



## **The daily cardinal. [Vol. LXXIX, No. 164] [August 1969]**

Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, [s.d.]

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## Unorientation: The Mad Puppet Game



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The Daily Cardinal



## The Daily Cardinal

### A Page of Opinion

#### Both Sides Now

"Would you like to know a secret,  
Just between you and me,  
I don't know Where I'm going,  
I don't know what I'm going to be"

—Jefferson Airplane, "The Other Side of This Life"

As freshman, some students enter the university with the notion that the institution will develop their lives and fulfill their most intimate dreams. Puzzled as to what direction their future four years will take, freshman, at the beginning of their academic endeavor are taken on a superficial tour of the school, labeled by the university "orientation." Until recently this official orientation had gone unchallenged.

Now, in an attempt to combat ignorance displayed by new students and various student groups regarding the internal workings of the university, The Daily Cardinal has compiled this issue, called "Unorientation." The articles printed here are aimed at showing the other side of the University, a side that isn't detailed in the University's orientation. At first glance, however, this issue might seem a bit depressing because of its obvious lack of cultural material. Nevertheless culture, which is easier for the new student to find in Madison than the research we have presented, had to take a lower priority form in the formation of this issue.

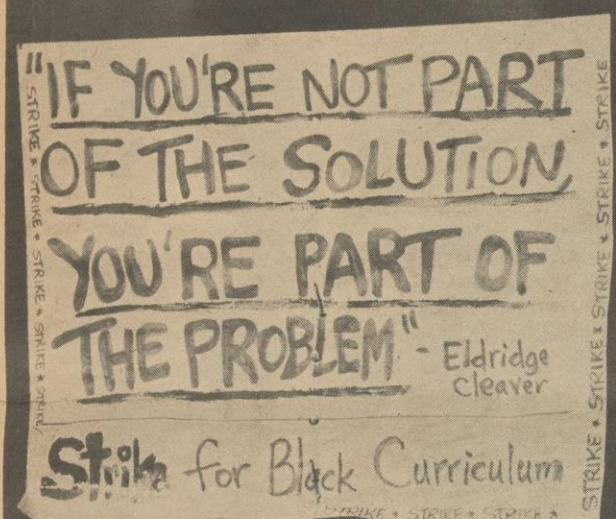
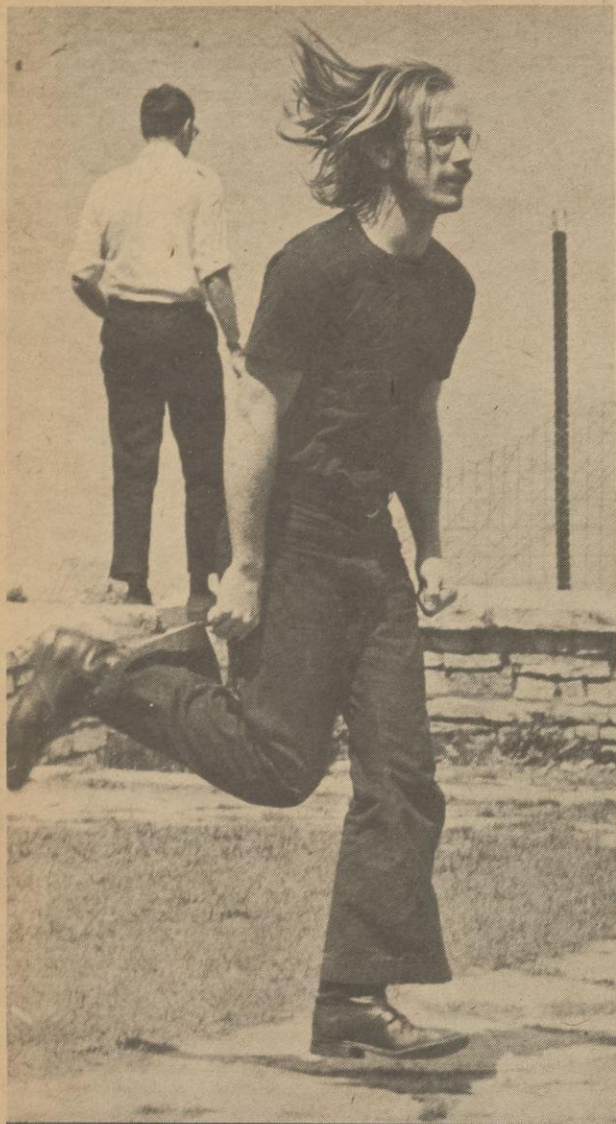
"Unorientation" was written in the hope that the truth concerning student power, the University and the state government, which is usually twisted in the bourgeois press, could be presented to newcomers to the University.

Some of the facts are: in early February black students called a campus wide strike after nine-months of fruitless negotiations with the University. They presented the University with 13 non-negotiable demands, one of which being the formation of a Black Studies Department with an all black faculty. Later that semester, after the University had ordered over 2000 National Guard troops and various police forces onto the campus to quell the "uprising," the University initiated a black studies steering committee which would in turn suggest faculty appointments to a Black Studies Department. Four of its seven members were white. Its chairman, M. Crawford Young, who was also white, was later revealed, by this newspaper, to have had former ties with the CIA.

In May, a block party held by students of the Mifflin-Bassett St. area was busted up by city police. Numerous other block parties before this incident had been ignored if not helped by police. The residents of the Mifflin-Bassett St. area are known to be the more radical-active students of the community. In the police riot that ensued almost one-hundred students including two city aldermen (also students) were arrested, not to mention thousands of dollars worth of property damage caused by the widespread and indiscriminate use of mace, tear gas, and police cars.

As a result of these actions and other related incidents during the last few years, the legislature and regents of the University took action to ensure a drop in out-of-state interest in the University. The out-of-staters, according to these administrators are the major cause of the trouble on this campus. While the regents lowered out-of-state enrollment to 15 per cent, the state legislature raised their tuition by over \$600 per year. The in-state tuition was only raised \$100 per year. The regents also passed various anti-student bills including one that would require every student to carry a student identification card. An obvious move to single out non-students in any anti-University activity, the ID cards will move the Madison campus one step closer to a police state.

It is in this cadre that this newspaper presents to you, a small cog in the great University, an in focus enlargement of University activities not described to you in the first week's orientation.





# A Letter to a Friend

Dear Jim,

Hello, long uncorresponded with, but never forgotten friend — it's been a while I see from looking over some of your epistles past to discover that we were last talking in the summer of 1966 when airmail postage was but 8¢. My heart experiences a bit of a thrill when my mind dwells on the thoughts reflected in your letters from the good old days. But good old days they were, Jim, when hearts and minds began to blossom in the scented sea of Life even there within the hallowed halls of Fayetteville Senior High. Yes, and the thrill is moving into the realm of nostalgia bordering fast on the shores of melancholly—hearts and minds are blossoming still, and I'm often awed with their depth which at times seems almost as vast as the reaches of the Life sea itself.

But you've changed, Jim. You've either grown more firm in old convictions, or like me, you've moved, through some sense of adventure or despair, onto a new path of different tenets. I'm using this letter as an excuse to get some things straight in my own mind as I look back on what I was before continuing into what I am becoming.

My three years here at Wisconsin have been gracious. You'll enjoy your stay in Madison if your plans still take you to graduate study in the Chemical Engineering Department here. But the change that I mention above began in the spring of my sophomore year and in a direction diametrically opposite to that in which I'm now headed. It amounted to becoming deeply entrenched in the establishment on a university level — elected student body treasurer, pledged one of the elite fraternities, that summer I bought an engagement ring. My intentions were to rip off the University in all the traditional ways. Then I planned to head for Duke's medical school a year ahead of time, bounding for everything in the world that was mediocre.

It didn't work out that way. I didn't have enough time, my drive wasn't strong enough and despite the University I learned a few things. I ended that semester with a deflating 2.80 grade point, and from there it dropped lower. The fraternity I deplored; the ring I still have, the girl no longer. My attempted early admission to med school met with failure due to my falling grades. My junior year I spent in the dormitories as a house fellow. Living there away from most of my old friends, I soon grew stagnant. Now I look at that growing stale as sort of a lying fallow. I fell into love with Bertolt Brecht and decided to major in German. The treasury seemed to be in a constant state of depletion and afforded me a little time to become involved with the then virgin student power movement, involved enough to begin to understand some of the dictatorial nature of our University.

The right-about-face had begun. I began slowly to recognize the gapping inadequacies of our University Community. The administrative bureaucrats amidst the student

power build up often pointed to what they called the freedom of our academic community of scholars. But Jim, we enjoy no freedom in this free community: I am free to play this educational game by the house rules or I am banished from playing at all. Can we speak of freedom when our community is structured from the top down or when our academic interest extends only as far as the third digit of our grade points or when the bounds of our social lives are dictated to us by those who will often not so much as listen to the needs of our social condition? The administrators speak of a democracy; but I must speak of an oligarchical dictatorship. We students constituting by far a majority of the community have least say in its various motions. And a bureaucratic dictatorship is indeed a dictatorship at its best; being amorphous, there are no fingers to be pointed directly. There aren't even many scholars here unless scholarship can be defined as the rote vomiting of arteriosclerotic fact. It almost seems that our community of scholars exists on the tenuous grounds of geographic proximity.

But this was just the beginning. Despite the University I met a professor who was a teacher — a real teacher interested and equipped to teach thinking. There are a few of that sort about, but a rare find they are indeed. And for the first time in fifteen years of my schooling I was taught to think.

With the help of my mentor, it was easier to synthesize further into the nature of our University. Our system of higher education fits smoothly into our uncritical American society. Our University Community, factory for a capitalist society, mass produces mentally static technicians equipped with oil can educations to keep the societal machinery running smoothly. The four year university education seems to be an extended examination designed to sterilize the artistic imagination which would add no profit to a profit-oriented society.

As I've grown more aware of education's nature and role in our society, I've noticed something else too, Jim. My own metamorphosis was not unique. True it is that many of the friends I made as a freshman have been successful where I have failed in achieving excellence in the more traditional university ways, but some of them have failed as I have by beginning to understand what our society is about. In their fraternal humanism they too are desirous of fundamental change where they recognize a need for it, and in that desire are often driven beyond anarchism by an overwhelming frustration with the intolerance of the mass capitalistic system. So we are labeled Hippies and radicals. It is said of us that we are violent in our attempt at change, that we step outside of the Democratic Process—when it is that very Democratic Process so besmudged with neo-imperialistic bureaucracy that we seek to salvage. I must regard demonstrations and like tactics as a form of extra-congressional opposition usually employed by those who are denied legiti-

mate paths toward change. In the past four years the number of radicals on campus has grown, and so have the dimensions of the demonstrations. Each year the new class of freshmen contains more politically conscious students than the last one. It's amazing! When I came here in '65 the first demonstration that I saw consisted of only a handful of people carrying End-The-War-In-Viet-Nam posters and marching in a little circle on one untrafficked sidewalk near the Union. Last spring during the Black Student Strike there were times when upwards of 10,000 were marching and singing and being together behind a cause around the Capitol Square. It's growing, Jim. In my own way I'm growing with it.

As this letter posited its own beginning, so too it must come to its own end. And here we are at its conclusion. Yet I find myself only half finished with my story. The socio-political awareness was itself only a beginning which has led to an ever-growing awareness of self and a profound love of the richness and vastness of Life beyond the limits of body and mind.

If you find yourself with a free moment, Jim, would you write me of the adventures of your own mind? I look forward to seeing you again. And until then I remain with you in friendship and in the hope for Peace.

Tim O'Neil

## A Survey of Opinion

### Question of the Hour

WHAT PROBLEMS DO YOU ANTICIPATE IN THE COMING YEAR?

Not finding a boyfriend.

Flunking a course.

Running out of money.

Achieving high grades.

Feeling lost and lonely.

Not getting into a sorority.

Getting mixed up with the commie element.

Becoming a number in the university computer.

Losing my sense of purpose.

What to do if there is another student strike.

Failing my parents?

Can a freshman make it with an older girl?

Being at the bottom of the heap after the fun of being a senior in high school.

Where to make out in the winter time.

Getting through the six weeks exam.

I want to join SDS but I'm worried about getting thrown out of school.

It's none of your goddamn business.

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# Ernst: One of 4 Billion Potential Computers

Ernst was a new freshman eager for the experience of a "great" university—eager to "become." Doctor lawyer, indian chief—it was all hazy what the complex would be until he arrived on campus. Within a week Ernst was 62478 to register, 5479 to eat, 312 to cash a check, 49381 to see a doctor. In the dorm he was 311, a closed door without a face. In the lecture hall 83, one of the hundreds of test scores sitting around him. His well-being fell between digits 0 and 4, his lunch between 1 and 3, his life between 1 and 65. One day, looking in the mirror, Ernst discovered a figure 1 had replaced his nose, a three his eyes, two nines his cheeks, and a zero his mouth. By final exams, all but Ernst's bowed legs had disappeared beneath a heap of numbers.

Balancing under this mathematical jumble gave Ernst a great deal of difficulty. He had to run from side to side to keep from toppling over and this he often bumped into things.

One day on Mifflin Street Ernst had some trouble. He bumped into the backside of a policeman. Sensing an attack, No. 52 whipped out his riot club. Ernst stuttered to identify himself, his mind racing frantically in search

of his name. But all that came out was a jibberish of numbers, . . . 18, 12:30, 2,30, 0, 0, 0, 0000000000. No. 52, frightened, thought the numbers were a coded signal for a general uprising, and radioed help. A terrible clash between students and police ensued, and Ernst was featured in all the newspapers as the "drugged student"—who had sparked the whole affair. His parents were horrified. He lost his checking account number. The dormitory said he was a communist influence. He lost his meal number. The university said the State couldn't support such action. He lost his fee card number. As the numbers dropped off one by one, Ernst began to feel lighter and lighter, until one day, looking in the mirror, he saw himself looking out again, free of numbers.

The sense of freedom throbbed through his veins and he rushed into the afternoon sunlight, smelling flowers and wiggling his feet in the grass. He felt his toes. They were beautiful. He felt his arms. They were beautiful. He felt his hair. It was too short to feel, so Ernst let it grow, confident that it too would be beautiful.

And then the days passed in wonderous sensitivity of

the world around him. Until one day, a campus police (officer number 12) stopped Ernst and asked if he knew there was a campus ordinance against men's hair being longer than 6 inches?

"Which ordinance?" inquired Ernst.

"Ordinance 538," quoted "Long hair is unsafe for the community and forbidden as a breeding place for lice, parasites, hippy radicals and unAmerican ideologies." No 12 confronted Ernst with University form no. 5-326 (on Student Peace and Stability) and started asking questions. "What year are you?"

