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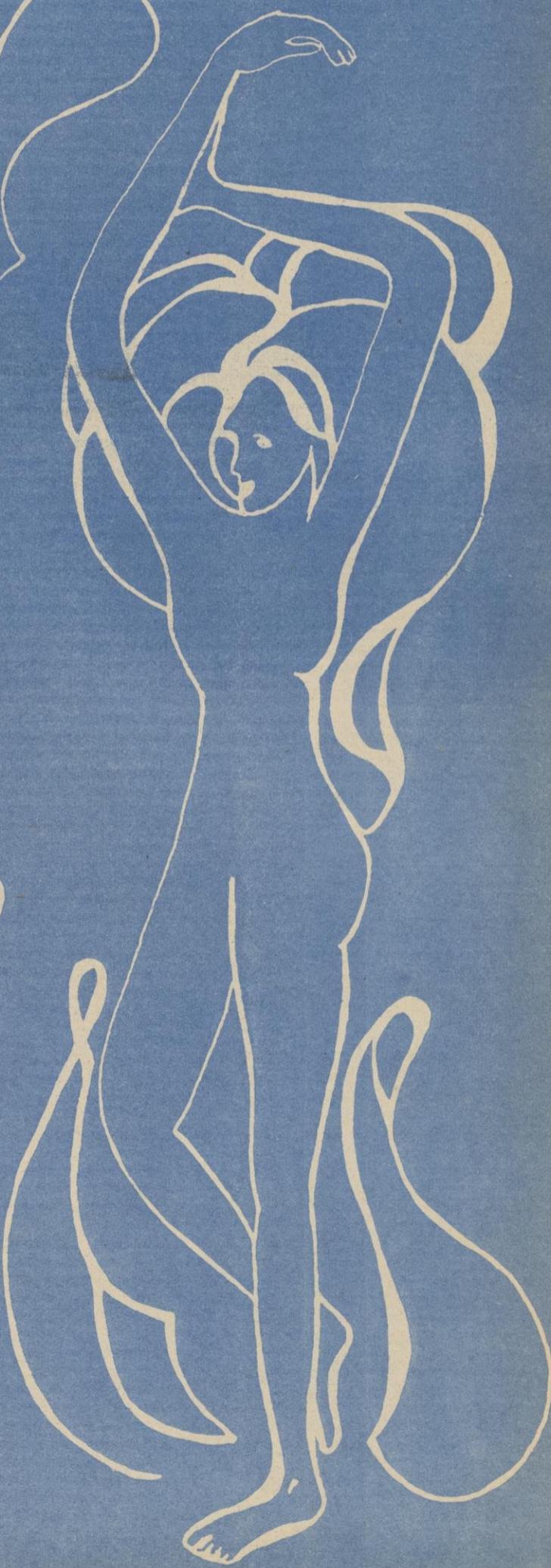
THE
DAILY
CARDINAL

VOL. LXXX, No. 126

Wednesday, April 29, 1970

Women's
Liberation
Issue

Women Reborn



women's liberation guerrilla

★★★

volume I, number 3

Managing Editor: Stephanie Twin Smuckler
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★★★

Women's Lib and The Cardinal Staff

When we first met several months ago, we women on the Cardinal staff were disturbed by specific problems we had experienced in the daily hassle of putting out the paper. We vaguely sensed that our problems were connected with the fact that we were women seeking the type of expression which in our society has been traditionally limited to men—that the men we were working with treated us differently than they did each other, that this attitude toward women was unfair and restrictive. By meeting separately as a group of women we were able to expose our feelings to each other in a way we had formerly been trained to avoid and in the process, we became conscious of our shared experience.

This communication gave us the ability to work out our specific problems together, to attempt to explain to the Cardinal men and other men and women the awareness we had reached. And it enabled us to identify ourselves with other groups of women facing the same struggle.

Looking back over the changes we have undergone since our first meeting, our group has reflected that the most significant changes have occurred internally, within ourselves and within our group. The experience has made us more sensitive to each other's needs and admirable qualities. It has also allowed us to understand ourselves better. Women who had remained quiet and passive in staff meetings all year, either out of fear or assumption of a role for which they had been trained and in which they had unconsciously grown to believe, now voice their opinions and stand up for their beliefs. Some of us had resisted this process of opening up to self-expression because it seemed to imply a personality change. However, the realization came that what we had defined as our "personalities" often fell short of our true potentials and that we could be more complete human beings if none of the many aspects of our natures were banned.

We have also been faced with a negative reaction to our attempt to speak out both as individuals and as a group of women. In the past, some of us were placed in the position of being "token women" in a hierarchy dominated by males, and therefore were expected to follow an exemplary pattern, as any deviation from that imposed pattern was labeled as "maneuvering." In this context our organizing into a group was regarded and ridiculed as an effort by "uppity women" or denounced as factionalism and divisiveness.

We shall continue to face such reactions as we have in the past, sustained by the truth we have reached together and the belief in the necessity of reaching out to reactionary, closed minds and educating people to the possibility of a better life for everyone. We make a direct connection between the awareness we have reached in this highly personal context and our political analysis of the capitalist system's exploitation of women and its dehumanization of people. We must continue our struggle on all levels.

This issue represents months of work by the women on the Cardinal staff. What we and our sisters in Madison and everywhere are saying is a continuation of the hard fought but unsuccessful efforts of women in the past. We are not going to allow our lives to be controlled and perverted any longer—we are taking our lives into our hands. Join us.



Womb Man

thrust from, but into no less confinement
 than the womb
 the woman-child screams
 Eve, Pandora, Hera, Venus, Mary!
 the small grey judge, after
 raping the blind lady of the
 scales, sentences the infant
 to her anatomy.
 Eve hurls her rotten
 apple core as
 Pandora slams her empty box
 (saving Hope for a future time)
 Hera comforts Venus as her new lover
 and Mary tells God to "F**k Off"
 black hooded figures hex
 rebel against and for their sex
 goodbye groovy mick—who could
 hang a name on you?

—Maureen Turim

madison women's groups explain their positions

W.A.M.

March 8th

By Enid Eckstein
 and Alison Steiner

Women's Action Movement was formed in January by a group of Madison women who felt a need for a mass organization addressing itself to a wide range of women's liberation issues. We hope to build a movement to which the majority of our sisters in Madison will be able to relate—women of all ages, occupations, and economic backgrounds—and so far about one-third of our participants are working women. Unless we build this sort of mass movement, we cannot expect to succeed in our aim of effecting substantive changes in the position of women in American society. All over the United States, women are beginning to demand their liberation, in response to firsthand experience of economic, psychological, educational, sexual, or some other form of exploitation as women. The problems we face as women differ somewhat according to our specific situations, but they are fundamentally the same and cut across class lines. This insight will prevent the contemporary women's liberation movement from confining itself to the narrowly middle-class concerns, goals and tactics that occupied the American suffragists. And an understanding of the importance of a mass organization, combined with a true grasp of the meaning of our sisterhood with all women, prevents us from requiring that they subscribe in advance to any ideology, or that a certain level of consciousness be a prerequisite for them to be welcome among us.

Perhaps the highest priority facing our movement at this time is the long process of educating ourselves, our sisters, and our men concerning our oppression and our liberation. Education is necessary to help refine our goals and tactics; our education consists of both theoretical study and action, and is a continuous process. To this process we welcome all women, confident that together we will gain greater understanding of the roots of our oppression and the appropriate means toward changing the social institutions which perpetuate it.

We will gladly work on specific issues with any group of women who share our goals. At the same time, our level of consciousness, our goals of a transformed society, and the tactics we choose to use, clearly differentiate us from reformist professional groups. We do not, on the other hand, need to employ so-called radical rhetoric; our demands will objectively threaten the institutions which exploit us. We work for the day when women will be able to take their place in a society in which sex is no barrier to self-realization.

The March 8th Movement, which was born in SDS last September and functioned as a women's caucus in that organization, has evolved into an independent women's group. It was originated by the women in SDS who felt a distinct need to come together and discuss problems relating to their role in SDS and to become part of the more general women's liberation movement.

The actual split from SDS, and the decision to form an independent organization occurred at a two-day women's "retreat" where we discussed our problems and possible solutions. At that point we had the opportunity to refine somewhat our political analysis. Although we understood that true liberation can occur only after a revolutionary change in society, we began to see the necessity of preparing for that change. To concretize this idea, we formulated a multi-point program, dealing with all aspects of women's oppression.

On the most basic level, this program calls for such things as the right to free health care, including free and legal abortions if desired, and the availability of around-the-clock child care centers, controlled by women, and funded by the state. On a higher level, we demand an end to the capitalist institutions which degrade and oppress women, and an end to the rape of the Third World by American imperialism.

The attraction of an autonomous women's movement became extremely evident to us when Marlene Dixon spoke on International Women's Day (March 8th, for which our group is named) because nearly 400 women came out to hear her. It was also clear, however, that our organization, despite its split from SDS, had been unable to involve these women under its existing structure. We have therefore attempted to restructure the group in such a manner as to end the alienation many women had been feeling, and to return to the warm feeling of sisterhood so important to the women's movement. The basic units of the March 8th Movement are small "personal-political" groups of ten to twelve women who engage in personal discussion, internal education and work projects. Once every three weeks, the organization will have an open meeting to conduct business and, most important, to engage in educational programs such as films, speakers and guerrilla theatre presentations.

The March 8th Movement, as conceived above, is still in its infancy. The true test of its viability will be if it can draw in the huge number of women who are awakening to the need for women's liberation.

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why liberation?

To people unfamiliar with or resistant to women's liberation, our movement is viewed as an historical aberration. Dr. Benjamin Spock shakes his head and laments over the ever-increasing numbers of women who no longer find total personal fulfillment in motherhood and wifedom. Psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers and marriage counselors conspire together to tell us our children will be emotional misfits and permanent delinquents should we engage in full time careers outside the home before our children enter school. College men and tradition-minded women laugh and tell those of us who are unmarried that what we most need are husbands. And yet to date, not one of these so-called observations reveal more about the women's liberation movement than they do about the observers themselves.

In a sense, we in the movement are a new breed of woman, yet our roots lie deep in history and there are predecessors—plenty enough—to be found. Americans have a tendency, however, to write out of their history those movements whose goals are antithetical to American practices, especially—since we are a success-oriented people—when those movements fail. As a result, in local terms, it took until 1969 for this University's history department—tied with Harvard's as the best in the nation—to establish a course recognizing the history of black resistance predate racial oppression and resistance, we have yet to see this Number One Department establish a course on women's history. For by whom, anyway, would it be taught, seeing that that department does not and never has had a human possessing a uterus on its staff?

The women's liberation movement is not in itself new, but is a continuation of a feminist struggle that began in America in the 19th century while existing in the form of scattered individuals earlier in Europe. The 19th century movement in America grew out of a reform fervor much like that of the 1960's, only to be absorbed by abolitionism and the Civil War. After the war, women's colleges began sprouting and the movement was revived with a concentration upon legal rights. After feminists won the vote in 1920, the struggle subsided, and there it lay for nearly 50 years or roughly until the mid-1960's.

From the civil rights ferment in the early sixties, the current-day feminist struggle was born. Unlike its 19th and early 20th century counterpart, however, the women's liberation movement is more varied in adherents and deeper in scope. It consists of students, lower class working women, and middle class women who have found, as Marlene Dixon says, "the intoxicating wine of marriage and suburban life . . . turning sour." While parts of the movement are working for legal changes in such areas as abortion, birth control and equal wages, the movement as a whole is dedicated to the redefinition of sex roles, for, contrary to popular belief, sex roles are not based upon biology, but upon the social prejudices and economic mechanisms that have long motored the whole of our Western culture. The modern American family is a case in point.

For purposes of illustration, imagine two children, a boy and a girl. The girl wears dresses and the boy, pants. The girl plays jacks and "house" with her dolls, while the boy plays with trucks and toy electrical trains. The girl helps her mother make beds, set the table, wash dishes; the boy helps his father take out the trash, and mow the lawn. Should the girl fall down or for any reason cry, she is comforted and soothed; should the boy break down in tears he is told not to act like a sissy. The girl who climbs a tree or joins "the guys" in softball is a "tomboy" and unfeminine, while the boy who does not like athletics is made to feel feminized and unmasculine. By the time these two children are halfway through elementary school, they have learned more about life than people credit them with learning; they have learned what it means in our society to be "masculine" and "feminine".

They have learned, for one thing, that the expression of emotion is a "feminine" act, that although boys are equipped with tear ducts as are girls, a man proves his masculinity by holding his emotions in check. They have learned secondly that activities requiring physical strength or aggression are "masculine," that to be "feminine" is to play quietly or without strenuousness. Third, and most importantly, they have observed each of their parents; they have been shown by the culture the functions they are to assume in life, functions based upon sex.

As these children grow older, they begin learning the so-called biological reasons that are set up to justify these supposedly separate-but-equal functions. Forgetting their childhood conditioning, they come to believe that women are emotional by Nature and that women enjoy by Nature raising children, cleaning a house, cooking, sewing and, in general, living vicariously through husband and children. This is so, they come to believe, because the female of the species bears the offspring, and if she bears it her role in the universe, ordained by God, must naturally be to devote her life to caring for it. The man, on the other hand, does not bear the children; his responsibility is to earn the money needed to clothe, feed and shelter his wards—that is, his wife as well as his children. He is the aggressor, the one who enters the world for the health and well-being of Home and Family. All this our two exemplary children learn before they reach their teens, and their direct experience with one another bears their early conditioning out.

As they begin to date, they learn that the man, is alone allowed to ask the girl out, to pay for the evening, to make the first move sexually. Since it is the woman who bears the children, it is she who must be sexually restrained, and when she gets to college she learns that it is she who must be responsible for taking the proper precautions. She also learns that it is fully acceptable if she graduates college with a B.A. in English literature and then works—until she is married or pregnant—as a secretary or sales clerk in order to help her husband through graduate school, and then spends the rest of her life as wife and mother, perhaps working part time after the kids are in school.

stephanie twin smuckler

The male learns all these things too and is as pressured to marry and prove his virility through children as is the woman. His virility and manhood also depends on how

on how much income he draws, the prestige of his work, the size and location of the home he buys, the number of cars he has, etc. And so male and female all their lives strive for these proofs of their femininity and masculinity, and all the while who is reaping the benefits?

Neither. That this is so is born out by the evidence According to conservative statistics, one out of four marriages end in divorce, and one out of four are unhappy stalemates. That leaves half who claim to be happy. Furthermore, recent newspaper articles report that a growing percentage of alcoholics in America are women whose children are either in school or away from home, and whose husbands are "successful" professionals or businessmen who forbid, for reasons of pride and status, their wives to do any work other than volunteer work. More and more men—of all classes—are dying of heart attacks before the age of 60, brought on by the excessive demands of today's work market. The demands are not, for middle class families, those of earning enough money to live on comfortably, but the demands of a suburban life style. Again, who is reaping the benefits?

