



# **The daily cardinal. Vol. LXXIX, No. 38**

## **November 6, 1968**

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# TOO CLOSE TO CALL

## DECISION MAY REST IN HOUSE

By LOIS BARKIN  
Cardinal Staff Writer

With over 72 per cent of the votes counted, Republican candidate Richard Nixon held a slight edge over Vice President Hubert Humphrey, but it was too close to call either the victor.

In the remaining key states, Nixon maintained a slim lead over Humphrey in Illinois, California and Ohio. Humphrey held an even more substantial lead in Missouri and Texas.

If California goes to Humphrey, Nixon will have a difficulty gathering the 270 electoral votes necessary for election.

Humphrey did extremely well in the industrial northeast states. The vice-president carried all of the urban states with the exception of Delaware, including New York's 43 electoral votes and Pennsylvania's 29 votes.

Nixon showed great strength in the Mid-West and the West and appeared to be near capturing Illinois and Ohio. The former vice-president also captured the rural and western states of the nation. However, in a very close race Nixon lost Michigan's 21 electoral votes to Humphrey.

Former Alabama Governor George Wallace won the states of Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia, but did not do well in the border states, losing them to Nixon who picked up South Carolina and North Carolina.

It was evident from the returns that Hubert Humphrey had made a remarkable comeback, fighting against his own party and the polls which had him far behind Richard Nixon in the early days of the campaign.

If neither Humphrey nor Nixon wins the required majority of 270 electoral votes out of the total 530, the election will go to the House of Representatives.

Each state in the House would vote as a unit with control of the unit determined by the numbers of Democrats and Republicans making up the delegation.

The Senate would pick the Vice President, again each state having only one vote.

It is possible that if the House deadlocked on the choice of a President, and the Senate did elect a Vice President, the Vice President could be delegated as an "acting President" until a President could be chosen.

Vice President Humphrey's presidential campaign began in despair. The August Democratic convention saw the Democratic party's traditional coalition of labor unions, urban bosses and the South fall apart over the issue of Vietnam.

Humphrey, who had strong labor pre-convention support counted on the union's to offset Wallace's expected inroads on their members' votes.

Early analysis of returns indicate that union members did in fact (continued on page 2)

## Nelson, Knowles, Kastenmeier Win

By RENA STEINZOR  
and RON LEGRO

Three key Wisconsin incumbents overcame their competition last night and had their terms of office renewed.

In the 2nd district race Democratic Representative Robert Kastenmeier was declared the winner over Republican challenger Rick Murray. The latest available figures showed Kastenmeier easily sweeping to victory with 60,000 votes to Murray's 42,000.

In the Senate contest, Republican Jerris Leonard conceded defeat to Democrat Gaylord Nelson, who had an overwhelming lead of 517,816 to 277,866.

The congressional contests are especially important this year. If the presidential elections go to the House, each state would get a single vote in breaking the deadlock in the Electoral College. The congressmen of each state vote as a bloc and a majority of congressmen in a state determines whether the state goes Republican or Democrat.

If there is a tie vote, the state relinquishes its vote in the House. Such a tie has never been tested for its constitutionality, for its occurrence would mean that the voters of a state would not have any vote in the election.

The same holds true for the Senate, which would decide the Vice President. In such a case, each state votes as a unit. The vice president, elected by the Senate, would act as President as long as the House had not elected a President.

Governor Warren Knowles rounded out the winning list of key incumbents, defeating Democratic Attorney-General Bronson La Follette in a closer race. The latest available figures put Knowles in front of La Follette, 424,555 to 400,760.

Dane County voted democratic in all but three of the local and national election campaigns.

By Cardinal deadline, 90 of 112

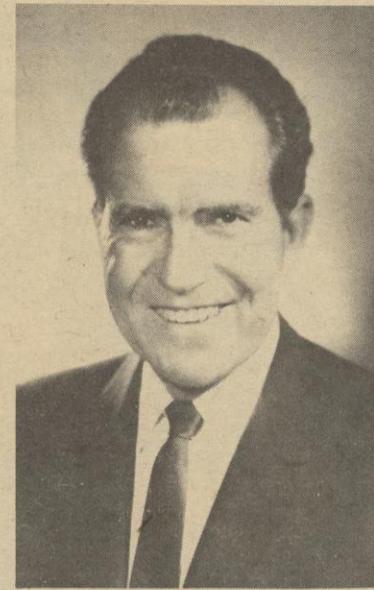
precincts had reported full returns. Hubert Humphrey was ahead of Richard Nixon in the national presidential race by a vote of 30,742 to 45,096. George Wallace, Independent Party candidate, had received some 2900 votes.

One of two Republican exceptions to the Democratic landslide in the county was the victory of incumbent Gov. Warren Knowles over Bronson La Follette.

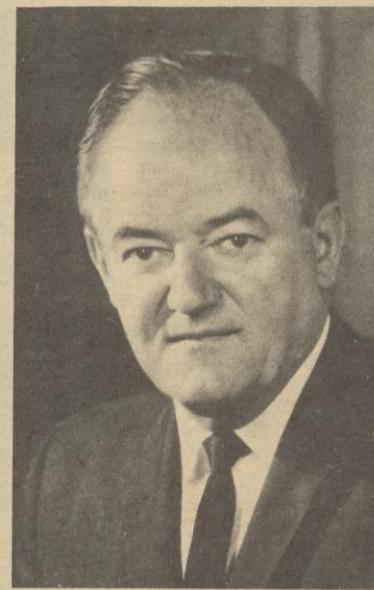
The county voted, as did the state, overwhelmingly for Democrat Gaylord Nelson over Republican Jerris Leonard in the U.S. Senate race.

The second Republican victor was incumbent District Attorney James Boll over Ed Fager. Fager had been identified as a student

(continued on page 2)



RICHARD NIXON



HUBERT HUMPHREY



GEORGE WALLACE

## The Daily Cardinal

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin 53706, Wednesday, Nov. 6, 1968  
VOL. LXXIX, No. 38

5 CENTS A COPY

## Students Overflow Theater; Vote Down Building Coup

By MIKE GONDEK  
Cardinal Staff Writer

A week of rumored political resistance reached an impasse Tuesday night as more than half of those present at a mass meeting organized to decide protest tactics walked out after the group voted overwhelmingly to reject the takeover of a University building.

One student, who refused to allow himself to be identified, expressed an oft-expressed opinion when he said "A lot of liberal kids came in here with no idea of what went on at the meeting Friday, voted against the occupation of the building, and then left without staying to propose alternatives or do any work at all."

The meeting was preceded by a march up State Street, around the Capitol Square, and back down State Street to the Union, in which 2000 demonstrators "de-electoral system" and protested their disgust with the return of Dow Chemical Company to campus. The group stopped at the Democratic and Republican headquarters during the march, and peacefully moved on.

John Fuerst of SDS spoke for the occupation, saying "The main reason for the occupation is that

the left must always present a cutting edge. We must show that we can act as well as talk. We are at a point when we can move from moral protest to concrete action. Through militant action we can bring up issues beyond Dow, such as ROTC, the Land Tenure Center, and Regent Pasch."

Many speakers, however, were concerned with the immediacy of the reaction by the administration to its effect on the radical movement.

One student typified this attitude when he said "There's no assurance that police repression will produce the same sympathetic reaction that occurred last year after Dow. The occupation may seriously hinder attempts at organizing workers around the state. I'm doubtful that the administration's reaction will leave other people's minds open to 'radicalization'."

Paul Soglin, graduate student in history and city alderman stated, "I feel a strong sense of urgency. Many of you are hesitant to risk expulsion because you're going to graduate in January or June. But I think you have to assume the responsibility for your actions before you enter a building. I think we have the momentum and the internal unity

now to take that building." Joel Brenner, a senior in history, said "The people in the central administration still think they can call in the cops. I don't think we'll reap the same reaction as we did last year. We can't even close down University Book Store and Brown's through the Co-op; we can't even bring down our rents. How can we change the role of this university in the society yet?"

Jeff Herf, member of the History Students Association, stated, "Last October 18 illusions were learned that this university is based on private property. I don't think confrontation now will increase that consciousness. The University has decided that the game with radicals is over; that you can't allow them to demonstrate, get bailed out by their parents, and continue in school. There is a real danger in romanticizing other people's revolutions, from France to Che to Columbia. The alternative to confrontation is massive organizing and educating."

After the plan to seize a building was voted down, the group broke up into smaller sections discussing ROTC, the Land Tenure Center, Geology, Prof. Robert Moore, Dow, and Regent Pasch's involvement in Realty Associates.

Soglin said after the meeting "The left has reached the point where it has achieved mass support and, in doing so, it has lost its politics. Either I've lost contact with the politics of this campus, or there's something wrong with those politics."

Several alternative proposals were discussed and rejected including one to occupy buildings once a week for the rest of the year, each time leaving when the police were called. Suggestions were also made that the left support the firemen's strike, and that it organize a rent strike among working class families in the East Williamson Street area.

The general reaction to the proceedings and the outcome of the meeting seemed to be expressed by the student who said, "With 1500 kids in here, they could have told the administration to get Dow off campus, or they would close this university down. This sucks, this really sucks."



Nearly 2000 persons marched down State St. Chemical Co. to campus.  
—Cardinal Photo by Sanford Wolgel

# Students Harassed by Republican Pollwatchers

By RENA STEINZOR  
Day Editor

Registered Republican pollwatchers carried on a massive challenge of voting qualifications in all wards in the city Tuesday which resulted in a slowdown of the voting process.

Primary targets in the challenging effort were people who appeared to be students. Jerome Shereshewsky, a former University student, was arrested in the morning for interfering with the election process as he attempted to inform students of the provisions involved in the challenging statutes. In Ward 8, this reporter, while standing and talking to voters outside the polling booth, was threatened with arrest by the Republican pollwatcher. Several students were reported to have left the polling place without voting after having been asked illegally to show identification.