"Stomped eggshells," replied Ernst.

"What's your birth date?"

"The fish of September in a soup tureen," replied Ernst.

"What's your student number?"

"A bushel of horse manure," replied Ernst.

Without warning, Number 12 gave a lurch and before he could duck, Ernst found himself handcuffed to Number 12's wrist and being dragged down the street. "You are obviously disturbed," Number 12 was saying. "It's potentially dangerous to have you in the streets. You don't seem able to relate to your society." And Ernst began to laugh hysterically.

## Von Baron's History: The Land of Cheese

And it came to pass that into the Land of Cheese came first in a brackish trickle and later in an odious stream hordes of unkempt agents of the devil from the great Sodom of the East. These foul miscreants begat terror and unrest for they sought to alter that Which was Good. That Which was Good had endured many decades and hence was all the better for it. That Which was Good and withstood the test of time and still yet endured and lo, this was the true test of its bounty.

The Great University had provided Squires and apprentices beyond mortal ken to feed the Catchpenny Engines of the nation and there had been no unrest for lo, these many years, until the unkempt agents of the devil desired to pollute the Pure Stream of Untrammelled Free Enterprise. The New King in Washington, and he was a good king, loved well by the Great Unwashed, said, "There is a blight upon the land which we must rid ourselves of. On the other hand, we must not be guilty of overreaction. Will these demons stop at nothing?"

The wise dukes and earls of the Land of Cheese decreed that all the pupils and toilers at the Great University would have identification tags to be presented

upon demand of the Sheriff and his men. The wise dukes and earls planned to eventually compile a complete dossier on each and every toiler and pupil at the Great University. Even as these good men administered the affairs of the Great University from afar, the nefarious agents of the devil brutally attacked the Sheriff's men. The Sheriff's men, totally unaware of any disturbance, were celebrating the Birth of Spring dressed only in their ceremonial riot helmets and carrying the traditional mahogany staffs and cans of Mace. The foul miscreants were armed with fearsome signs proclaiming Nasty Words. They brandished gleaming instruments of Music and brought vicious Dogs and Children.

The sheriff's men dealt the devils a resounding defeat, bashing in their perverted heads and taking many prisoners. With these prisoners, they shorn their foul-smelling locks, for such is the Right of the Victor.

Meanwhile, other Heinous Criminals lurked in dank, subterranean caverns plotting (ugh!) Be-ins, and (argh!) sex education, and (most loathsome of all) a traitor's end to the Holy Crusade in Vietnam.

The wise and powerful leaders of the Land of Cheese invoked His name to rid their fair land of Ugly Peo-

ple. Rustic and honest representatives of the people spoke in hushed whispers of the "Goddamn kikes and niggers." They discussed ways to better protect their noble guardians of the Law. Great men rose to speak in the chambers of the people for they spoke in the interests of all the people of the Land of Cheese. What could be of more interest to the Dairy Farmers, the Truck Drivers, and the Shoe Salesmen of Cheese than the administration of the Great University?

Certain faint-hearted "Nervous Nellies" and "Bleeding Heart Liberals" tried to stay the sword of Justice, but the True Will of the People won out and the Guardians of the Law were given their holy orders. All the Agents of the Devil were routed from their strongholds, all the Peace Creeps, the Psuedo-Innalekshuls, all the frizzy haired females and Black-skinned Radicals were gathered together in one place surrounded by barbed wire to protect the Decent people from their evil. These wicked souls were marked upon their skin each and every one, the mark of Satan. Lest they ever venture forth to pollute the clear quality of life in the Land of Cheese, it was deemed wisest to destroy them all. To this purpose they built huge gas chambers.

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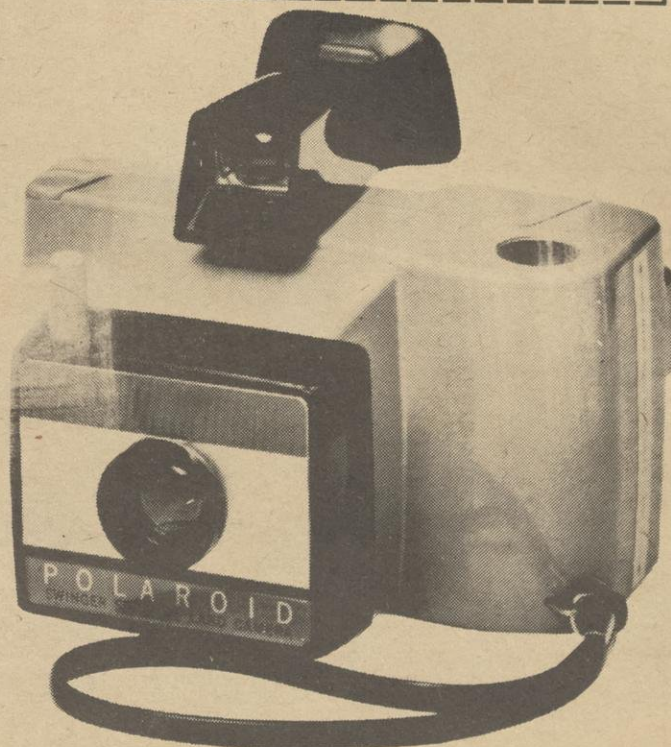
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## The Daily Cardinal

The 1969 New Student Edition, "Unorientation," is sent to all incoming freshmen by the University of Wisconsin and is printed by The New Daily Cardinal Corp. This Newspaper is the result of a combined effort of many factions of the University community. Via second class mail.

Dennis Reis . . . . . Editor-in-Chief  
Allen Swerdlowe . . . . . Managing Editor

The following people were instrumental in the formation of "Unorientation."

Rolf Panny	Jackie Cooke
David Siff	Pat McFarland
Al Pinkus	Bob Ebert
Neil Eisenberg	Jean Weisman
Tim O'Neil	Phil, Al and Mahlon
Molly Malcom	Mickey Pfleger
Rod Gordon	Jeff Kannel
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Pryor Dodge	Marsha Meyer
Jim Rowen	Amy Tankoos
Gene Wells	J. Van Hyning
Laurel Fisher	Gary Wulfsberg
Phil Altbach	Ellen Lewis
David Milofsky	Debbie Soglin

Cover: Photo collage depicting a governor, a regent, a legislator, and an administrator running the University. Clockwise from top: Warren Knowles, Walter Renk, Gordon Roseleip, and Fred Harvey Harrington. (Cover art, Swerdlowe; pictures, Pfleger)

### "A Free Student Newspaper"

FOUNDED APRIL 4, 1892

Official student newspaper of the University of Wisconsin, owned and controlled by the student body. Published Tuesday through Saturday mornings during the regular school session; Tues. & Fri. during summer session & Fri. - end of summer session by the New Daily corporation, 425 Henry Mall, Madison, Wisconsin 53706. Printed at the Journalism School typography laboratory. Second-class postage paid at Madison, Wis.

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# '68-'69: A Year of Problems



Last year saw the systematic increase of student repression on the University of Wisconsin campus. "Peter Pan," met with scoff and hypocritical shock, obliterated attempts at artistic expression. The public censure of the Daily Cardinal chalked up futile attempt by the Board of Regents to end editorial freedom in exposing the ills of University and country. The suppression of the Black Strike with an uncalled for show of authoritarianism pointed out the hopelessness of society's improvement. And the Mifflin Street clubbings, beatings, and gassings indicated the intense fear middle class America feels for the educated liberal reformist — commonly known as John Q. University Student.

There are no innocents on a college campus. There are only innocents outside of the college campus. And those innocents do not want—actually fear and suppress to the point of violence—communication of ideas for reform our stagnant society.

## Semester I

In light of the current hit production, "Hair," the infamous Stuart Gordon production of "Peter Pan" appears innocuous to say the least. But, nevertheless, "Peter Pan" is one of the issues that laid bare what students regarded as an overt attempt to limit freedom of expression in the fall semester of 1968.

### PETER PAN

The uproar started when a local Madison reporter telephoned District Atty. James Boll to inquire about the legality of six women dancing nude on stage. Boll, on the information of the reporter, announced on the day following the first performance, September 24, that the nude scenes were in violation of indecent exposure laws and were subject to fines of \$5,000 and or five years imprisonment.

Immediately before the Tuesday performance, a bewildered cast voted not to go on. Many of the performers were vehemently opposed to the cancellation saying it was knuckling under, the majority seemed to favor cancelling over changing to suit whims and ravings resulting from second-hand information.

The play, a modern interpretation of J.M. Barrie's "Peter Pan," was to have been an artistic expression and the nude scene one of complete innocence.

Producer Gordon described the play thus: "It's about two people and how they're forced to change by the society they live in. All their ideals are broken down by society in various ways until they're forced to play the games of robots."

In order to clarify the issue, however, a special showing of the play was to be given for campus and city officials.

Fear probably caused members to drop from the cast until 20 of the 30 starters remained when the test performance rolled around. The nude scene shrank to two nude women followed by one nude man painfully timed so that the two sexes would not appear on stage together.

What could have been an innocent campus play had by now hit the national press services. People were nudging one another all over campus and asking, "Hey, didn't I see you in 'Pan' last night, you son of a gun?" —or some other endearing name.

Gordon prepared a list of those he'd like to be present at the performance, so did Chancellor H. Edwin Young and Union Theatre Director William Dawson. Young's guests were seated in a locked Union Theater on Monday evening, September 30.

As the curtain rose Madison Police Chief Wilbur Emery asked that the play be closed. Confusion ensued. When the dust settled, City Atty. Edwin Conrad had walked out muttering that "the city of Madison isn't ready for this yet."

In historical University fashion, once the threat was out, lines were drawn. The troupe was given notice that the Union Play Circle facilities were no longer welcome to them, a decision of Dawson's, who, incidentally, had been the University's emissary to the official's performance.

In the State Legislature, Assem. Russell Olson (R-Basset) introduced a bill which encouraged the legislature "to use any means at its disposal to improve the moral atmosphere at any state university," even if it meant "a complete change of administration."

By this time, anyone who had actually seen the play was treated with some measure of deference.

The Folk Arts Society offered the troupe the use of B-10 Commerce if they wished to continue performing.

Gordon believed that artistic freedom was now at issue. "If we're going to be arrested, it's going to be for the right issue," he decided.

On October 1, the play was performed twice to capacity

crowds at B-10 despite Boll's warning he would press obscenity charges. "Community standards do not permit women appearing in the nude," Boll said.

Unfortunately for the district attorney, however, once the contraband performances were out, he had no one to charge.

On campus, everyone was jumping in the act. Wisconsin Student Association former Pres. David Goldfarb pledged support to Gordon.

The following day, the regents issued a slightly tardy statement under the guidance of Regent Walter Renk, Sun Prairie: "The Regents do not condone nudity in campus theatrical productions and will not allow campus facilities to be used for productions containing nudity."

The problem did remain, however, that the identity of those who had indecently exposed themselves was unknown. An investigation headed by Ralph Hanson's Department of University Protection and Security was turned over to the Sheriff's Police.

It wasn't until Oct. 4 that Boll got around to issuing a warrant for the arrest of Stuart Gordon. The complaint was signed by Roger Mott, a non-student living at 4513 Vernon Blvd., who had seen a B-10 performance. Boll didn't know the occupation of the complainant.

Finally, on October 11, 21-year-old coed, Carolyn Purdy, was charged with violating state obscenity statutes for her nude performance. An Oct. 17 hearing was scheduled.

Then there was quiet.

On Nov. 19, Mott withdrew his complaint. Hands tied, Boll withdrew charges against Gordon and Miss Purdy who was now Gordon's fiancée.

The whole issue just petered out.

Whether it was the year of obscenity, or witch burning, or hair splitting is tenable, because later in the year, The Daily Cardinal came under attack for alleged offensive four letter word language.



## CARDINAL OBSENIETY?

It was on Nov. 1 of last year that the first stages of the Regents' attack on the Daily Cardinal began, and, again, obscenity became the issue on campus.

Headed by Regent Bernard Zeigler, West Bend, the Board of Regents publicly censured the Cardinal "for the use of language that is considered by the standards of this country to be unacceptable for public use."

The language at point concerned an article written by Joe Hillson of the College Press Service about the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) National Convention that appeared in the Oct. 23 issue. It was a news analysis containing some comments and quotations from Tom Newman, a member of the Up Against the Wall, Motherfuckers, a lower east side New York chapter of the SDS.

An original motion introduced by Ziegler had called for "the appropriate disciplining of the editor-in-chief and managing editor." He said that the language in the Cardinal was "unfit to be used in civilized society" and spoke of closing the Cardinal down.

The absurdity of the situation was that the Daily Cardinal was then and is now an student organization and financially independent corporation completely out of the realm of Regent authority.

The final resolution passed by the regents demanded that "the Cardinal Board of Control bring to the Board of Regents appropriate sanctions that will prevent future violations of language standards." The Cardinal Board is made up of five elected students, the editor-in-chief, the business manager, and three faculty members who vote only on financial matters.

The reply came to Van Hise Hall unified and tongue in cheek with a Nov. 5 front page editorial entitled "Up Against the Wall, Re---ts." The editorial was signed by the Cardinal Board of Control and most of the staff. It denied the existence of obscene language and termed charges "institutionalized hypocrisy."

Gregory Graze, then editor-in-chief of the Cardinal, answered the charges thus: "As far as the question about obscenity goes, the general feeling among the members of the staff and myself is that the whole concept of a obscene language is absurd. There are obscene actions, however. For instance, much of American policy is obscene. I think much of American politics is obscene. I think many of the Regents' meetings are obscene."

The ball went back over to the Regents side, and Zeigler volleyed, "If the paper is being clearly retaliatory in what it's printing, then I believe the proper thing to do is to begin action to expel the managing editor and editor-

in-chief."

And back to the students: David Goldfarb called the Regents a "threat to the University...good Republicans hardpressed to find a politically effective issue."

David Schaefer, current WSA president, said that "the Regents should have nothing to say. If need be, the Cardinal should move out of its offices to preserve its integrity."

At their Dec. 6 monthly meeting, the Regents ordered the Cardinal Board to appear at their next meeting. The Board of Control flatly refused the invitation. In a letter to Regent Pres. Charles Gelatt, the Board declined to appear and suggested instead that the Regents attend one of the Cardinal Board's meetings. By tradition, the Board of Control stays out of editorial matters, and, in keeping with this policy, it wrote Gelatt that the editorial policy was strictly a matter of staff and the director of the paper.