Ask Procter and Gamble, or ask the Revlon Co. Or Lord Jim's, or Manchester's Store for Homes on the Square. Ask the people who produce pots and pans, linens, vacuum cleaners, stoves, refrigerators, furniture, polishes, detergents, waxes, carpets, suburban \$30,000 houses, cars, minis, maxis and midis, yacht cruises, cosmetics—ask the people who give us the goods we buy to prove that we are good wives who keep comfortable homes and dress our children with taste. Ask the people who give us the goods our husbands buy to prove their success at bringing home the bread, to prove that they are master of the house and that the house is plenty big. Ask the bridal consultant at E.W. Parker's who says via WISM that an important step for the bride-to-be is to "register" for her necessities. Two sets of china, two sets of silverware, glasses and crystal, silver tea services—these are necessities?

And after you have asked these people, ask Congress why our society encourages marriage by punishing single adults with discriminatory tax levels. Ask Madison Avenue whether common law marriage is as

successful "consumer units" as are married households, and Madison Avenue will tell you that people cohabitating together outside marital bonds do not "register" for their two sets of china.

Yet all around us the mythology prevails. A Home is not a Home, we are told, without all the accoutrements surrounding the concept: without a devoted wife who gives undying attention to her children, who keeps her floors immaculately clean and her family forever well fed; without a "strong" male figure who serves as "head" of the family; without three or four children (no wonder our birth rate is one of the highest in the world). When the evidence comes back to haunt us—the evidence that shows the failure of this concept, this life style—we blame it on the moral weakness of scattered individuals, when in reality this evidence is lurking in the futures of all our lives.

Why then do we continue? Why do we keep telling our women, who, incidentally, do 75 per cent of the consuming in this country, that to be "feminine" is to have lots of babies and to take pride in doing housework? Why do we encourage our women to negate their own talents and egos in order to make the half of the species equipped with penises feel superior? Why, in fact, is it so important that men feel superior to women, that the kitchen floor be spotless, that our children receive the never-ending smother of mother love? Why must ALL women be housewives and mothers, and why must ALL men work? Why are women who combine a home life with a dedicated pursuit outside the home called bad mothers, while men who do the same are not called bad fathers? Why, in other words, can we not all create—by no longer ignoring the evidence—a society in which each of us works to the fullest of our abilities and ambitions regardless of sex—and regardless of Freud and his brood of Dr. Spocks?

The only difference between the sexes that has been historically proven is the role each plays in reproduction. Beyond that, there is no proof that the values and roles we arbitrarily call "feminine" or "masculine" are based on anything other than prejudice, social custom and economic needs. It is time that we, as women and men, begin to deny these artificial designations and replace them with a culture that encourages each human being to pursue his own unique (not commercial) gifts. We have, after all, nothing to lose but the evidence of our pasts which, at this rate, may become the reality of our futures.



outdated dating

leslie horn

"Bring it on home, baby, bring it on home to me," goes an old song, reminding us that if we don't all bring our problems home, then we'd probably like to. Restructuring the society so that both women and men can be liberated from dehumanizing societal roles is a formidable problem, and it doesn't end at the job, or on the political scene, or in the gynecologist's office. The issues involved with women's liberation that we encounter from nine to five are inextricably linked with our private social lives; we are involved in a battle that knows no demilitarized zone.

When we look at a problem such as the dating and courtship system in this country, we are taking on one of the most difficult tasks possible, and for obvious reasons: one, because it is "personal," involving our emotions and our private lives; and two, because we are leaving the realm of reformist politics (like repeal of abortion laws) and instead we are talking of restructuring the society from its most basic roots—the relationships between women and men. Restructuring the society is a revolutionary concept—and yet how do we define revolution? How can we liken the concept of a movie date or a wedding to the concept of a political overthrow of the existing state? This is where the difficulty lies in "bringing it all back home;" we can only attack the problem from its beginning.

The first fundamental problem we must look at is that the society defines the value of each individual woman through her role as girlfriend, wife, or mother. It is all drummed into each girl at adolescence, when she realizes that if she wants acceptance by her peers, she must direct her energies towards pleasing boys. The junior high school tenny-bopper with the over-bleached hair and slightly crooked eyeliner is being taught by the system to accept her role and love it. She is learning how to flirt with boys, and how to maneuver them into asking her for dates, because it is not her place (as she soon discovers) to take the initiative.

"She steps out of this role at her peril," writes Ellen Willis in the September 1969 issue of *Mademoiselle*. "After a while—if, like most girls, she can't measure up to the standards of attractiveness glorified by the mass media and exemplified by the 'popular' few—she develops feelings of inferiority that may last a lifetime. Sometimes she rebels and withdraws from the game, but only at the price of loneliness."

The courtship system which every teenager is trained to accept is a mercenary one, one which defines girls as passive, and one which defines the rules by making a game out of human relationships. One of our university's more popular professors, in a discussion of prostitution in Sociology 130 last semester, remarked that much more prostitution goes on

through the dating system than official statistics would bear out. "The guy spends all this money to wine and dine his date, and then he feels like he ought to get something in return."

Some claim that our social system is natural and correct because in the sexual relationship it is the man who must be the aggressor. To refute this, we need only look at a cross-cultural comparison: people in Europe and Scandinavia are anatomically no different from Americans, yet their non-system is much more equitable than ours. "In Sweden nearly all dates are dutch," said this professor, "and if a boy and girl go to bed it is because both of them really want to." Why is it that we accept our system as is? A likely reason is that we are more comfortable when the rules are already drawn up, when we don't have to make decisions, when the patterns of behavior are defined beforehand. (For a detailed analysis of this type of reasoning, see Erich Fromm's book "Escape from Freedom.")

The pressure for a girl to succeed at the game of suppressing her individuality and independence in order to presumably cross the finish line at her wedding continues to pervade every facet of her lifestyle. To quote the authors of "Bread and Roses," an article which originally appeared in *Leviathan* (June 1969) and is now published as a pamphlet by the Radical Education Project: "A woman of any class is expected to sell herself—not just her body but her entire life, her talents, interests, and dreams—to a man. She is expected to give up friendships, ambitions, pleasures, and moments of time to herself in order to serve his career or his family. In return, she receives not only her livelihood but her identity, her very right to existence, for unless she is the wife of someone or the mother of someone, a woman is nothing."

In order to understand the points we are making, it is necessary to destroy a few myths. These are myths that we hear every day from our best friends; perhaps we even mouth them ourselves. The first myth involves the most widely accepted definition of a "liberated woman." The second myth is the contention that any woman is capable of liberating herself—this myth, of course, hangs on the first one.

The women's liberation movement has grown too pervasive for the media, which is used to making millions by selling to women the lifestyle it dictates and deifies, to ignore. Hence we see "reports on the new feminism" in every major publication, and the media's new concept of the "liberated woman" publicized throughout America. She is upper middle class and college-educated; she may wear no bra but more likely wears a rather expensive new "no-bra bra;" she is Free because she uses The Pill; she is doing something different and exciting every day.

On the other hand we have all around us more real women who appear to be truly "liberated" because they appear to be sexually uninhibited. However, to define liberation in terms of see-through blouses or the pill is as faulty as defining it in terms of lesbianism. What women's liberation aims to do is to define women in their fully human capacity. Sexual fulfillment is an important part of being fully human, but many other outlets for fulfillment should be recognized. Right now our society is still at the stage of looking at women only in terms of sex.

Although it is ironic for Ellen Willis' article to appear in a commercially exploitative publication such as *Mademoiselle*, it nevertheless has this important point to make: "In a way, the relaxation of sexual mores just makes a woman's life more difficult. If she is not cautious about sex, she is likely to get hurt; if she is too cautious, she will lose her man to more obliging women. Either way, her decision is based at least partly on fear and calculation, not on her spontaneous needs and desires." Another very human consideration we ignore in speaking glibly of "liberated" women is the physical danger that the pill threatens for many women—danger that only a few people, among them Senator Gaylord Nelson, are seeking to bring before the public eye.

But the most dangerous myth of all is the one which says that women as individuals can liberate themselves. It is as faulty a contention as saying that blacks in our society can make themselves immune from racism. A woman encounters male supremacy on the job and on the home front; no man is about to "grant" her equality simply by listening to her arguments—there are plenty of other women available to him who accept the status quo. The job for all of us is to change that status quo.

And now we've turned the full circle only to return to where we started. We were born into the system and most of us were taught to love it; what the rest of us realize is that the system denies one half of the population, possibly the entire population, the realization of its full human potential.

Change is a dynamic force that is necessary for the survival of the human race, and it is the people who over-demand, the people who start moving while the silent majority is sitting, who perpetrate that change. Will the woman with the greasy heart go on loving the automatic man forever? Or will we begin to change the system now? Revolution may be a hazy concept to us, but one thing is for certain: the revolution must begin in the mind.

"Don't change people even if you can
Don't change before the empire falls
You'll laugh so hard you'll crack the walls."
—Grace Slick from "Greasy Heart"

n.o.w. and then

"The right to vote, or equal civil rights, may be good demands, but true emancipation begins neither at the polls nor in the courts. It begins in woman's soul." Emma Goldman's lectures, "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation," published in *Anarchism and other Essays*, 1911.

The above may very well be true, but how often in a lifetime does an individual really turn his soul inward to search for an answer? It is always so much easier to grasp the solution that is available at the moment whether it be rationalizing the issue or simply ignoring the whole matter.

Herein lies the key to the whys and wherefores of the movement towards women's liberation. Up until the late 1950's, women interested in the issues of female emancipation and equality of the sexes tended either to rationalize their problems or ignore them. Any progress made in these areas can be primarily attributed to a few individuals who had the sensitivity to search their souls. Collective efforts from women were few and far between.

Towards the middle of the 1960's however, women from all over the country began to take notice of the work done by their sisters in the field. In 1964, the Civil Rights Act was passed in which Title VII banned discrimination based on sex. This aroused the curiosity of several women, among them author Betty Friedan (*The Feminine Mystique*); Pauli Murray, Yale Law School fellow; Kathryn F. Clarenbach, former Chairman of the Wisconsin Governor's Commission on the Status of Women; and Inha O'Hanrahan from the California Governor's Commission on the Status of Women.

In June of 1966, these women and others met together at a Governor's conference on the status of women to discuss Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. The conference was told that it could not pass any resolution concerning the act. Consequently, their meeting turned to discussing what other courses of action and leadership could be organized for public interest. From this conference, the National Organization for Women (NOW) emerged. The organization has grown to include chapters in 35 states.

In its statement of purpose, adopted Oct. 29, 1966, NOW declares it was created "to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of Amer-

ican society now, exercising all the privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men..."

"We organize to initiate or support action, nationally, or in any part of this nation, by individuals or organization, to break through the silken curtain of prejudice and discrimination against women in government, industry, the professions, the churches, the political parties, the judiciary, the labor unions, in education, science, medicine, law, religion, and every other field of importance in American society..."

Specifically, then, NOW gears its organization towards administering and participating in significant actions to achieve equality for women. Primarily, the group attacks political issues through the judicial system, trying to amend laws by using the Civil Rights Act Title VII as a basis for groundwork.

NOW also focuses on social issues. Aside from its interests in the legal aspects of female equality, the organization has formed various task forces that center around specific areas of interest, i.e. the family, education, employment, religion, poverty, and, in its own category, campus coordination. The task forces are structured under a statement of purpose and followed by a set of goals and related activities. For example, NOW urges day care centers on an all-day all-year basis to facilitate equality between working women and men as part of its goals for the family task force.

NOW has also staged several street actions. One such action was a series of demonstrations against the Colgate-Palmolive Company which, according to NOW, has a long-standing tradition of job discrimination against female employees and an unequal wage scale. The action consisted of picketing the company and initiating a nationwide boycott of Colgate products such as Ajax and Baggies.

On the surface, NOW appears to be the type of organization that would appeal to almost all people interested in the liberation movement. In light of the upsurge of new organizations created by the accelerated interest in movement, NOW, one of the most firmly established, has possibly received the greatest barrage of criticism. Chiefly attacked is NOW's tendency to spend most of its time on legal matters, thus avoiding exposure via the mass media.

In an effort to combat these criticisms, Kathryn F. Clarenbach, past chairman of the organization's National Board of Directors, discussed what she felt is the purpose of NOW and where she thought the liberation movement was heading.

kalee waxman

"The National Organization for Women was formed to provide leadership to enable women, in all aspects of American life, to be in equal partnership with men. Our first priority was in the field of employment. You see, until women are economically independent, they will always be dependent on man and his good will. Financial dependency on man is a myth which needs to be exploded. But in order for women to achieve this independence, they must be brought up this way. By 1980 women will be 50 per cent of the labor force—six million unmarried women will be seeking employment. They all must be prepared to earn a living."

According to Clarenbach, the second major goal of NOW is to control population. "We must provide realistic alternatives to childbearing. This means we must provide women with significant life plans," she said. She added that people still do not regard homemaking as important. "There are no fringe (i.e. monetary) benefits to be gained. This should be examined."

Clarenbach also discussed her objections to the growing sentiment expressed by other groups which relates equality of women to the death of capitalism. "Capitalism," she said, "implies a reservoir of marginal workers, profit motive and unemployment. It is not of necessity for women to be in that margin. But getting rid of capitalism is for the birds. Rather, we could change 1000 laws which would not change the capitalist system per se but would bring about equality. For example, we could have just as many unemployed men as women."

It is necessary to point out, however, that the structure of NOW has caused radical women's groups to consider the organization as the NAACP for women, a liberal organization which works solely within the system. While there is little doubt as to the necessity of such a group, the question that comes to mind centers around the total effectiveness of the organization.

Because of its liberal politics and the fact that it works primarily through the judicial system, it seems that NOW is a panacea for the women in its ranks, primarily older, professional women who seek non-radical changes via non-radical methods. We, the younger women in the movement, believe that radical means must be employed to achieve the radical end of ridding society of its structural inequities. The tactics used by NOW (i.e. working through the courts) have not really varied since the later days of the women's suffragette movement, although NOW has achieved widespread public recognition for its efforts. The (continued on page 6)



—Cardinal/Bob Pensinger

EARTH WEEK WAS no sooner over when a truck from the University physical plant began spraying along Elm Drive with a chemical which spokesmen for the Ecology Students Association charged had side effects similar to DDT. The University denied any known harmful effects. The story on page 12.

New L & S Dean Accused of Conflict Of Interest

By SUSAN MOSELEY
Day Editor

Amid charges of "conflict of interest," Ed Krinsky, an arbitrator-mediator for the Wisconsin Employment Relations Commission (WERC) was appointed recently as Assistant Dean of the College of Letters and Science.

Krinsky will be in charge of administering the newly-won contract of the Teaching Assistants Assn. (TAA) and may already have been named to a visiting professorship in the Dept. of Industrial Relations.

Krinsky will begin work for the University May 1 on a part-time basis, while also temporarily retaining his position with the WERC. As assistant dean Krinsky will be responsible for handling unfair labor practice charges filed by the TAA and dealing with arbitration cases brought before the WERC.

Beginning in September, Krinsky will be transferred to an unclassified position in the state service,

according to Maurice Slavney, a WERC spokesman. In his new unclassified position as assistant dean, Krinsky will be, in effect, on leave of absence from WERC.