A member of the Young Republicans for Nixon who was acting as a poll watcher in Ward 4 explained the reasoning behind the Republican challenge campaign. "This time Nixon is not going to have the election stolen from him as it was in 1960."

Paul Soglin, a student and alderman from Ward 8, said "The harassments that the students went through at the polls today is one more justification for why young people turn to the politics of the streets."

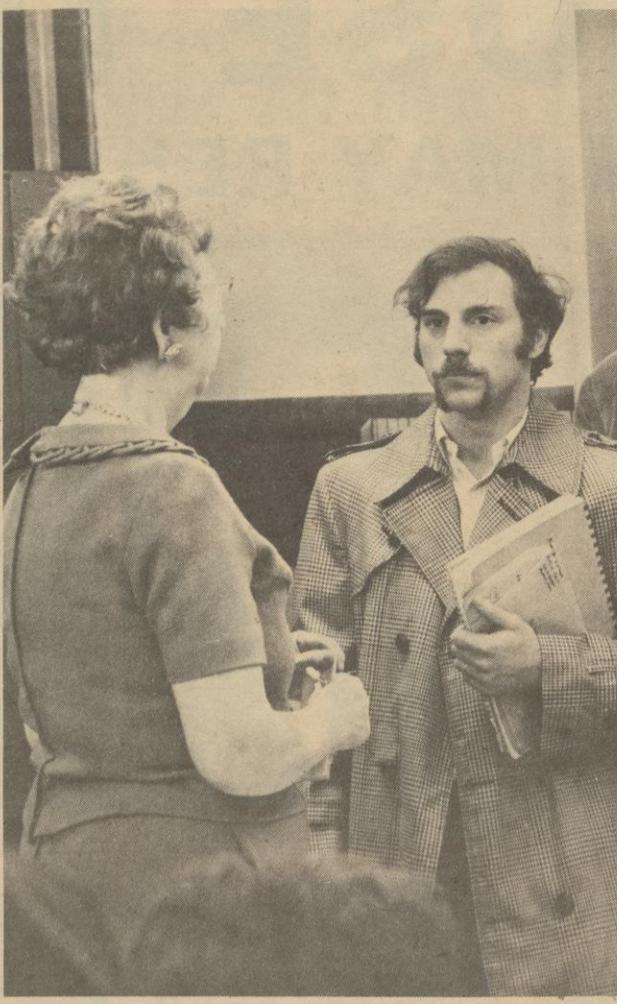
Mike Bleicher, Democratic County chairman and a Math professor here said, "We don't believe in challenging. This measure is harassment of the voters." He speculated further that the Republican effort would be "to the detriment" of Ed Nager, incumbent candidate for Assemblyman in the second district and Harold Fager, candidate for District Attorney. Both are Democrats.

Atty. Melvin Greenberg stated that the Republican challenges represented "wholesale harassment and intimidation" of the students. He reported that a group of concerned citizens have called the FBI into the matter to investigate the possibility of illegal violation of voters rights under the federal act passed in 1965.

The Republicans compiled a list of people they wished to challenge through correlating voter lists with the University student directory from last year. Under Wisconsin statutes the pollwatchers have the right to challenge any voter on the basis of age, residency in the state of Wisconsin and residency in the city of Madison.

Once the challenge has been announced, the voter is referred to a city official registered to carry out the administration of an oath and several questions dealing with the voter's qualifications. This official may ask for identification, the pollwatcher may not. Before they were stopped by the city clerk in the late morning several Republican pollwatchers asked students for identification which led to some students leaving in fear because they only had a fee card or an out of state driver's license.

Once the student challenged had answered the questions put to him by the city official, the challenger has the option of either withdrawing the challenge or insisting that it be carried through. If the challenge is not withdrawn, as it was not in most cases Tuesday, the students were asked



A student voter is questioned at the polls. The Republicans challenged voting qualifications in all local wards.

—Cardinal Photo by Jim Kuo

to vote on a paper ballot which will be counted like any other vote in the election. If a court suit is brought by any candidates or political party objecting to election results after the election is over, the votes challenged could come up in federal court for review.

As a result of the confusion and charges of intimidation stemming from the Republican challenge effort, several law students and concerned bystanders attempted to inform people on line of their rights and the details of the challenge procedure.

Alderman Whelan Burke, Ward 4 approached two students outside the Madison Public Library, a polling place for that ward, and asked them to remove a sign they had affixed to a Wisconsin statute book reading "Voter Information". When the two students questioned him, Burke brought them inside the building and phoned the city attorney's office. Edwin Conrad, city attorney, arrived at the library some thirty minutes later and told Burke and the students that they would be allowed to stand at a "reasonable distance" from the polls to disseminate information to potential voters.

Conrad later stated that he had attempted to notify all Republican pollwatchers of his decision so that they would not attempt to have the students arrested. Under the present law, pollwatchers may call the police and request that any person who is causing a disturbance be removed. It was under this provision that this reporter was threatened with expulsion from the polls or arrest.

Shereshewsky, the former student arrested in Ward 4, was likewise taken into custody at the direct complaint of the Republican pollwatcher and Alderman Burke, the city official on the scene. Shereshewsky said that he was trying to tell the students of their rights. He was released from jail when candidate Nager talked the police into dropping the charges against him, according to Shereshewsky.

Nager accused the Republicans of using the Wisconsin statute for "a purpose that was never intended." He added that apparently the Republicans were challenging anyone who even looked like a student.

A student remarked, upon leaving the Ward 4 polling place, "It isn't even worth it to vote."

Another student, who had been challenged in Ward 8 by Republican pollwatcher Kenneth Jost, stated, "And these are the people who wonder why kids like me are so alienated."

Jost is a former student and was elected to the County Board of Supervisors while attending the University Law School. He explained the reasons for the Republican campaign. "We feel that many of the students who are registered in these areas should be registered back home."

Many problems arose over write in ballots. Massive machine breakdowns were reported throughout the city as a result of the attempt by voters to register alternative candidates for offices from president on down. A young woman stated that she had been waiting for an hour and fifteen minutes for the officials to repair a machine in Ward 8 which had run out of paper.

No challenge trouble was reported in Ward 5, the third in addition to 4 and 7 city district heavily populated by students.

The city clerk stated that it would be impossible to determine how many votes were challenged until all the results were in.

## Impressions from GOP Hqrs. Presidency Too Close To Call

(continued from page 1)

vote strongly for Humphrey but not as strongly as they voted for President Johnson in 1964.

Both Humphrey and Nixon stayed away from the South, giving the region to George Wallace. Wallace, whose campaign emphasized states rights, law and order and civil rights was expected to carry the South and many of the border states.

However in the face of election returns, Governor Wallace did not do nearly as well as expected even in the South. Wallace lost Arkansas, North and South Carolina as well as Tennessee.

Humphrey also faced the problem of binding the wounds of urban democrats, many of whom strongly supported Sen. Eugene McCarthy.

Humphrey showed the measure of this concern by spending many hours in the big cities of New York, Detroit and Chicago. Returns showed that Humphrey did indeed do well in urban areas, carrying New York City by a large margin to give him the states 43 electoral votes and in Detroit, giving him Michigan's 21 votes.

He strongly appealed for the Negro vote and returns indicate that his appeal was justified. In New York city's black ghetto's, Humphrey received over 80 per cent of the vote.

Richard Nixon's campaign in contrast to Humphrey's began in triumph. Never having strong opposition within the Republican party, Nixon surveyed the disarray of the Democratic party, the disaffection of the American people with the Johnson administration, the war in Vietnam and started a strong campaign.

Nixon's campaign emphasized the ties of Vice-President Humphrey to the Johnson administration and called for a "change" in the federal government.

Appealing primarily to white middle class voters in the West and Middle West, Nixon concentrated on the "law and order" and inflation issues, emphasizing that the federal government was not doing an effective job on the war on crime and that the federal government was "wasting" the taxpayers money.

Nixon did well in the Midwestern states and in the rural farm areas. He carried such states as Iowa, Wisconsin, Nebraska handsomely but did not do at all well in the industrial Northeast, only possibly carrying Maryland and Delaware.

For the first time in presidential politics, the issue of the quality of the Vice-Presidential candidates was evident.

Sen. Edwin Muskie, observers agree, became an asset to the Democratic ticket while Maryland Governor Spiro Agnew became a source of worry to the Republicans.

Though the issue of Vietnam permeated the campaign neither candidate differed strongly over how the war should be ended.

Nixon, while calling for an end to the war said that Americans owed support to the Johnson administration while negotiations in Paris were going on.

In the last days of the campaign however, Nixon allowed his staff to leak reports that he believed the President's ending the bombing of North Vietnam was a "political move."

250.

Knowles and LaFollette ran neck and neck in that precinct, although Nelson gained an overwhelmingly for Humphrey, but saw 22 write-ins for Socialist candidates Halstead and Boulette. There were three Wallace votes cast out of a sum total of

Parks, a 21 year old former University student, received 118 Ward 8 write-ins to 78 votes for Haas and 55 for Leslie. Parks had suggested incorporating a permanent psychiatric staff in the police department to help "officers cope with aggressive feelings or negative criticism from the community."

By LORRY BERMAN  
Cardinal Staff Writer

Milwaukee, Nov. 6 (Wednesday)—Lost Americans spent election night glued to their TV sets, prepared to grin and bear the long ordeal of watching returns trickle in and percentages seesaw; but it was almost strictly grins here at Republican Party posh headquarters in the Pfister Hotel.

The one suite which saw disappointment was the 1910, Jerris Leonard's camp. Leonard conceded to encumbent Senator Gaylord Nelson before 11 p.m.

The other candidates and the party workers appeared all smiles from the time they checked in to the modern Pfister until well through the night.

