field to radicalize the sons and daughters of its beneficiaries. If in the meantime the threat of radicalization does not ultimately pave the way for the triumph of reaction as it has after every other French revolution.

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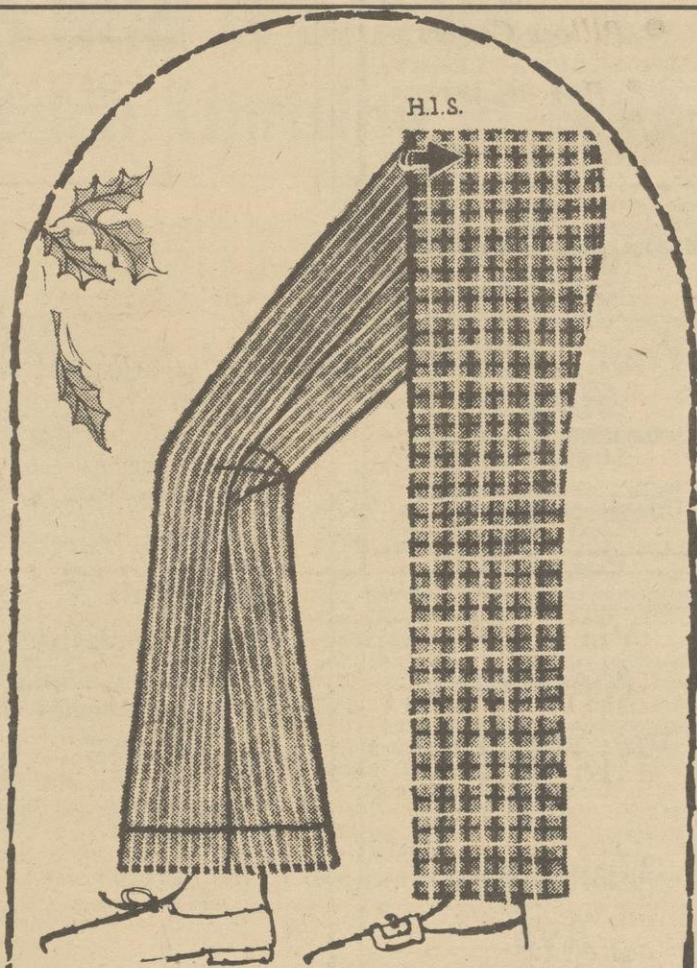
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After the Dow War

(continued from page 8)

to themselves: Bullshit!

While most students now know that the University isn't so free, there is still some question about what it really does, as a social institution in America. In the course of the last few years' major issues and protests, we've learned a lot about its function. But all of that doesn't really tell much about the role of students within that institution, though there are some clues. Graduate students often help to do some of the research that is necessary for the military and for the corporations that control the university. But what's more important is alluded to by the administrators who talked about the necessity for having recruiting on campus after last year's Dow incident. Big national universities like Madison play an important role for the corporate interests in our society. Without massive training schools, corporations would be at a loss for the highly skilled technicians and engineers needed to design products that will produce greater profits.

Beyond technicians, our capitalist society of giant corporations needs a docile labor force that will administer and manage its enterprises. Perhaps more than anything else, students are taught to respond to authority: In the dorms you must mold your life to the requirements of rules you had no say in making. Academically, students are even more like slaves in that by now famous analogy. You have to get a university degree if you ever expect to have any freedom (i.e. earn a lot of money), one is often told, and in order to get that degree, you (usually) have to let professors "learn" you good.

Training is really a better name than education for this process. Various devices are used to keep students in their place. Exams are important, but especially when they work to determine a grade. Grades make students compete against each other in artificial memorization exercises, rather than undertake common learning experiences together. As a prelude to life in America, students learn to identify themselves completely with an external evaluation. In college, we must judge ourselves by grades, a criteria that has nothing to do with our own experiences and learning. In school we consume knowledge, and later our lives are supposed to be defined by the commodities we consume mindlessly. Folks learn to judge themselves by what kind of car they drive, even by what kind of toothpaste they use. In each case, the human being is denied and replaced by a false definition. The consequences of this dehumanization process in the university are obvious: It works to keep students from becoming critical, thinking human beings (although

that often happens anyway in spite of and in reaction to the external pressures); it produces enormous frustrations which students often take out on themselves, and sometimes on the university in an undirected way (note the increase in vandalism in the dorms around exam time).