During this leave of absence, however, Krinsky will not forfeit the advantages of his position at the WERC, such as the seniority privileges. He would be able to return to the WERC at any time and reclaim his present position. Krinsky told the Cardinal Tuesday that once he has reclassified status as a state employee he will consider himself independent of the WERC, with all his former connections "severed."

TAA bargainer Jim Marketti, responding to Krinsky's appointment as assistant dean said, "This is another case of the University's moral myopia in not seeing the conflict of interest."

"What they're doing is getting a guy whose been around and with connections to protect themselves from a regulatory agency," he

(continued on page 7)

Engen Sued for Neglect and Uninhabitable Conditions

Story on Page 6

City Council Annexes 700 Acres, Reviews Appointments

Stories on Page 7

By DAN LAZARE
Cardinal Staff Writer

Mark Lobato, a junior at the University, was tried yesterday afternoon before a committee of three judges in relation to his conduct during the Feb. 12 demonstration protesting the presence of General Electric (GE) recruiters on campus.

In a letter dated April 2 from the Chancellor's office, Lobato was informed he was being charged with violating "Section 4 of Chapter V of the bylaws of the regents of the University."

Section 4 is a catchall law which al-

lows the University to discipline any student who is convicted of actions which damage University property or which "indicate a serious danger to the personal safety of other members of the University community."

Charges were made by the University on the recommendation of Ralph Hanson, Director of Protection and Security, who said Lobato addressed the crowd gathered on the engineering campus in such a way that could only be taken as an attempt to incite the crowd to riot.

Testifying before the court, Hanson said the crowd which had come to the

(continued on page 7)

GE Protestor Tried On Riot Inciting Charge



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Bloody Mama

PAT HINGLE · DON STROUD

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6:40-8:45-10:45



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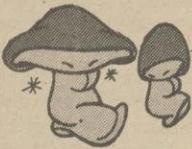
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Student Sues Engen For Not Fulfilling Contract

By ELAINE COHEN

Cardinal Staff Writer

One of landlord Philip Engen's student tenants is suing him for the allegedly "uninhabitable living conditions" of her apartment and Engen's neglect to fulfill obligations to correct those conditions.

Lynne Johnson, 145 W. Gilman St., has filed suit against Engen in small claims court, charging him with \$300 in damages. The case will be heard May 7. Johnson will be represented by Neil Eisenberg.

The Madison Tenant Union (MTU) of which Johnson is a member is presently conducting a rent strike against Engen, and the landlord is attempting to bring the union to court on charges of "conspiracy to interfere" with his lease contracts.

In a very thoroughly documented letter to the landlord dated April 23, Johnson enumerates several complaints. She lists dates that requests were made of Engen, dates the requests were fulfilled (often with a gap of months between the two) and exact times when her apartment was without such facilities as heat and hot water.

In the letter, Johnson states that she had asked Engen to have her

two-bedroom apartment cleaned prior to moving in this September. But all Engen did, she says, was roll down the rug. "Then we spent hours cleaning the place," she stated. "It was unbelievable."

Beyond the sheer dirt content of the apartment, the tenant adds that the furnishings were different from when she and her roommates first saw the apartment the previous April. Curtains in the bedroom were missing, as was one end table. Other furniture had been replaced by items in worse repair.

The letter also names several other building code violations. Listing dates and times when such facilities were inoperable, Johnson says the apartment was without hot water several days this winter. Extra gas used to heat water on the stove inflated the gas bills noticeably.

On several days in November, December, January and March, the apartment was also without heat.

Johnson also mentioned the length of time Engen took to make repairs as cause for complaint. The tenants asked Engen in October to repair their bedroom ceiling, damaged by water leaking from the

floor above. That situation was not rectified, according to the letter, until Feb. 12, three days before the anticipated MTU rent strike, in which Johnson participated.

Prestrike repairs were made after long waits in two other cases, Johnson says. On Feb. 13, Engen replaced some practically unusable furniture in the apartment, a request the tenants had made in August. A lighting fixture in unsuitable condition since October was repaired Feb. 5.

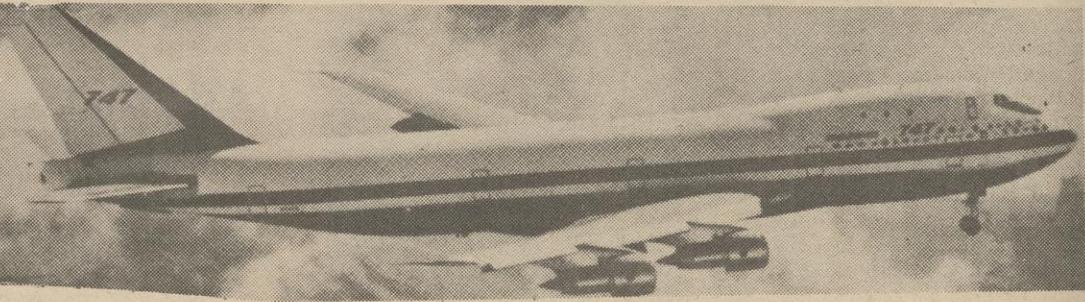
Referring to the rent strike, Johnson concludes her letter to Engen by noting that "it should not be necessary for tenants to take so drastic an action to force landlords to live up to their lease and building code obligations." But, she adds, "It obviously is the only way to get improved living conditions for tenants."

According to Johnson, Engen has been telling people that the tenant union "is full of radicals," presumably to discredit the union.

Johnson, however, stresses that she does not fit that stereotype. A home economics major from Waukesha, Wis., she is a member of Kappa Delta sorority.

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GENERAL ELECTRIC

Council Divides Over Dyke's Committee List

By MAUREEN SANTINI
City Editor

An amended list of appointments to city committees was submitted to the city council Tuesday night by Mayor William Dyke, but despite the changes the council still refused to approve all of the mayor's choices.

In addition, Ald. Alicia Ashman Ward 10, told the council she felt the whole matter was being handled illegally.

Because an extensive amount of city hall work is performed by committees which make recommendations to the council for action, the composition of these committees is looked upon as significant.

There were several voting surprises from the nine new aldermen. Ald. Jane Ruck, Ward 20, who was considered an addition to the liberal bloc, voted consistently to approve Dyke's controversial appointees.

On the other hand, Ald. Edwin

Hill Jr., Ward 14, who was speculated to be a Dyke-man, consistently voted with the liberal majority to refuse to approve the controversial names.

Ald. Dennis McGilligan, Paul Soglin and Harold Klubertanz argued that the mayor's choices came mostly from the west side of Madison.

Ald. Soglin, Ward 8, objected particularly to the proposed appointment of student Patrick Korten, editor of the Badger Herald student newspaper, to the Dane County Social Planning Corp.

Korten, a political conservative who resides in Ward 8, waged an unsuccessful write-in campaign against Soglin in the recent city election.

Newly elected Ald. Michael Birkey, Ward 18, was rejected from the powerful Board of Estimates. His name was referred back to the mayor by a vote of 13-8.

An attempt was made to substitute Ashman's name for Bir-

key's, but City Atty. Edwin Conrad ruled that the council could only reject names, not make substitutions.

Ashman moved that the council hire a lawyer to seek a declaratory judgment on appointment procedures but was ruled out of order by Dyke.

The city attorney added, "You'd need my consent under city ordinance to hire counsel and I refuse to give it."

Arguments came from Alds. Leo Cooper, William Dries, William Hall and others that committees must begin meeting this week.

Of the nine new aldermen:

* Five of the more conservative members were appointed to four committees each.

* Three more liberal new members were each given three committee appointments.

* Dennis McGilligan received only two appointments—one to a committee that is practically defunct.

Of the 13 old council members:

* Only three—Ald. James Goulette, William Offerdahl and William Dries—received four appointments each.

* Eight members got three appointments—many to insignificant committees.

* Ald. William Hall received no appointments.

* Ald. Ashman received one.

Not only did new conservative councilmen walk away with the majority of committee appointments numerically, but they generally received assignments to the more important committees.

Representatives of students in city hall—Eugene Parks, Soglin and McGilligan—were appointed to rather minor committees. Soglin ranks high in council seniority.

Carpenters Come to Contract Agreement

By HOLLY SIMS
Cardinal Staff Writer

The majority of area carpenters returned to work yesterday after a Monday night settlement with the Madison Employers Council, ending a four week strike.

The contract calls for a \$3 an hour wage increase over the next three years, with a dollar an hour raise retroactive to April 1 of this year.

About 2,000 area carpenters are employed by the Employers Council, which is composed of general contractors.

Another 150 carpenters employed by the Madison Builders Assn. are still on strike, although a settlement is expected soon.

John Fischer, a home builders' bargaining agent, anticipated meetings between the parties later this week.

450 iron workers, 50 lathers and 45 plasterers remain on strike. Although the operating engineers' agreement also expired, they have continued to work.

Since the carpenters represent the largest labor force within the building trades strike, their settlement is expected to set a precedent.

"When the other trades settle, it gives you some indication of what

you can do," said Vincent Hildebrandt, a spokesman for the ironworkers.

Hildebrandt added that he expected negotiations with local Madison contractors to resume in the near future.

At this time, there are no meetings set up between the plasterers and lathers and the Madison Employers Council.

Under the agreement reached by the carpenters and the Employers Council, the carpenters will receive a 70 cents increase April 1, 1971, 30 cents on Dec. 1, 1971 and equal increases in April and December of 1972.

The union will determine whether any of the increase will be in fringe benefits.

Most Madison construction projects have been shut down since April 1, although Schensky Builders and Monson Construction Co. reportedly sought non union carpenters during the strike.

Explaining the distinction between the Employers Council and the Builders Assn. at the bargaining table, Fischer said, "We expect a smaller settlement because we're in a different business. We can't afford to pay that much because home building is down."

Yale Strike Continues

By LEO F. BURT
Cardinal Staff Writer

As the strike at Yale University continues, the New Haven community has begun full-scale mobilization for this weekend's planned massive demonstration in support of nine Black Panther Party members being tried for murder in that city.

Reports from reliable sources in New Haven cite the appearance of army troops on roads leading into New Haven, concentrations of state police surrounding the campus, and the boarding up of store windows in the downtown area.

New Haven police estimate that demonstrators will number from 10,000 to 30,000, although demonstration sponsors claim that from 30,000 to 50,000 will participate.

The protest, which features rallies and workshops on May 1 to 3, is sponsored by the Black Panthers, the Yale Strike Coordinating Committee, the Black Coalition and various other community groups.

Spokesmen for the Black Panthers have stressed repeatedly that the initial rally Friday is "peacefully intended" and have urged all demonstrators to remain non-violent.

However, police preparations continue amid rumors of hundreds of "Weathermen" and violence-prone white militants who will supposedly descend upon the city.

Already, policemen were tensing up, with the Yale Daily News citing arrests for walking on the grass near the Yale Green.

At the initial rally on Friday night, Abbie Hoffman, David Dellinger and Carl Brightman are scheduled to speak. At other rallies and workshops throughout the weekend, Jerry Rubin, Tom Hayden, John Froines, Ralph Abernathy and Artie Seale (Bobby's wife) will speak.

In related activities, the Yale strike in support of the Panthers is reported to be 75 per cent effective.

Strike activities have been non-violent, but at 1:30 Monday, fires were discovered in the basement stacks of the Law Library. About 400 books were destroyed and the cause is "generally assumed to be arson," according to the Yale News.

The strike, which is protesting the trial of Bobby Seale and eight other Black Panthers for murder, began Weds., Apr. 22. It was sparked by pre-trial hearings for the Panthers earlier this month, where two Black Panther leaders who were spectators were sentenced to six-month jail sentences for contempt after a scuffle with sheriff's deputies.

Concern about a fair trial for the Panthers apparently snowballed in the New Haven community culminating in Yale Pres. Kingman Brewster's statement Thursday that he was "appalled and ashamed

that things should have come to such a pass that I am skeptical of the ability of black revolutionaries to achieve a fair trial anywhere in the United States."

Yale College faculty members voted overwhelmingly to "modify" normal academic activities of the university for an indefinite period, although refraining from a formal strike.

The activities on Friday will center around the trial and the freeing of the Panthers.

Saturday's activities will focus on Yale and its relations with the New Haven community. Arrangements for Sunday have not yet been formalized.

Friday's rally is expected to be "the first of many rallies against the trial" throughout the country, according to Black Panther spokesmen.

In preparation for the weekend, all but one of Yale's twelve colleges has agreed to "liberate" their facilities to shelter and feed demonstrators who will be coming to New Haven.

Police have reported that 400 rifles and shotguns were stolen in three incidents in New Haven, while campus police said that 140 pounds of mercury had been stolen from the chemistry department. The mercury could be used to make explosive devices according to the head of the chemistry dept., but it is not likely to be used because the mercury is "extremely dangerous" to handle.

Wednesday, April 29, 1970

THE DAILY CARDINAL 7

Demonstrator Tried

(continued from page 5)
Mechanical Engineering (ME) building from the Library Mall was potentially riotous. Miscellaneous missiles were being hurled and the situation was tense when Hanson said he was approached by Lobato.

Lobato, a student Mobilization Committee organizer, asked him for the use of his bullhorn to calm the crowd down, Hanson said.

Once given the bullhorn, Hanson said Lobato told the crowd, "I have 1500 signatures protesting GE and there's well over a thousand people here. Let's go inside and smash GE."

In Hanson's opinion, this statement constituted an attempt to provoke the crowd to violence.

Immediately after Lobato said that, Hanson testified that he "grappled" with Lobato and took the bullhorn away from him. Shortly after, the crowd became considerably more violent and rocks were thrown in greater frequency.

John Holton testified Lobato did not use the phrase "smash GE" and that, contrary to Hanson's opinion, Holton interpreted Lobato's statement as being an effort to calm the crowd.

After addressing the crowd, Lobato and Pope tried to do this but were turned away from the door by police, Holton said.

Violence increased when police tried to disperse the protesters, Holton told the court.

James Schmitkneifer and Mary Ann Rice also testified they received Lobato's statements as an effort to soothe the crowd, rather than incite it.

James Wysocki, 20, a state employee at the Wisconsin Historical Society, testified that Lobato, unskilled in the use of a bullhorn, was not operating it correctly and therefore could be heard no more than a few feet away.

Deborah Pope testified that she, too, took Lobato's words to the

crowd to be an attempt to avoid, rather than provoke, violence.

Lobato was the last witness for the defense. He testified that it is the policy of SMC to mobilize large numbers of people for peaceful protests of the Vietnam War.

He said SMC had applied for the use of bullhorns, and when this was denied, tried to maintain order by using marshalls. However, without sound amplification equipment, order was difficult to maintain.

It had been SMC's intent to set up peaceful picketing at the ME building, but the presence of close to 100 riot police created confusion in the crowd and organization broke down, Lobato said.

Hanson "reluctantly" gave him the bullhorn and Lobato testified that he told the crowd, "We know what the situation is. There are a lot of pigs here. We've got petitions with 1500 signatures and there are 2000 people here. We're going to use our legal rights to present these petitions to the GE recruiters."

Lobato said he and Pope then walked to the police lines and told the officers they wished to enter the building. He heard someone give an order to move the crowd out and he and Pope were pushed by the police away from the building along with the rest of the crowd.