One of the most amazing phenomenon was the confidence these people had in Nixon's ability to win this election, even when he trailed Humphrey in popular votes.

These loyal Republicans never lost faith in Dick Nixon. No one seemed to believe David Brinkley when he reported that with one per cent of the vote counted in Wisconsin, Nixon and Humphrey were even.

"It's disgusting," said one youth wearing a Nixon button. "I feel sick," said another.

Their exclamations turned to momentary horror when they heard that Nixon and Humphrey were even in the nation at 9:30 p.m.

However, none believed Humphrey would really win, especially here in Wisconsin.

"It's too close to call nationally now," said Bronco Terzic, a Madison student and Leonard worker, "but I'm sure Nixon will carry the state."

Atty. General candidate Robert Warren, who ran against Democrat Richard Cudahay, arrived at the Hotel before dinner, wearing an ear to ear grin and calling himself "fatalistic" about his election. Warren led Cudahay all night, as reporters ran through the hotel trying to find his room on the 11th floor.

Gov. Knowles watched television

in a huge suite on the 22nd floor, where he ran a splendid bar to which reporters attempted to gain access. The Governor's staff, overheard in the elevator, seemed more interested in finding liquor than watching the voting returns.

Most of the party workers spent the evening on the 7th floor at the "Nixon - Agnew Special" in the Grand Ball Room.

There young and old Republicans enjoyed 90 proof drinks and Lester Lanin - vintage music. No one danced, the crowd was more concerned with talking about the returns or watching them come in on the 10 television sets which dotted the room.

Other decorations included the usual life-size photos of Nixon and Agnew and a few psychedelic Nixon posters.

But the candidate who seemed to be foremost in the hearts and minds of the excited Republicans was Jerris Leonard and he was the one who had the largest youth following here in Milwaukee. He even had a contingent of teenagers called the Leonard girls who cheered his candidacy on.

Leonard's concession, at 10:45 p.m. with only 15 per cent of the vote in, came against the advice of his closest advisors and at the dismay of his young supporters.

In a fiery attack on Nelson campaign maneuvers, Leonard reminded the party to work against George Orwell's "1984" America and for the Republican ideal of free enterprise.

He concluded with a quote from Edmund Burke, "My country may be right in her dealings with foreign nations, but my country right or wrong."

With that, he walked through the cheering hundreds who had stood quietly throughout the seven minute speech. The Leonard girls let their emotions show as all their smiles dissolved into tears.

Other party members showed a minute of sorrow, but turned their attention to the other, more promising races. Leonard had fought a hard uphill battle which he was never expected to win.

By midnight rumors were cir-

culating that all the Wisconsin tabulations were incorrect, due to a computer error. Republicans here were still grinning, but the grand ballroom buzzed with speculation on what this could mean to all candidates.

At one o'clock the crowd of party workers had thinned out considerably. Most of those present still believed that Nixon would quench the election. Everyone here at the Pfister seemed too full of fatigue and liquor to contemplate what would happen if the election went to the House of Representatives.

### State Elections

(continued from page 1)

sympathizer throughout the campaign and criticized Boll sharply for his handling of the Peter Pan case.

The Republicans also won a victory in the county sheriff's race, electing Jack Leslie over Franz Haas. Both had originally been Democrats, until Leslie switched his allegiance.

Assemblyman Ed Nager, Democratic incumbent of the second district, won an easy victory over James Mack.

Kastenmeier, who was present at the City-County Building as the returns came in, called his district "sophisticated and independent minded."

In commenting on the Republican campaign to challenge the qualifications of student voters which caused a massive slowdown in city voting, Kastenmeier termed it "reprehensible." He added, "Students shouldn't be singled out for special attention and abuse in attempting to vote."

Kastenmeier said, "I think it did the Republican Party no good. It hurt them."

Madison Ward 8, Precinct 2, heavily populated by students, voted overwhelmingly for Humphrey, but saw 22 write-ins for Socialist candidates Halstead and Boulette. There were three Wallace votes cast out of a sum total of

250.

Knowles and LaFollette ran neck and neck in that precinct, although Nelson gained an overwhelmingly for Humphrey, but saw 22 write-ins for Leslie. Parks had suggested incorporating a permanent psychiatric staff in the police department to help "officers cope with aggressive feelings or negative criticism from the community."

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# THE DAILY CARDINAL

a page of opinion

## A Questionable Move

In a week that promises to lay bare every yet uncovered manifestation of a corrupt society in this community, painfully careful steps must be taken to ensure that this moment be used to its best advantage.

The return of the Dow Chemical Company to campus Thursday signifies for many the reopening of an issue that caused bloodshed on this campus one short year ago. Surely, it cannot be less of an emotional affair than a political one to those who were so intimately involved with the confrontation. And surely to ask that any movement of resistance on this campus at this time be devoid of some emotional base would be insensitive to the dilemma in which many find themselves.

But shrewdly calculating minds controlling already cocked triggers must be confronted by a resistance deep in political awareness among a broad base of the community.

The base in question exists on two levels: one within the University and one on the outside. It is obvious that there is no real coalition at this moment between the students and working class in Madison. SDS's support of the McCormick Fuel and Lumber teamsters strike was a beginning, but not enough. The sharp division of sentiment at the SDS-WDRU meeting last Friday indicates to us that the Left itself is very divided over tactics.

The consequences of a building takeover

reach beyond the brutality that may likely occur. If brutality is not at issue then it should be a primary guide to one's actions. A further split within the Left is a very likely consequence of another beating early in the year. If the Left is conducting an experiment, they should be aware of its backfire.

Many have said that a building takeover would be based on a historical moment—that moment created by the elections and Dow on campus. We believe that the real historical moment was missed. That night when the Madison City Council kicked the poor people of the east side in the face by rezoning their area for highrise apartment buildings—that night was the time to organize and build a broader base.

Everyone realizes the need to go outside the university if meaningful structures and patterns of life are to fall.

A confrontation inside a university building would seem to negate this.

### ON LETTERS

The Daily Cardinal welcomes letters to the editor on any subject. Letters should be triple spaced with typewriter margins set at 10-70, and signed. Please give class and year although name will be withheld by request. We reserve the right to edit letters for length, libel, and style. While long letters may be used for On the Soapbox column, shorter letters are more likely to be printed.

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## Play It By Ear

### Enter: The Regents

*Terrence P. Grace*

It's all over but the crying. Tuesday America pooled its ignorance and chose its next fearless leader. For the next two weeks the American public will be treated to a host of super special features such as in-depth reports on the First Lady's most anxious moments. Then there will be the inevitable close-up of the new President's children and the perennial question: "What did it feel like when you first realized your father had won?" And the same retarded response: "It was so wonderful I can't describe it." And on and on with the same dribble.

The political pundits will have a field day picking the Cabinet. All the analysts will feel themselves momentarily returned to their rightful place at Delphi speaking words of wisdom as did the oracle of old. They will tell us what everything means to the new President and what he will do about it such as if the Pope catches cold or if Ronald Reagan tries to sell the Golden Gate Bridge to private industry. Anyone making a sound while Eric Sevareid is dogmatizing will be castigated and blackballed the moment Walter says, "And that's the way it is . . ." But it's all over and everyone is glad it is—except the loser.

In Madison, at least, it won't be long before the election is overshadowed by the antics of the Board of Regents. Reports filtering down give the impression that their meeting Friday was better than a Barnum and Bailey center ring with moments that must have seemed like the Keystone Cops in a talkie.

I would have paid to hear Berney Ziegler tell the other Regents that the language in the Cardinal is "unfit to be used in civilized society." I can just see the chuckle going around the room among the Regents. There was probably a silence in the room as they tried to collect themselves. Then Charley Gelatt tried to be a little more rational and said that the four-letter words are used to shock which is opposed to the University ideal of encouraging rational thinking. I wonder how many regents were thinking to themselves, "If the University encourages rational thinking, Charley needs a lot of encouragement."

Jimmy Nellen's proposal to close the Rathskellar was only topped by the timely appearance of Gordy Roseleip. Gordy is not a regent, he is an elected senator, which is certainly an indictment of the electoral process. He charged President Harrington with neglect of duty and then suggested that he coddles communists and promotes a permis-

(continued on page 5)

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**JUNIOR YEAR ABROAD**  
Students interested in spending their junior year in France are urged to attend a general meeting tonight at 7:30 p.m. in 1418 Van Hise Hall. Participants in last year's program will answer questions and discuss various aspects of their year abroad.

**RIDING CLUB**  
Hoofers Riding Club will meet tonight at 7 p.m. in Hoofers Quarters at the Union. Come to hear plans for the training demonstration in Middleton next Wednesday night and for the trip to Arab and Percheron horse farms Saturday, Nov. 16.