While it keeps people from critically questioning their society, this kind of training specifically grooms them for running America's large corporate enterprises, and thus helps to maintain the status quo. Although most students will probably wear white shirts and ties in their jobs, they will be every bit as powerless in corporate America as the traditional unskilled or blue-collar workers have always been. In a very important sense, students are the trainees of the new working class—the ones who manage shops, help design new products, or fulfill any number of industrial or commercial jobs. Our lives are thus defined in terms of performing a certain function, especially at the university level; yet, in most cases, we are not free either to question or to change that function. Those who can't accept that fragmented function for their whole life often find much of university training highly irrelevant. Many more, who won't go into corporate jobs, find their function easier to adjust when it involves the assimilation of a life-style as, say, an intellectual. Most intellectuals teach, or, put another way, help to reproduce and train the necessary labor force. Even dissenting intellectuals fit into this scheme, because they are kept inside the university where all ideas are equally dead.

Where Are We Now?

The student movement is a reasoned and active response by those within the university to that institution. While our primary concern,

Friday, Oct. 18, 1968

THE DAILY CARDINAL—11

say three or four years ago, was to end the Vietnam war or end racism in America, now we believe that people must be organized around those institutions that directly oppress them. We have found out a great deal about what role the university plays within American society: How it helps to perpetuate the war and racism directly, but also how it accomplishes the same thing indirectly by serving the interests of American corporate capitalism. Not all of what it serves to capitalist interests is military research; an important part of the university's commodity is trained students, the new working class. In doing this, it tries to make of us something less than we are, it dehumanizes us for the sake of making docile workers, uncritical supporters of the status quo, mindless consumers.

We believe that by mobilizing and organizing folks around the institutions which directly oppress them, we will be able ultimately to effect the changes in American society that will make another war in another Vietnam impossible, that will do away with racist policies and eventually end racism, and that will make people really free rather than just "free" to vote for Humphrey or Nixon, "free" to buy a Chevy or a Ford, etc. The exploration of real human needs and the creation of skills necessary to cope with them (which might be the purpose of a new kind of university) is impossible within American society. The potential for eliminating poverty, for providing a decent standard of living for all, for building a society in which basic needs are no problem and in which competition can be replaced by cooperation, is immense in this country. Yet the contradiction between the potential, and what our current politi-

cal, economic, and social system allows, is glaring. Together, in unity, we can overcome that contradiction, and in the place of waste and suffering create a human alternative of decentralized socialism, where folks can control their own lives for their own ends.

Our objectives in the university involve building a critical consciousness among students of their manipulation in society. This means organizing students who have to live in the dorms to assert themselves as the real controllers of those buildings, who will regulate their living place according to their common needs. The departments, too, must be organized, to they to establish them as instruments of critical thinking in which students become equals with faculty in determining the policies of those departments and the tasks for learning that should be undertaken in common. Throughout the university, as throughout American society, we must organize people to take control over the institutions that directly effect their lives, and to begin to build together their own, more human alternative, within the framework of socialism.

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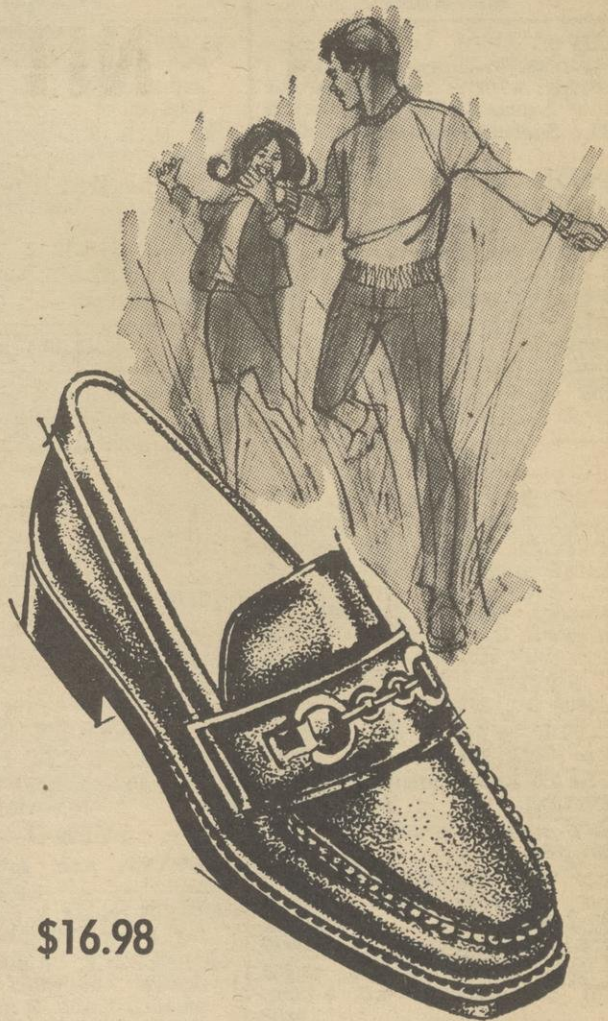


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THE STUDENT AS NIGGER

EDITOR'S NOTE: This article was printed in Connections last year in their special issue "The Great Dow War." It originally appeared in the Los Angeles Free Press.