The prosecution presented the trial's last witness, Kurt Wendt Dean of the College of Engineering.

Wendt testified that normally in demonstrations of this sort, 25 people are allowed inside the building and six are allowed inside the placement office. The rules were suspended for the demonstration.

The three judges dismissed the court without giving a verdict, nor did they indicate how long it would take them to reach a decision. If convicted Lobato could be suspended or expelled as the judges see fit.

Middleton Acreage Annexed

By GORDON DICKINSON
Cardinal Staff Writer

The Madison City Council voted Tuesday to annex 789 acres of land from the town of Middleton despite arguments against the annexation presented by representatives from the Town of Middleton.

The annexed area is largely undeveloped land bordering the west side of Madison.

The town chairman of Middleton argued that the annexation was designed by developers who own the land in order to get a better tax break than they were able to get in Middleton. He said

the undeveloped land in Madison is assessed for tax purposes at about 10 per cent of its value although it should be assessed at 65 per cent.

The town clerk of Middleton, Ray Tanck, argued that the petition for annexation filed by the owners was illegal because one of its signers, a representative of Haen Investment Co., one of the major owners of the annexed land, had no legal right to sign for the company.

Tanck argued further that Madison would not be able to service the area adequately with fire and police.

Both Middleton men agreed that Middleton would finally be annexed to Madison but they asked for "orderly annexation" of the area only when Madison was ready

to develop it. They estimated that Madison would not be able to put in sewers and water for at least ten years.

Charles Dinauer, Madison Planning Director, said the annexation should take place because Madison will soon have to decide where to build a new fire station on the west side of the city. He said if the land is annexed the fire station will be moved further west.

He said a decision on who would build the sewers in the area will also have to be made soon.

According to Dinauer the owners of 73 per cent of the property had signed the petition asking for the annexation. All other owners knew of the petition and would appear to complain if they objected to it, he said.

New Dean Accused

(continued from page 5)

added.

Krinsky, who has not yet been informed what his functions at the University will be, said he did not know whether he would be required to present TAA arbitration cases to the WERC.

"It may very well be that Ed (Krinsky) won't appear before our agency," Slavney said referring to the conflict of interests question.

"It might create the type of atmosphere where he may want to stay away from the agency," he added.

Several people involved in Krinsky's appointment have questioned where his salary would come from. University representatives were unavailable for comment, however it is considered a strong possibility that Krinsky has been named to the visiting professorship in Industrial Relations.

Graduate students in Industrial Relations met Tuesday in response to allegations that the chairman of their department, James Stern, had already hired Krinsky as visiting professor. They charged that Stern hired Krinsky without informing them, claiming that it was a personnel matter in which students don't have to be consulted.

"Stern obviously had two hands and two feet in the mud of this situation," one student said.

After considerable debate the group voted to send a letter to the faculty demanding that Krinsky's appointment to the visiting professorship be blocked until an open meeting of the department's executive committee is held.

Stern refused all comment on the situation when approached by the Cardinal. He said only that he did not know what the "official University position" was.

"Teaching Assistants have learned a lot in the last year," Marketti said responding to the situation. "Now they're learning what kind of a political pigsty public employees must face to secure their rights."

"The University wasn't at all sensitive to the conflict of interests that existed in Chancellor Young's being head of the Governor's Commission on changes in the public employees laws, while at the same time an institutional manager here."

"What surprises me," Marketti concluded, "is anyone who takes the University very seriously when it runs around the state in true liberal piety crying about other conflict of interests that exist."

Alliance Sponsors 'MAHE Day'

Now that the spring sun has at long last arrived in Madison, there has been a general tendency for everyone to move out into the open after months of winter concealment. For the Madison Alliance for Homosexual Equality (MAHE), spring has become a symbolic time to bring the natural phenomenon of homosexuality out from socially preconceived shadows and into full, unabashed view.

In keeping with this idea and

with its goal of generalized education about homosexuality, MAHE has chosen to make May 1 "MAHE Day" and to celebrate the occasion with a teach-in, movie and dance. If successful, MAHE Day promises to become an annual fete.

The schedule of MAHE events as follows:

* 9 a.m., Union Play Circle, "Western Religious Views on Homosexuality"; panel discussion by

ministers of Catholic, Lutheran, Jewish and Intervarsity Christian Fellowship campus groups.

* 10 a.m., Union Play Circle, "Sociology of Homosexuality"; a talk by sociology Prof. Clinard. (Coffee and donuts will be served at both Play Circle events.)

* 1 p.m., Old Madison Room, Union, "Female Homosexuality—Lesbianism"; discussion led by women members of MAHE.

* 2 p.m., Plaza Room, Union, "Gay Life, The Homosexual Subculture"; discussion led by MAHE members.

* 3:30 p.m., Old Madison Room, "The Meaning of Gay Liberation"; MAHE members and representatives of other liberation groups such as Women's Liberation and Black Power.

* 4:30 and 7:30 p.m., 180 Science Hall (tentative), MOVIE: "Matriots in Uniform"; a classic pre-World War II German film about the forbidden love between two women.

* 9 p.m., Union Cafeteria, MAHE MAY DANCE featuring live music by Bliss.

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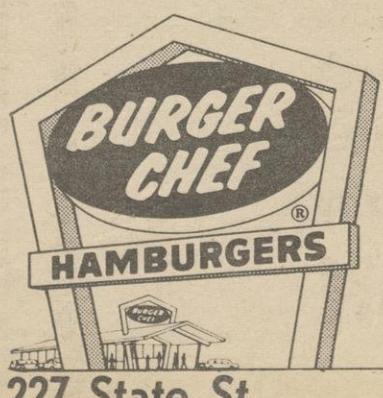
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Milw, Black Panther Will Speak Tonight

By LEO F. BURT
Cardinal Staff Writer

Wisconsin radicals will be doing their part to build support for the Black Panther Party with activities tonight at the Memorial Union and a Saturday afternoon march in Milwaukee.

As part of a nationwide cam-

paign to support the Black Panthers, a Milwaukee Panther will speak tonight with films on the Panthers afterward. For place, consult Today in the Union.

On Saturday at noon, there will be a march in the east side of Milwaukee to demonstrate support for Bobby Seale.

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Erickson Steps Into Senate Race

By GORDON DICKINSON
Night Editor

John Erickson, general manager of the Milwaukee Bucks, officially entered the race for the Republican nomination for U.S. Senate Tuesday as a "candidate of the people."

At a news conference Erickson said he is not a career politician but "we are in need today of more citizen involvement in our government."

He added, "It is my sincere

feeling that being a career politician is not necessarily a credential for seeking public office. We need to get off the sidelines and into the battle at its heart."

Erickson would not discuss the campaign issues Tuesday. He said, "We all know what they are."

Erickson is the fifth candidate to enter the race for the Republican nomination for the U.S. Senate seat now held by Sen. William Proxmire.

The other candidates include

State Sen. Gerald Lorge (R-Bear Creek); State Sen. Milo Knutson (R-LaCrosse); former State Rep. Robert Johnson, Mondovi; and Outagamie County Dist. Atty. James Long. The GOP state convention in Milwaukee, May 15-16 will endorse one of the candidates.

Erickson, who became general manager of the Milwaukee Bucks when the team was formed in March, 1968, graduated from Beloit College where he served as assistant basketball coach for a

year. He coached at Lake Forest College for three years before moving to Wisconsin as an assistant basketball coach. After one year he replaced Harold Foster as head coach at Wisconsin.

Erickson said he will take a leave of absence from the Bucks if he wins the GOP nomination.



U Committee Hears Natatorium Discrimination Testimony

By ELANA SPIELMAN

Women's efforts to seek equal access to Natatorium facilities got a boost Friday when the Human Rights Committee agreed to investigate discrimination in the use of the Natatorium facilities.

Judith Lovchik, a graduate student who has been actively seeking for several months to open the Natatorium to women gave testimony at the committee meet-

ing. She stated she was barred from handball and squash courts because of her sex.

"It is not such fringe issues as the inadequacy of women's facilities, nor lack of access to dressing rooms," she said. "It is the illegality of discriminating against a person in a public place. During any open recreation period, either at the Natatorium or at Lathrop Hall, the facilities

should be open to both males and females."

Gail Comer, a University student who is on the women's fencing team, also testified at the meeting. In describing her view of the discrimination, she said, "The Natatorium was not built just for men. It has 90 lockers for women which are not being used. In the past, there were not many girls interested in such sports as handball and fencing, but it has changed."

There are six regular women fencers who have to change clothes in a women's restroom as no other dressing facilities are open to them at the time they practice.

The Human Rights Committee contacted the Men's Physical Education Department to learn what steps are being taken to end sexual discrimination.

Mrs. and Miss May No Longer Be Used

WASHINGTON (AP) — A new form of address for women—Ms.—to replace Mrs. and Miss has been proposed by a New York congressman.

Democratic Rep. Jonathan B. Bingham says an increasing number of women resent being asked their marital status so the proper form of address can be put on a sales slip or government document.

If Mr. is good enough for all men whether they are married or not, why not Ms.—pronounced Miss—for all women, asks Bingham.

He says he has tried out the idea on the women in his family and his congressional office and found they approve. One thing it would do, he adds, is make it simpler to address replies to office mail from women who fail to use either Miss or Mrs. in their signatures.

Bingham notes that a single form of address for women is not a new

idea. The salutation "Mistress" was formerly used to address both married and unmarried women.

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THE DAILY CARDINAL

The University and "Good Faith"

The University's appointment of Ed Krinsky as Assistant Dean of L & S in charge of administering the newly-won contract of the Teaching Assistants Assn. TAA is but the latest example of how Chancellor Young speaks through his teeth when he talks of "good faith bargaining."

In an attempt to protect itself against arbitration and unfair labor practice charges filed by the TAA, the University has hired Krinsky, who is in the employ of the very organization which reviews these complaints. What makes this a particularly blatant case of conflict of interests is that they were willing to continue to employ Krinsky, under the guise of a "leave of absence," at the same time as he is employed by the University to do its trouble shooting against the TAA. In essence, the University has arranged for Krinsky to present its side of the story in arbitration cases to his boss, who will then arrive at a "fair and equitable" decision supposedly as a neutral third party.

But the Krinsky case is not the only blatant example of the absurdity of WERC's "neutrality." University negotiating team members Arlen Christenson, James Stern, and Jerry Somers are also part time fact-finders and mediators for the WERC. The university and the WERC have been in bed together for a long time. And all the while, the WERC has been running around the state zealously portraying itself as the paragon of neutrality and justice which will offer workers an equitable solution to their problems in dealing with the magnanimous industrial and public managements.

Not only does Krinsky's hiring constitute a blatant conflict of interests in terms of the University's relationship to the TAA, it also clearly points to the arbitrary intransigence of certain members of the faculty in considering the interests of the students. Over the objections and behind the backs of the graduate students in Industrial Relations, Prof. James Stern, in a completely unprecedented show of departmental dogmatism, made the decision to hire Krinsky.

soft seat rap

the lonely crowd

kyle brown

Senator Gaylord Nelson thought that if maybe 40 campuses held teach-ins on the same day to study the grave problems of ecology, his proposal would be a success. It seems likely now that April 22 will be the nation's annual day of introspection, and the senator has become the champion of Mother Earth.

Maybe things are on the up and up. Maybe not. Senator Nelson is hardly a new phenomenon; ecologists have been around for years warning of the dire consequences of continued rape of the land. But they were a big nuisance to everybody, interested only in stealing private property for public use, raising taxes for conservation, and rescuing great oaks from sidewalk construction.

It is the sad historical plight of America that a large mass of its citizen's opinions can supercede the lone voice of someone who had dedicated a lifetime to logical research and rational conclusions.

George Gallup goes traipsing across the land every few weeks to play the "Rating Game." Is the President doing his job? Is the war handled satisfactorily. Do you approve of the Census Bureau asking if you have a toilet? 99% of Americans believe Betsy Ross designed the American flag. It is public opinion, it is fact. Bull. Public Opinion is scarcely such a thing. It is a creative guise to honor public prejudice, emotion, greed, stupidity, hatred, and intolerance . . . but hardly anything measuring up to rationality. They are the opinions of the uneducated and the half-educated that embrace hundreds of issues that are boiled down into a 30 minute Frank McGee Report. "I heard it on TV." and so it's fact.

A few people do think, are rational, do some research. But as long as they confine themselves to abstracts in Scientific American and Letters to the Editor columns, no one need worry about their venting their emotions in the streets. The few who do take to the public roads—the Ralph Naders, Nichlaos Johnsons, Gaylord Nelsons—will find them

Although Stern pretends innocence when questioned as to where the funds for Krinsky's salary will be obtained, all indications point to the probability of Krinsky being awarded the visiting professorship in Industrial Relations. Krinsky will be salaried as a visiting professor, yet in all probability he will never teach a class. Stern went over the heads of the students in his department, completely disregarding their choice of radical historian Staughton Lynd for the visiting professorship. Once again for the sake of the questionable motives of the faculty, the students are shafted.

However, Stern's double dealing, as appalling as it seems can not match that of the administration. Placed in the position of a middleman, Chancellor Young has been forced as a result of the outrage of the Regents, legislature, and faculty alike, to manipulate the contract with the intent of softening its political impact.

The University has already broken the just signed contract several times—the most flagrant example being Young's fiat to the student health service directing it not to allow non-student TA spouses the use of its services contrary to the provisions of the contract.

The University agreed to a contract which it now says it can not fully implement without delay. Young's political maneuverings, especially in regard to the Krinsky case, clearly indicate that the University is out to see that the union receives only the minimal benefits of the contract.

The University has shown itself willing to flagrantly violate the TAA agreement and manipulate both the spirit and the letter of the law. As the Krinsky case illustrates, the University has the power of other institutions, such as the WERC, on its side.

This same complicity illustrates, it is beginning to seem, that what public employees in this country need is not the right to strike and then have their contracts mangled, but a revolution.

selves the victims of the filthiest smear campaign Madison Avenue and Wall Street can dream up. Favorite techniques include wiretapping, Rorschach tests, and threat (and use) of physical harm. To the delight of a blood thirsty crowd.

The crowd listens to its Spiro T.'s and Joe McCarthy who appeal to man's baser instincts. Never skeptical; after all, "He's elected to do my thinking for me."

The crowd has never done an intelligent thing in history. It fought someone else's war. It filled someone else's coffers. It can be led to napalm some obscure village 55 miles northeast of Saigon in the morning, and in the evening pray for the safe return of members of a fraternity which describes its goal as a "barren, god-forsaken wasteland." It can fight the war to end all war and then tell the League of Nations to go to Hell. It's heroes read like the pages of last week's *Colliers*—John Wayne, General Pershing, Shirley Temple. Sure, show biz personalities make life gay, and generals make the world safe for democracy, but they obscure the reality of urban sprawl, raw sewage, and rape of nature.

Every once in a while a crisis comes up and The Flying Nun is preempted with a special. America was on an Environment kick last week and all the plastic heroes suddenly had something intelligent to say, at the tune of \$300 on a midnight talk show. The crowd is pleased. It is reassured that it has a public consciousness. Then it's "Flip the channel. We saw him last week."