## VAN HEUSEN "417" VANOPRESS SHIRTS

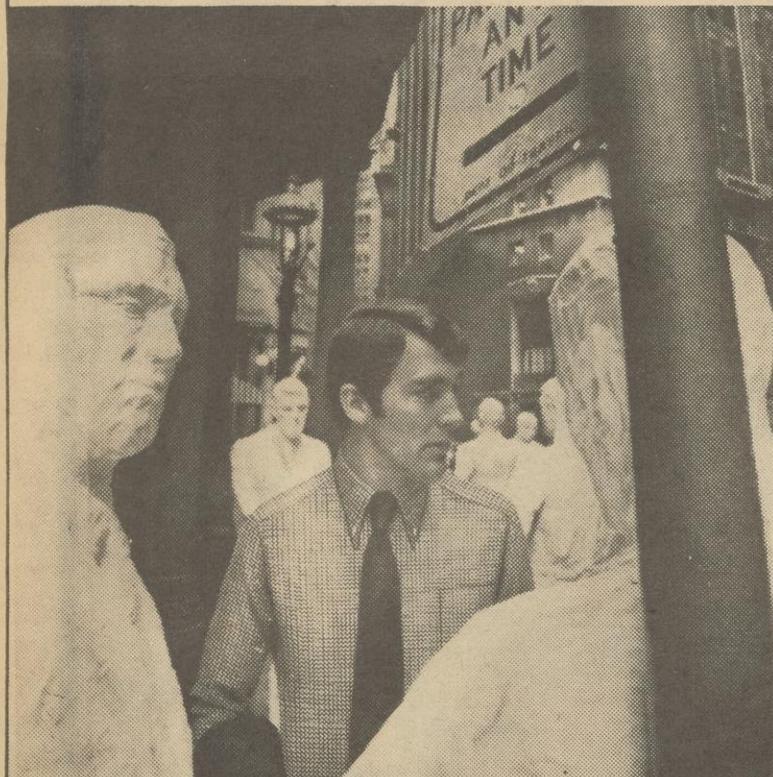


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# daily cardinal campus

wed., nov. 6

## Peace Corps Week Includes Forum, Recruiting

Peace Corps Week will be held this week on campus. Events during the week, coordinated by the Union Special Services Committee, include a forum tonight, "After Yesterday—What?" The panel discussion will be on the roles society offers educated young people and what can be done about society forcing itself on individuals. Peace Corps films will be shown Thursday from 8:30 to 11 a.m. in Tripp Commons with discussion following.

Peace Corps recruiters will be at a booth in the Play Circle Lobby from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. today through Saturday, and at a booth at the Langdon St. entrance to the Union from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. today. Peace Corps testing will be administered today at 10 a.m., Thursday and Friday at 10 a.m. and 3 p.m., and Saturday at 9, 10, and 11 a.m. in the Union Top Flight Room.

\* \* \*

### ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING

Professor Carroll Pursell, Department of History, University of California, Santa Barbara, California, will speak today at 4:15 p.m. in room 2535 Electrical Engineering Bldg. His topic will be "A Single Voice For Engineers: From ASCE to NAE." The program

is jointly sponsored by the Department of Electrical Engineering and the Department of History of Science.

\* \* \*

### FAST FOR BIAFRA

Three cooperatives have joined together to hold a symbolic fast in order to raise money for Biafran relief. Money that would ordinarily pay for a well-balanced meal will be contributed to the University Biafra Committee. Today rice and water will be served at the evening meal. Discussions will follow, along with movies and speakers at some houses. The houses are open to the public. One dollar contributions are asked. Zoe Bayliss, 915 W. Johnson, speaker and movie, 5:30 p.m.; Friends Society, 317 N. Brooks, 6 p.m.; and The Channing-Murray Foundation, 315 N. Lake, 6 p.m.

\* \* \*

### RACE RELATIONS CURRICULA

The Sub-Committee on New Curricula of the Committee on Studies and Instruction on Race Relations in the process of examining problems and current offerings in the area of Afro-American and Race Relations. We are focusing in particular on the need for new courses, modifications of existing courses in this area, and the de-

sirability of a variety of special offerings.

We are particularly eager to have comments and suggestions from interested students and student groups. To facilitate this exchange of ideas, a hearing will be held tonight at 7:30 p.m. in the Top Flight Room in the Union.

\* \* \*

**NORTH AFRICA LECTURE**  
Stuart H. Schaer, faculty associate with the American Universities Field Staff, will discuss "Political Trends in North Africa: The Role of Violence" tonight at (continued on page 5)

## The Daily Cardinal

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(continued from page 4)

8 p.m. in the Wisconsin Center Auditorium. Prof. Schaar is a member of the University History Dept. and has been on leave to study social change in North and East Africa for AUFS.

\* \* \*

JOURNALISM STUDENTS  
Don't complain about Journalism School courses until you do something about them. Journalism Students Association will meet tonight at 7:30 p.m. in the Union.

ELECTIONS COMMITTEE  
There will be a WSA Elections Committee meeting for all interested people tonight at 7:30 p.m. Check "Today in the Union."

\* \* \*

PETROVICH LECTURE

Tonight Professor Petrovich will give the lecture "Pioneers O Pioneers," a lecture on Americans in Russia in the 1800's in the reception room of the Union at 8:00 p.m. Refreshments will be served and all are cordially invited.

\* \* \*

POLITICAL SCIENCE CLUB

The Political Science Club will meet today at 7:30 p.m. in 157 Law School. George Currie, former State Supreme Court Chief Justice will speak.

thurs., nov. 7

WOMEN'S SWIMMING, DIVING

Women's swimming and diving club of WSA will hold its organizational meeting on Thursday at 7 p.m. at the Natatorium. Come prepared to swim.

\* \* \*

WISCONSIN'S INDIAN PROJECT

The Wisconsin Indian Project is looking for and still need more hosts for this weekend Nov. 8, 9, and 10 for a group of eight young American Indian students from Menominee County. The various activities will include attending classes, football game, Union, etc.

If you are interested, please come to an orientation meeting Thursday at 7 p.m. at the University YMCA or call Wes Martin, 262-0994 or Carolyn Cole, 257-2534. Will all the people who have already shown interest in the project please try to attend.

Wednesday, Nov. 6, 1968

THE DAILY CARDINAL—5

Schedules can be picked up for the weekend activities at the University YMCA at the UW lounge from Carolyn Cole.

\* \* \*

ANDERSEN, DICKENS LECTURE

Prof. Elias Bredsdorff, head of the Department of Scandinavian Studies at Cambridge University and widely known lecturer and author, will discuss "Hans Christian Andersen and Charles Dickens" at 8:30 p.m. Thursday in the Union.

\* \* \*

GERMANY YEAR ABROAD

Students who studied in Freiburg, Germany last year will dis-

cuss various aspects of the University Junior Year in Germany Program at a general meeting Thursday at 7:30 p.m. in 1418 Van Hise Hall. All interested in the program are urged to attend.

\* \* \*

BOLSHEVIK FILM

In honor of the fifty-first anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, the Young Socialist Alliance presents the film "Ten Days That Shook the World," Sergei Eisenstein's documentary on the victory of the November Revolution. The film will be shown at the Methodist University Center at Charter St. Thursday at 5, 7, and 9 p.m. Admission is one dollar.

## Enter: The Regents

(continued from page 3)

sive moral climate. No educated person could take Gordy Roseleip seriously, certainly not Harrington.

The most interesting thing about the meeting was what the regents left out. Rhetoric flourished and emotion ran high when four-letter obscenity was discussed. No mention was made of other obscene terms such as Dow Chemical and ROTC. "Napalm" is printed on occasion with no mention of obscenity and many would argue that "it is unfit to be used in civilized society." More than that, Murder Incorporated is coming to campus on Friday which is really obscene. Could it be that the Regents are a little confused on the meaning of obscenity?

Finally we waited in vain for some comment on Maury Pasch's strange position. He is a regent, as is well known; and last week this column reported that he is also a member of the board of directors of Realty Associates. Even more bothersome is the information received over the weekend that Mr. Pasch does not intend to clarify his dual interests. Since he doesn't seem interested in responding on the matter of his relationship to Realty Associates, perhaps the next time the regents get together for their comedy hour one of them will ask Mr. Pasch what, if any, are his interests in Towne Realty, Inc. and Dormitory Ventures, Inc., both of which have the same principal officers. Reliable information suggests that he has vested interests in these companies. Towne Realty owns Carroll Hall, is a holding company for Haase Towers at 116 E. Gilman and is presently putting up apartments at University and Walnut, to name a few of its campus ties. If our information about Mr. Pasch is wrong we would like to hear about it. Will the real Mr. Pasch please speak?

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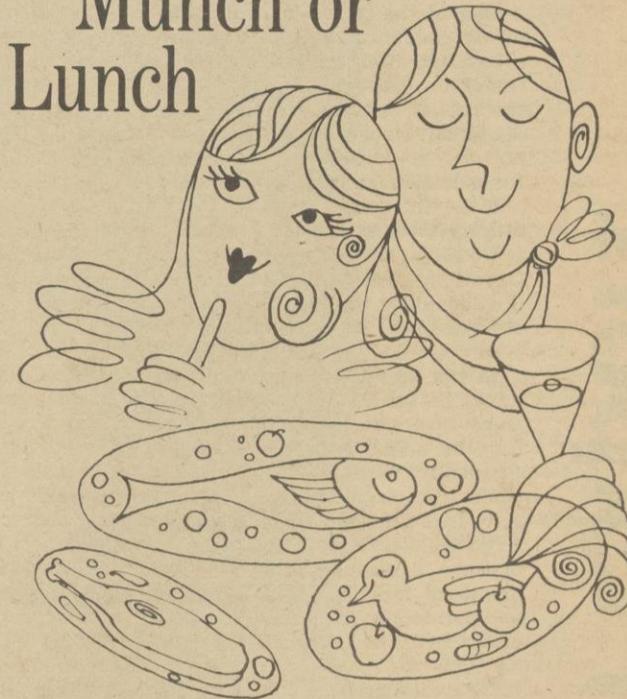


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# Harrington . . .

By JOEL F. BRENNER



Central to the mainstream of educational thought in Wisconsin has been the idea that colleges and universities, unlike their Continental counterparts, should be intimately tied to the larger society and should serve that society. This Wisconsin Idea, though it had occurred to other men in other places before the University of Wisconsin was founded in 1848, was put into practice here with unique vigor and was purposely and emphatically developed during the Progressive Era initiated by Governor, later Senator, Robert M. LaFollette, beginning around 1901. The service tradition, though its interpretation has undergone important evolutionary changes, has in some sense been with the University even before its official founding as an institution. The people who settled the Wisconsin Territory were pioneers, and if a university were to help them build a nation, it had to "make knowledge" as well as transmit it.