Students are niggers. When you get that straight, our schools begin to make sense. It's more important, though, to understand why they're niggers. If we follow that question seriously enough, it will lead us past the zone of academic bullshit, where dedicated teachers pass their knowledge on to a new generation, and into the nitty-gritty of human needs and hang-ups. And from there we can go on to consider whether it might ever be possible for students to come up from slavery.

First let's see what's happening now. Let's look at the role students play in what we like to call education.

At Cal State, L.A., where I teach, the students have separate and unequal dining facilities. If I take them into the faculty dining room, my colleagues get uncomfortable, as though there were a bad smell. If I eat in the student cafeteria, I become known as the educational equivalent of a niggerlover. In at least one building there are even rest rooms which students may not use. At Cal State, also, there is an unwritten law barring student-faculty lovemaking. Fortunately, this anti-miscegenation law, like its Southern counterpart, is not 100 percent effective.

Students at Cal State are politically disenfranchised. They are in an academic Lowndes County. Most of them can vote in national elections—their average age is about 26—but they have no voice in the decisions which affect their academic lives. The students are, it is true, allowed to have a toy government of their own. It is a government run for the most part by Uncle Toms and concerned principally with trivia. The faculty and administrators decide what courses will be offered; the students get to choose their own Homecoming Queen. Occasionally, when student leaders get uppity and rebellious, they're either ignored, put off with trivial concessions, or maneuvered expertly out of position.

Smiles and Shuffles

A student at Cal State is expected to know his place. He calls a faculty member "Sir" or "Doctor" or "Professor"—and he smiles and shuffles some as he stands outside the professor's office waiting for permission to enter. The faculty tell him what courses to take (in my department, English, even electives have to be approved by a faculty member); they tell him what to read, what to write, and, frequently, where to set the margins on his typewriter. They tell him what's true and what isn't. Some teachers insist that they encourage dissent but they're almost always jiving and every student knows it. Tell the man what he wants to

hear or he'll fall your ass out of the course.

When a teacher says "jump," students jump. I know of one professor who refused to take up class time for exams and required students to show up for tests at 6:30 in the morning. And they did, by God! Another, at exam time, provides answer cards to be filled out—each one enclosed in a paper bag with a hole cut in the top to see through. Students stick their writing hands in the bags while taking the test. The teacher isn't a pro; I wish he were. He does it to prevent cheating. Another colleague once caught a student reading during one of his lectures and threw her book against the wall. Still another lectures his students into a stupor and then screams at them in a rage when they fall asleep.

Just last week, during the first meeting of a class, one girl got up to leave after about ten minutes had gone by. The teacher rushed over, grabbed her by the arm, saying, "This class is NOT dismissed!" and led her back to her seat. On the same day another teacher began by informing his class that he does not like beards, mustaches long hair on boys, or capri pants on girls, and will not tolerate any of that in his class. That class, incidentally, consisted mostly of high school teachers.

Follow Orders

Even more discouraging than this Auschwitz approach to educa-

tion is the fact that the students take it. They haven't gone through twelve years of public school for nothing. They've learned one thing and perhaps only one thing during those twelve years. They've forgotten their algebra. They're hopelessly vague about chemistry and physics. They've grown to fear and resent literature. They write like they've been lobotomized. But Jesus, can they follow orders! Freshmen come up to me with an essay and ask if I want it folded and whether their name should be in the upper right hand corner. And I want to cry and kiss them and caress their poor tortured heads. Students don't ask that orders

make sense. They give up expecting things to make sense long before they leave elementary school. Things are true because the teacher says they're true. At a very early age we all learn to accept "two truths," as did certain medieval churchmen. Outside of class, things are true to your tongue, your fingers, your stomach, your heart. Inside class, things are true by reason of authority. And that's just fine because you don't care anyway. Miss Wiedemeyer tells you a noun is a person, place or thing. So let it be. You don't give a rat's ass; she doesn't give

(continued on page 13)

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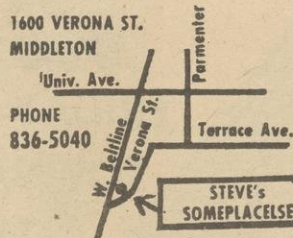
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The Student as Nigger

(continued from page 12)
a rat's ass.