It must have seemed that the foundation of Van Hise was sinking a lot more rapidly than building inspectors had said, because on Jan. 10, 100 faculty members vaulted into the controversy in support of the Cardinal. In a signed public statement they called "on Regents to repudiate their efforts at censorship." They said that "obscenity depends on the content, in intent of the work as a whole." It was the Regents' turn to counter. On Jan. 10 by a 4-3 vote, they ordered the Cardinal, which occupies the typographic lab of 425 Henry Mall, to begin paying rent for its office space. Moreover, they canceled University subscriptions to the Cardinal. They resolution was, however, only a half hearted attempt at economic suppression, because it allowed the Cardinal to use the typographic lab without payment as long as it complied with the language standards of the Daily Newspaper League and the Wisconsin Press Association. Neither has any written standards. Regent Walter Renk, Sun Prairie, voted against the bill because he said it "wasn't strong enough." Pres. Harrington said it would terminate the summer Cardinal since the University bought all summer papers and distributed them free on campus. Untrue.

## ROTC

Looking back, however, one will find that the first weighted issue on campus last year was that of ROTC, the Reserve Officers Training Program. The course consists of five hours of orientation in military sciences and programs on campus and in the country.

The first two weeks of classes saw ROTC boycotts, and library mall rallies by a group of freshmen, the Freshman ROTC Resistance, determined to see an end of required military orientation. At that time ROTC opponents sought only to remove the requirement, not ban the program from campus.

On September 19, the WSA Senate voted to support an end to required military training on campus and called for a referendum.

"Courses should be offered on more educational grounds. The purpose of education is to seek truth, to teach individuals to think for themselves and to create independent citizens of a democracy capable of deciding public questions for themselves. One of the purposes of the armed services is to teach rigid, unquestioning obedience to authority. This has no place in a university," a Senate release stated.

The October WSA referendum revealed that 72.6 per cent (772) of voting freshmen men were against the requirement and wished to see it abolished. Some 27.4 per cent (242) were in favor of the requirement and did not wish to it abolished. Approximately half of those eligible to vote did so—a much higher than normal turn out for student voters on campus.

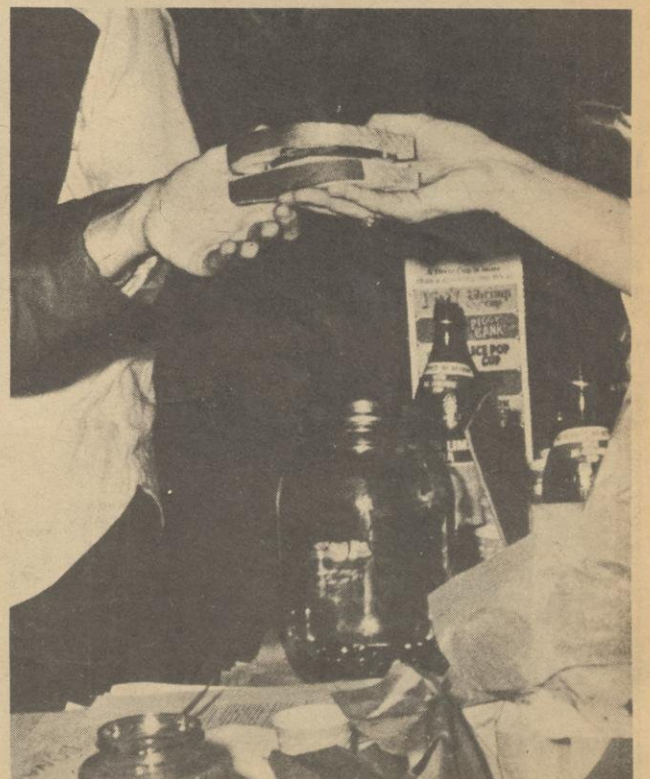
Once the student had feebly made his views known, the issue, like all controversial i.e. anti-status quo issues, was referred to an ivy-covered committee.

On Dec. 5, the All-University Policy Committee, after a massive study of the issue, proposed the elimination of the compulsory ROTC orientation at the University. This, however, was only a proposal. As with all committee decisions, it has yet to be voted on.

This fall the University Faculty Council must approve the bill, and then, you guessed it, it goes to Van Hise to be approved.

Just for a note, Wisconsin is one of three (Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North Carolina) of 19 universities, including the Big Ten, that still require ROTC orientation. Up until 1960, Wisconsin required each male stu-

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(continued from page 7)

dent to complete a full two year ROTC program to graduate. Military orientation was included in the mandate when the University received the land on which it was built under the Morrill Act of 1862. There is, however, no provision in the act which requires that the orientation be mandatory.

### GI MARCH

Student opposition to the military also manifested itself on Oct. 13, when some 3,000 anti-war demonstrators paraded up State Street under permit to the Army Air Force Recruiting Center. The purpose of the march was to hear ex-GI's speak on the war in Vietnam. A simultaneous march was held in San Francisco "to show the American public that the anti-war movement is the best friend of GI's in Vietnam."

### BLACK UNREST

Minority group politics probably constituted the biggest issue on campus last year. Although the most noise was heard in Madison in late winter, signs of violence were apparent earlier in Oshkosh, Wis. at Wisconsin State University-Oshkosh.

In late November, some 104 students were arrested for disorderly conduct and unlawful assembly at Oshkosh when Blacks seized and destroyed an office in Dempsey Hall, the administration building. They were protesting WSU-O Pres. Roger Guiles lack of action on demands that the school increase its Black enrollment, add Black history courses, and recognize a Black student Union. Shortly after the arrests, 94 were expelled.

This issue grew on the Madison campus as incensed students began to feel the bite of suppression.

On Nov. 26, the Black People's Alliance presented its first set of Black demands to the University: —that Black enrollment be increased by 500 new students; —that University officials use their influence to see that the expelled Oshkosh students were readmitted; —that Mrs. Ruth Doyle be removed as director of the Special Program of Tutorial and Financial Assistance; —that Black councilors and tutors, and English classes be made available for minority groups; —that minority group students sit in on admissions committees to aid in the direction of minority group students; —that an eight week summer program in basic skills and language be provided for minority students and that these students be paid a salary equivalent to a 25 hour work week while attending classes; —that the University provide funds for minority students to return to their home areas to recruit new students, and—that there be no repercussions to the black student community for their actions. Following the demands on Nov. 27, there were mild disturbances at the Memorial Library.

In mid-November, there were other racial disturbances on campus. Terrence S. Calneck, a Black non-student, was arrested in the Rathskellar in a confrontation with an older food service worker. Calneck and the worker Mrs. Rosie Richards had engaged in a yelling match when he accused her of giving him an undersized portion of ice cream. Mrs. Richards called him "a Black nigger," when he refused to pay for it.

Students immediately reacted to the incident with a boy-

cott of Union cafeterias, particularly the Rath. They refused to buy food contaminated "with the bitter spice of racism."

Soon after the boycott began, the Rath was closed down in order to avoid conflicts between those who did and those who did not wish to patronize its food service.

Soon food was being donated by students who sympathized with the cause, and "liberated food" was served free of charge to all who sought it. The boycott resulted in the loss of 50 per cent of Union patrons for several days. Hunger eventually won out, however, and patrons again sought Union food, bitter or not.

To many, the computerized impersonalness of the University presents a real problem of communication. A small group sought to regain personal contact and sense of comradeship last year.

For one mens' house in Witte Hall, the path to personal contact lead away from Van Hise and Slichter Hall, the resident hall office building, when they seceded from res halls and declared house autonomy. They were ignored, so another group sought a more overt attempt at interpersonal contacts.

An estimated 25 persons set up a dorm commune in the lounge of Elm Drive A Hall. Duded the Elm Drive Commune, members sought to break away "from treating a person like an object." The group occupied the lounge for several days inviting people to come and go as they wished and just to sit down and talk to one another.

In the University committees, communication was also a topic worthy of consideration. The Mermin Committee, precipitated by the Oct. 18, 1967 Dow demonstrations, released its report on student-police confrontation. It's advice? It suggested a grievance committee composed of faculty and students as a channel for discontent; a conference for exchange of ideas among students, faculty, administrators, and the Board of Regents; and a mode of communication of ideas for effective dissent.

For underclassmen, possibilities for academic exploration suddenly appeared with the extension of the pass/fail program. Formerly reserved for juniors and seniors with a 2.5 average, the faculty of the College of Letters and Science threw it open to all L and S students—freshmen included.

To say this revolutionary change in the age old concepts of education was inevitable is probably quite true, but Michael Faia, professor of sociology, was one of the key campus figures to begin chipping the rust away.

He began a program of self-evaluation with upper level courses during the summer session of 1968. When he announced he planned to continue what had turned out to be a more or less pass/fail system, he was forced to compromise to an A/F system.

"Public evaluations should be made only with the mutual consent of the individual professor and the individual student," he said.

Faia was asked to resign in December.

Finally, University Professor of Biochemistry, Dr. H. Gobind Khorana, made international medical history by breaking down of the genetic code and synthesizing the basis elements of the human gene in the lab.

On Oct. 16, Khorana was awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine and Physiology. He shared the \$70,000 prize with two other scientists.

And on one campus in one short semester, man probed his very secret of life while he lost mankind.

## Semester II

A cold and crisp break marked the end of the first semester and beginning of the second. With the temperature hitting eight below, it seemed rather funny to pick up The Cardinal marked Spring Registration Issue.

Spring was a long time coming, with many tragedies between it and the beginning of February.

The semester began with the teaching assistants threatening to strike if their salaries were cut. A bill in the state legislature proposed that the tuition waiver for out-of-state TA's, RA's, and PA's be cut, therefore doubling the amount of money out-of-state TA's would have to pay. Since their salaries would remain the same, the bill constituted a salary cut. The bill, which later was dropped, prompted the Teaching Assistant Association to organize against further threats. Through numerous frustrating bargaining sessions with Chancellor Edwin Young, the TAA won its fight by the end of April. It is now the official bargaining agent for TA's, being in effect a TA union.

The All-University Conference scheduled for the first week in February was to dwell on the topic "The Black Revolution - To What Ends?". Speakers included such national figures as the Rev. Jesse Jackson from SCLC, Nathan Hare, chairman of the Black Studies department at San Francisco State, and professors from the University.

The infamous Daily Cardinal affair was carried over into the second semester. The Board of Regents was taking a bad beating when it came to faculty support. Even the School of Journalism gave them only a half-hearted "Yay, Regents". But, the old adage 'might makes right' held out as the Regents voted to keep their anti-Cardinal sanctions.

The University administration decided not to admit the Oshkosh blacks who were expelled from Oshkosh State University, for a demonstration they held there last November, to either the Madison or Milwaukee campus of the University. This decision was hailed by the state Assembly, who also praised the president of Oshkosh State for his handling of the situation.

Meanwhile, during this first week of the second semester the Black Revolution Conference went on without incident, with capacity crowds attending most of the speeches.

### BLACK STRIKE

On February 7, rumblings of the now renown Black Strike began. Black students first presented their thirteen demands to the University administration and other students, both black and white disrupted classes. On Saturday, about 600 students attempted to disrupt the Ohio State-Wisconsin basketball game at the Fieldhouse in support of the Black demands. They succeeded only in getting four people arrested and damaging the

## '68: Cardinal Attacked

car of Gov. Knowles, who was attending the game.

A list of the demands was distributed over the weekend and conferences were held all over the campus in dorms lounges, the Union, and off-campus locations, with Black leaders discussing the demands, answering questions, and urging support of the upcoming strike. The demands were as follows:

1. Autonomous Black Studies department controlled and organized by Black students and faculty, which would enable students to receive a B.A. in Black Studies.

2. A black chairman of the Black Studies department, who would be approved by a committee of Black students and faculty.

3. That 20 teachers be allocated for the initiation of the Black Studies dept. with the approval of Black students.

4. That amnesty (defined as no reprisal or chastisement) be given all students who participate in any boycott or any such actions in reference to our demands.

5. That Black counselors be hired by the Student Financial Aids Office with the approval of black students.

6. That scholarships be provided for all athletes (both Black and white) up until the time they receive their degrees.

7. That existing black courses be transferred into the Black Studies dept.

8. That it be established that Black students have the power to hire and fire all administrators and teachers who are involved in anything relating to black students.

9. That it be established that control of the Black Cultural Center be in the hands of Black students.

10. That all expelled Oshkosh students who wish to attend U.W. be admitted immediately.

11. That 500 more Blacks be admitted by the fall of 1969.

12. That a Black co-director of financial aids be hired to seek more funds to finance more Blacks to come to the University.

13. That proof (as defined by Black students) that the above demands have been met be given to Black students by the administration.

At first these demands were met with much hostility and disbelief by a majority of the student body. They agreed with some of the demands in spirit, but the constant reiteration that everything had to be approved by Black students had many people up in arms. The weekend conferences helped to quell many students feelings of uneasiness, although they did not succeed in getting too many more students to boycott classes than normally would have.

Next to demand number 4, demand number 6 was the easiest to support. In major sports (football, basketball, track, and hockey), a majority of the athletes are here on a four year scholarship. But, because of their practice and training program, they find it necessary to take a reduced credit load a semester. At the end of four years, they do not have enough credits to graduate. They cannot go to summer school for the simple reason that their scholarships don't cover the costs and they must pay; and because they usually have to work full-time in the summer for money to meet extra expenses, they couldn't go to summer school even if they could afford it. Demand number 6 would require the University to support these athletes until they earned their degree, even if it went beyond four years.

The demand that most students found it hard to justify let alone support was number 8, calling for the power to hire and fire professors. No professor would risk the chance of joining a department where he had no tenure so in a way if this demand were met, it would hinder the setting up of a Black Studies department.

After a weekend of hashing things out between the Blacks and an indignant student body, the strike was under way on Monday, February 10.

Over 1500 students marched to the Capitol Monday night as a climax to the first day of the student strike in which students picketed campus classroom buildings in support of the black demands. There were no incidents of classroom disruption as the strikers heeded the pleas of Black leaders to avoid any confrontation. Classes went on as scheduled, but many were devoted to discussion of the strike and the demands. Both Black and white students asked permission from instructors to address their classes. Most requests were granted. Police in riot equipment were stationed at various points on campus but the first day was marked by peace and no confrontations.

The Black leaders kept their plans for each day under wraps until an hour or so before they were to materialize. At morning rallies held in the Union, the blacks outlined the plans for the day, urging students to avoid any sort of confrontation situation.

On the second day, tactics were escalated as the leaders told students to enter buildings and "make a little noise" and to form impenetrable picket lines. This resulted in the police shutting down Bascom Hall in the late afternoon. Students used harassment tactics, forming picket lines and then dispersing when the police arrived. A few fist fights broke out as some students tried to force their way through the picket lines to get to class. An evening march climaxed the day's events.