One of the questions raised here is how the University of Wisconsin of 1968, with its catalogue of functions, services, and clients, grew out of the Wisconsin Idea, and how that Idea has evolved. Put differently, we shall entertain the notion that the social context of the University has so drastically changed in the last century that Progressive notions are no longer of any value either as guidelines for action or as tools of analysis.

It is this one aspect of the University's service tradition, international involvement, which I want to examine. In addition, I will explore the role of the University administration, especially that of Fred Harvey Harrington, and then consider the institution's capabilities for establishing its own long range priorities.

## THE CONTEXT

In the mid-1950's it had become apparent that the University's social science departments, once in great repute, were in a general state of disarray. Various spokesmen for the social sciences, including past Madison campus Chancellor William H. Sewell, decided to make a concerted effort to attract outside money to their fields and to lobby for more financial consideration in the budget. In 1956, Fred Harvey Harrington, then a professor of diplomatic history, was appointed by President E. B. Fred as a special assistant for the social sciences, a post which led to his appointment in 1958 as vice-president for academic affairs under President Conrad Elvehjem. According to Harrington, he and others decided that the most effective strategy for rebuilding the social sciences at Wisconsin was not to proceed haphazardly, but to pick target areas for development. Thus, a "deliberate decision" was made to push for expansion in urban development on the one hand, and international involvement on the other.

Insofar as overseas programs were concerned, China (Harrington's specialty) was considered a prime choice, but Wisconsin was already too far behind other schools to enter the field seriously. This attitude is important. In part it reflects an early appraisal of a developing trend in a few universities. Other schools by this time had well-established China studies, and Wisconsin was not likely to break the market, or so Harrington felt.

In part, however, the decision not to go into China studies illuminates one of the reasons why the University did enter the international field in a big way. Early in his career, Harrington had taken the position that the scholar had to be uninvolved, had to operate outside the policy realm or else compromise a desirable detachment. If he had maintained this position the University might well have emphasized China studies, for if one is interested primarily in scholarship, as opposed to policy and influence, competition is not of much importance.

After entering the administration, a juncture he underscores, Harrington shifted his position, and as president has "tried to do the things that would be influential." Since numerous Indian scholars were on the campus scattered throughout various departments, India (apparently at the suggestion of Vice-President Robert L. Clodius) was chosen as a program focus. Harrington wanted to be able to draw on talent in several of the University's schools and colleges ("mobilize the forces of the whole University"), so instead of a new department's being created, a program of Indian Studies was declared. This meant a commitment to "being out on the ground" as well as to serious research.

Both Harrington and Clodius point to this chain of events as an example of autonomous priority judgment, and their

position has some substance. Different choices could have been made, and at different times. Different programs could have been set up and different projects launched. And in no instance is the University administration told what it must do by non-University people, so in that sense at least all judgments are made autonomously. Nevertheless, there are always pressures on policy, and no major decision is made in a vacuum. Let us therefore attempt to sketch the context of the situation.

There is a tradition of service at the University, but it is not a tradition of free-market service to anybody; it is service to the state. When the University began the formal teaching of agriculture in 1866 (the Morrill Act of 1862 helped to make this possible), it was in order to serve a very distinct client: the people of Wisconsin. It was not to enter the agriculture market, not to render a service to a client wealthy enough to pay for it, but to help the people become more productive farmers themselves (In today's surplus market there is some question about who really benefits from increased production). When the University began to perform national services, however, which began on a large scale after World War II, it responded to new pressures, served a new client, saw new internal problems created.

First of all, its service to people was indirect at best. It was now serving institutions, those which could afford to pay for what it had to offer, and consequently those which were powerful enough, over the long run, to help determine what would be offered. In the fiscal year 1967 the University has an operating budget of about \$180 million, of which the Federal Government paid approximately 26 per cent—not counting grants and contracts to individual students, professors, and programs. The Government pays an average of nearly 19 per cent of the support of all colleges and universities in the country, public and private (1) and Wisconsin ranks eleventh nationally in receipt of Federal aid to higher education. Alone these figures say only that the potential for the Federal Government to set educational priorities is enormous. Now let us briefly look at the priorities which have in fact been set.

Federal involvement in education is not new. It started in 1777, during the Revolutionary War, and it became significant during the Civil War with the passage of the Morrill, or Land Grant, Act in 1862. It is only since the end of the Second World War, however, that Federal impact in this field has been felt. There was not only the G. I. Bill, but also the beginning of the National Science Foundation fellowships in 1952, and most important, the passage of the National Defense Education Act in 1958. As its title suggests, this act was motivated by as well as directed to the relationship between education, the economy, and national defense. Although the Federal Government cannot by any stretch of the imagination be said to have a coordinated education policy, the breadth of the NDEA's ten titles were in part a response to the old criticism that "the Federal Government has never adopted an overall policy in regard to its educational activities, that legislation has been piecemeal and programs uncoordinated (2)."

There are, all told, 42 departments, agencies, and bureaus of the Government which are involved in education to some extent, though only the Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the National Science Foundation have education as their primary concern. Major Federal education programs, however, are conducted by nine agencies, departments and subdivisions. It should be noted that neither the O.E., nor N.S.F., nor any part of H.E.W. has any part whatever in international education. In this area all programs are run by the Department of State, the Agency for International Development, the Peace Corps, or the U. S. Information Agency.

All this being the case, how does one argue that it is even possible for the Federal Government to establish educational priorities? Clearly, if so many different people make educational policy, priorities could only exist if there were a great degree of consensus as to what education is about, what needs to be done in society, and how the Government can use education to do it. Some of this consensus is conscious, as we shall see; much of it is unconscious and derives from shared assumptions. But exist it does, and so do the priorities.

Ninety per cent of Federal research money at institutions of higher learning and 88 per cent of all fellowships go to ten universities, virtually all student support

going to graduates. Eighty-one per cent of direct support and 95 per cent of basic research funds go to the sciences, while two per cent of research money goes to social sciences and one per cent to "other," including the humanities (These figures are from FY-1962, after ones are probably available but as far as I can tell have not been published and are not readily accessible.) As the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations outlined in 1953, "Most Federal activities in support of education have been incidental to other national objectives, and usually those objectives are military or quasi-military. The extensive educational activities directly administered by the Federal Government consist principally of education for the national defense. Furthermore, majority of Federal funds expended for educational purposes are used for defense connected programs."

Such a context, so completely different from that of the turn of the century, raises several questions with which I will deal:

- 1) How does this situation affect academic freedom?
- 2) To what extent can the University assert its autonomy in the face of this?
- 3) Are the goals of the University congruent, or conciliable, with the goals of the Federal Government?

If one argues that the University's relationship to the Government is one of producer to buyer on a quid pro quo basis, and if education is dependent on government, government must also be dependent on education, at least on the universities. This is true. "What has not . . . clear," said Congresswoman Edith Green, chair of the education subcommittee of the House Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "is the dependency of the Federal Government on the educational system. Government relies upon the universities to do those things which cannot be done by Government personnel in Government facilities (4)." In fact, universities perform 12 per cent of the Federal Government's total research, much of which could not be done elsewhere. Why, then, can't the university exercise considerable discretion dealing with Federal Government and the foundations? There are three reasons.

The first is that universities are wide open. Administrators cannot tell a professor what work he can or cannot do. They can sometimes influence the general direction of a department or college through appointments or budget, and they can forbid classified research or insist that a professor does not contract for work he cannot do that is all.

Second, the system is designed to require a professor to do research, for publication requires it, and publication is the key to promotion, or even survival. What this means is that a man may be compelled to do work he does not want to do, for he must do something. Unlike foundations from the state government, Federal money is virtually always "restricted" for a specific purpose. Hence, the "free market" turns out to be quite coercive. As Gabriel Kolko remarked in *The Nation* on October 9, 1967,

"Academic freedom is based on self-motivation as well as freedom to publish, and requires a discriminating selectivity of problems of significance beyond those written into contract specifications. The classic research which comprises the most dangerous of Pentagon contracts by no means exhausts the threat to the university, for quite as critical is the matter of initiatives, possible external controls and, to an increasing extent, purposes."

Kolko is talking about Pentagon contracts here, but the point clearly holds in the general case. The Federal foundation control of the professional market has other effects, too, such as the minimization of pressures to teach and the phenomenon of faculty in absentia. "It is almost inevitable," says Warren Weaver in U.S. Philanthropic Foundations, "that primary concern, even loyalty, tends to attach itself to the source of main financial support; and, when the main support comes from outside, the centrifugal influences tend to overbalance the centripetal ones."

The individual professor's problem is frequently mirrored on an institutional level, for universities compete with one another for reputation in the same way that professors do. Moreover, in dealing with many contracting agencies, particularly A.I.D., the University has little or nothing to do with working out the details of the agreement. "Universities have rarely been consulted in advance," says Harrington. "Policies are made and then universities are called in," and even then only a few consultants are involved. "We ought to be involved beforehand in planning," Harrington continues. "We ought to be involved before policies develop."

By no means can it be said that the better universities will take any contract they can get their hands on, however. Wisconsin, for example, has declined to do land tenure research in South Vietnam, and the College of Letters and Science has refused an offer to institute training programs for policemen. In addition, Clodius estimates that A.I.D. contract feelers are rejected in the ratio of ten to one.

At the same time, competitive pressures make research a problem. "If a foundation comes to a university with an idea it is prepared to finance," says Weaver, "it is difficult sometimes for the university not to be interested, even though from its internal point of view it ought not to be." The maker of policy, in other words, is the framer of alternatives as well as the maker of choices.