The important thing is to please her. Back in kindergarten, you found out that teachers only love children who stand in nice straight lines. And that's where it's been at ever since. Nothing changes except to get worse. School becomes more and more obviously a prison. Last year I spoke to a student assembly at Manual Arts High School and then couldn't get out of the goddamn school. I mean there was NO WAY OUT. Locked doors. High fences. One of the inmates was trying to make it over a fence when he saw me coming and froze in panic. For a moment, I expected sirens, a rattle of bullets, and him clawing the fence.

What school amounts to, then, for white and black kids alike, is a 12-year course in how to be slaves. What else could explain what I see in a freshman class? They've got that slave mentality: obliging and ingratiating on the surface, but hostile and resistant underneath.

As do black slaves, students vary in their awareness of what's going on. Some recognize their own put-on for what it is and even let their rebellion break through to the surface now and then. Others—including most of the "good students"—have been more deeply brainwashed. They swallow the bullshit with greedy mouths. They honest-to-God believe in grades, in busy work, in General Education requirements. They're pathetically eager to be pushed around. They're like those old greyheaded house niggers you can still find in the South who don't see what all the fuss is about because Mr. Charlie "treats us real good."

College entrance requirements tend to favor the Toms and screen out the rebels. Not entirely, of course. Some students at Cal State L.A. are expert con artists who know perfectly well what's happening. They want the degree or the 2-S and spend their years on the old plantation alternately laughing

and cursing as they play the game. If their egos are strong enough, they cheat a lot. And, of course, even the Toms are angry down deep somewhere. But it comes out in passive rather than active aggression. They're unexplainably thick-witted and subject to frequent spells of laziness. They misread simple questions. They spend their nights mechanically outlining history chapters while meticulously failing to comprehend a word of what's in front of them.

Inward Anger

The saddest cases among both black slaves and student slaves are the ones who have so thoroughly introjected their master's values that their anger is all turned inward. At Cal State these are the kids for whom every low grade is torture, who stammer and shake when they speak to a professor, who go through an emotional crisis every time they're called upon during class. You can recognize them easily at finals time. Their faces are festooned with fresh pimples; their bowels boil audibly across the room. If there really is a Last Judgment, then the parents and teachers who

created these wrecks are going to burn in hell.

So students are niggers. It's time to find out why, and to do this, we have to take a long look at Mr. Charlie.

The teachers I know best are college professors. Outside the classroom and taken as a group, their most striking characteristic is timidity. They're short on balls.

Just look at their working conditions. At a time when even migrant workers have begun to fight and win, college professors are still afraid to make more than a token effort to improve their pitiful economic status. In California state colleges the faculties are screwed regularly and vigorously by the Governor and Legislature and yet they still won't offer any solid resistance. They lie flat on their stomachs with their pants down, mumbling catchphrases like "professional dignity" and "meaningful dialogue."

Professors were no different when I was an undergraduate at UCLA during the McCarthy era; it was like a cattle stampede as they rushed to cop out. And, in more recent years, I found that

my being arrested in sit-ins brought from my colleagues not so much approval or condemnation as open-mouthed astonishment. "You could lose your job!"

Now, of course, there's the Vietnamese war. It gets some opposition from a few teachers. Some support it. But a vast number of professors, who know perfectly well what's happening, are copping out again. And in the high schools, you can forget it. Stillness reigns.

Forces a Split

I'm not sure why teachers are so chickenshit. It could be that academic training itself forces a split between thought and action. It might also be that the tenured security of a teaching job attracts timid persons and, furthermore, that teaching, like police work, pulls in persons who are unsure of themselves, and need weapons and the other external trappings of authority.

At any rate teachers ARE short on balls. And, as Judy Eisenstein has eloquently pointed out, the classroom offers an artificial and protected environment in which

(continued on page 14)

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The Student as Nigger

(continued from page 13)
they can exercise their will to power. Your neighbors may drive a better car; gas station attendants may intimidate you; your wife may dominate you; the State Legislature may shit on you; but in the classroom, by God, students do what you say—or else. The grade is a hell of a weapon. It may not rest on your hip, potent and rigid like a cop's gun, but in the long run it's more powerful. At your personal whim—any time you choose—you can keep 35 students up for nights and have the pleasure of seeing them walk into the classroom pasty-faced and red-eyed carrying a sheaf of typewritten pages, with title page,

MLA footnotes and margins set at 15 and 91.