The third day was by far the most violent and its outcome had the greatest impact on the strike and the campus for weeks afterward. Keeping up their harassment tactics, students massed in front of buildings and in the streets but dispersed as soon as police arrived. Forming impenetrable picket lines in front of several buildings, fistfights broke out when other students tried to force their way through.

A violent confrontation occurred at Bascom Hall as a group of students wearing blue armbands and calling themselves "Hayakawas", after S.I. Hayakawa of San Francisco State fame, stormed a group of pickets standing on the steps of the building. The counterdemonstrators kicked and punched picketers in an attempt to enter Bascom Hall. The Hayakawas marched from Bascom to Social Science and tried to break through the crowd in front of the building. They charged the strikers, pushing them into police who responded with clubs. Several fistfights broke out as the day progressed.

Members of the Administration, meanwhile, had been meeting with Black leaders to discuss the demands but no concrete results had come out of the meetings so far.

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## '69: Black Strike

Many student organizations, including the Cardinal, had come out in support of the black demands and of the strike. The TA's had been discussing a plan to walk-out and hold teach-ins all over the campus.

As a result of Wednesday's violence in which five people were arrested, Gov. Knowles responded to a request from city and University officials and called up 900 National Guardsmen. His reason was that the police were becoming tired from being on duty twelve hours a day and were tense and edgy due to student harassment tactics that kept them on their toes day and night.

If anything, the presence of the Guard on campus strengthened student unity and succeeded in getting more people out on strike. On Thursday, 7,000 students took to the streets, obstructing traffic but avoiding violent confrontation. As police and Guardsmen marched to break up the crowds on University Avenue, students retreated to the sidewalks. Guardsmen with fixed bayonets fired tear gas into a crowd at the intersection of University Avenue and Mills Street in the early afternoon for no apparent reason, and although nine arrests were made and several students injured, marchers avoided violent confrontations by moving to the sidewalks whenever police arrived to disperse a crowd.

The fourth day of the strike was climaxed by a march of almost 10,000 students to the Capitol. Both police and Guardsmen were conspicuously absent from the parade route, which was lit more by camera light from the national news media than by the several torches the marchers carried.

The fifth day of the strike was similar to the fourth. Strikers kept up their harassment tactics and blocked streets. Some, though, were injured as cars broke through the crowds. An evening march was marred by events of police clubbings as the marchers returned from the Capitol down State Street. Two students were arrested, one of whom was not participating but standing in the door leading to his State Street apartment.

Through the week, many students were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct for giving the police and the Guard the finger and for using obscene language. Bail was set at \$107, and was paid for out of the Wisconsin Student Association's bail fund.

At the end of the fifth day, Chancellor Ed Young announced that the Guard and the police would be withdrawn from the campus. They were stationed at the Natatorium and the Fieldhouse in case of further trouble.

The Board of Regents, meanwhile, followed the University administration's recommendation and abolished compulsory ROTC orientation. By unanimous vote, the Regents also directed University Pres. Fred Harrington to report on the finances and people involved with the Black revolution Conference held the week before the strike. Regent Walter Renk accused this symposium of "igniting the events of this week." Renk related his personal experience as a member of the audience of one of the symposium talks last week. He claimed that he heard only militants speak. Through his generalization, Renk felt that he discovered the real reason behind the black strike.

Chancellor Young, in a televised appearance on WHA Sunday night defended administration action and endorsed a number of the black demands. Coming out in favor of extended scholarships for athletes, addition of 500 Blacks, a Black Studies Department and better facilities for the Afro-American and Race Relations Center, Black counselors in financial aids, and increasing the representation of blacks and other minority groups on the University staff. Young brought out that these things could only be done if the University gets the money it needs from the legislature.

At the faculty meeting, the Thiede Committee on Studies and Instruction in Race Relations recommended the initiation of a Black Studies Department. The faculty also in a narrow vote following heated deliberation, voted to bar admittance to the University of Oshkosh blacks. After the vote, some 50 professors walked out.

The renewal of the strike saw the first extensive damage done to University property. About 100 black and white students entered buildings and smashed windows, vending machines, doors, and set off fire alarms and stink bombs.



Five persons were arrested as a result of the disturbances. These 100 students were not interested in the Black demands per se as they were in creating a disturbance.

The repercussions of the strike were felt soon after and affected students presently at the University and those to come in the fall. Many bills were introduced in the Legislature to deal with any future disruptions that might take place. But the results that affect most students were drawn up by the Board of Regents.

Gov. Knowles came out with a statement putting the blame for the recent University disorders on "outside agitators".

### UNIVERSITY LEASED

Taking up the cry of outside agitators being the cause of all University troubles, the Regents proceeded to take care of the insidious influence of these radicals. The first thing they did was cut out-of-state enrollment 5% every year until it fell to 15% from its present quota of 30%. Also, all students, faculty, and University employees will be required to have an identification card with them

Another issue that was to affect students later in the year was the Madison firemen's fight for pay parity with Madison police. The issue of firemen's pay had been in the forefront of city politics all winter. At the end of March, the city council took its final vote on the firemen's demands and defeated their move for pay parity.

Firefighter Captain Ed Durkin, president of Firefighters Local 311, and his fellow organizers felt that the city had pulled a breach of contract and they had no other alternative but to strike. The firefighters did get a salary increase late last year, but the contract was signed pending a reclassification review by the City Personnel Board which supposedly would have brought the firemen to salary parity with the policemen.

On March 29, Madison firemen went on strike, a strike called by Ed Durkin and other officers of Local 311. Student organizers from SDS and other groups had been offering the firemen their help for weeks. When the firemen went on strike, students were there to help them picket.

After a 52 hour strike, the firemen and the city came to terms. The firemen were to receive one cent less per hour than policemen. Full amnesty for all firemen involved in the strike was granted.

Things were not so easy, though, for Durkin and his union. The Madison Police and Fire Commission, angered by the granting of amnesty, called for an investigation of the strike, and initiated new rules aimed directly at keeping the firemen from striking again.

A complaint asking disciplinary action against Durkin was filed on June 27. Soon after, Madison Fire Chief Ralph McGraw ordered that no member of the Fire Department above the rank of fire dispatcher may hold office in Local 311. If enacted, the action would have eliminated Durkin, Lt. Charles Merkel, union vice-president, and Lt. Walter Kwiecinski, secretary. The union, in turn, filed a complaint against the City of Madison and McGraw asking the courts to stop the chief and other city officials from engaging in "anti-union activities." As of August 12, the case to stop McGraw's order was still in court.

Spring vacation came and went, and as the weather started getting warmer, students thoughts turned from winter to spring.

The grassy areas outside the dorms were occupied after meals with students playing basketball, frisbee, or just sitting and talking. The cover was finally taken off the fountain in the Library Mall and the Union Terrace opened up for business.

To celebrate the first weekend in May, students on the 500 block of Mifflin Street decided to hold a block party. Putting up posters all over Madison, (relying on the word of mouth,) and getting extra help from the Cardinal, as we ran their poster ad on the back page of the May 3rd issue, the party was sure to be a success.



increase per year for out-of-state students. After the strike, and the May Mifflin Street riots, the increase was finally decided on. In-state costs went up \$100 and out-of-state tuition went up \$576. Wisconsin is now one of the few schools in the country where out-of-state students pay \$1,000 more than in-staters. In-state students will pay \$450 a year and out-of-staters will pay \$1,726. Grumbled one legislator, "It's still a bargain for them." What consolation!

The strike did have its positive results. The Black Studies department will be established, athletes obtained extended scholarships, and the Afro-American center was repainted. Whether or not the chairman of the Black Studies will be Black remains to be seen. Programs have been set up to recruit underprivileged Blacks and orientate them to the University during summer programs.

By the end of February, the campus had cooled down and students devoted their energies to other issues and activities.

So, on Saturday, May 3, the street party was under way at four in the afternoon as about 300 students gathered, dancing to a rock band playing in the 500 block of West Mifflin. Traffic was slowed, but not prevented from passing through the area. A half hour later, a police car moved down Mifflin, and over a loudspeaker a policeman called for people to leave the street. It was met with boos and jeers. At five o'clock, about 15 riot equipped policemen entered Mifflin from Bassett Street and for-

**SUPPORT YOUR  
FIRE FIGHTERS**  
**THE LIFE THEY SAVE MAY BE YOURS!**

But the reasons behind this strike were the same as the reasons behind any campus disorder. Take one University controlled by businessmen looking out for their own monetary interests, add one administration with its hands tied, 35,000 students who feel that they're virtually voiceless in an apathetic institution, and you've got all the ingredients for unrest. The Black students had been talking with University officials for months about the institution of some of their demands, particularly a Black Studies Department.

The administration, having assured the blacks that their suggestions would be acted upon, did nothing. After another semester of no action, the blacks decided to take the issue to the students, as a politician would take a controversial issue to his constituents for their support or disapproval. The blacks got the support they were looking for and the administration was backed up against a wall.

Other factors made the situation turn out the way it did. The University budget was before the state legislature's Joint Finance Committee (JFC) for cutting. Desperately needing all the money it asked for to meet the costs of new buildings, higher professor's salaries, more students, and increased costs of just keeping the University running, the administration had to placate the legislators. The student strike could paralyze the University not only temporarily but permanently in the form of budget cuts as the JFC's reaction to student unrest. This was one reason why the administration condoned the calling out of the Guard. It had to show the state that it was not going to give in to a bunch of "wild-eyed radicals".

This was unfortunate both for the administration and the students. The administration was accused of not being responsive to student demands. In many ways, it was not, but there was very little they could do without the funds they needed to set up a Black Studies Department. To them, the budget came first, students second.

After a tense and exhausting week, the strike resumed for the second week with less than a thousand students striking and marching. Harassment tactics were used again but were less effective due to the decreased number of participants. By the end of the day, a leaflet signed by the Black Peoples Alliance, WSA, and Third World Liberation Front was distributed which announced new tactics: strikers were to go back to classes, attempts were to be made to discuss with professors why they signed a petition supporting the Chancellor, and to go to the Wednesday faculty meeting to support a proposal for a Black Studies dept. The strike was to actively resume on Thursday.

(continued on page 13)



# The HEAD SHOP

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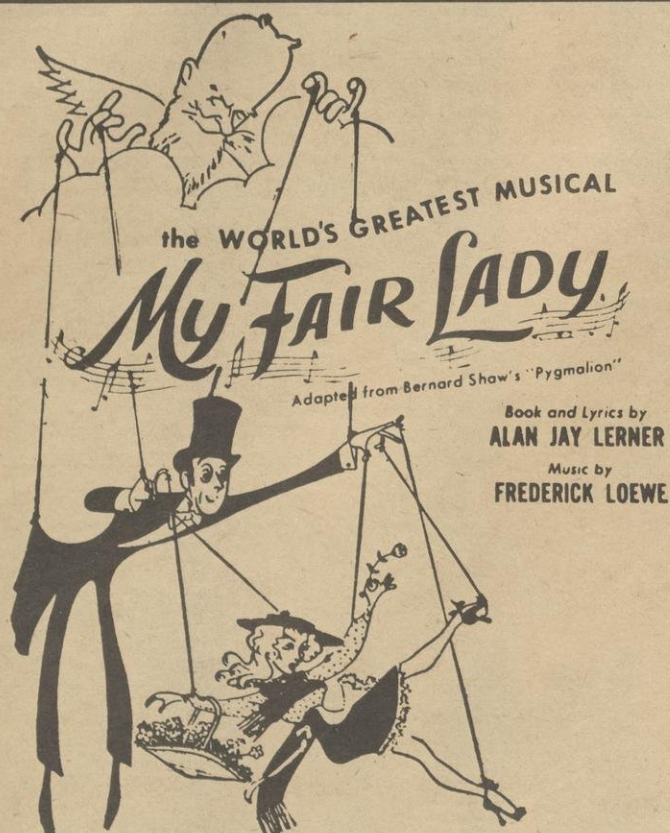
## Service Snafu?



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Presented by  
**Wisconsin Players**

## A Survey of Opinion

### Question of the Hour

#### WHERE ARE YOU GOING TO LIVE?

In a dorm because my parents don't trust me. I think it would be fun to live in a dorm with a bunch of other girls.

A dorm, it's the most convenient arrangement. Anyplace but Mifflin St.; I want to say away from that hippie area.

I feel safer in a dorm with a houseparent; when one o'clock rolls around you know that's it and you have less trouble with the boys.

I have to live in a dorm until I can join a frat. In a dorm; they serve you good meals there and I don't have to be bothered with cooking.

I'd be loney if I didn't live in a dorm; lots of people there to make friends with.

With my grandmother; she owns a house on Mifflin St.

Anyplace but a dorm. The people off campus are more hip.

It's none of your goddamn business.

## GIRLS! GIRLS! GIRLS! HASSE TOWERS

is the ideal spot for  
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- Large 1 Bedroom Furnished Apartments
- Balconies to be Romanced From
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"You see, as Dr. Benway" brown, circular stain, surrounding blue ink, "I've now decided that", black ribbon hitting silver metal keys on gray lead pencil writing. "Junk is not green," blue and white with some green pattern on brown arm of chair, black and white of bookcase, yellow paper, staring straight ahead, black numbers on white paper in small squares, print in red-covered book. Red dot next to black and white dot, not black-white, but rather black dot and white dot.

Tab clear of yellow walls, brown bulletin board and buzzing sound outside window. . . rraaowwww. Finger paint on brown cardboard on which slides chair with glass wheels and brown naugahyde. Talking now of lit, but seeing things. . . white chairs, white cups, black coffee, pimple on woman's cheek, hair curled around ear, teeth slightly stained by nicotine, or decay, red lipstick smears otherwise attractive mouth, hair matted slightly on other woman's forehead, either she took a bath or she has been sweating lately. It is not hot. I often sweat when it is not hot, but only when active or nervous. Wonder if she is nervous. Wonder why, after all I'm her son. Other woman from Virginia, interesting name, Virginia, writer used name to suggest virginity and then used it on character which would give it an ironic connotation. Virginia Richmond, Richmond Virginia, old South, large homes, Joel Brenner, article in Education Magazine. Young to publish, younger than me, what's wrong with me. Nothing I say, nothing I want to say, but what's wrong with me?

Larry Cohen, whatever became of him. Funny how people just walk out of your life. But they don't really walk out, they were never in, but they were tangential. Funny how they walk away. Or do we, perhaps, walk away? Interesting that. 25, 25, 27, Saturday, September 1969. 248.

Tiffany stand, Tiffany, Breakfast at Tiffany's, no, that's not it. Start again, Tiffany, Tiffany stand, vanity, vanity stand, vanity cover, looking up dresses can be stopped by vanity covers on Tiffany stands. Nylons, panty hose, not attractive, either hose or legs. Vanity, veritas, Tiffany, made for vanity. Just like legs.