There is a third reason why the University does not assert itself in its dealings with the Federal Government: it does not want to. One of the most striking features of the new industrial state is the degree to which a consensus penetrates the various elite groups, virtually eliminating the traditional distinctions of public vs. private interests. Whether one is an executive of a philanthropic foundation, H.E.W., a major corporation, the Brookings Institute, the Rand Corporation, or the University of Wisconsin, one travels in intersecting (if not congruent) circles; one reads the same books, votes for the same candidates, and shares the same behavioralistic operational assumptions of enlightened manipulation. If it is believed that there are solutions to problems where everyone gains and no one loses, then collaboration is necessary to play the game, and this becomes a social imperative. The object of the game is not to coerce citizens to follow directions, but to get them to act in what they think is their interests. Saint-Simon and Condorcet would recognize such a society very well. Perhaps nowhere is this mode of operation more explicitly stated than in "Channeling," part of the Selective Service System's "Orientation Kit":

"the complexities of future wars . . . diminish further the distinction between what constitutes military service and what constitutes civilian service."

## Bucky Badger for Export



# ... World Savior

in uniform and a comparable contribution to the national interest out of uniform. Wars have always been conducted in various ways, but appreciation of this fact and its relationship to preparation for war has never been so sharp in the public mind as it is now becoming. The meaning of the word "service" with its former restricted application to the armed forces, is certain to become widened much more in the future. This brings with it the ever increasing problem of how to control effectively the service of individuals who are not in the armed forces."

When Harrington claims that "The University has as its main function the changing of the world," (5) or when he talks about the obligation to develop specialists; when John W. Gardner, as president of the Carnegie Corporation, encourages broad collaboration between public and private interest groups, they are both operating from the same imperative imposed by social consensus. When the University whose institutional alliances as well as its words should encourage independent critical thought, accepts the imperative of this or any consensus, it has sold out. (It is interesting to see how the roots of this consensus find their way to John Dewey, note especially Experience and Education.)

None of this, of course, is in contradiction with democratic education. In fact, democratic education—training and socialization for everybody and not just a few—is essential to complex, liberal organization. When Harrington says that "It is our business to grow," and that "We believe in mass education; it is the very nature of our higher education," he means it. What he means by education, however, can only be understood when we grasp the importance of the universities as suppliers of essential human and practical commodities to a Federal-corporate complex that identifies society with itself.

This, perhaps, is the crucial point to emphasize in the evolution of the Wisconsin Idea. While there have been changes in the interpretation of the early rhetoric, the rhetoric itself has not changed; even the principles have not changed. President Charles R. Van Hise (1903-18) was not a radical and he was not a populist. He was an enlightened corporate liberal. What has changed is the relationship of the parties involved: individual to University, University to government, government to individual. And in no wise are the old assumptions, principles, analysis, and loyalties capable of helping the individual perceive the reality of his situation, much less to change it.

## THE CONSORTIUM

The Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities, Inc. is an organization of four universities, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan State, and Wisconsin. It has four purposes.

1. Assist each of the four universities in improving its overseas operations by providing funds for research and staff, which would not otherwise be available;
2. Assist each of the four universities to improve its capabilities in the international field by building a closer relationship between overseas operations and on campus programs of research and instruction;
3. Assist in improving campus programs designed to train in the field of development and emerging nations; and
4. Promote interinstitutional programs in the international field.

The Consortium operates almost exclusively on Ford Foundation money: \$3.5 million over the five-year period from the fall of 1964 to the fall of 1969. (In addition to this grant the Consortium has three contracts, two with Ford and one with A.I.D.). The Consortium did not seek this grant, however; the grant created the Consortium. That is, Ford approached each of the four universities with the proposition for establishing the organization, and they all accepted. Vice-Chancellor of the Madison campus, Bryant E. Kearn, who is a member of the Consortium's board of directors, believes that Ford made the proposal for two reasons.

First, there was a desire to increase the pool of men with technical qualifications to work abroad. Most universities with overseas programs operate through their language departments, and the foundation wanted to broaden this scope to emphasize action programs. This orientation is a reflection of Ford's International Training and Research branch, which was instrumental in creating the Consortium.

The second reason for creating the Consortium, Kearn feels, was that Ford wanted these four universities in particular to have an impact on one another. Wisconsin was already active abroad, but resented "being pushed around." Illinois was relatively inactive, while Indiana was language-literature oriented in its overseas programs, and Michigan State, looking to boost its reputation, was too ready to accept projects it could not handle properly. Evidently the reason why Ford did not go through the Committee for Institutional Cooperation (the Big Ten and the University of Chicago) was to avoid dividing the money into little chunks and each going off on his own. Also Ford would have had less to say about the use of the money that way. Actually the foundation makes only one stipulation in the use of money going to fund individuals: the person must in some way be connected with technical assistance projects already operative. It is possible—and it is becoming a more common practice—to hook up individuals with projects from one of the other schools, and the projects need not be Consortium-funded.

Many of the functions performed by the Consortium could obviously be handled by individual universities. The corporation is actually nothing more than representatives from each institution sitting on top of a pile of money (Clodius is Consortium vice-president; Harrington is on the Institutional Council; Dean of International Studies Henry B. Hill is UW liaison officer and a member of the board; Kearn is also a member of the board). Nevertheless, this arrangement undoubtedly proves more efficient than the same four schools working together on an ad hoc basis, and it holds advantages for the professor who could not otherwise get money for preparatory study before going abroad, or for finishing his work upon returning. It also makes it possible for more graduate students to go abroad, and interfaculty research and exchange is made easier.

The long-term impact of the Consortium, however, will have little to do with even the major foreign undertakings that it funds. Rather, as more and more professors get involved in policy considerations, loyalties will continue to shift away from the University at an increasing pace, faculties will place more emphasis on external experience, and the emphasis of whole departments—and even disciplines—will shift.

Clodius explained very clearly how these influences operate. By background Clodius is a price analyst in marketing and economic development from the Department of Agricultural Economics. He did not become interested in international affairs until the 1950's (although he had served in the South Pacific and China with the U.S. Navy, 1942-46).

"As these saves catch a discipline," he says, "everyone gets caught up in it." The dean of the College of Agriculture at the time (early 1950's) was opposed to overseas development because he believed that it was the solution of developing problems. Some of the people in the social sciences, however, were more interested in seeking money for land tenure research. The World Land Tenure Conference of 1951, held in Madison, is commonly cited as the first major administrative and professorial interest in overseas projects. Inability to answer questions, but by foreign students is sometimes another.

Administrative influence on departments is almost always indirect. "You have to lobby," said Clodius. "You have to persuade the department." He cited the recent retirement of John R. Commons Professor of Economics Harold M. Groves as an example. Here the choice must be made as to his replacement; either another money and banking expert can be hired, or the department can attract someone in comparative studies (the new euphemism for underdeveloped countries), and the administration will undoubtedly push for the latter, lobbying through Hill, or Kearn, or Sewell, or sympathetic professors in the department.

Here it should be noted that certain similarities of background and outlook characterize the men in influential positions. Many have worked for the Federal Government, usually as consultants, sometimes in the State government, and almost always they have experience or connections that help to attract grants. Certainly one reason why Sewell was an attractive candidate for the chancellorship was his successful relationship with the N.S.F. Also not to be overlooked is the fact that Harrington appointed many of the people now in the administration. Clodius came in with him in 1962, and so did Hill. In fact, Hill's office was not even in existence before 1962. Influence, therefore, is generally not a question of pressure, but of open discussion from common perspectives so that there is little genuine specificity in the decision-making process. We look at men like Harrington, Clodius, and Sewell—all of them at one time prominent faculty members—and imagine the administration has been academicized. What is really happening, however, is that the faculty is becoming more administrative, in character as well as function.

## THE LAND TENURE CENTER

The Land Tenure Center, created with a research and training grant from A.I.D. in May, 1962, stands in at least mild contrast to the Consortium because it represents a greater interplay of intra- and extra-university decision-making. It did not simply come to the University; it had been lobbied for. More directly than the Consortium, because it operates in Latin America, the L.T.C. raises a different set of questions, because to operate in Latin America is to enter an overtly political and contentious ideological context.

When Dr. Horace N. Allen (the subject of Harrington's book "God, Mammon, and the Japanese") remarked in 1866 that "Christianity always goes with the missionary even if he is serving an institution where if not proscribed it is taught with more or less secrecy," he might well have been talking about foreign aid, A.I.D., and the universities. He raised the question of purpose, and to this in our present instance is to ask not only why the University of Wisconsin is in Latin America, but why the United States Government is there too. Now the reason the University works with A.I.D. in Latin America or anywhere else is because both parties perceive the relationship to be one of mutual satisfaction, or as Clodius puts it, one of "mutual exploitation." What this means is either that the foreign policy of the United States, in broad terms, and the goals of the University are essentially the same, as Gardner suggests, or at least that they are compatible. According to Gardner

"In the view of A.I.D., as has already been true with industry and other government agencies, the universities will prove to be uniquely valuable allies. They are the institutions that will produce the new knowledge in the natural and social sciences on which better programs of technical assistance will someday be built, and they will educate the men who will run these programs. In short, they are not just performers of momentarily useful chores. To borrow a famous phrase, they have the future in their bones."

Gardner even talks about education "giving long-term meaning to the President's peace offensive," but that was in 1964, so he can be pardoned for the slip. In spite of such unequivocal statements about the nature of University-Federal collaboration, however, both sides persist in suggesting that universities can operate apolitically. Thus, Clodius maintains that short-term contracts are a safeguard against long-range foreign policy goals, whatever they may be, and Gardner proceeds to maintain that if the university serves human institutions and not political ones (the difference?) it can "perform within the bounds of its own tradition and integrity." The same attitude is at the base of this statement from the "Land Tenure Center Annual Report, 1967":

"land tenure problems and changes are primarily the result of population growth, migration, colonization, alterations in cropping patterns and livestock enterprise combinations, and the types of agricultural technology used."