The general timidity which causes teachers to make niggers of their students usually includes a more specific fear—fear of the students themselves. After all, students are different, just like black people. You stand exposed in front of them, knowing that their interests, their values, and their language are different from yours. To make matters worse, you may suspect that you yourself are not the most engaging of persons. What then can protect you from their ridicule and scorn? Respect for Authority. That's what. It's the policeman's gun again. The white bwana's pith helmet.

So you flaunt that authority. You wither whisperers with a murderous glance. You crush objectors with erudition and heavy irony. And, worst of all, you make your own attainments seem not accessible but awesomely remote. You conceal your massive ignorance—and parade a slender learning. "White Supremacy"

The teacher's fear is mixed with an understandable need to be admired and to feel superior, a need which also makes him cling to his "white supremacy." Ideally a teacher should minimize the distance between himself and his students. He should encourage them not to need him—eventually or even immediately. But this is rarely the case. Teachers make themselves high priests of arcane mysteries. They become masters of mumbo-jumbo. Even a more or less conscientious teacher may be torn between the desire to give and the desire to hold them in bondage. There is a kind of castration that goes on in schools. It begins, before school years, with parents' first encroachments on their children's free unashamed sexuality and continues right up to the day when they hand you your doctoral diploma with a bleeding, shriveled pair of testicles stapled to the parchment. It's not that sexuality has no place in the classroom. You'll find it there but only in certain perverted and vitiated forms.

Bleeding Brains

How does sex show up in school? First of all, there's the sado-masochistic relationship between teachers and students. That's plenty sexual, although the price of enjoying it is to be unaware of what's happening. In walks the student in his Ivy League equivalent of a motor-cycle jacket. In walks the teacher—a kind of intellectual rough trade—and flogs his students with grades, tests, sarcasm and snotty superiority until their very brains are bleeding. In Swinburne's England, the

whipped schoolboy frequently grew up to be a flagellant. With us, the perversion is intellectual but it's no less perverse.

Once a Nigger

So you can add sexual repression to the list of causes, along with vanity, fear and will to power, that turn the teacher into Mr. Charlie. You might also want to keep in mind that he was a nigger once himself and has never really gotten over it. And there are more causes, some of which are better described in sociological than in psychological terms. Work them out, it's not had. But in the meantime what we've got on our hands is a whole lot of niggers. And what makes this particularly grim is that the student has less chance than the black man of getting out of his bag. Because the student doesn't even know he's in it. That, more or less, is what's happening in higher education. And the results are staggering.

For one thing damn little education takes place in the schools. How could it? You can't educate slaves; you can only train them. Or, to use an even uglier and more timely work, you can only program them.

At my school we even grade people on how they read poetry. That's like grading people on how they fuck. But we do it. In fact, God help me, I do it. I'm the Adolph Eichmann of English 323. Simon Legree of the poetry plantation. "Tote the lamb? Lift that spondee!" Even to discuss a good poem in that environment is potentially dangerous because the very classroom is contaminated. As hard as I may try to turn students on to poetry, I know that the desks, the tests, the IBM cards, their own attitudes toward school, and my own residue of UCLA method are turning them off.

Another result of student slavery is equally serious. Students don't get emancipated when they graduate. As a matter of fact,

we don't let them graduate until they've demonstrated their willingness—over 16 years—to remain slaves. And for important jobs, like teaching, we make them go through more years, just to make sure. What I'm getting at is that we're all more or less niggers and slaves, teachers and students alike. This is a fact you want to start with in trying to understand wider social phenomena, say, politics, in our country and in other countries.

Intimidate or Kill

Educational oppression is trickier to fight than racial oppression. If you're a black rebel, they can't exile you; they either have to intimidate you or kill you. But in high school or college, they can just bounce you out of the fold. And they do. Rebel students and renegade faculty members get smothered or shot down with devastating accuracy. In high school, it's usually the student who gets it; in college, it's more often the teacher. Others get tired of fighting and voluntarily leave the system. Dropping out of college, for a rebel, is a little like going North, for a Negro. You can't really get away from it so you might as well stay and raise hell.

How do you raise hell? That's a whole other article. But just for a start, why not stay with the analogy? What have black people done? They have, first of all, faced the fact of their slavery. They've stopped kidding themselves about an eventual reward in that Great Watermelon Patch in the sky. They're organized; they've decided to get freedom now, and they've started taking it.