Everyone gets his Brownie Points! And the few people who have spent a lifetime trying to get the public's attention focused on reality will go back to their books and sit and wait—and hope.

The record is stacked against Senator Nelson's dreams. Maybe, just maybe this once, it will not all have been in vain. The voices made it to the surface this time, and Mother Earth awaits.

sonnet

Like crashing waves that fill the missing past
Whose shattered soul can spray my driest eyes
Recluse to rolling mists do rancid flies;
The fish remains are aired to me at last.
And salt will grind the ears and wet the mast
'Till corporate crumbling nerves will sell my whys,
'Till dying bows will wash to drown the lies
Recede the sea in clouds that overcast.
Float I now on wet and sandy ground,
Laughing at my coral-shredded feet.
Looking for an ant farm in a mound.
Drier grains of sand now fill a street.
And down I come to fold upon this post:
To curse upon the man who ate my Host.

Geoffrey Manasse

dial-a-contract

Sat. Rock

Lengthy briefing today. Attention MAPAC, unaffiliated anti-military spending foes, and others: The largest Pentagon profiteer visits campus Friday to interview juniors in math or computer sciences, Bell Telephone labs, an integral part of Western Electric Co., will be hiring for summer jobs. These folks are the prime contractors for the ABM, the receive hundreds of millions monthly for the development of this anti-missile system. Sign up to interview the interviewer at 117 Bascom. Civilian clothes and neat appearance will help get you on the list.

A note on the history of American foreign policy. Check off May 20 on your calendar—that will be the 125th anniversary of the United States' intervention in Vietnam. It was on that day in 1845 that we began to fight for the freedom of the Vietnamese people.

It seems that the Vietnamese court at Hue had arrested a French Catholic bishop for evangelizing. The solution was clear—open fire and land the Marines. So the USS Constitution, under the command of the heroic Captain John (Mad Jack) Percival bombarded the city of Da Nang before landing a force of Marines. The troopers captured several Vietnamese officials and held them as hostages until the court released the bishop. Did Mad Jack Percival cable Washington that he could now see the light at the end of the tunnel?

On representative democracy: The New York Times reported April 17th that the Pentagon is planning to supply the Greek fascist dictatorship with nearly twice as much military armaments as Congress authorized. \$44 million worth of arms will now be sent to Athens, instead of the \$24 million agreed to by the elected representatives of the American people. Check out George Thayer's book *The War Business*, and article in the January issue of *The Washington Monthly* for the complete story of how the United States is arming the entire "free World." Some highlights:

* In 1969, the U.S. sold South Africa over \$3 million worth of weapons, despite the U.S.'s supposed support of the 1963 arms embargo to South Africa announced by the United Nations.

* Another dictatorship propped up with American military assistance is that in Brazil. The Pentagon recently agreed to sell a quantity of M-16's to the military regime.

* The U.S. sells more than \$2 billion in military equipment annually to 80 foreign nations, and has sold more than \$50 million since 1945.

* In the same period, 287,000 foreign military personnel have been trained at 175 American training centers. This included sizeable numbers of troops maintaining totalitarian regimes in power, including Greece, Haiti, Nationalist China, Portugal, Ethiopia, and Spain. All these nations are experiencing some degree of internal rebellion, which our arms and training have continually crushed.

* 2,270 military installations are maintained in 33 foreign countries and U.S. possessions (could there be a more descriptive label?). Only one third of these foreign based troops are stationed in Vietnam—out of a total of 1.2 million soldiers. Those with further questions regarding the existence of an American system of imperialism are advised to sign up for remedial reading.

Invasion! The Badger Herald, an information sheet printed by the Madison chapter of the Young Americans for Freedom, reports on April 24 that the "Viet Cong are here." This is a report on the death of a student killed within the burning Bank of America branch at Santa Barbara while attempting to extinguish firebombs. The Badger Herald's Executive Publisher, Mike Kelly, writes that the student, Kevin Moran "died defending his country early Saturday morning. . . shot in the side by a sniper."

Now, Kelly's imagination notwithstanding, it seems the sniper probably was a police officer. Santa Barbara officials announced the suspension and investigation of an officer who belatedly reported that his rifle discharged into the bank immediately before Moran fell. Why the officer was carrying a rifle in the first place, when none were issued, according to the Santa Barbara Chief, has not been established to date. We can be sure that a full report will be forthcoming in the Herald, alleged to be a newspaper.

Fantasia in Asia: The latest conspiracy—high U.S. officials helped North Korea plan the seizure of the U.S. intelligence ship Pueblo. That's the conclusion of one Lee R. Hayes, former radioman on the ship. Hayes is currently on a speaking tour sponsored by the John Birch Society, for whom he spoke Monday evening at the Pabst Theatre in Milwaukee.

The former seaman said it appeared the North Koreans were ready for the crew when they were taken to a prison camp "right down to the number of beds." "I'm not sure (if the U.S. participated," Hayes commented, "but if it was planned, it couldn't have been done better."

The Cardinal urges its readers to participate in Friday's activities sponsored by the Madison Alliance for Homosexual Equality.

Letters

Law of the Jungle

I received third prize in the University Poetry Contest and have been reflecting about what to do with the \$15. When I submitted the poetry I was aware of the difficulty artists have surviving in a capitalist society. I entered the contest to see if I could get money to support myself. After thinking about the problem of money, I decided I had the wrong attitude. Having a poetry contest is forcing artists to compete against each other for recognition. This concept is taught to us in the public schools and is ingrained in our minds throughout our lives. It is a tragedy that we continue to work against our friends rather than encourage each other to write and share our creations in an exciting way. We should be able to do this with the confidence that our government will keep us alive. All people should be able to do their work with that confidence.

We must work and change our government so we can live in a society where people work out their problems in a communal way rather than individually. Hence building and supporting co-operatives is important. In order to do that we must also defend our sisters and brothers who get jailed during the struggle. There-

fore I choose to give the prize money to the Electric Teradactyl Transit Authority Limited Bail Fund. The bail fund was started by the Mifflin-Bassett Community. I hope others will also decide to use the money in a collective way. Buying guns and dynamite are other possibilities!

Naomi Puro

First the Revolution

I'm sure Jeff Gosse is "working" hard for peace. It's truly heroic to march to the square every few months and protest the terrible "mistake" that Amerika made in Vietnam.

There are a lot of us who are committing violent acts in the streets of Amerika. There are many more of us who are fighting

for liberation against Amerikan imperialism all over the world. We are united as brothers and sisters in struggling to destroy the system that ruins the one life we have on earth and to create a world in which profit, competition, and exploitation no longer exist to separate us.

We don't want to trash and fight all our lives, but we will not accept the shit that the United States expects us to take. Overturning and overrunning the system that oppresses us all is a creative and life-giving act. For this reason our cry is not "peace now" but it is "Victory to the National Liberation Front" and "Free Bobby Seale."

There can be no peace now. As long as there are Amerikan investments abroad there will be Amerikan troops standing by to guard

Wednesday, April 29, 1970

THE DAILY CARDINAL—11

them. First we will make the world revolution, then there will be

peace and life for all.

A revolutionary

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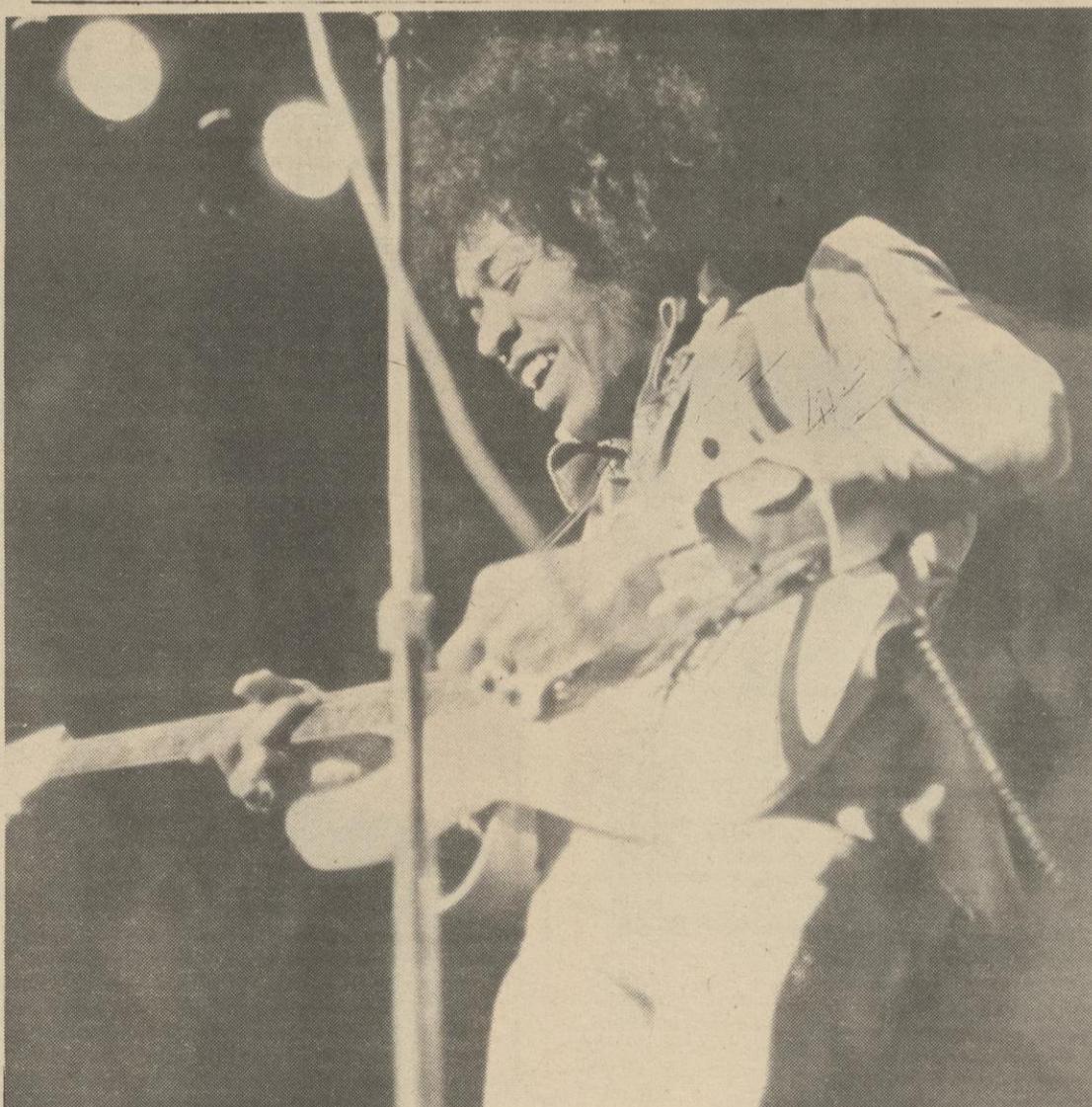


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SUMMER SUB. 1 girl needed to share with 3. Own room, utilities paid. \$50. June 1. 255-1536. **9x2**

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SUM SUB: girl to share house w 1. Own room. 10 mins West Pets. 233-7256 or 262-1728. **7x2**

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SUM SUBLET 4 bdrms lg living rm near lake campus capitol. Call 262-7000 or 262-7001. **5x5**

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BLACK PANTHER RALLY

Black Panthers from Milwaukee will be present at a Black Panther Rally, tonight at 8 in the Union. There will also be a film on the Panthers.

HISTORY STUDENTS

"An American Labor History," will be the subject of a panel of the History Students Association tonight at 8 in the Union.

VOLUNTEER RAP CENTER

A rap telephone line and walk-in center is now being formed in Madison to satisfy the needs of people who want to talk with someone about their problems. Professional counselors from various agencies in Madison will help with the initial screening and training of volunteers. Anyone interested in working for the Rap Center as lay-counselor or researcher, fundraiser, or in other capacities, is asked to attend the meeting tonight at 7 at the Calvary Lutheran Chapel, 713 State. If you can't make the meeting, call Dick Goldberg at 233-5114.

BAIL FUND BENEFIT

Broom Street Theater will present "Battle of Algiers" this weekend as a benefit for the Madison Bail Fund. Shows are at 9 p.m. Friday and Saturday in People's Park, and 11 p.m. at Broom Street Theater on Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Sponsor is the Electric Teradactyl Transit Authority, LTD.

Milwaukee Hires Women Lifeguards

MILWAUKEE (AP) — The Milwaukee County Civil Service Commission voted unanimously Monday to end along and controversial prohibition against hiring women as life guards at the county's swimming pools and Lake Michigan beaches.

The bikini will not be accepted life guard attire, however.

Women have not been employed by the county as life guards since the manpower shortage days of World War II.

BABYSITTERS NEEDED

A group of welfare mothers need babysitters so that they can go to meetings. Males or females who could babysit sometime should call Squeeky at 255-9149.

FOUND A BOX?

A cardboard box containing literature on Southern Africa was left in the Hoofers Office last Wednesday afternoon, April 22. If anyone knows its whereabouts, please call 241-1137, 255-2484, or the YWCA, 257-2534.

FREE FILM

The Union Literary and Film Committees will present a film about Denise Leverton and Chas. Olson next Monday. Free tickets are available in the Union Box Office.

MAY DAY

Sam Friedman, vice presidential candidate on the Socialists ticket, will speak at 4:30 Thursday in the Old Madison Room of the Union.

fields of ivy

(continued from page 16)

The key to that one is that they can't have all those finer things in life. Hirsch's budget is being cut some \$100,000 next year, if one of my favorite sources is correct, and he has opened the door to not "doing it at all." Here we come, Ohio U.

At least the Bobcats cut back everything evenly, rather than perpetuating a super race of football players.

I'll tell you what, Elroy. Why don't you get on the phone and call up Marquette, the University of Chicago, Ohio U., and a couple more if they pop into your mind. The NFL discovered that two pro football leagues could work, and maybe we should try to find out if two ivy leagues can work, too.

Give me my Saturday of football.

But don't kill track and wrestling because the football giant goes unfed. The fuel to stoke that monster can come cheaper, and it will have to if we don't want another Ohio U. here.

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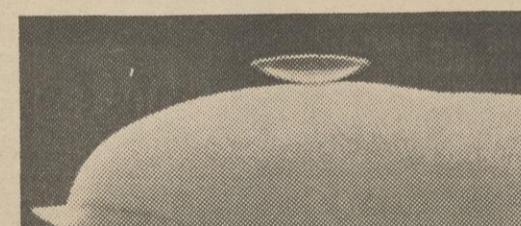
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directed By Michael Stott

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Broom Street Theatre



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fields of ivy

The question of Ohio U., well worth arguing, comes at just the right time of the year for a debate.

There is no football monster on Saturdays to color the discussion and the sports which make out without the big money are on the scene these days.

There is little use discussing the Ohio U. action itself—taking all sports save basketball out of the big time category. (You'll recall that Ohio U. tied Minnesota, 35-35, in football last year.) That action is over and done with; the discussion is in terms of this campus.