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## From Mad Magazine

# Masters of Mediocrity

### 100A. INTRODUCTION TO APATHY

3 Credits

This survey course is geared to help the over-zealous freshman achieve the degree of apathy required on the college level. Lectures will concentrate on the futility of retaining such immature traits as ambition, ideals and a sense of school spirit.

### 100B. REMEDIAL INDIFFERENCE

2 Credits

Prerequisite to INTRODUCTION TO APATHY for unusually difficult students who refuse to accept the status quo even after they have gained a fuller understanding of it.

### 101. BEGINNING DISILLUSION

3 Credits

Designed to imbue the incoming student with a feeling of basic helplessness in regard to the more pressing problems confronting the world he lives in. Discussions will cover such topics as the inevitability of the Rotten Society, the insignificance of the individual in world affairs and the adoption of a realistic attitude that everything is bound to get a lot worse before it gets better, if ever.

### 102. UMBILICAL COORDINATION

3 Credits

This course will help to prevent the severing of the silver cord between a mother and her pampered child. It enables the overly-dependent freshman, away from home for the first time, to learn the advantages of continuing to lean on Mom throughout college, job-placement and marriage.

### 104. PARENTAL PRESSURE OPPOSITION

0 Credits

Students will learn to help their parents mature, by acquiring an over-all knowledge of methods helpful in decreasing family emphasis on academic success, choice of a career and general personality adjustment. Students will apply what they learn on weekends at home.

### 105. INTRODUCTORY NON-PARTICIPATION

3 Credits

Especially designed to assist the naive freshman in conquering his immature desire to become involved in normal extra-curricular activities. Discussions will concentrate on loss of prestige, useless expenditure of energy and the lack of meaning in later life inherent in non-compulsory campus affairs. (Note: This course not open to students attending the University on athletic scholarships.)

### 106. FUNDAMENTALS OF KILLING LEISURE TIME

3 Credits

Although specifically designed to assist the incoming student (who worked hard in high school preparing for college acceptance) to adjust to goofing off now that he's here, this course also lays the foundation for apathetic loitering after graduation. All aspects of unproductive leisure time activity will be examined with special emphasis on prolonged day dreaming.

### SOPHOMORE COURSES

### 200. TECHNIQUES OF SCAPEGOATING

3 Credits

Learning to blame teachers, parents, employers and society in general for personal shortcomings will be the student's objective in this course. Guest lecturers from the Department of Speech will assist with instruction in whining.

### 201. CONTEMPORARY SELF-ACCEPTANCE

3 Credits

For the second year student who has mastered the fundamentals of apathy, including the avoidance of responsibility and constructive participation, but who still experiences twinges of anxiety as to where his emerging lack of identity may lead him. This course enables the individual to drift with renewed confidence by pointing up how the growth of automation makes him increasingly unnecessary; the disintegrating world situation makes his future increasingly improbable, and the population explosion makes his inability to produce increasingly desirable.

### 304. BASIC HYPOCRISY

3 Credits

The advanced study of communicating on two levels is the core of this course. Students will learn that words and actions do not have to be consistent. Guest lecturers will include businessmen, politicians and educators who will demonstrate how their superficial ideas have not interfered with making a living.

### 305. ALL-PURPOSE OPINION FORMULATION

3 Credits

Through concentrated training in the development of a total lack of enlightened opinion, firm conviction, and ethical principles as they relate to the pressing issues of our time, this course is designed to pave the way for rapid advancement in later life by enabling the student to voice wholehearted agreement with all lunatic fringe views held by employers, wealthy prospective in-laws and other individuals who have something the student wants.

### SENIOR COURSES

### 400. ADVANCED DISILLUSION

3 Credits

A refresher course for the senior about to enter the cold, hard world. In addition to consoling the fourth year student for failing either to prepare himself for adult life or to drop out of school and get started on it, the course will help him develop the skills of goldbricking, social parasitism, ingratiating conformity, financial credit manipulation and income tax evasion.

### 401. CONTACT MAINTENANCE

3 Credits

A frank seminar discussion of the importance of rekindling and capitalizing on tenuous college relationships in later life. Emphasis will be placed on the selection of casual acquaintances most likely to succeed in order to weed out and discard potentially meaningless friends before it's too late. Attention also will be focused on the future fabricating of college reminiscences for the purpose of securing employment from and/or selling insurance to classmates you never actually met.

### 405. FLAUNTING

2 Credits

Students will be encouraged to utilize their college degrees as symbols of superiority over more capable individuals who have been exposed to fewer years of formal schooling. Techniques will be stressed for dropping references to college days into conversations, for terminating arguments with inferiors by mis-quoting former professors, and for utilizing your educational background as an offsetting factor to explain away goofs on the job, all out of context.

### 406. INDEPENDENT STUDY

3 Credits

Inserted into the curriculum for the benefit of seniors who otherwise would fall three units short of meeting the requirements for graduation. Special fee: \$175, but well worth it to avoid being stuck here for another whole semester.

### 202. PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF CHEATING

3 Credits

Areas covered to help students achieve better grades without studying or learning are microfilming techniques, trends in infra-red printing, skillful plagiarism and beating around the bush on final exams in 2000 words or more.

### 202B. MEANINGLESS VOCABULARY-BUILDING

2 Credits

Vital to the student whose incompetence has developed to the point where he can't even learn to cheat. This course enables such individuals to prepare acceptable term and examination papers through the frequent insertion of impressive but meaningless words and phrases.

### 204. PRACTICAL MATERIALISM

3 Credits

Naive college students will learn to replace love, faith, happiness and similar unprofitable emotions with chromium worldly goods: large homes, high-powered sports cars, color television sets, yachts, jewelry, self-defrosting refrigerators that make round ice cubes, etc.

### 205. HUMAN SELECTIVITY

3 Credits

This course is constructed to teach the student to lean on others in order to survive. Experienced faculty members, long familiar with the cultivation of useful connections as opposed to meaningful relationships, will conduct seminars to assist under-graduates in the selection of rich, brainy, influential acquaintances who will do the student the most good after graduation.

### 205B. MARRYING FOR MONEY

3 Credits

Open only to students who have exhibited sufficient cunning to by-pass HUMAN SELECTIVITY. Instruction will concentrate on the choosing of a single member of the opposite sex to fulfill lifetime needs for wealth, job security, family position and a head start in career after graduation.

### 206. INTERMEDIATE DIS-ORIENTATION

2 Credits

Now required of all sophomores. This course is designed to meet the needs of the second year student who, inadvertently, has seen a relationship between two or more facts he learned as a freshman and finds himself unable to be totally apathetic about it.

### JUNIOR COURSES

### 301. DEVELOPMENT OF AESTHETIC DEPRECIATION

3 Credits

Students with little or no aesthetic awareness will receive guidance in producing a comfortable environment where their deficiencies can be maintained in later life. Instruction will include lectures in national park deforestation, rural stream pollution, proper placement of highway billboards, suburban split-level home selection, trashy book and motion picture enjoyment, and approved methodology in general littering.

### 302. PROGRESSIVE UNDERACHIEVEMENT

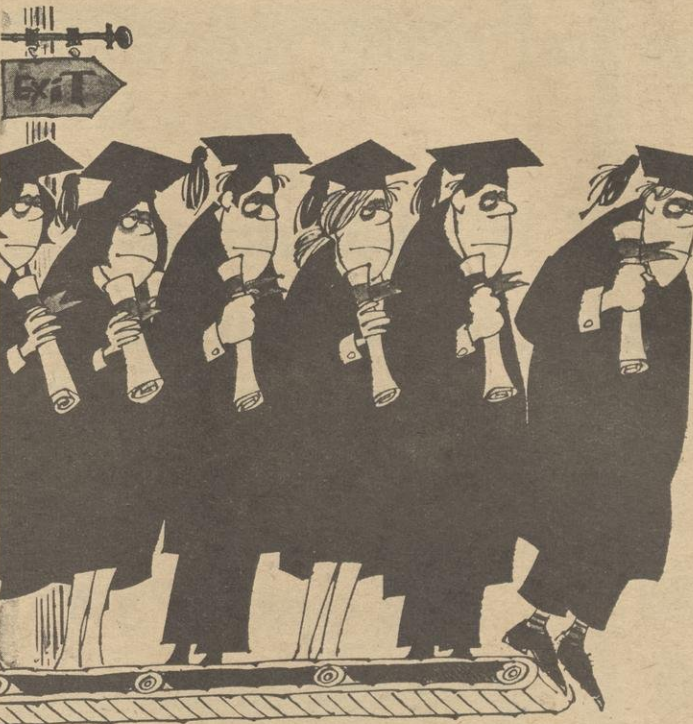
2 Credits

Creating the impression that you are not performing up to capacity, and mistakenly leading professors to believe that you are an intelligent and worldly individual is the basis of this course. Emphasis will be placed on obscure name-dropping, thought-provoking question-asking, feigned appreciation of professorial witticisms, and carrying books above your class and age level.

### 303. UNPROGRESSIVE OVERACHIEVEMENT

2 Credits

Invaluable to the student who seeks a passing grade without ever completing a homework assignment. This course offers guidance in skimming through unassigned reading material to create the assumption that you are engrossed in the subject and are pursuing it beyond established requirements. Instruction also is given in embarrassing professors through the memorization and use of foreign phrases with no particular meaning, frequent reference to non-existent theorems, and scoring academic points by citing analogies that don't apply to the discussion topic.



ARTIST: PAUL COKER JR.  
WRITTEN BY: DONALD D. SHANDLER

### 402. STUDIES IN EGOCENTRICITY

3 Credits

Business administration students will find this course particularly advantageous in bulldozing their way into profitable endeavors for which they are unqualified. They will learn to overlook their inadequacies by becoming self-centered individuals with little regard for the person, dignity and property of others. Strong emphasis will be placed on the rude and the vulgar as a means of dominating those with less self-assurance.

### 404. PREPARATION FOR POST-GRADUATE APATHY

3 Credits

Offered for the first time during the present academic year, this course will aid the graduate in maintaining a solid foundation of self-centered dis-interest when confronted with the pressure to participate in suburban civic endeavors. Students will be taught the basic principles of begging off, indefinite postponement, quarrelsome behavior at planning sessions, and negative arguments against Little League baseball, the preservation of historical landmarks, the need for additional school crossing guards and expansion of facilities for anything.



# WSA

There are lots of out-of-sight things WSA committees will do this year.

Like broaden Symposium to focus the entire University's attention on one relevant topic for an entire week.

Like tackle student housing problems in ways never before thought possible.

Like confront the whole issue of academic reform in order to produce change—fast and really meaningful change.

There are all kinds of WSA committees, and all of them need people—people with interest, talent, and ideas.

*Don't you want to do important things  
and see WSA do important things?*

WSA committees interviews will be starting the first week of classes. If you want to know more about Wisconsin Student Association committees and services, call 262-1081.

*join*



## '69: Police Riot

(continued from page 9)

cibly cleared the streets. During the next two hours the police periodically charged into the crowd, seizing students who were thought to have made obscene remarks or gestures and thrown bottles into the street. During this time, Ald. Paul Soglin, Ward 8, was first arrested. Ald. Eugene Parks, Ward 5, appealed to both sides to cool it until he could get the police removed. Parks returned to the crowd with the news that he had been unable to work out a compromise with city officials, and that Madison Mayor William Dyke had refused to grant the group a permit.

By seven-thirty, darkness had fallen. After two hours of police

facing students in a confrontation situation, violence erupted. Students barricaded the streets. Police cars broke the barricades several times and students replaced them as best they could. Police patrolled the streets making sporadic arrests and tear-gassing heavily. Activity continued in this manner until the early morning hours when things calmed down.

Sunday afternoon, students began massing in the 500 block of Mifflin in preparation for a "retaliation" block party. Police cars again drove through the area accompanied by paddy wagons. They broadcast the message that those

on the streets were involved in an unlawful assembly and would be arrested if they did not disperse. Violence again erupted soon after.

Throughout the afternoon, arrests were sporadic. Police chased residents off the street onto porches, and then into their houses, clubbing many. Darkness again fell and the neighborhood was again heavily doused with tear gas. Another type of gas alleged to be pepper gas was sprayed on individuals and into houses. The gas was so heavy that it drifted onto State Street, down to the Southeast dorms five blocks away, and beyond. Before the area calmed down in the early morning hours, police had run out of tear gas.

On the second night of the disorders, Soglin was again arrested on an "unlawful assembly" charge, which was later dropped because of an adverse court ruling. Ald. Alicia Ashman, Ward 10, offered to put up bail with a personal check but was refused. She turned to the firefighters, and Ed Durkin himself put up the bail as a loan to Soglin, who repaid him two days later.

In two days of violence, Madison hospitals reported treating a total of 41 persons for gassing and minor injuries.

On Monday night, what began as another outdoor party, became a wide ranging riot as hundreds of police were driven in busloads into student residential areas to control the students in the streets. The evening began with an offi-

(continued on page 15)

### A Survey of Opinion

## Question of the Hour

WHAT DOES "STUDENT POWER" MEAN TO YOU?

On strike, shut it down.

Letting us decide our own dorm hours.

Having a say in course content and grading.

Fighting the pigs.

Being able to hire and fire the faculty.

A lot of disruptive students who cause trouble and don't appreciate what the university is trying to do for them.

It's caused by the colored folks on the campus.

It's none of your goddamn business.

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to visit

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The 190 acres of land include a swimming pool, tennis courts, completely equipped children's playgrounds and even a separate recreation building. Both furnished and unfurnished apartments are available. All buildings have carpeted main corridors, bright modern laundry rooms with plenty of washers and dryers, master TV antenna, private storage space and fully lighted private parking. All apartments have wall-to-wall carpeting and draperies. Kitchens have modern cabinets and color-coordinated appliances.

The welcome mat is always out at Ridgewood Trace. Drive out today. We'll even give you a ride in our new bus!