Students, like black people, have immense unused power. They could, theoretically, insist on participating in their own education. They could make academic freedom bilateral. They could teach their teachers to thrive on love and admiration, rather than fear

(continued on page 15)

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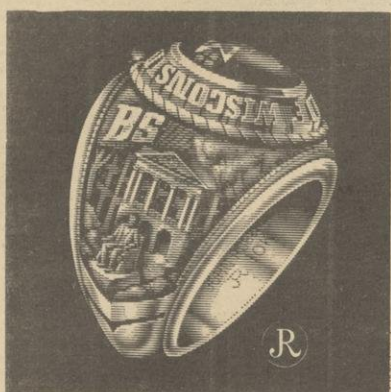
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FOUR WEEK SHIPMENT

MURPHY DEAD:

DG'S AND SAE'S MOURN

The SAE's of Wisconsin together with the DG's and the whole Greek world bemoan the passing of the legendary Paddy Murphy. Murphy, formerly a student at Ole Miss, had been residing at the SAE house and the Pub until his demise.

It is said that Murphy's death resulted from the disintegration of his kidneys occasioned by an inebriate state for the better part of the past week. The brothers attributed Murphy's drinking to the realization by his three pinmates that he was an amateur bigamist. When, confronted on Monday night by the three in the stacks where he had sought solitude as the result of a Parent's Day hangover, Murphy graciously accepted the pins thrown at him. Later that night, while his SAE brothers watched with consternation, Murphy began to drown his sorrows.

This morning Murphy was found in the telephone booth at the Pub. Although witnesses said he had been dead for several hours his body was taken to the infirmary where interns made a valiant attempt to revive him with aspirins to no avail. Murphy's funeral will take place at the Funeral home, 627 N. Lake St, on Saturday. The Reverend James Bovinett will give Murphy's Eulogy.

Student

(continued from page 14)

and respect, and to lay down their weapons. Students could discover community. And they could learn to dance by dancing on the IBM cards. They could make coloring books out of the catalogs and they could put the grading system in a museum. They could raise another set of walls and let education flow out and flood the streets. They could turn the classroom into where it's at—a "field of action" as Peter Marin describes it. And, believe it or not, they could study eagerly and learn prodigiously for the best of all possible reasons—their own reasons.

They could. Theoretically. They have the power. But only in a very few places, like Berkeley, have they even begun to think about using it. For students, as for black people, the hardest battle isn't with Mr. Charlie. It's with what Mr. Charlie has done to your mind.

Soccer

(continued from page 16)

tion, though.

Illinois itself should present problems—they will certainly be a stern test for the Badgers.

"We're in for a very tough game," Reddan said. "They have everybody back from last year's team plus two new players who are in their starting line-up. They are a very strong scoring team."

In previous matches, the Illini lost to an excellent Indiana squad, 4-3, but have defeated Western Illinois, 9-0, and Indiana State, 7-0. The Indiana State game was played on a Tartan Turf field.

Rugby

(continued from page 16)

commented that "I just can't picture myself on a team this good. This good on such a big scale." The rugbys are really no more than very good sandlot athletes, at least in their own opinion. There are no high school all-Americans or junior college transfers amongst their ranks, but they play as if the world depended on it.

Rugby has been on the Wisconsin scene for several years and a better word than "underground" couldn't have been found to describe it. But the gentlemen have a keen sense of pride in their unique place on the national athletic picture and are not likely to ever allow it to change. And they do have a place on the national picture in the full sense of the word.

Last season they fought and sweated themselves to a 19-5-2 record, Big Ten and Midwest championships, and a No. 9 rating nationally, along with placing two of 15 starters on the all-American team.

And by all indications, this team this year is better. Again they've fought and sweated, but have had time for a few romps, one a fantastic 27-0 shutout of Quad Cities in their last Madison appearance, in their string of six consecutive victories.

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Booters, Ruggers Try New Turf

Club Twin Bill Set For Sat. at Randall

Wisconsin's Soccer and Rugby clubs take a major step towards greater campus recognition this weekend when they take over the home sports scene with matches on Camp Randall's Tartan Turf field. The booters will lead off the Saturday doubleheader with a 10:30 a.m. contest with the University of Illinois Soccer Club. That game will be followed at 1 p.m. when the Badger Ruggers, the Midwest's top Rugby team, host the University of Chicago Rugby Club. Camp Randall may be entered through the Southwest main gate. Admission to both contests is free.

By STEVE KLEIN
Sports Editor

A multitude of problems face Wisconsin's 3-0-1 Soccer Club this Saturday as the booters entertain the University of Illinois Soccer Club in Camp Randall. Game time is 10:30 a.m.