Ohio U. just decided that the investment was not worth the return. Something over 2 per cent of the school's entire budget went for producing the major-sport circus. The trouble was, they weren't packing enough participants into three rings.

The logical argument to that, of course, is that the spectators benefit, too, and the money doesn't go just to the athletes and their upkeep.

Here, the spectator who cares to can enjoy sports nearly every other day all year. The non-participating spectator would lose out if the budget were slashed to the bone.

A couple others would lose out too. Right now we've got a baseball team working, a crew afloat, and golf and tennis teams pushing through their seasons. Wisconsin's biggest club sport, rugby, out-draws them all, but does that mean that the Athletic Dept. should cut the four and let the ruggers go their merry way?

There are few things more enjoyable than that afternoon or evening of spectating, but there are also few more beneficial opportunities the University can offer than participating in the smaller sports.

The problem is that it's so damn expensive to put on that afternoon for the spectators. Now may not be the time for Wisconsin, and eventually the rest of the major colleges, to turn the corner on that big budget and go back to the Ivy League style of things. The overall sports product the Ivies put out cannot compare in strength with that in the Big Ten.

But does it matter?

You may remember an item from last fall concerning the sale of eight tickets to the Harvard-Princeton game. They went for \$1,000. and you sure weren't buying any at the gate.

The point is that the Ivy League gives the same "character building" to its athletes, draws (paying) spectators, and does it for less.

That's the problem at Wisconsin, you see. They're not packing enough spectators around the three rings.

And it might not even be possible to pack enough spectators in for a football season. At Friday's Athletic Board meeting it came out that the Athletic Dept.'s line of red ink at the bottom of the ledger would turn black if the \$235,000 spent for the "minor" sports (that includes track) were eliminated.

"These boys deserve the best schedules and equipment," said Athletic Director Elroy Hirsch, "and we should do all we can to see that they get it. If we can't do it first class, then we shouldn't do it at all."

(continued on page 15)

Our Profile



Tennis, JV At Home Today

Wisconsin tennis team and junior varsity baseball team return to action today in home contests.

The netters will host UWU at 3 p.m. on the Observatory Drive Courts, while the baseball team will entertain Highlands Community College in a 2 p.m. double-header at Lowman Field.

One starting pitcher for Marty Stillman's JV's will be Don Dettman, while the other spot will be up for grabs due to an injury to ace right-hander Dave Refling.

Refling was hurt Monday while pitching batting practice for the varsity. A batted ball struck the Muskego sophomore in his left eye, shattering his contact lens. His condition at press time is still unknown.

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Billy, McEvilly Pitch Nine To Doubleheader Sweep

By JIM COHEN
Sports Editor

The Wisconsin baseball team extended its winning streak to seven games Tuesday afternoon with a doubleheader sweep over Wisconsin State University of Stevens Point by the scores of 5-2 and 7-1.

Besides some continued fine pitching from Dave Billy and Mike McEvilly, the Badgers hit well (15 for 47) and showed some unusually fine fielding.

The Badgers used some impressive pitching from Billy, a rightie, and some timely hits to glide to the first game victory.

Billy, now 3-0, had a no-hitter going for the first 3 2/3 innings, but the Pointers scored both of their runs in the fourth. A walk, a wild pitch and a passed ball along with a single and a ground rule double provided Stevens Point with its two runs.

Billy allowed only three hits all told while fanning two and walking two.

Wisconsin hit Stevens Point starter Jim Setzer, brother of former Badger catcher Mike, for two runs in the first. R.D. Boschulte and Bruce Erickson walked and pulled a double steal before Paul Shandling popped out.

Cleanup hitter Stu Voigt walked to load the bases and centerfielder Mike Johnson smacked a ground single to left, scoring Boschulte. However, Erickson was tagged out at home on a fine throw from left. Leftfielder Greg O'Brien knocked in Voigt with a line single through the middle before Tom Bennett flied out.

The Badgers came back with two more in the third on another walk to Erickson and Shandling's second homer of the year, a long shot to right-centerfield.

Wisconsin added another in the fourth on Bennett's bunt single down the third baseline, an error, a wild pitch and Erickson's sacrifice fly.

The second game was much the same story, only more of it. McEvilly, a junior southpaw, held the Pointers to only two hits and his teammates helped him out with some solid scoring.

The former pitcher for Madison East is now 4-1. He struck out eight while walking three.

Wisconsin's two hottest hitters of late, Erickson and Shandling, got two hits apiece. Voigt and Greg Mahlberg got two RBI's.

The Badgers waited until the second inning to break the scoring ice when Bennett walked and came home on McEvilly's double down the rightfield line.

They came back with another in the third on Voigt's walk, a wild pitch and a double by Gregg Kumlien, who played centerfield in the nightcap.

After the Pointers scored their lone run in the fourth on a single and a triple, the Badgers put the game out of reach in the fifth. Erickson tripled and Shandling and Voigt followed with singles.

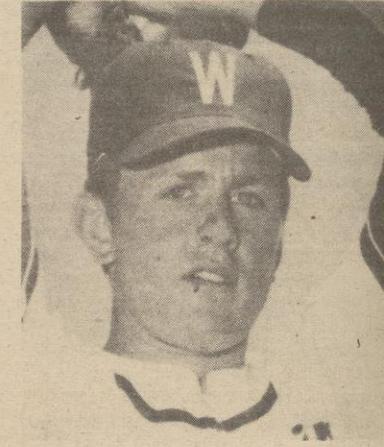
After Kumlien and O'Brien walked, Mahlberg hit a two run double into centerfield.

Wisconsin added another run in the sixth on Boschulte's walk, Erickson's single to right and an infield out by Voigt.

The Badgers infield looked very sharp as it made several fine plays. Third baseman Bennett made several fine stops and throws. He had six assists in the opener and was a pleasant change for the Badgers who have shown some inconsistent fielding in recent years at the hot corner. Bennett also started off a double play in the first inning of the opener.

McEvilly also showed some fine fielding as he threw out five baserunners, a couple of them on tough chances. Erickson, Boschulte and Shandling also showed some improved fielding.

Johnson, who didn't start the nightcap apparently because of some careless baserunning in the opener, showed some good hustle in the outfield.



DAVE BILLY (LEFT) AND MIKE McEVILLY combined to hold Stevens Point to only five hits in yesterday's doubleheader at Guy Lowman Field as the Badgers increased their winning streak to seven games.

NOW IN PAPER

Mark Twain's The WAR PRAYER



To Dan Beard, who dropped in to see him, Clemens read the "War Prayer," stating that he had read it to his daughter Jean, and others, who had told him he must not print it, for it would be regarded as sacrilege.

"Still, you are going to publish it, are you not?"

Clemens, pacing up and down the room in his dressing-gown and slippers, shook his head.

"No," he said, "I have told the whole truth in that, and only dead men can tell the truth in this world."

"It can be published after I am dead."

—from MARK TWAIN, A BIOGRAPHY
by Albert Bigelow Paine (Harper, 1912)

with drawings by
JOHN GROTH

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1817

sexism and sexuality

sue spevack and maureen turim

"Free love has proven itself to be a costly concept for the Western woman. For while the emergence of the "new morality" over the past decade has attempted to negate the tyrannical oppression of the Puritan ethic, the effect for women has been only the replacement of one oppressive value system with another. The redefinition of sex as a pleasurable, natural experience, rather than as a sinful transgression sanctioned only by a marriage license, has not lifted women from the inferior role assigned to them in the sex act, or from their resulting generally inferior role in society."

Our understanding of sex and our definition of female and male sex roles have evolved to fit the needs of society. They must be regarded as products of that society, subject to whatever misconceptions and prejudices are basic to it. The assumptions of society as it has constructed sex roles have been found false. Yet these dictated roles continue to stifle the potential of human development.

Because of the role society has played, both women and men have defined their sex roles in terms of what pleases men. Orgasm is the man's realm—a woman's orgasm is tangential to the sex act. Therefore if men can enjoy intercourse without the woman feeling sexually satisfied, why even consider the woman's desires? An example of men's ignorance about the sex act and specifically female orgasm is the relatively unknown physiological fact that women are capable of having multiple orgasms while men are not. During intercourse a man has one orgasm and ejaculates, while women may have two, three, or as many as six orgasms before the sex act is completed.

Male domination of sex is rampant in American society and is clearly a product of assumed male superiority. To perpetrate this male domination throughout the centuries, women have been trained by men to accept the notion of inferiority.

In many cases the result of these misconceptions is female frigidity. The definition of frigidity may range from the inability to achieve orgasm to the relative absence of desire for heterosexual relations. Men have tried to ignore this problem and sluff it off as the woman's responsibility. Frigidity is a product of men's as well as women's attitudes and must be coped with by both. A woman too must be physically stimulated to fully enjoy the sex act. If she is treated as an object she in turn will eventually accept this notion. If a woman views herself as an object she cannot possibly respond with the warmth and love of a human being.

A woman may fear intercourse because it signifies succumbing to the power and desires of a man. Yet at the same time perhaps she is afraid she will be an unsatisfactory sex partner—a cold woman. Both attitudes organically grow out of a man's view of sex and not a woman's. As women we must consciously begin to dispel these notions if the sex act is to be pleasurable, satisfying and meaningful for both partners.

As a corollary to these fears is the myth of the vaginal orgasm. A supposedly revolutionary Freudian concept, the vaginal orgasm was stated to be the most mature form of a woman's sexual development and pleasure. Freud said that as a woman matures her primary sexual pleasure shifts from the clitoris to the vagina. This theory is false.

Today most psychoanalysts emphasize the central and primary role of the clitoris and the secondary role of the vagina in female orgasm. The clitoris is richly endowed with cells that are extremely sensitive to tactile stimulation while the vagina is not. Orgasm is in the clitoris.

Many men choose to ignore this fact because their orgasm comes from stimulation of the penis through entry into the vagina. As long as their sexual pleasures are satisfied, women can no longer accept this attitude and must educate men. We too must be stimulated to the point of orgasm to have a truly pleasurable sexual experience. In many cases this may mean that women's and men's positions should be changed during intercourse for maximum stimulation. If remedies to the problem are not explored, women will continue to feel ill at ease during the sex act and, to a large extent, it will be our own fault.

While women's sexual relationships with men are extremely important, a woman too must see herself as a complete sexual entity. When heterosexual relationships are seen as not feasible, a man masturbates. The most the majority of women will do about the same situation is discuss among their friends how horny they are. Society accepts masturbation for men but taboos it for women. Why can't a woman act in the same manner as most men do when sexual relations with a member of the opposite sex are not pleasurable and/or available?

A woman's sexual pleasures and desires are just as important as a man's. Men can no longer shove down our throats their sexual prowess or the enormity of their sexual appetites. To a large degree, American society has trained men to respond this way to women and women have always passively accepted this role.

Even when viewing homosexuality, this society does not equate lesbians with their male counterparts. Both are considered deviants but the so-called problem is always seen in terms of male homosexuals. Most studies and statistics only concern themselves with men. Lesbians are more horrifying than homosexuals, even to the statistician. Men have more freedom with men than women are permitted with women.

Male homosexuals also feel superior to lesbians and women in general. It is only very recently that homosexuals have recognized lesbians in their discussions and organizations. Internally homosexuals must combat their own male chauvinism before they make alliance with oppressed women as they say they must.

All men have to cope with a new phenomenon—women



Photo by Bonnie Sharpe

are not chattel and can no longer be bought and sold at the whims of their masters. We control our own lives and the men that oppress us are now forced to give up the power they once had.

Society's version of sex, then, is oppressive to women on two levels. It is oppressive because the sex act itself is practiced for men's pleasure and fulfillment with the women's interests totally ignored and because women are limited to a sexual role, to being a man's wife and mother.

Much authority has supported these attitudes. The whole field of psychoanalysis, built on theories originated by Freud, has reinforced the myth of women's inferiority and encouraged limitation of women to domestication. Betty Friedan, in her book "The Feminine Mystique," and Naomi Weisstein, in her paper "Kinder, Kuche, Kirche as Scientific Law," show how psychology and related fields like sociology and anthropology fail to understand women as oppressed human beings and instead hypothesize from the myth and draw conclusions perpetuating that same myth.

Freud's theories were based on certain assumptions which he made as a reflection of his nineteenth century Viennese culture. Rather than regarding these assumptions as being influenced by his cultural environment or his personal experience, he maintained them as intrinsic to woman's nature, as predetermined by female biology.

These assumptions center on viewing women as innately inferior to men. From this Freud draws his concept of penis envy and the castration complex as the source of all female neurosis. He states that a young girl, on realizing she lacks a penis, "feels herself at a great disadvantage." To propose that women are naturally envious of male anatomy is to suggest there there is a superiority about this anatomy worthy of envy. What Freud neglected to consider is that his culture gave women many reasons to envy men which were based on the privileges that society granted men, not on male biology.

The development of the concept of women's castration complex led Freud to label as neurotic any attempts by women to achieve a position equal to that enjoyed by men. He said in a lecture on the psychology of women, "the desire after all to obtain the penis for which she so much longs may even contribute to the motives that impel a grownup woman to come to analysis, and what she quite reasonably expects to get from analysis, such as the capacity to pursue an intellectual career, can often be recognized as a sublimated modification of this repressed wish." Women, according to Freud, must accept the dictates of nature and not strive to play an active (masculine) part in society but instead embrace "normal femininity."

Freud and the analysts that followed him never questioned the values established by society, never wondered if societal patterns were not natural laws but conventions. These analysts were not concerned with helping men and women fulfill their potential as human beings, but only with easing individuals into the patterns, only with maintaining the status quo. Today's psychologists refuse to confront the real problem when they refuse to consider

the need to change society.

Society's views of sexuality must be changed. It must be changed because so much of this modern view of sexuality rests on Freudian theory which is filled with fallacies and is based on an argument assuming the basic inferiority of women. It must be changed because it is stifling the growth of females and therefore the growth and potential of the entire society. But how do we go about changing the view of sexuality so ingrained and accepted in society?

First must come the realization by women that their problems are not isolated cases of sexual inadequacy or fear or boredom, but that the problems they have relating to the male dominated sex myth are shared by many women. It is not a sickness to reject this sex role; in fact, it should be regarded as a healthy sign, a human reaction to the inhuman, sick roles perpetuated by society.

With this awareness will come the power gained through unity—this is what the women's liberation movement is all about. It is pointless to argue whether women can be liberated before society as it exists today is totally and radically changed. This only serves to obscure either the importance of women's liberation as a recognition of the shared problem and the oppressive nature of society, or to obscure our final goal, the liberation of people through the radical change of that society. Both recognition and action for change must be advanced together.

Thus women can and must work for their liberation on a personal level in their immediate relations as well as by united action to change society. This translates into throwing out Playboy Magazine and Trashman Comics, as well as Glamour and Good Housekeeping. It means losing one's "sense of humor" when dirty jokes are told and refusing to gossip. It means refusing to be an accomplice in fostering sex roles instead of true human relationships. It means control of one's own body and mind in sexual relationships.