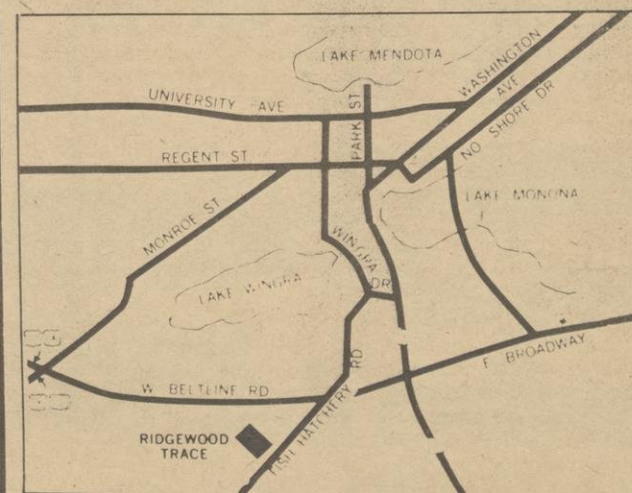
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# Open Admissions: Payment Parity

Last winter the Black-led strike at San Francisco State College brought wide publicity to a new kind of student demand. Whereas previous student protests attacked the university's role in the economic and political domination of powerless peoples (ROTC, university expansion into poor communities, military research), the San Francisco strike demanded that the college begin to play a positive role in the economic and political liberation of these same powerless peoples.

San Francisco strikers noted that the college failed to provide either education or research responsive to the urgent needs of black people. They therefore called for opening admissions to all black and third world students, and for a new department of Black Studies. They also saw clearly that the case of non-white people was only a dramatization and exaggeration of the plight of the great majority of low and middle income Californians. They discovered that while these people foot the majority of university costs through a variety of taxes, their children generally comprise a minority of the university student population. (Documentation of this claim can be found in the pamphlet "Strike at Frisco State!" published by San Franciscans and available from Madison SDS.) Their most compelling statistics: Families with incomes under 10,000 annually pay 62 per cent of the state's non-corporate taxes. Their sons and daughters supply two-thirds of the enrollment in the 2-year junior colleges, which receive 10 per cent of the state's higher education budget, one half of the enrollment of the state colleges, receiving 30 percent of the budget, and only one-third of the enrollment at the University of California, which receives 60 percent of the budget. These families make up over 70 percent of California's population. The pamphlet concludes "Four-year college is mainly for the minority of higher-income families. But the lower-income families, most of whose children can't get in, pay most of the bill."

The training and research facilities of California state colleges and the university are not at the disposal of the majority who finance them. Priorities in research are determined by government, foundation, or corporation grants. Only a fraction of the research deals with the problems of ordinary Californians, problems like traffic congestion, polluted air and water, the squeeze on home mortgages. Instead, the main thrust of research is military and commercial expansion: new weaponry, new paramilitary strategy, new commodities of production processes, new market strategy. The training which students receive will benefit them individually by getting them good jobs, insofar as their training will turn a profit directly or indirectly for corporations which are willing to pay well for it. But the major benefit of their training accrues to these corporations. Private corporations have rapidly rising needs for trained manpower and for research. These "needs" are based on growth and expansion, the modus vivendi of the profit-making corporations. So the private corporations "need" to get constantly bigger and richer is paid for by the majority of wage-earning Californians, who pay again through the prices of commodities and again by their labor.

Meanwhile, the University of Wisconsin, with its quarter billion dollar budget and forty million dollar endowment, belongs nominally to state taxpayers. However, these dollars are shrewdly managed by men with a variety of corporate interests to yield them direct profits as well as the long-run benefits of a trained manpower pool and research. (This astonishing story can be found in "Profit Motive 101" by James Rowen, available from The Daily Cardinal).

While the corporations expand, subsidized by the wage-earning majority, it is these working people who must struggle to maintain a decent way of life: clean air and water, comfortable homes, decent recreation and education for their children, against the price-raising, environment-polluting, tax-evading, and politician-manipulating methods of the private corporations.

The example at San Francisco State College has led other student activists to go beyond an attack of the university's role in domination to a constant pressure on the university to serve the cause of liberation.

This means that the university training and research should not be provided for the benefit of the ever-expanding corporations, not of the Pentagon, but to those who need them most, the working people, and most especially the poor and non-white among them. A university education should be guaranteed, along with whatever compensatory education and financial stipend is necessary, to those who most need it, who have most been denied it, American Blacks. But, far more important than guaranteeing an education to Blacks individually, the university should be at the disposal of Blacks as a group, and of other population groups whose needs are great. Therefore the children of Blacks and lower income people should indeed have the right to enroll and remain at the university, but the courses available to them there should focus directly on the problems and needs of the working, especially the non-white, population. Similarly, a major thrust of university research should be problems affecting the lives of these people. But just as the corporation dollars now determine the thrust of university research, we know such principles will remain only principles until these people actually obtain control over enrollment, course content, and research.

In particular, the demand at San Francisco State College for a department of Black Studies controlled by black students, faculty and community provides a concrete example of this new vision of a university controlled by and for the people. Similarly last spring in Madison white and black students went on strike in support of black demands, including an increase in black admissions and an autonomous department of Black Studies. Unfortunately, the university made only partial concessions to the demands, and these concessions now begin to seem a sham. But this is not unexpected.

The demand for truly open admissions, an end to the exclusion of low income and non-white students, can never be met without a complete transformation of the discriminatory public education at lower levels, which neglects the basic mathematical and verbal skills of so many non-white and working people's children and destroys their motivation.

The demand for relevant studies, which truly prepare students to face the problems and needs of their own



people, rather than to turn a profit for the corporations, cannot be met until the control which corporations wield over the minds and dollars of the country is taken from them and put into public hands. Put into genuinely public hands—not into the hands of puppet governments which govern at the behest and on behalf of the rich and powerful.

The demand that research to improve people's lives substantially replace research for military and commercial expansion will certainly not be met before people have the unity and awareness to uproot the profit dynamic from the heart of our economy, and replace it by public ownership and economic democracy.

But when we pressure the university to open admissions, to open up courses, to open up research to the majority of people, we do so realizing that trivial or token gains (as far as transforming the character of the university goes) may go hand in hand with larger gains in the unity and awareness of students. Then with greater power we can press for possibly more substantive demands, accompanied by ever greater consolidation of students recognizing their collective interests and united to achieve them.

From this perspective on open admissions, relevant studies, and necessary research, we can view the demand for open admissions for Blacks and Black studies as a first wedge into the university. There are three reasons why black demands provide this first wedge. First, Black people are presently the single population group sufficiently united and aware to demand and struggle for university programs to meet their needs as a people. Second, Black people are those who as a group have been most neglected, in fact most abused, by universities. Therefore a simple sense of justice gives priority to Black peoples' demands in the larger struggle for a university at the service of all people. Third, by supporting black demands we fight against our own racist attitudes and habits and those of the white community generally. While the root reality of racism is the material oppression of black people, this oppression is reinforced and rationalized by the attitudes and habits which white people develop. The material oppression of blacks and the racist attitudes of whites cannot be overcome separately. Both must be opposed simultaneously, for each generates the other.

Unfortunately, there is a very serious obstacle to this priority for Black peoples' demands, and that is the present mood among many white working people. The majority of these people have also been cheated by the university, cheated by the small, powerful class of people the university actually serves. But far from seeing Black demands as the first bright glimpse of the democratized university of the future, they sense in Black demands privileges for Black people which their own children are often denied, and which they will be obliged to pay for. Their view is tragically short-term, but nevertheless contains its grain of truth. If the rulers of the state and the university decide to yield to Black demands, you may be sure the cost will come out of the pockets of the wage-earning majority, if not through new taxes directly, then indirectly through raised prices. As usual, the cost is paid by those who benefit least.

How can we win the sympathy of white working people to these Black demands? The question is difficult, but urgent. For without substantial support from the off-campus white community, it will be easy enough to refuse Black demands, easy enough to quiet Black protests with the club instead of the carrot. And regardless of the earnestness with which white students support Black demands, it will be Blacks who bear the brunt of the organized forces of white racism; the police, highway patrol, national guard, and vigilante groups.

The white student movement has not come to any agreement on how to relate Black demands to the white community. One suggestion is to include a non-negotiable demand that the extra costs for increased Black admissions and Black studies come out of taxes on corporate earnings. Such a demand is in part mythical, since corporations will compensate by speed ups and price raises, so that the burden still falls on the working person. Nevertheless, the injustice of the tax structure is an issue especially poignant to wage-earning people today, especially under the pressure of inflation. A stipulation calling for new corporate taxes might well win some sympathy from white working people. A second suggestion is that we clearly state, at least in principle, our concept of opening admissions to everyone who wants to come to the university, with initial preferential quotas for Blacks. We should make clear that this means guaranteed admission, compensatory education, and a cost of living stipend for the children of workers who could not otherwise attend, as well as for non-whites. There is room for criticism of this emphasis on open admissions for whites as well as non-whites at this particular time in history. For there is not much benefit in students already in the university struggling to open the university to a part of the population (white working people of low income) until students are actually united, by awareness and also organizationally, with that group of people. For no concessions from the university at this time will be as important as the power behind those concessions, the power of people consciously struggling together to wrest power from the small class which owns and manages the big corporations. However, the clear articulation of a principle of open admissions for all, paid for by new corporate taxes, might be a basis for communication between students and off-campus white working people. Such communication, whether directly concerning black demands or on other issues of common concern to workers and students (such as sky-rocketing rent prices caused by real estate speculation and university expansion), leading to conscious alliance between students and off-campus working people, is the major task before white students who wish to transform the university.

## A Survey of Opinion

### Question of the Hour

#### WHY DID YOU COME TO THE UNIVERSITY?

What else do you do when you graduate from high school?

My parents sent me here.

I heard it's the center of a lot of radical activity.

I didn't want to go to a two bit small college.

I couldn't go into Yale.

I wanted to have a blast and I heard that this place really swings.

If you want to get ahead of the next fellow you'd better graduate from college these days.

I want to broaden my horizon and be among intellectually stimulating people.

It was the only school I could afford to go to.

I got an athletic scholarship.

I want to be prepared to make a relevant contribution to society.

I want to try and find myself.

It's a jumping board for law school.

To satisfy my intellectual curiosity.

I want to make some new friends with interests similar to mine.

I'm marking time until the war is over.

I have high expectations of myself.

I like being away from home and my parents can afford it.

It's none of your goddamn business.



# '69: Problematic Year

(continued from page 13)

cial attempt by Mayor Dyke to resolve tensions in the Mifflin-Bassett Street community where the confrontations began. He accomplished little. The meeting broke up as Dyke informed the crowd, which had now grown to about 700 that they had thirty minutes to "decide what they wanted to do" before police returned to the streets. The students milled around for the half hour of grace, erecting a barricade of debris on Bassett Street and setting another aflame on Mifflin. Police cars cruising the area began to throw tear gas within 40 minutes of Dyke's departure. The gas, thicker than ever before, drove students off the streets and into their houses.

The focus on Monday night's events then shifted to State Street, Langdon Street was also gassed, as were the Southeast dorms, and the Hillel foundation. Police clubbed people indiscriminately, and teargassed anyone walking the streets. Police cars drove half-way up on the sidewalks at dangerous speeds and narrowly missed hitting many students. Things quieted down by 3 a.m.

Tuesday night, violence was averted as the Mayor's committee of 30 walked the Mifflin-Bassett Street area rapping with residents and getting lists of grievances against the city and landlords. Police were very wisely kept out of the area.

In all, over 100 people were arrested and more than 60 injured in the melee.

As soon as things had calmed down, questions popped up faster than answers could be provided, if they could be provided.

As the days wore on, it became apparent that the police knew about the block party ahead of time as they had been ordered by Police Chief Wilbur Emery to rip down the posters advertising the block party. Yet, why did they pick on the Mifflin Street residents when only a few weeks before, residents on Gilman St. had held a similar block party and were not disturbed by police passing through the area. Also, for years prior to 1969, fraternities on Langdon Street, Zeta Beta Tau for one, had held block parties in the street and had sometimes even blocked off portions of the street, forcing traffic elsewhere. Yet police never bothered them either.

Another discrepancy arose concerning block party permits. Apparently, no ordinance allowing block parties was in the Madison statutes. When the Gilman Street residents applied for a block party permit, they were told there was no such thing, but they went ahead and had their party anyway. When the Mifflin St. residents applied for their block party permit, days before the bloody weekend, they were told the same

thing. Yet when they held their block party, the police moved in. The city council, meanwhile, was debating the merits of passing a bill that would put a street party ordinance in the statutes. Introduced by Soglin, the controversy raged on for weeks on his block party bill, first concerning ethics and then the legality of such an ordinance. On May 9, the council, by a 17-3 vote, defeated Soglin's proposal and ordered a public hearing for May 21 to consider an ordinance regarding recreational use of the streets.

The next weekend, students planned still another block party. Instead, Durkin invited residents of the Mifflin Street community to his house for a block party. A formal request for two buses was made by the Mayor's committee of 30. Dyke agreed to shuttle students between the Mifflin Street Coop and Durkin's residence at city expense.

About 350 people attended, and had an afternoon of football, frisbee, swinging on a rope swing, and eating a roast pig that someone had donated.

Durkin's action had saved Mifflin Street from another night of violence. An out-of-town newspaper praised him for "bucking city hall and showing that there can be a rational alternative to rock throwing and nightsticks. There should be some kind of citation for Durkin who, with courage and good sense, averted more trouble on disturbance rocked Mifflin Street.

Dyke set up a committee of three lawyers to investigate the Mifflin Street disturbances. The rather partial committee was ignored by most students at first as they gave their testimony to members of the Mayor's disbanded committee of 30 who had set up their own investigating committee. Later, testimony was given to both groups. Their findings are soon to be released. At the May 21 hearings, the city council was informed by Soglin that police were brought in to the Mifflin Street area originally due to a complaint from an elderly woman residing at 414 W. Mifflin. She refused to give her name for fear that students would retaliate. Soglin had checked out the complaint and discovered 414 W. Mifflin to be nonexistent.

Ironically, at the end of May, the Madison Shriners, a fraternal organization, held a block party by applying for and receiving a parade permit. Police had blocked off the street for them and they held their party with no mishap. Learning of the incident, Soglin applied for a parade permit for the Mifflin Street community. Having no alternative but to grant the permit, the police blocked off the 500 block of W. Mifflin as residents held their

"parade." The reviewing stand was set up (three empty orange crates) and the reviewers (Soglin, Ald. Parks, and Durkin) applauded as the parade (Mifflin residents walking their dogs, others playing instruments) went by. When the parade was over, the residents held their block party.

Having attended the original block party on May 3, this reporter feels that the whole thing could have been avoided if the police had stayed out of the area. The band that was playing was not that good and residents and students would have left the area in a few hours. Had the police restrained themselves for four or five hours, there would have been no Mifflin Street disorders.

The answer to the question "Why Mifflin Street?" is not a simple one. After hearing testimony from students, faculty, landlords, policemen, aldermen and others, the Mayor's investigating committee is to issue a report by the end of the summer.