The biggest problem, besides Illinois, may be adjusting to the Tartan Turf surface of Camp Randall. Although several Badger booters have worked out on the "green rug," none have seen any game competition on an artificial surface.

"We don't anticipate too much trouble with the field's crown," Dr. Bill Reddan, Badger soccer coach said Wednesday. "The ball is going to be coming faster on passes though, and we may try more passing to the feet rather than lead passes. We will probably have to do this to be successful."

Coach Reddan was referring to the 18 inch crown of the Camp Randall playing surface. A football field is crowned to allow for better drainage.

"We are also used to more room on the wings," Reddan said. The field will be 100 yards long (as opposed to the usual 120) by 65 yards wide (as opposed to the usual 75). "Our wingers usually come in a bit, but if they do Saturday they'll be squeezing in too much and cramp us."

Other problems the artificial turf may present are the bounce the ball gets and grass burns. On this type of turf, a soccer ball tends not to bounce high as on a regular grass field. Instead, it acts almost like a dead ball.

Grass burns could be of major concern, especially to Badger center fullback Alan Lana. Pads of any kind are illegal, except for goalies. Fully padded football players have complained of grass burns on the Tartan Turf field.

"Rug burns may be a problem," Reddan asserts, "especially for a player like Lana who does a lot of slide tackling. If he gets one or two, it might discourage him. He may have to adjust his style of play."

Another problem are a few nagging injuries—Omar Shatshat has just left the hospital where he was recovering from an adverse reaction to a penicillin shot; Lana has a slight ankle sprain sustained in last weekend's game; Stuart Bilton has badly blistered heels. All should see some ac-

(continued on page 15)

By TOM HAWLEY

Collision replaces contact and the underground replaces the establishment for the first time ever in Camp Randall Stadium Saturday afternoon. The Athletic Department has loaned use of its 77,000-seat stadium and Badger Grass carpeting to the gentlemen of the rugby team, and no one is happier about it than the ruggers themselves.

In pre-game conversations with the ruggers the actual result of the game has been taken for granted and pleasure over being allowed use of the stadium has been the overriding emotion.

Until game time, that is. Al Gottschalk, a rookie on the team,

(continued on page 15)

But Not the Defense

Iowa Offense Will Test Badgers

If Iowa's offense wasn't as good as it is, it might appear that the Hawkeyes were inviting the Badgers to Iowa City for an easy win this Saturday.

The Hawkeye defense has given up 137 points in four games this season. That's even more points than the Badgers have given up this season, if you can call two points a difference. The Hawkeyes have an excuse, though—inexperience. Iowa will start seven sophomores and four juniors against Wisconsin.

The defense has caused Hawkeye head coach Ray Nagel considerable grief this season as his team has dropped games to Texas Christian, 28-17, Notre Dame, 51-28, and Indiana, 38-34. The Hawkeyes only victory was an opening day upset of Oregon State, 21-20.

"You must have a good defense to be a good football team," Nagel has said. "We expected to have a good offense this season, but we can't consistently overcome three and four touchdowns a game. We've got to keep the other team out of our end zone."

Greenest among the Hawkeye defense is the secondary, where the three defensive backs and roving back are sophomores. Left halfback Ray Churchill, right halfback Ray Cavole, safety Charles Bolden and roverback Coleman Lane are all under 190 pounds, but have good agility and quickness. Nagel has

been satisfied with their progress through four games.

The front four boasts two large tackles—junior Rich Stepanek, 6-5, 235, and sophomore Layne McDowell, 6-4, 250. Sophomore ends Dan McDonald and Ken Price are both 6-3. The four together could give the Hawkeyes a fairly impressive pass rush.

The linebackers, although just juniors, are all experienced. Middle guard Greg Allison, 6-1, 222, is a fine pass rusher—as a defensive guard last year, he tackled the passer for a loss 13 times and had 84 unassisted tackles.

The left and right linebackers, Rod Barnhart and Mike Phillips, lead the Hawkeyes through four games with 35 tackles. Barnhart led Iowa with 124 tackles last year.

As leaky as the defense has been, Iowa's offense has given opponents second thoughts about their own defense.

Iowa has a backfield that may compare with any the Badgers have encountered this year with sophomore Larry Lawrence at quarterback, Sophomore Dennis Green at tailback and Tim Sullivan at fullback.