Thus the people in the L.T.C. have made a startling and useful discovery: the whole question of land tenure and dis-

tribution of wealth in Latin America has nothing to do with politics. If politics enters the scene, it can therefore automatically be defined as outside agitation—the cornerstone of American mythology.

Harrington is less sanguine. He understands that the University must work within the limits of American foreign policy, but he believes those limits can be pushed, and he believes that the institution can operate successfully even if it is at cross-purposes with A.I.D. "A.I.D.'s aims may be to get guns," he said. "Universities are thinking in terms of the long-range needs of the people." By background as well as profession (his early specialty was pressures of foreign policy), Harrington tends to see himself as a pressure on policy, not a result of pressure, which distinguishes him from Clark Kerr. He points to land tenure research as undercutting authoritarian regimes in Latin America (although he also suggested they might be counter-revolutionary as well) and said that we are involved in "a reform movement overseas; it is an effort with a little more bite than just building schools." He added, however, as if it were necessary, that this work "will not normally be revolutionary." The L.T.C. report quoted below expands on this. The rhetoric will be familiar.

of a tenure system can be established only by a violent disruption of the existing social structure, combined with totalitarian control by a small, unified new group in power. . . . In real life, unrest or revolution may result in occupation of land by the peasants, with government exercising only limited control over the course of events. In less revolutionary situations, pressures for reform compete with cross pressures from other politically effective groups, and policy decisions are constrained by a diversity of group interests and by the financial capacities of the country."

This is the kind of "objective" social science we are fostering. Assumed is that a revolutionary government need be more totalitarian than present regimes; that there is some kind of violence; that governments now in power can respond best to social needs by exercising strict control over the course of events; and finally, that the L.T.C. (A.I.D.?) is indeed revolutionary, only "less revolutionary," whatever that means, and that after all, this is a complicated policy decision that ought not be pushed too hard. Here is what the L.T.C. people think is a desirable situation.

In Chile, land reform has not been as rapid or as spontaneous as in Bolivia, but has become a major part of the overall development program of the Christian Democratic government. Its design is being shaped by the ordinary political processes."

Also in Chile, three American corporations control 90 per cent of the domestic copper industry, so the stake in reform instead of revolution is quite great. In essence, this is true in developing nations all over the world, for 45 U.S. firms claim 57 per cent of total American business investments abroad, and much of that money is in the third world. University involvement in Chile is a conscientious reformist as it is in Chile, a more or less very much a function of U.S. foreign policy which is clearly one of economic imperialism.

## POLICY ALTERNATIVES

If the analysis put forward here is in the main correct, the ability of the University of Wisconsin to establish its own long-range strategies is narrow. In addition to the factors already mentioned there is always the Board of Regents—no bunch of radicals they. Yet the regents have always been around, and while the contours of the University may be satisfying to them, they do not reflect their design. It would seem that the impact of the Board in recent years is on short range decisions, not on long-range policy. At any rate, the arguments to this point lead to one of three broad conclusions:

1) That the University should disengage and/or drastically deemphasize international "on the ground" projects in order to begin steering its own course. By extension, practical domestic projects should also be abandoned.

This is the famous neutrality argument. This line of thinking will not be explored in depth because there is not much depth to it. To suppose that a social institution this large, that spends this much money, that is this immediately plunged into the greater society could help but reflect that society in organization as well as intent is nonsense. There are some very real limitations we shall have to live with in dealing with the University, for it will always reflect the society, and those on the left who argue that it will continue to serve the same functions until society is changed are right. The only problem here is that it will surely serve similar functions even after society is changed—assuming that will happen—so even that argument begs the question of how an institution can assert itself in the face of society. Neutrality is out of the question.

2) If the limitations on changing the character of social institutions is sharp, perhaps we should argue that the scheme of things may be all right, but that the wrong choices have been made.

This is both the easiest conclusion to draw and the most dangerous. Apparently it is Harrington's. In the immediate future it would indeed be desirable for the Federal Government and the foundations to alter their priorities, to put more money into undergraduate schools, put less into scientific projects that "pay off," spread money over more institutions, give more discretion to the schools in the spending of Federal funds, and deemphasize technical orientation. Union type organizations organized around institutions or disciplines might help to achieve these goals. But even if this were to happen, it fails to address itself to the relationship between people and institutions and consequently does not depart from the assumption that people need to be manipulated if society is to work. To a degree, the policy makers, no matter who they are, will have to live with "solutions" of this type. But the fact remains that such answers have nothing to do with the problem.

3) Only one type of solution is in line with the history of the University, the analysis put forward, and the continuities of the present. We must cease to be an insti-

(continued on page 11)

# Econ Students Association Formed, Officers Elected

By JUNE OPPENHEIMER  
Cardinal Staff Writer

The Economics Students Association, in a meeting Monday, emerged with a formal structure, the culmination of two months planning.

Members of the executive committee were elected after various people put themselves up for nomination, giving short impromptu speeches about their candidacies.

The chairman, vice chairman, secretary and treasurer of the new Economics Students Association are Andy Zimbalist, Wayne Merry, Laurie Bier and Isaac Fox respectively. These officers were chosen by the 14 members present at this meeting.

The subcommittees of the general body of the ESA which had been decided upon at a meeting on October 21 are: the program com-

mittee, which will be concerned with economics course requirements, course content, times, structure, teaching, initiation of new courses, evaluation of obsolete courses and junior year abroad for economics students; the course committee which will evaluate economics courses and professors; and the grievances committee which will review complaints about professors with insufficient office hours, teachers who don't see students enough, and other problems that may arise in the economics department, involving the students.

The Economics Students Association, which hopes as its counterparts in the other departments to enlist student support and become a successful vehicle in student-faculty communication, will meet with the chairman of the economics department.

## YMCA to Conduct Ghetto Seminars

For the second consecutive year the University YMCA is conducting a series of Milwaukee Urban Living Seminars, to give students the chance to live in the core of ghettos and learn about life there.

According to Laura Joshel, chairman of the program, the purpose of this is to bring the group of 12 to 15 students who attend the seminars to an awareness that ghettos exist as they do and to give them a basis on which to realistically and effectively deal with the situation.

The seminars will be held over a period of three separate weekends throughout the semester and will be conducted in basically the same manner as last year's seminars.

Someone who is familiar with the Milwaukee ghetto area will serve as a guide and resource person by putting the group in contact with many others and directing them toward relevant experiences.

Four basic areas of interest will be covered during the seminars. These will include the effects education, service, economic situations, and people's thoughts have on slum conditions.

According to a report on last year's seminars, the afore mentioned items greatly affect the general attitudes of people who live in the ghetto and result in certain patterns of life.

However, it points out, these patterns are not set, but rather vary depending on each different situation.

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Mar. 1 - "The Wizard of Bagdad"  
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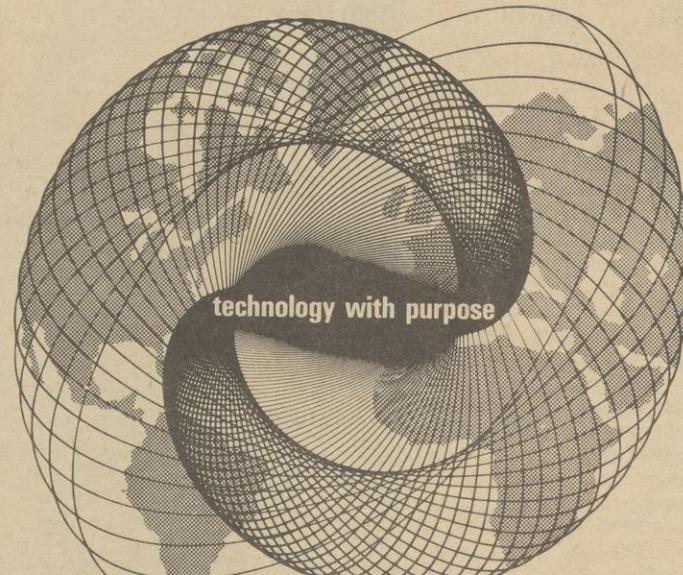
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Nick describes a hypothetical case history: "A memory systems man comes to me with memory circuit requirements. Before I can start designing the circuit, I go to see a physicist. He helps me select an appropriate technology for the monolithic circuit."