Equally important is the recognition that the snide comments made about women in the movement who take this stance are just the typical backlash of barbershop Freudian analysis. Women who attempt to overcome and eradicate this sickness find an extra effort made to reinfect them. They are termed "masculine women," "castrating bitches," "sex-starved females;" their actions are dismissed ironically in terms of the very sex role psychology they are trying to fight.

It must also be understood that the "women only" policy of women's lib groups as they first organize is not the same type of sex discrimination they are fighting against, but a necessity to develop the feeling of unity and the awareness of common problems discussed earlier. To demand that this separatism not exist is to ignore the problems, to close the possibility of working out real solutions. Women must gain a feeling of themselves as human beings, not sex objects; only then will they be able to share the awareness that is an outgrowth of that feeling.

goodbye, dolly

Hollywood used to be a Fitzgeraldian palace of dreams and tragedy, whose gentle movies didn't have much to do with real life—but that didn't matter because the movies were always a little behind the times anyway.

No more. Since the end of World War II and the Coming of the Tube, Hollywood has slowly become a small, gaudy part of a network of monolithic corporations geared to profit maximization. American movies have abandoned

their mien of cavalier fantasy and taken to giving its mostly 18 to 30 year old audience what the corporate heads think that audience wants.

Hollywood is still about two years slow, but we are now given every niche of a young person's brain—as channeled through the studio—in Panavision 70. We've had the miseries of suburbia, the black struggle, Kennedy assassinations, motorcycles, and drug trips, the Chicago convention in triplicate; this spring we can expect two versions of Columbia, pre and post-May, 1968. We even have Abbie Hoffman in his movie debut.

So it is no wonder that Hollywood, having exhausted nearly all other phases of the hazy amalgamation that is the Movement, will finally touch on women's liberation. National General Pictures has announced the production of "The Grasshopper," a film, its writers declare about the difficulties involved in being a "new woman" in 1970 America.

"The Grasshopper" may mark a new direction for Hollywood, which, in its continuing efforts over the last ten years to mirror American society, has just as faithfully maintained its totally male chauvinist bent.

The manifestations are multiple: I can think, offhand, of one American woman director (Susan Sontag, who really doesn't count), one editor and a handful of writers. In the more technical aspects of production, women are usually relegated to the wardrobe and make-up departments (if credits are any measure) or to service as "continuity girls," which is probably one of the most important jobs in a complicated production, but also evidences the emphasis on women in clerical capacities. And, of course, movies have been by far the greatest offender of woman-as-sex symbol exploitation, well documented since Marilyn Monroe's suicide.

Because movies are such a telling part of American culture, a proper study of their relation to male chauvinism would result in a voluminous history of this country in the twentieth century. The ultimate tie-in, of course, necessitates asking why Gulf and Western owns Paramount Pictures (which is only one of several such examples). Unfortunately, space limitations here only permit a superficial look at a couple of less conspicuous aspects of male-orientation in the art form.

One less obvious example is found in producers' perceptions of the audience. Because while Hollywood has been making less pretentious, less expensive and often better films for their younger market, they still produce vulgar spectacles for what they perceive to be family audiences, in which studies have proven it is the woman who determines the viewing choice.

The corporate heads, with their warped conceptions of what a woman wants to see, have apparently deduced that women have a natural predilection for very expensive, very long, very costumey films, often musicals, that are about as penetrating as an overdose of cotton candy. "Star," "Funny Girl," "Hello, Dolly," "The Sound of Music" and even "Isadora" are recent movies made up and fashioned for an audience of females, the smaller-brained of the species as the stereo-type goes.

The latest example is "Hello, Dolly" on which MGM expended some \$28 million for Barbra Streisand, hundreds of costumes and full-scale reproductions of Yonkers and Central Park. Through an interminable two hours and forty-five minutes including intermission, at least a hundred dancers with five costume changes each prance through the horse-and-carriage travelled streets of sound-stage New York (horses don't excrete in women's movies) while Streisand and two other actresses plot to get their men. As in "The Sound of Music," the film climaxes with a wedding stock movie formula for happiness

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(continued from page 4)

fact remains, however, that we have not "come a long way, baby," since women are very much second class citizens in this society.

In order to achieve complete liberation, it is necessary to work outside of the system as much as within it. To paraphrase Clarenbach, a thousand laws could be made to achieve equality, but they will not ensure immediate or even future liberation. Laws are often merely ambiguous statements dependent upon nothing but interpretation. And since interpretation and, consequently, opinion can not realistically be separated, it is obvious that the net results of these laws will be zero.

To reiterate, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act says that discrimination can not be made on the basis of sex, but this provision is not carried out in the mainstream of daily living and will not be until the attitudes and ideas concerning the role of women are changed within the prevailing societal structures.

The Capitalist system in this country should be examined on the basis that it is detrimental to any struggle towards equality. Clarenbach suggests the idea of equal unemployment between men and women to achieve liberation rather than change the economic system. However, a system that relies upon any unemployment at all is a system that exploits the masses. Exploitation is one of the major causes underlying the liberation movement. Obviously, then, a system that supports exploitation impedes any efforts toward equality.

NOW, however, is sincere in its attempts to win the fight for women's emancipation. The organization is necessary to the movement in so far as it is the liberal mouthpiece and provides a means for non-radical women to act on their frustrations. Although NOW's effectiveness in terms of concrete, visible achievement can and should be questioned it is a fundamental part of the liberation movement. It is another voice helping to strengthen our efforts.

for any heroine (not so any hero though).

Even though these films are about women, they still represent a man's conception of what motivates a female. When Dolly Levi sings "Don't let the parade pass me by," she is thinking about remarriage; she is caught between devotion to one man and trapping for another. Fanny Brice's "Don't rain on my parade" at the close of Act I is fired by ambition capable of either sex, but by the end of Act II she is lamenting over "My Man," debilitated by the loss of her gambler husband.

For "Star," "Funny Girl," "Hello, Dolly," "The Sound of Music" and "Isadora" it is interesting to note the status of the heroine. They are each presented as emancipated women; they are "on their own," at least. But just what is the creator's perception of that woman? In "Star," "Isadora," and "Funny Girl," she is a performer, attractively packaged to sell herself in a man's world. In the other two movies, she is either a governess—woman as protector of the flock—or a marriage broker.

If big-time musical producers are culpable for male chauvinism in making women's movies (the worst aspect of which is that they are almost always awful movies), "youth culture" men and even good filmmakers are no less blameworthy.

Take for instance "The Graduate," a film everybody loved in 1967 and damns in retrospect. "The Graduate" is certainly on a different level than the women's movies that producers heave on their customers, but it demonstrates another kind of male chauvinism in American films. From the gangster to the cowboy to the soldier to the brooding young activist, women play peripheral roles in movies that aren't specifically about them (and with a very, very few exceptions, movies about them are of the "Funny Girl" variety).

There are four stereotyped women in "The Graduate," all important to the story only as they relate to Benjamin. Benjamin's mother is a pushy suburban matron whose one dimension is wrapped up in having a son to advance in the world; she is Benjamin's Mother. The second woman role is that of the strip tease dancer in the joint to which Benjamin carts Elaine; she is Exploited Woman. (Her presence is particularly interesting because Benjamin more or less plays her off against another female stereotype, Elaine.)

Elaine, the virginal ideal, is presented either as

elaine cohen

Elaine, Benjamin's Girlfriend, or Elaine, Fiancee of that grating blond fraternity boy; neither the film's writers nor the director have her exist outside those limits. There is more of Elaine Robinson, I think, in a momentary long shot of her walking down the steps of a Berkeley building with some friends (none of them the fiance or Benjamin) than in any of her scenes with Benjamin.

The case is even clearer with Mrs. Robinson, the castrating bitch stereotype, whose role is first as Benjamin's Father's Business Partner's Wife, then as Benjamin's Mistress. We don't even know her by any other than her husband's name. Her character is very briefly explored in one of the bedroom scenes, when she talks about herself as a student—and even that is concerned with her relationship to her husband—but that tangent is quickly shunted aside.

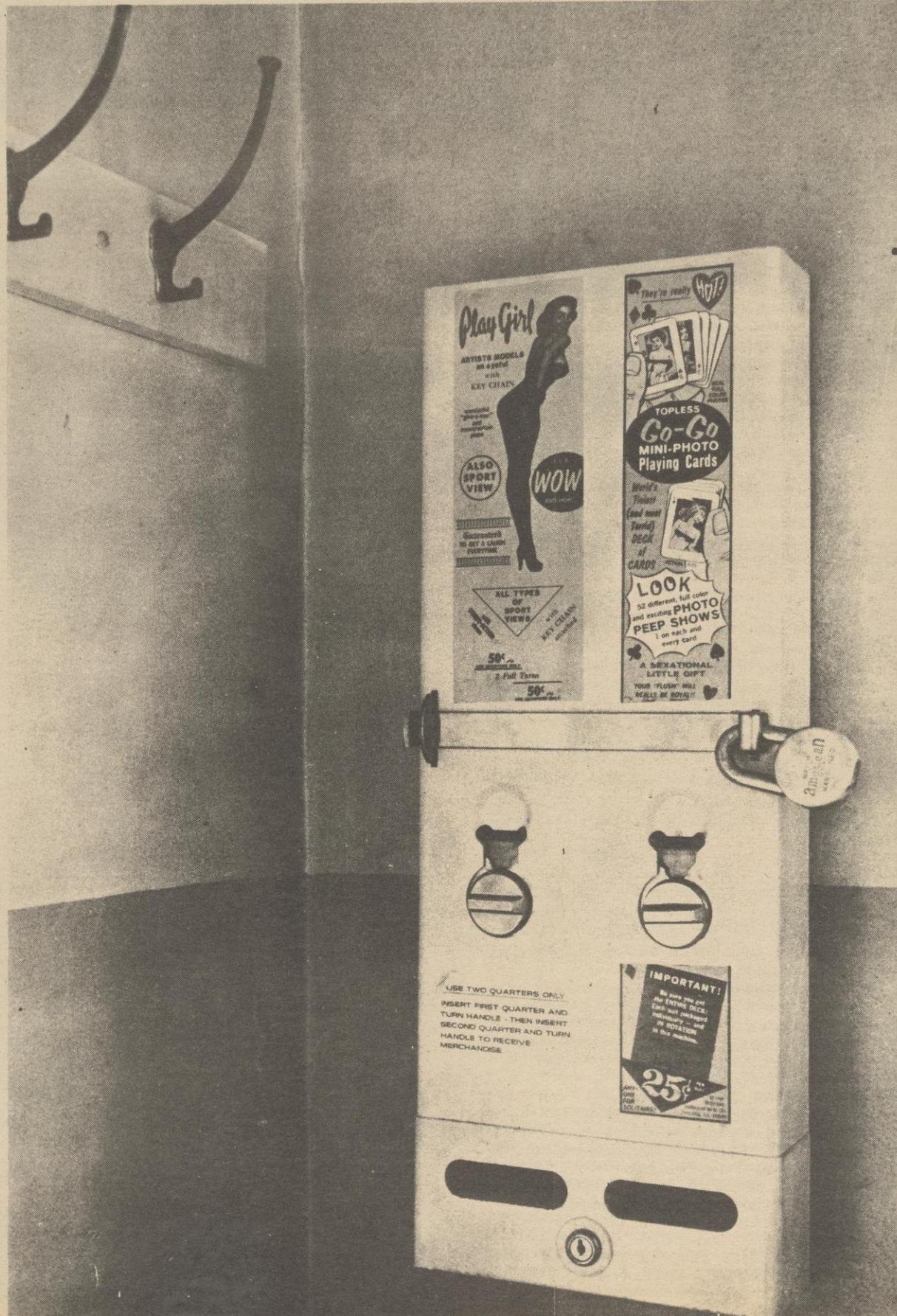
The irony of "The Graduate" is that either Mrs. Robinson or Elaine are probably much more interesting as characters than Benjamin, whose role as all-American boy wonder with absolutely no self-confidence or savoir faire is fairly implausible.

This is not to say that "The Graduate" should have been a movie about Elaine Robinson or her mother or any girl at all. But it is clear that American movies tend to ignore women characters, and even the films whose values young people admire usually do not present females in more than one dimension.

Which brings us back to "The Grasshopper," which, it must be mentioned here, was inspired by a 1967 cover of Esquire, "the magazine for men." The liberated woman in the film will be played by Jacqueline Bissett, an actress who posed for a six-page color pimp on Women's Liberation in Esquire's February issue. (Sample: Bissett in hockey player's garb, applying make-up.) Miss Bissett, Esquire explains, "doesn't give a damn about women's liberation, and why should she?"

So, maybe there's not that much hope for "The Grasshopper." Unless Miss Bissett thinks herself very, very hard into her role and gets very, very unladylike with the male writers and undoubtedly male director of the film, the movies' first stab at the liberated woman may turn out not to be a lady at all.

Valerie Solanis, where are you?



CHEAP THRILLS in a West Bend men's John
—Photo by Michael Mally

black women

"As blacks were defined and limited socially by their color, so women are defined and limited by their sex. While blacks, it was argued, were pre-ordained by God or nature, or both, to be brawlers of wood and darwers of water, so women are destined to bear and rear children, and to sustain their husbands with obedience and compassion. The Sky-God tramples through the heavens and the Earth/Mother Goddess is always flat on her back with her legs spread, putting out for one and all." Marlene Dixon, McGill University professor and women's liberationist.

The "black analogy" comparing racism to white male chauvinism is not an analogy. Both are products of the same social process which sets one group above another. When Brooklyn Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, however, was asked whether she found it harder to be black or female, she replied that it was by far more difficult being a woman.

Black women in America are in a particularly peculiar situation. As minority group members in a racist society, and women in a male chauvinist society, they have been pushed to the bottom of the scale.

They have a dual oppression with which to contend. Economically, they have been oppressed by employers whose profits depend on the exploitation of workers who are forced to work for the lowest possible wages. Due to the total black unemployment rate, which is at least 12 per cent, black women often have the greatest need for employment. However, they are given few opportunities, are paid less than black men for the same work, and are the first to be fired in factories. Since most of these working women are married, they must assume a second job at home—that of a housewife and mother. Two jobs for less than the price of one.

The white slave owner made the words "marriage" and "family" meaningless for black people, for he arranged them to suit his convenience. He oppressed the black male through institutionalized racism and economic exploitation, and created the myth of a black "matriarchy" as the norm when an unemployed black man was forced to leave his family. Black women never oppressed their men—they were merely forced to be the inhibiting instruments of an oppressive system. Seen as a workhorse or Amazon by both black and white men, the black woman worked, raised her family and developed "dishpan hands" which didn't seem out of character.

As Will Grier and Price Cobbs said in *Black Rage*, the black woman "takes her place within a historical context, in which women like her have never been valued, have been viewed only as depreciated sexual objects who serve as the recipients of certain debased passions of men who are ashamed to act them out with their own women. Historically, she has had some value as a 'breeder' of slaves and workmen. But most of all, she has been viewed as a source of labor, and she has been valued for the amount of work she can perform."

Besides being exploited as working women, black women have also been forced to live under psychological and sexual oppression.