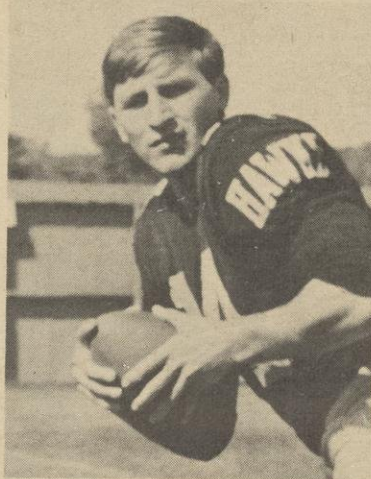
Missing at quarterback is veteran Ed Podolak. Unfortunately for the Badgers, he won't be totally missing from the Hawkeye attack.

"We shuffle the deck a little bit," Nagel said earlier this week.



IT'S HEADS DOWN and get rid of that ball before you hit the ground. But Notre Dame's shamrocks beat Wisconsin in this contest anyway. This season, however, the Wisconsin ruggers are un-

defeated and tomorrow will make their first "big time" appearance after five seasons of underground competition, on the Badger Grass of Camp Randall Stadium. —Photo by Keith R. Pierce



ED PODOLAK from QB to tailback

"We've been getting good mileage with Lawrence at quarterback and Podolak at tailback. It adds a little dimension to our offense. Lawrence is strong and having a very good sophomore year."

Against Indiana last week, Lawrence completed 13 of 25 passes for 244 yards and two touchdowns.

Podolak has made his reappearance at the tailbackspot, where he will probably see some action along with Green. Podolak has gained 733 yards rushing as a quarterback in two seasons despite missing four games last year.

Green injured an ankle against

Indiana but is expected to see some action. He has gained 268 yards in 41 carries for a 6.6 average and four touchdowns. Backing up Green and Podolak is sophomore Bill Powell, who gained 83 yards and scored two touchdowns against the Hoosiers last week filling in for Green.

Fullback Sullivan is a bruising runner and has picked up 206 yards for a 6.4 average this season.

Lawrence, or Podolak, should he decide to throw the option pass off his tailback spot, have an excellent trio of receivers in Barry Crees, Al Bream and Ray Manning. Bream is the Hawkeyes top receiver with 16 catches for 295 yards. He was the Big Ten's leading receiver last year.

The offensive line is big and boasts two of the Big Ten's finest guards—Larry Ely, 6-1, 207 and Jon Meskimen, 5-11, 237. The tackles are Jim Miller, 6-2, 220 and Melvin Morris, 6-2, 241. Greg McManus, 6-3, 223, is the center.

Limb Lines

Out on a Limb welcomes WKOW sportscaster Bob Miller to the guest slot this week in the aftermath of a big shakeup.

Last week saw Associate Sports Editor Barry Temkin and Contributing Sports Editor Mark Shapiro move into the lead with 30-10 records on the strength of a spectacular 9-1 week by Temkin and a solid 8-2 slate by Shapiro.

Three week leader Tom Hawley was blitzed with a 5-5 list and dropped to a tie for fourth position with a 28-12 record. State Journal Football writer Tom Butler guided the guest spot into third place and a 29-11 record on the strength of 7-3 prognosticating.

OUT ON A LIMB

	STEVE KLEIN Sports Editor	BARRY TEMKIN Associate Sports Editor	MARK SHAPIRO Contributing Sports Editor	KEN KIRSCH Sports Staff	TOM HAWLEY Sports Staff	BOB MILLER Guest Prognosticator
Wisconsin at Iowa	Wisconsin	Iowa	Iowa	Iowa	Iowa	Iowa
Minnesota at Michigan State	Michigan State	Michigan State	Minnesota	Michigan State	Michigan State	Michigan State
Northwestern at Ohio State	Ohio State	Ohio State	Ohio State	Ohio State	Ohio State	Ohio State
Michigan at Indiana	Michigan	Indiana	Indiana	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Wake Forest at Purdue	Purdue	Purdue	Purdue	Purdue	Purdue	Purdue
Illinois at Notre Dame	Notre Dame	Notre Dame	Notre Dame	Notre Dame	Notre Dame	Notre Dame
Arizona State at Oregon State	Arizona State	Oregon State	Oregon State	Arizona State	Arizona State	Arizona State
Alabama at Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee
Arkansas at Texas	Arkansas	Arkansas	Texas	Texas	Arkansas	Arkansas
California at UCLA	UCLA	UCLA	UCLA	UCLA	UCLA	UCLA
Record Last Week	6-4	9-1	8-2	5-5	5-5	7-3
Record to Date	28-12	30-10	30-10	27-13	28-12	29-11