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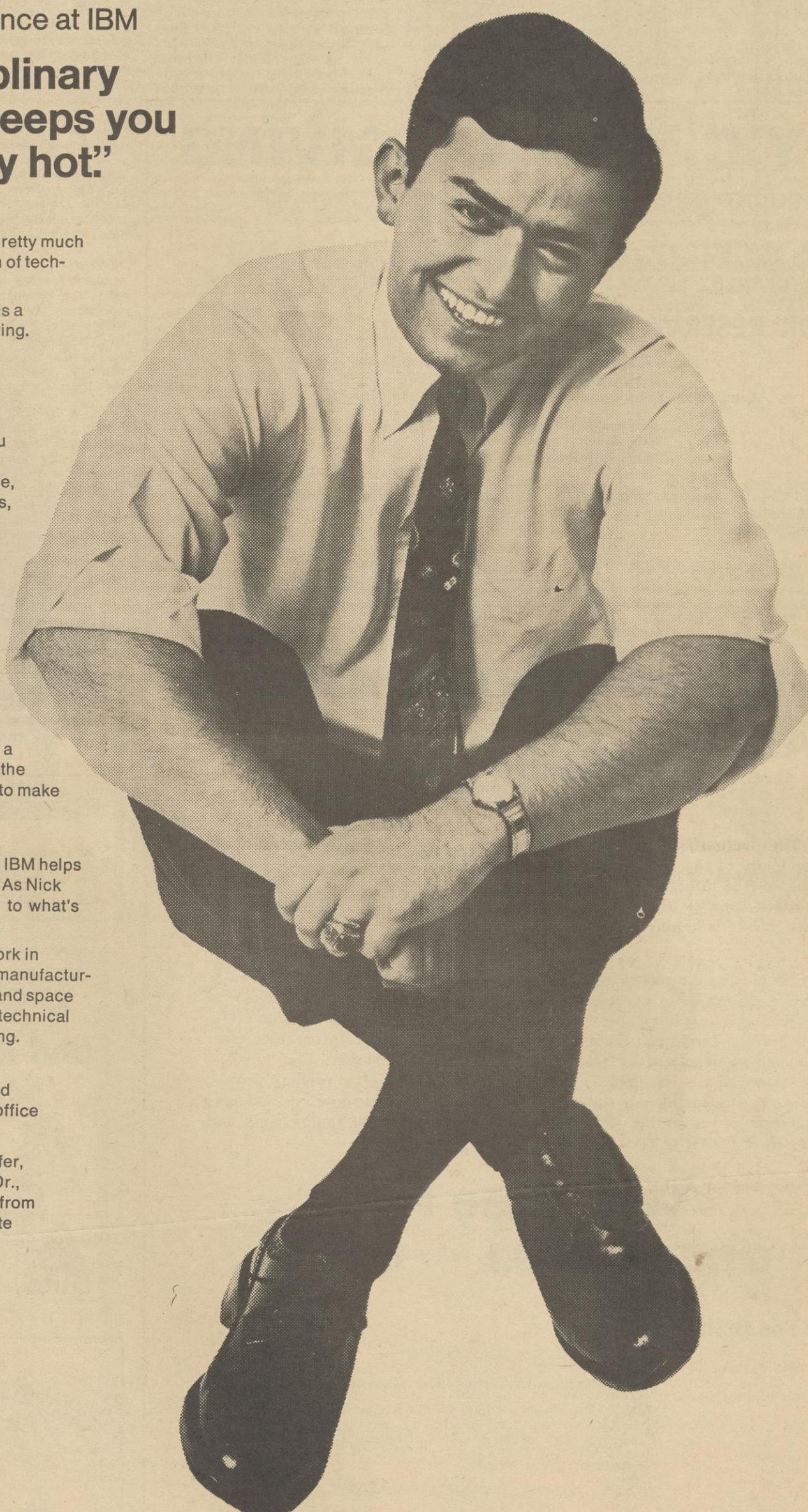
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# Student Groups Push Reform Within System

By RALPH SWOBODA  
Cardinal Staff Writer

For people with an orthodox view of the role of students in the University, "student power" may bring to mind broken windows and tear gas at the Commerce Building or night sticks and sit-ins at Columbia.

But student power in a much less sensational form has developed this year at the University. From a look at the growth of student associations for effecting reform within the academic departments, it can be surmised that a large number of student activists believe that they can most effectively achieve participation in making educational policy by working through the system.

In the departments of history, psychology, political science and sociology, to name a few, student groups have begun to push for reform.

The membership and strategies of these groups vary as does the degree of success which they have enjoyed in dealing with their departments. But a survey of their resolutions and rhetoric reveals a concern, common to most, for creating a community of scholars in which professors and students treat each other as equals and, as groups, have an equal voice in determining the policies which affect them.

In a mass meeting Wednesday, the Political Science Association

of Students (PSAS) adopted a statement of goals and policies to be presented to their department. Proposing that course content be determined by all members of a class instead of only by the professor, PSAS went on to suggest student participation in determining curricula and a voice for graduate students in determining financial aid for their fellows.

Although PSAS has not yet developed formal student-faculty committees for discussing its requests, members have met with political science chairman Bernard Cohen. Cohen described their talks as "agreeable conversations," but withheld judgment on the requests of PSAS since he has not

yet received formal proposals from the students.

The English Students Association (ESA) also met Wednesday and voted to accept a statement of principles which proclaimed that the study of literature must be made "relevant" to social problems. "Our University and our department cannot contribute to solving the urgent problems of our society unless a concerted effort to create questioning and creative minds is begun immediately."

Like PSAS, ESA is striving for reform of the grading system and student participation in developing syllabi for their courses. Moreover, the English students are requesting fewer lectures and more discussion classes and degree credit to be given for creative writing courses.

ence, SSU has yet to formulate policies and structures as developed as those of PSA or the History Students for Reform (HSR).

Members of SSU manned a booth set up in various parts of the engineering campus this week, ostensibly recruiting for the "American Military-Industrial Complex." By attempting to link companies like Dow and Boeing with less savory groups such as the Klu Klux Klan, SSU members hoped to alert students to the moral choices facing them in choosing their future careers.

This glance at four of the current student organizations devoted to educational reform can no more than hint at the extent of this new form of student power.

In the History Department two groups, HSR and the History Students Association, have gained access to joint student-faculty committees. The Teaching Assistants Association has exerted its influence for reform. Members of the Education Department have experimented with guerrilla theatre and radical education techniques. And the list of such groups is still longer.

Reactions to this movement have been as diverse as the movement is large. Some professors have greeted it with hostility and indignation. Some departments appear intransigent to student demands. Although a large number of students have become involved, most of these organizations lack the participation which they feel necessary.

But in many areas students are beginning to make their views felt and have succeeded in winning faculty support for their earnest desire to improve education by directing their efforts through the departments instead of against them.

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## AFTER YESTERDAY, WHERE?

### Prospectus

The election of 1968 will mark the end of a year of agonizing involvement for many of the student populace. Do the results of November 5 actually change the situation facing the student population? What are the alternatives open to the student in attempting to determine his own fate and the role he is to play in American society?

Considering the recent history of student activism, has it been representative of the majority of students? Not conceding the domain of activism to either the left or the right, what have been its causes and has it been effective? What forms can student involvement take in the future and must they be monopolized by those individuals or organizations that have so far captured the imagination or apprehension of the mass media? Indeed, does the student have a right to attempt to exert his opinion, or, as some maintain, is the station of studenthood a privilege rather than a right and therefore forfeit in civil rights?

**WED. 7:30 P.M.**  
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Jay Johnson—Asst. Professor Rural Sociology  
Robert Reynolds—Chair—McCarthy Wis. Campaign  
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## Daily Cardinal Sports

### Bucks Meet LA Lakers At Coliseum

Coach Larry Costello's hustling Milwaukee Bucks will play Wilt Chamberlain, Elgin Baylor, Jerry West and Co., otherwise known as the Los Angeles Lakers, tonight at the Dane County Coliseum.

The Bucks, one of two new entries in the National Basketball Association this year, are led by the veteran who refuses to age, Guy Rodgers, and a host of other surprisingly effective veterans. They also have several youngsters who just have experience preventing them from becoming good NBA players.

The Lakers are the surprise team of the season thus far. Many experts picked this team to lose no more than five games all season, but it now seems apparent that a team is not invincible with three superstars and a group of also-rans. In trading for Chamberlain in the off season, the Lakers lost three top notch players, and they might now be beginning to regret it.

The Lakers are now 5-4 while the Bucks are 2-6. The Bucks are an exciting team to watch, and against a star-studded team like the Lakers the near capacity crowd should witness a fine brand of basketball.

#### BASKETBALL TICKETS

Wisconsin students have until December 3 to purchase season general admission basketball athletic activity cards for the 1968-69 basketball season. Activity cards are priced at \$4 and can be purchased only at the Athletic Ticket Office in Camp Randall Stadium, Monday through Friday from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. Of the 7500 seats the athletic department has allocated to students, 4,886 have been sold at this time. Student seats not purchased by Dec. 3 will go on sale to the public.

## From Pen and Mike No. 2 Buckeyes Next for Badgers

By JIM WEINGART

Yesterday's eighth meeting of the Pen and Mike Club this fall was packed with excitement for any grid-iron enthusiast. Ohio State Sports Information Director, Wilbur Snapp, Mr. BS, himself calmly recapped the No. 2 Buckeyes previous records and accomplishments, though slightly tinged with an optimistic outlook.

The key people down in Columbus this year have been sophomore's. Coach Woody Hayes has been quick to praise this young group by proclaiming his team the

best since 1961. Nine first year men will start on offense and six sophomore's will round out the defense. Mixed in are an experienced group of seniors, several of which are competing for All-American honors.

Two offensive tackles, Rufus Mayes and Dave Foley, both graduating at the end of the year, have been consistently proclaimed by Hayes for their tremendous blocking, and enabling the offensive attack to outscore opponents 2-1.

At quarterback is nineteen year old Rex Kern. A native of Lancaster, Ohio, Kern has given State the initial impetus towards Rose Bowl fever. "Well poised, good speed and super accurate passing ability," remarked Snapp, "has earned this young signal caller national attention."

At halfback is a fine runner familiar to this writer as an opponent from high school days. A native of Cleveland Heights, Ohio, Larry Zelina, also a sophomore, now owns several rushing honors and was voted outstanding back by

his teammates due to game breaking runs against Northwestern and Illinois.

Another highly touted offensive stand out is Bruce Jankowski at right end. Up to date he has snatched 22 passes for 267 yards and three touchdowns. His speed makes him a menace to any defense with times for the one-hundred near 9.7.

The defense is highlighted by a great cornerback in John Tatum. From an unbelievable performance against Purdue, Tatum was nominated simultaneously the A.P. Lineman and Back of the Week. He possesses blinding speed and a keen ability to know where the football's going.

A few question marks in Saturday's tilt will be the availability of Kern who has suffered a knee injury. If need be, Ron Maciejowski will pilot the squad with an already impressive 50 per cent passing mark.

Snapp also emphasized that Saturday's game wasn't to be taken lightly, not even by the number

two team in the nation. Wisconsin has only lost their last two games by four points and are still in pursuit of that elusive first win.

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General Meeting and Trip Signups  
this THURSDAY at 7:30 P.M. in GREAT HALL  
PRAY FOR SNOW!