It was no secret that the three lawyers Dyke named to his committee were purposely picked to whitewash the situation, placing the blame more on students than on the police. But, it appears that the Mayor will be in for some surprises, as will the rest of the city of Madison. Indications are that the committee has proof of much overt unrestrained and unprovoked police brutality. They are finding it hard to see the riots as Dyke does and speculation has it that they will come out in favor of the students. If their report does turn out to be a whitewash, there will inevitably be more trouble.

Mifflin Street residents, though are still living in high rent, low standard houses. Their list of grievances were taken care of within the first few weeks after the riots as building inspectors came around and found over 200

building violations on one block alone. But landlords did little if anything and Mifflin Street residents have now been forgotten by city hall.

And so, as the month of May moved on, finals drew nearer and nearer. Without warning, they seemed to spring upon us, and the pressures that had been building up all semester had to wait one more week until they could be released. But finally, exams were over. The dorms became empty, the Union was deserted, and pedestrian traffic on State Street was reduced to a minimum . . . for two weeks anyway, for June 23 marked the beginning of summer sessions.

Now, even summer is drawing to a close. The academic year 1968-69 is over. The cycle, though is not. Fall 1969 marks the beginning of a new year. New problems and new issues will confront a group of students who, with one year of University life under their belts, are a little older and hopefully a little wiser.

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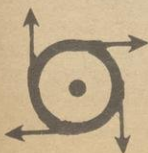
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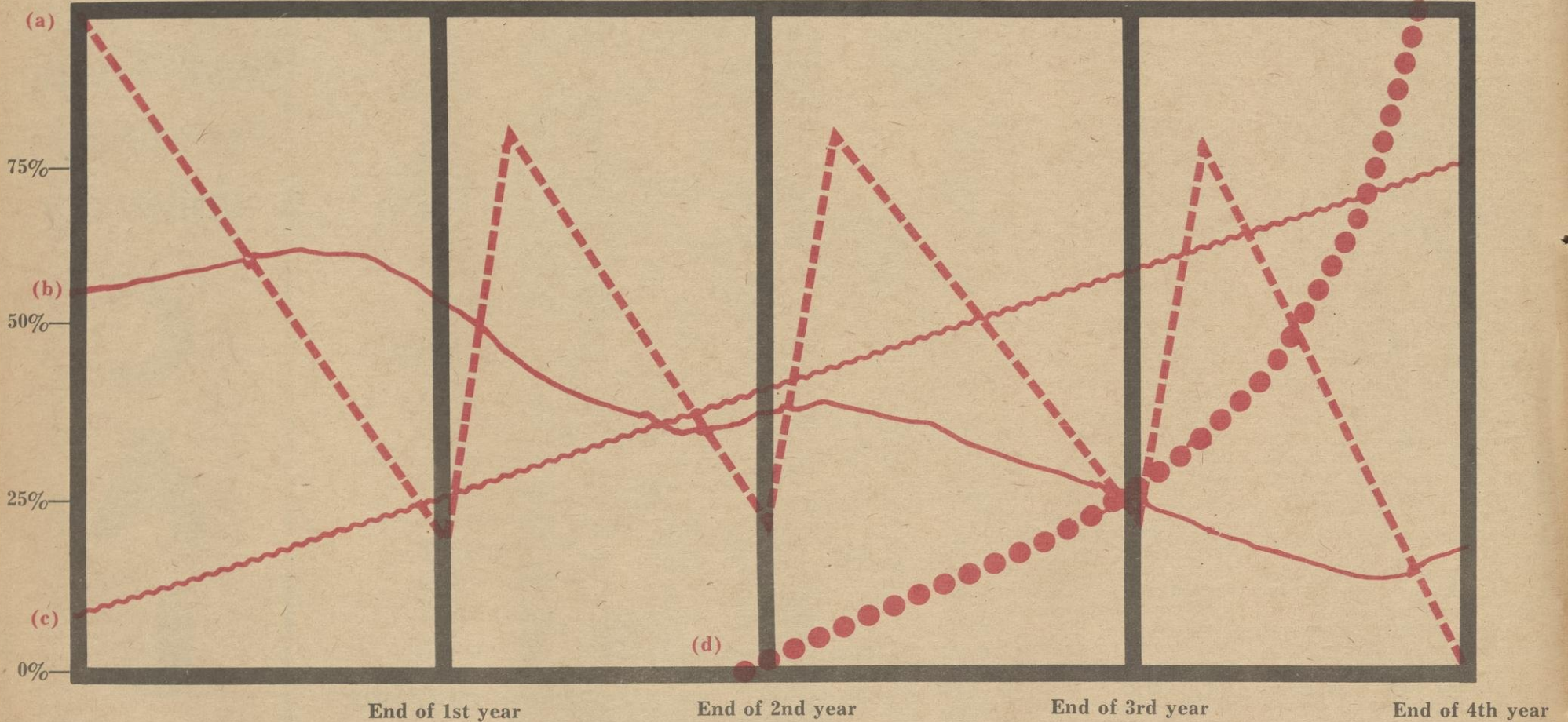


# Report Evaluates University Education

- (a) Intellectual curiosity  
(b) Visits to Student Mental Health Clinic

- (c) Sexual activity  
(d) Political Awareness

Changes in Selected Variables Over a Four Year Time Period.



**A Cardinal Research Report**  
The Lethal Effects of a Four Year Dose of the University (generic name: college education) on the Central Nervous System of Young Adult Students. (THIS RESEARCH WAS SUPPORTED BY A GRANT FROM THE EDESEL FOUNDATION.)

#### Introduction

How do you do?

#### Methodology

A sample of 1,300 random freshman were followed for a four year period. At the end of each year they were given questionnaires to fill out.

The following questions were asked:

1. (a) Did you observe any people following you this past year?  
(b) If yes, how many?
2. (a) Did you cut any classes this past year?  
(b) If yes, how many?
3. (a) Do you believe in God?  
(b) If yes, how many?
4. (a) Did you write any letters home this past year?  
(b) If yes, how many?
5. (a) Did you take sides in the recent campus disorders?  
(b) If yes, how many?
6. (a) Do you believe the city police should be on campus?  
(b) If yes, how many?
7. (a) Do you believe in sex?  
(b) If yes, how many?
8. (a) Were you turned on by any of your professors this past year?  
(b) If yes, what drug did he use?

#### Findings

The data gathered through the questionnaires were computerized, analyzed and falsified by a team of research experts in the social sciences. The findings are summarized on the graph.

Conclusions: Draw your own.

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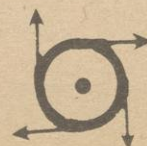
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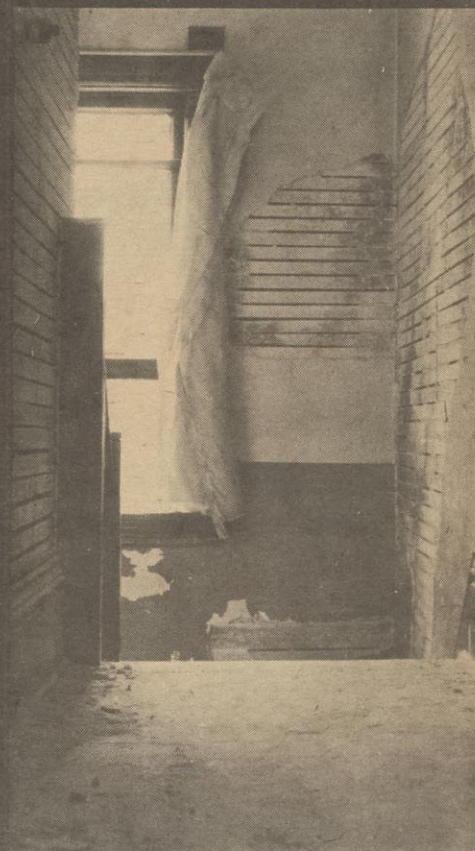
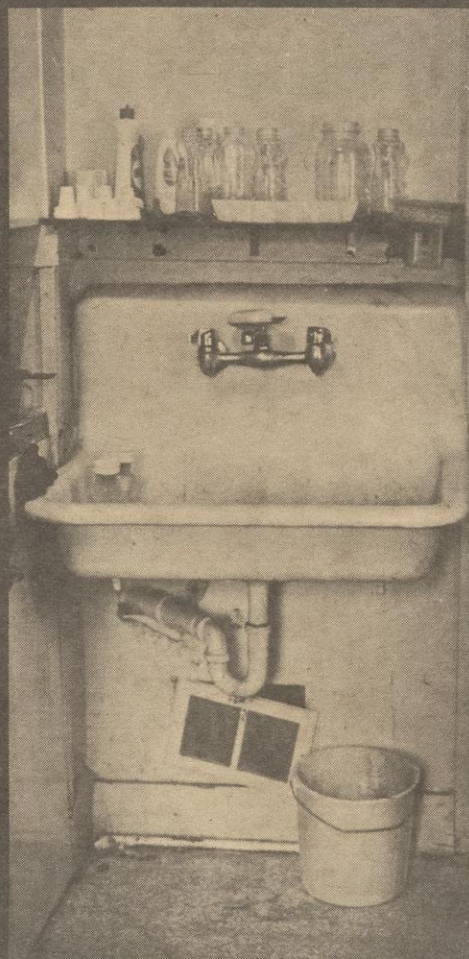
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**The BADGER, 1970**



## Unorientation: Section Two



Photos: Ellen Lewis



## Madison Tenant Union

On July 20 a meeting was held at the University YMCA which was attended by a quite diverse group of individuals: students, teachers, lawyers, aldermen, blue collar workers, white collar workers, and vista workers. Their one bond was that all were tenants in Madison and their purpose in gathering was to discuss the possibilities of a community-wide Madison Tenant Union. Most of the participants had at some time been confronted with the fact that the Madison housing market is characterized by high rents, inadequate maintenance, discrimination, and an artificially controlled shortage of apartments.

These characteristics have become progressively worse over the past several years and, as the founders of the Tenant Union saw it, the persons in control of the state, city, and the Madison real estate industry are not likely to try to correct the worsening situation on their own. If recent trends continue there will soon be little or no medium- or low-rent housing in the city, and the campus area will be the first area to be hit. A severe shortage

(continued on page 14)



# The University Maze

As a net traps fish, the complex structure of the University envelops the individual inside a system which he has little power to change from within. Channel leads to channel—committee to committee. It is a course of linkage through which every idea spun into every motion, bill, and resolution passes before a stamp of approval gives it life. From one view, the structure is a ladder with many rungs; from another, it is a river which meanders back and forth—as evidenced in last year's SLIC—Student Court mix-up over jurisdiction to hear a case against Students for a Democratic Society.

On the bottom most rung of the ladder are the students. On top is the legislature. In the past, neither played an active role in the internal policies of the University. Today, both are asserting themselves in an ardent power struggle. Making up the rest of the ladder are a vast number of committees, administrators, divisions, departments, and bureaus.

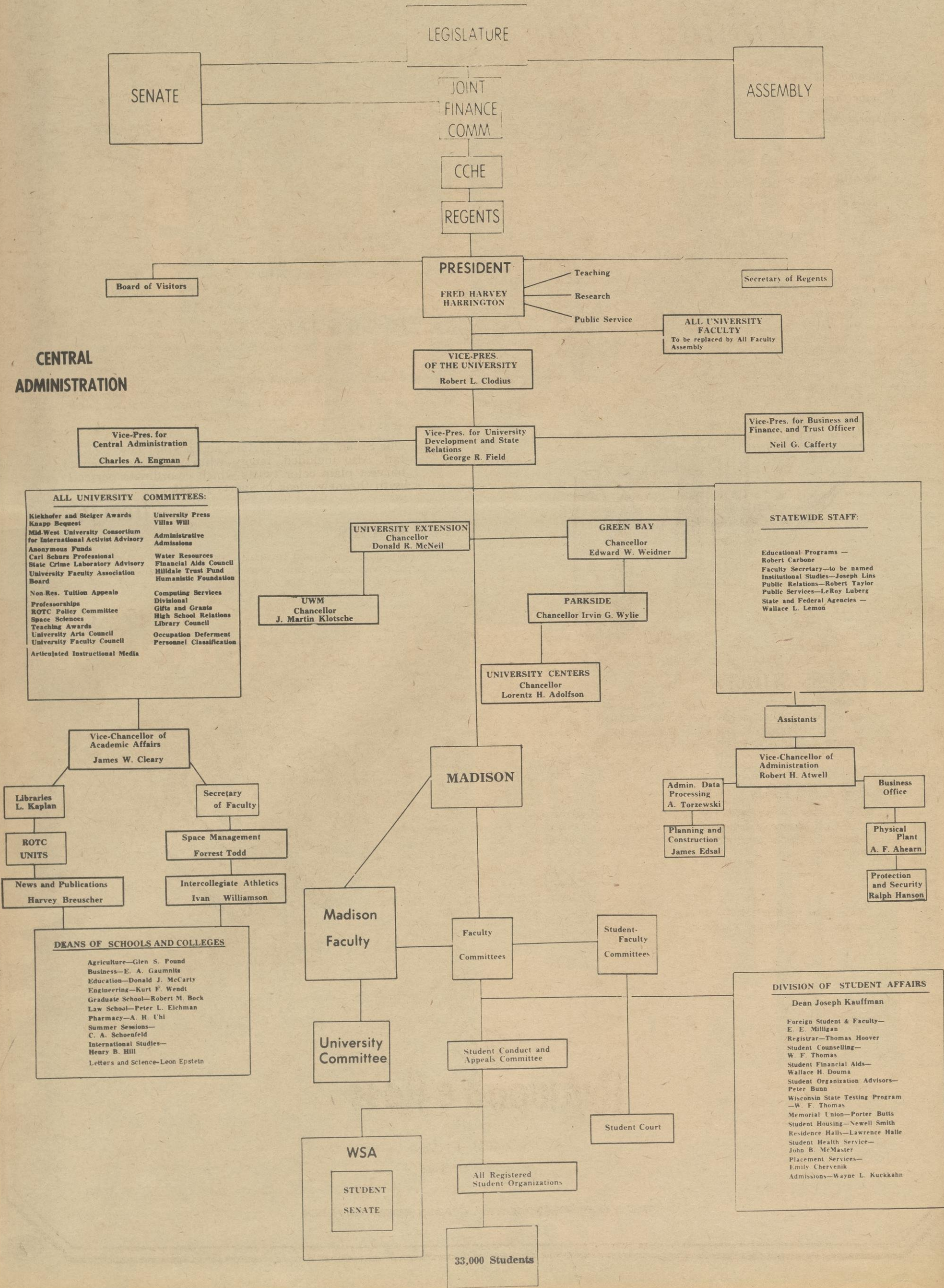
On Mt. Olympus  
First and foremost among these power units, is the Legislature, whose powers, structured in a manner congruent with the state constitution, are manifold and all

encompassing. It could disband the University if it so wished.