"The first blacks to arrive in the colonies were treated as indentured servants," one black woman student at the University said. "When the white woman



Most of the attitudes and opinions in this story were expressed to Staff Writer Holly Sims by three black women on this campus—Cheryl Davis, Ann Chaney, and another who wishes to remain anonymous.

women's eco-role

april forrest

of woman as compared with that of man. As long as we continue to uphold the myth that the essential activities of the woman are home and family, we will never redress any of the social ills, the most critical being our sick ecosystem.

One of the most obvious maladies is the exorbitant use of non-returnable containers. Following the passage of any such container from the stove to the kitchen and to the garbage is not enough. From there, containers are either burned, thus polluting the air, or dumped, thus becoming sewage. And this process will continue as long as the woman is the forced consumer of these products, having no say in the decision to capitalize on the use of paper products.

Women will not remain on the consumer side of the issue, but will continue to gain importance on the production side of things. Today, two-fifths of the female population in America is part of the labor force. In 1968, 37 per cent of the entire American labor force were women. More than ever, families are becoming dependent on two income earners to stay above the poverty level.

In view of these facts, only blindness and ignorance keep women from power positions in labor, production, and other such institutions. Until a balance of power is reached and until a human community is created, there can only be minimal change in every aspect of this society which demands restructuring.

It must be reiterated again that the fight to save the ecosystem is such a battle that it calls for strategic innovation. As long as the same group who has had the power to destroy the air, water and earth are also trying to save it, the prospects are far from being bright.

The battle must be turned over to women, who, as Morgan emphasizes, have brains as tough as any man's and who also have "bodies unavoidably aware of the locked-in relationship between humans and their biosphere."

holly sims

looked at the black man, the white man made the black man subhuman by turning him into a slave. The black male was castrated if he even glanced at a white woman.

"The white man's criteria for femininity and beauty grew out of his need to dominate everyone that he felt below him. He wanted his women pasty and helpless, and the pastier and more helpless she was, the higher she rose on his pedestal."

The black woman had no leisure time in which she could be idealized as helpless and ultrafeminine. She had to work. Still, she was subject to the white man's definition of beauty, which for many women meant torture with a hot comb or straightener.

Supposedly, that era is over. Black women refuse to measure themselves on the white man's terms. But if black women don't have to conform to honky standards of beauty, they are still limited by his definition of femininity, which includes jive like "a woman's place is in the home." Black men have adopted and accepted the white man's definition of women, which is, as Stokely Carmichael put it, "prone".

Like white girls, black girls have read the white man's propaganda all through school: "Boys don't like brainy girls", "Don't talk out in class", etc. Naturally recruiting programs make even less effort to recruit black women than they do to recruit black men.

Men assume black women—and white women—have come to college for one reason: to get married.

Many girls don't get asked out because, as one man put it, "I'm afraid of her—she's the kind you marry."

A white woman is considered less of a risk for a black man. He knows she'll eventually marry a white man, just as the black man will marry a black woman. But meanwhile, where are those girls who are "trying to marry me?" Usually sitting in their dorms or apartments or with the girls. They are not supposed to go to parties, bars or the Rath unescorted, and it "degrades the race" if they go out with white men.

The way to a white man's heart is said to be through his stomach. On meeting a black woman on campus, a black man will often ask, "Do you cook? Sew? No? Well, what do you do? Justify your existence!"

Black women are struggling against the white man's stereotype of a woman which was often accepted by their own men. The white man forced his wife into the home and locked the door. Ideally, she was domestic and passive while he sat in his office dominating people from nine to five. American women, black and white, were forced to play this "natural" woman's role.

After centuries of being in the home, the black woman who comes to college, especially from the ghetto, is handicapped in a society where "education" is determined and monopolized by the white man. Although the white woman is never trained to be as articulate or "educated" as a white man, she usually comes from a middle class background which helps prepare her for college. She was raised to cater to men, and will often happily do her boyfriend's laundry or spend hours typing his term paper. A black woman knows a man is capable of doing either job himself, a fact which some white women have only recently learned.

Although the white woman generally doesn't relate to a black man's experience in the ghetto, she will often seek him out in college in an attempt to forsake her white middle class upbringing.

American history made the white woman an object or a status symbol for the black man. On campus, the white woman is generally more available and visible. Many black men say they are using the white women they date. Probably sensing this, the white woman doesn't mind too much when the black man speaks to another white woman, but gets uptight when she sees him with a black woman.

The white man's claim that black people are "immoral" is a lie. To live up to his "sex symbol" reputation, the black man often has to turn to the white woman. Black women are among the most moralistic in the world, having been used by white men for centuries. They also do not have the middle class white woman's access to birth control information and abortions.

"Black women are, quite conceivably, the most liberated minority in America," says Cheryl Davis. "Why? For instance, this: being worked like a dog in a white house by the owners, the black woman knows what they feel her position is to be, and does not outwardly rebel against that image. She merely robs them blind "behind closed doors", and therefore is actually the victor—if there is to be one—in the situation. Black women have no clearcut reason to seek "liberation" in the manner white women are currently seeking it."

Davis adds that the black woman's position in society gives her a perspective held by no other group. She must be sensitive to her own world, and contend with the white world at the same time.

In a society where artificiality is passed off as the standard of beauty, Davis points out that the black woman has never been exploited in the media in the way white women have been. Black women are not usually embalmed in makeup and stuffed into dresses whose cleavages touch their navels to sell cars, soap and deserts. The white man, says Davis, gauges his masculinity by the number of products he sells, which is actually the white woman.



women and capitalism

"It is hard to define our place in this movement, "We're stepped on twice—first as blacks and then as women."

"But one thing I know for sure. The problem with black power was that it asked for a piece of the pie. What we need to do is put the whole thing in and bake it all over again."—black women's liberationist.

One of the largest problems facing the women's liberation movement is the question of women's relationship to the American economic system and the consequent long range goals the movement has for changing this system. As the liberation movement grows and women's economic, political and social analysis of their situation matures, women are being increasingly faced with the realization that minor reforms in our economic structure will not accomplish their liberation, but merely modify its form and degree. Slowly but surely, among women of all different backgrounds and social status, the conviction is growing that only a profoundly radical change in the system as it is presently constituted will accomplish women's liberation.

The movement encompasses women from widely varying walks of life, each with a different experience on both the job market and in the home.

There are middle class white students, who have never worked and when they do will probably end up in one of the few professional fields open to women. There are housewives, whose labor is not even added into the Gross National Product. And there are working women, white and black alike, who are the last on line for promotion, are paid wages which are lower than those of the average black man, are the first fired and the last hired.

This diversity is simultaneously the movement's greatest strength and greatest weakness. Crossing class lines and economic experiences not to mention overcoming cultural and racial prejudices is a tall order for any social movement. Few movements have maintained such alliances throughout history. However, women have more to go on in building their movement than the simple fact that they are women. A careful look at both women's historical role in the economy and their present role within it demonstrates that although the differences between working class and middle class women seem objectively and superficially great, the forms and degree of their economic oppression are more similar than mere class labels would indicate.

The basis for unity, in short, is overwhelmingly there and when one looks at the situation of women as a whole, rather than in isolation, one sees that the basis for a common solution is also there and waiting.

Women's Two Roles in the System

Women's production role in the American capitalist system can be broken down into two fundamental categories: women as housewife and women as marginal labor force.

There are, at present, forty four million women in the United States serving as housewives. They are unpaid. Indeed, as Margaret Benston, a movement leader has pointed out, their labor is not even an acknowledged factor of society's total production capacity:

"In sheer quantity, household labor, including child care, constitutes a huge amount of necessary production. Nevertheless, in a society based on commodity production, it is not usually considered even as 'real work' since it is outside of trade and the marketplace. This assignment of household work as the function of a special category 'women' means that this group does stand in a different relationship to production... In a society in which money determines value, women are a group who work outside the money economy. Their work is not worth money, is therefore valueless, is

therefore not real work."

Ask the next mother of small children you meet whether the work she does feels like real work. It is no wonder that our culture has popularized the image of the nagging, complaining housewife who must serve as "nurse, doctor, chauffeur, washerwoman, cook, housekeeper, and social partner."

The other aspect of the housewife role which needs to be mentioned is its effect on the male working force. Without all those women popping clothes in the washer, children into school, and TV dinners into the oven, the nine to five job syndrome under which so many men labor would have to be radically revamped. Capitalism has developed along very neat sex lines.

The other role women traditionally fulfill under the capitalist system is that of a marginal labor force which, when labor is scarce (as in wartime), is forced into the market and when it is plentiful, is systematically excluded. As Marlene Dixon, radical sociologist and liberation leader has pointed out: "Women and blacks have provided a reserve army of unemployed workers, benefiting capitalists and the stable male white working class alike."

And yet when women do enter the working force, they are stymied at every turn—from education, to wages, to type of employment. Let us review quickly some statistics:

EDUCATION: In 1962, although 53 per cent of the graduating high school class were women, only 42 per cent of the entering college class was female. One in three people receiving a B.A. or an M.A. in that year was a woman, while the figure for Ph.Ds was one in ten. 22 per cent of college teachers are women, 10 per cent of scientists, 7 per cent of physicians, 3 per cent of lawyers, and 1 per cent of engineers.

WAGES: White women earn \$2600 less than white men and \$1500 less than non-white men. Black women earn \$3800 less than white men, \$1900 less than non-white men, and \$1200 less than white women.

TYPES OF EMPLOYMENT: Women are unilaterally shoved into the lowest pay, lowest skill levels of employment. Of all working women, only 13 per cent are professionals. Many are employed to do household tasks where the cruel irony enters that by working for fellow women they not only get paid but are at last acknowledged to be working. Women have always dominated certain white collar and service job categories including waitresses, store clerks, and elementary school teachers.

Women, to conclude, are what Dixon has called the "soft underbelly" of the economic system.

Women as Consumers

In addition to the jobs they perform in the society as both marginal laborers and housewives, women fit into the capitalist system in one other crucial way. They make 75 per cent of all consumer purchases in the country. This means that a major part of the economy—from chain stores to Madison Avenue—is totally pre-occupied with selling to women.

Women are the vital link between the factories run by men and the average American home. They control, in more ways than is easily imaginable, the purse strings of the nation. And yet they play little if any part in either determining what products are available or in the actual making of these products.

Yet through their role as consumer, American women possess enormous power over the future direction of the economy and the country. Small wonder that the women's liberation movement has attracted first mocking and then fearful and angry attention from the professional press.

Women's liberationists have been caricatured as ultra masculine, homosexual, anti-feminist radicals who "have trouble getting men." There is one thing American big business is very good at and that is knowing when it is in trouble.

Alternatives: Sweden, Israel, Cuba

But what alternatives are open to women as they organize to achieve equal rights under a system which simply cannot even begin to accommodate them under

rena steinzor

its present structure?

The movement at present is just reaching the stage where it is beginning to talk about concrete alternatives. It has passed through an analysis of where women fit in under a capitalist system. It has become convinced in many cases that capitalism must be destroyed and replaced in order to accomplish the liberation of women. Looking around them, American women cite many examples of societies which hold the potential for women's liberation in their immediate grasp.

One such nation is Israel, which, although capitalist in broad outlines, contains certain elements of socialism and sexual equality which women find important in forging other alternatives. Men and women apparently share work—from farming to fighting—equally in Israel and alternative forms of child rearing have therefore been set up. The famous Kibbutz, which raises children communally, offers concrete proof that there are other ways to raise children than the conjugal family structure uniformly applied here.

Cuba, the closest nation to a purely socialist structure in the world, has reportedly had trouble with the women's liberation issue recently and is in the process of working it out. According to sketchy reports received from visitors to the island, the Cuban women, once they had helped fight the guerilla war to liberate the island, were sent back to the kitchen. They revolted and the relationship of women to men in what seems to many American radicals a close to ideal society is still being worked out.

But perhaps the most famous country used as a euphoric example time and time again is Sweden—the socialist welfare state supreme which, in addition, has not fought in a war with another country for over 100 years.

Sweden's economy is a strange mix between private business and socialist enterprise. The one overwhelming institution within it is welfare. Sweden is far from purely socialist—without its private business sector it could not survive. But everyone, from the biggest businessman to the poorest laborer is guaranteed medical care, food and clothing in time of need.

David Jenkins, an American scholar, has written a book entitled "Sweden and the Price of Progress" in which he devotes an entire chapter to the position of Swedish women within their society. The advantages of the Swedish woman seem small when compared to the long range goals of the women's liberation movement. However, their position in their society is eye opening when contrasted to the situation of the American woman.

Separate pay scales for men and women were abolished in Sweden as of 1960. The process was completed in 1966 although the problem is far from solved, with women's salaries now averaging 77 per cent of men's. Women's employment levels have risen drastically as well in the past fifteen years.

There is very little prostitution in Sweden because pre marital sex is an accepted practice. It is not unusual, for example, for the parents of an unmarried girl to set up a guest room for her and her boyfriend on a holiday weekend. Sweden has, in addition, an institution known as the National Association for Sex Information (RFSU) which freely distributes contraceptive devices and sexual advice to married and unmarried Swedes alike. Any Swede over the age of 15 can take advantage of this service. Strip tease shows and their variations are almost unknown in the country.

And the final statistic offered by Jenkins regards unmarried mothers. Children born out of wedlock and their mothers are not shunned and ostracized in Swedish society but are instead taken care of by the state. Approximately one sixth of all children are born out of wedlock. The abortion law, while considerably more liberal than its American counterpart, is still extremely limiting. But should a mother bear a child while unmarried, she has shelter, food, clothing and medical expenses fully provided for by the state.

Sweden seems to be on its way toward achieving the kind of sexual, social and economic equality American women dream of. Until, however, the basis of its citizen's happiness rests not on welfare but on a sound and equitable economic socialism, Sweden is a long way from the ultimate ends of the women's liberation movement.

Women and Capitalism—Where to from here

The Bank of Japan has predicted that the American government has already planned to deal with the inflation produced by the war in Vietnam through a rising unemployment rate. At present, unemployment in this country is nosing four per cent. The Bank predicted that our government and corporate power structures would allow it to rise as high as seven per cent to counteract the rampant inflation.

In Europe, any country with an unemployment rate higher than five per cent braces itself for revolution.

We are in the midst of a rash of strikes which grow in momentum and impact every day. Our economy and this country are clearly in trouble.

It is in this troubled context that women's liberation finds itself. Fighting for equality in a system which cannot even support its traditional privileged laborers—white men—the movement will have to do some hard and careful evaluating fast of where it stands and what it is fighting for.

Reflective of this problematic situation was a question asked by a man at a recent meeting of a campus organization called to deal with male chauvinism and women's liberation within the organization.

"If women achieve equalization of wages," the man asked, "what is going to insure the fact that the system will remain unchanged except for the fact that some working class families will derive the benefits of two wage earners while others will be left with none?"

His question, on the surface, seems hard to answer. A short range goal of women's liberation is the equalization of both wages and job opportunities for women within the present system. But to leave our movement at that is to sell not only ourselves, but the entire black and white working classes far short. Cutting the pie into progressively smaller pieces to accomplish our economic liberation will leave all of us hungrier in the end.

What is needed is a radical revamping of the entire system and it is to this question that we must all address ourselves now.