However, in recent months, there has been some stirrings within the walls of the legislative chamber. Legislators have taken steps to manifest their powers to control the University.

One member of the upper strata of this hierarchy phrased the realm of the Joint Finance Committee's powers as "anything having to do with money." It is a most powerful legislative committee.

(continued on page 4)



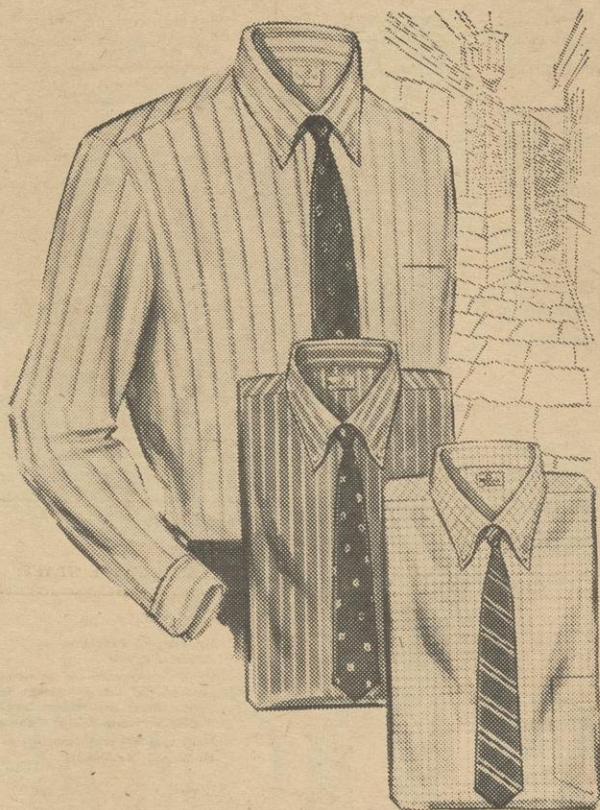




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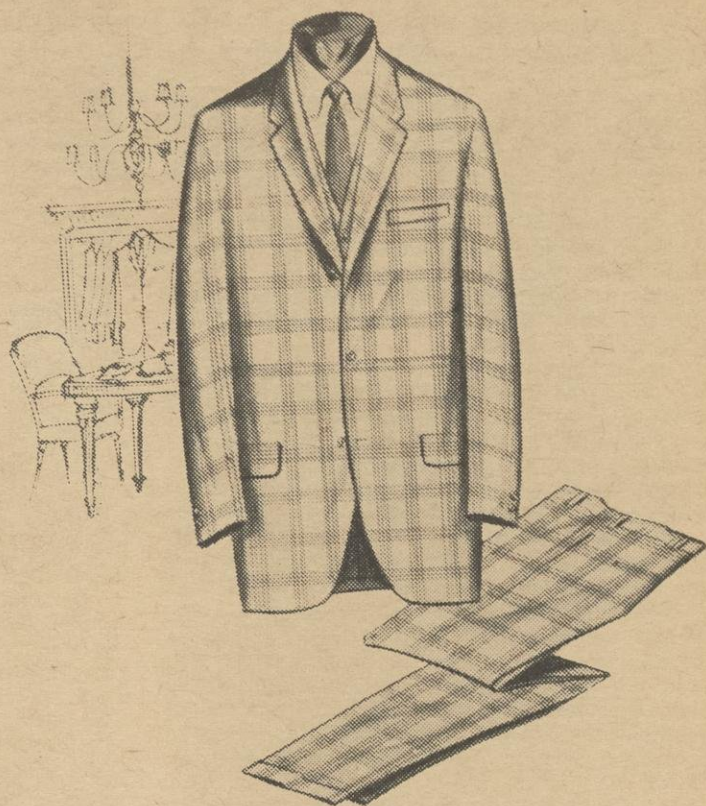
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# Over 30 Thousand on the Bottom

(continued from page 2)

It was this committee which cut the University's budget sharply.

The word "joint" signifies membership by both senators and assemblymen. The functions of the JFC incorporate all state expenditures as well as the budgets for all committees under its jurisdiction. All money allocated to the University comes from this body.

The Coordinating Committee for Higher Education, the next rung down the ladder, must present its own budget as well as that of all the divisions of the University to the JFC. Aside from this necessary obligation, the CCHE has no responsibility to the JFC for proposed action, despite the formality of declaring its intentions.

The CCHE is composed of 17 members representing one regent from the University; one regent from state schools; one regent from state board of education; 9 citizens; president of the board of regents of the University; and various other state school officials.

The powers of the CCHE are far reaching and influential in practice. The broad wording of the Wisconsin Statutes gives it much leeway: "The committee shall determine what over-all educational programs shall be offered in the several units of the University. . ."

Angus Rothwell, executive director, told The Daily Cardinal that the concerns of the CCHE lie in three major areas: the programs of the University, its budget, and buildings. Although CCHE is an independent body within the hierarchy, it must in any event submit all propositions to the legislative council. In theory, the CCHE is an advisory group to the Legislature. In practice, it is not.

Generally, out-of-state enrollment is handled by the CCHE. However, the recent limit of out-of-state enrollment to 15 per cent, as opposed to the previous 25 per cent, was a move on the part of the legislature.

Rothwell stated that the CCHE objects to this move by the Legislature because it is this committee which should be in control of such affairs, and be allowed to make any necessary investigations concerning the University.

There are 10 members of the Board of Regents, who are appointed by the governor. They comprise the policy-making body which sits on top of the University administration. Although all bills passed by the faculty must be reviewed by the Board, they have not vetoed any important legislation in recent years. Chancellor H. Edwin Young, who was named by a faculty search and screen committee, had to be approved by the Regent's before he could take office.

Although the most important programs involving policy must be verified by the Regents, some programs may be put into effect at administrative, faculty, committee, and student levels. For instance, chartering student organizations is solely the affair of the Student Senate of the Wisconsin Student Association. However, once the organization is chartered, its actions may be subject to committees other than WSA which sanctioned it.

Central Administration

Appointed by the Regents is the President of the University,

Fred Harvey Harrington, the highest paid state official. As defined in Chapter IV of the "Laws and Regulations Governing the University of Wisconsin," his job is to "... manage and direct the University, carry out the policies and duties as set forth by the Board of Regents, and as president of the University by authority of the Board of Regents and subject to its approval shall make and enforce such rules. . ."

This clause was written many years ago. Today, with the increasing trend toward expansion and decentralization, the president's duty has become more of an overseer than an administrator. Others now wield the power he formally was charged with. The post of chancellor, created in 1964, to head every campus is a testimony to this change.

In general, the president of the University is given a good deal of leeway in the manner in which he performs his duties. Although his position provides the closest liaison between administrators and Regents, it appears that this chain is linked more loosely than in the past.

What Harrington is theoretically most concerned with are the three most basic and important programs of the University: teaching, research, and public service. To aid him, he has a vast staff, including four vice-presidents, working both in and out-of-state.

In communication with the president of the University is the Board of Visitors—composed of 12 members, three of whom are named by the Governor, six by the Alumni Association, and three by the Board of Regents. Their name is apt, for it is their function to visit when they see fit and "... examine generally the work of the University, the conditions, methods, manner and subjects of instruction in various schools, colleges, divisions, and departments. . ."

They meet with the Regents once a year in April. In essence, they are not a "power" group but rather one which reports a list of recommendations to the governor and the secretary of the Alumni Association.

Among the most important of the All-University Standing Committees is the Committee on Gifts and Grants. It is given the task of obtaining money with which to run the University.

Another of the All-University Standing Committees is one which attempts to coordinate sentiments and ideas on all campuses. It is the University Faculty Council, which meets with the Regents once a year to discuss the council's action.

The creation of the coming University Faculty Assembly is the work of the University Faculty Council. In an effort to replace the sparsely attended All-University faculty meetings, it will serve as a representative body of the faculty which will be advisory to the Regents—not policy making.

## Madison's Hierarchy

Here in Madison, the man who heads the faculty is Chancellor H. Edwin Young. He has a number of assistants, two vice-chancellors, and many divisions under him. The chancellor presides over regular faculty meetings.

By the very nature of his position and the vastly complex structure of the Madison campus, the chancellor is unable

to preside over the 10 schools and colleges and many divisions alone. The vice-chancellor of academic affairs and the vice-chancellor of the administration take most of the load off his back. Under their offices are departments ranging from Administration Data Processing, to ROTC Units, Space Management, and Physical Plant.

Under Physical Plant is the Department of Protection and Security, directed by Ralph Hanson.

In the limelight of all the departments which stem from the chancellor's office is the Division of Student Affairs. It is certainly the largest. This office acts as a supervisory body of nearly everything that concerns students.

The Division of Student Affairs is the first rung on the administrative ladder whose primary responsibility concerns students. There are 11 sub-divisions of this office, which in turn have their own structure: Admissions, Foreign Students and Faculty, Placement Services, Registrar, Student Financial Aids, Student Housing, Student Health Service, Organization of Student Advisors, Wisconsin State Testing Program, and the Memorial Union.

There are no students in these divisions at the administrative level.

Although they are listed under the Division of Student Affairs, each department acts as a preserver of its own policies.

Below the administration of the Madison campus and its execution of University policies is the voice of some 1900 regular faculty members, who meet once a month. Rarely do more than 300 attend meetings. Any action taken by the Madison faculty as a whole is not legislation. Whatever they pass must be approved by the Regents.

## Committee, Committee

Whenever the faculty feels that any matter has to be given greater consideration, it hands the business down the line to the University Committee. Chaired by Eugene Cameron, geology, the University Committee is by far the most powerful faculty committee. Though it has no legislative power of its own, it is the channel in which the faculty as a whole places the most confidence.

Due to the great size of the faculty, it is rarely able to function as a committee of the whole on matters of great importance. The University Committee, for all practical purposes, controls faculty meetings. Its studies are generally placed at the head of the agenda. Its motions are generally passed.

The University Committee in turn creates subcommittees to investigate and dissect various issues.

Also in an advisory capacity to the faculty are the 28 student-faculty committees and their sub-committees. Among these, students hold some 90 positions to the faculty's 155.

Finally, on the bottom most rung of the ladder is WSA and the Student Senate, the only channel of authorized student action. Members of the Senate (who must be students) are elected twice a year: in fall and spring.

It registers student organizations, names students to committees, and administers a \$17,000 budget to various student programs. Everything else it does is of an advisory nature.

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# Discipline: State Courts Protect Due Process

University discipline is a compromise between the position of the Wisconsin Student Association, which advocates leaving all non-academic discipline to the courts, and conservative state legislators who favor immediate expulsion of all student disrupters.

The University rules allow the University to discipline students for intentionally causing serious damage to University property, conduct threatening the safety of persons, or intentional disruption or obstruction of University functions.

Federal Judge James Doyle ruled last year that the University could not continue to discipline students for general "misconduct" as it has done in the past, but could discipline students only if their conduct violated a specific University rule.

The regents, apparently fearing they will be unable to devise rules covering every situation in which they might want to discipline students, have appealed Doyle's decision.

When the rules were originally approved, they were generally viewed as an attempt to correct the previous vagueness as to the limits of the University's disciplinary power. However, Regent Charles Gelatt, LaCrosse, later said the rules do not limit the University's power to the three situations specified in the rules.

The limits that have been set on University discipline have come not from the students, whose views on discipline have been generally ignored, but from the courts, which have insisted that constitutional rights to due process be protected.

The regents last year suspended three students charged with damaging University property without a hearing. Judge Doyle ruled that this was unconstitutional, and ordered the students reinstated. One of the students, Richard Rosenfeld, was later expelled by the regents after a formal hearing. The other two students withdrew

from school before the case was decided.

The University rules allow a student to withdraw under charges. If the student withdraws, he cannot re-enter the University until the period of suspension or expulsion which could have been imposed has passed. The maximum period of expulsion allowed under the University rules is two years, although an expelled student may seek readmission after one year.

The regents, prior to the 1968-69 school year had not been directly involved in student discipline, but under pressure from the legislature to discipline students more firmly, the regents officially reaffirmed their power to discipline students directly. Since the official pronouncement, the regents have frequently exercised this power.

The original decision as to which students shall be charged has been made this year by the administration after studying pictures and testimony on student demonstrations.

The administrators then pick those students who they feel have committed the most serious offenses and submit their names to the regents. Six names have been submitted to the regents this year. Of these, four students were charged with damaging University property and two were charged with attempted arson.

The regents then appoint a hearing agent, who gathers evidence, conducts a hearing, and makes a finding of guilt or innocence. The regents' only function is to set the penalty, which was expulsion in the only case completed by them this year.

The regents, however, have not come close to the record of the State University regents, who expelled 90 students in one sitting last year. Those expelled were black students at Oshkosh State University who participated in an illegal sit-in at the office of the president of that school.

The simultaneous expulsion of 90 black students, comprising the great majority of black students at the school, was widely praised afterward by state legislators.

Discipline not directly imposed by the regents is handled by a student-faculty hearings committee and an all-faculty appeals committee. The decision of the hearings committee may be appealed to the appeals committee by either party.

The Wisconsin Student Association, in support of its own position that disciplining of students by both the University and the courts constitutes double jeopardy, has refused to name students to the hearings committee. The committee has operated with only its faculty members this year.

University discipline does not technically violate the constitutional protection against double jeopardy, but it does mean that a University student may be punished twice for an offense for which a non-student would be punished only by the courts. Furthermore, expulsion from school and possible subjection to the draft are generally viewed as more serious than the fines and short jail sentences imposed by courts for disruptive activity.

The University disciplinary committees were recently reconstituted. Under the prior procedure, the administration could act both as prosecutor and judge in discipline cases. The new rules remove administrators from judicial functions, reserving those functions for teaching faculty members.

Since they were reconstituted, the faculty committees have had little to do. Of the three students tried by the hearings committee, two were acquitted and one was suspended. The acquittal of the two students was extensively

(continued on page 15)



## THE THREE SISTERS

by Anton Chekhov

DEC. 5-6; 10-13

## WHO'S AFRAID OF VIRGINIA WOOLF?

DEC. 5-6; 10-13

by Edward Albee

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MAY 8-9; 13-16

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New Selective Service System:  
Band-aid On A Poisoned Body

"Only the hand that erases can write the true thing."  
(Meister Eckhardt in the introduction to Markings)

So many people oppose the Selective Service System that few bother to debate it anymore. Most girls no longer urge their guys to prove their manhood by defending the country. At the same time, college guys are taking their 2-S deferments and hoping that the draft will be changed or abolished. It seems to me, though, that escaping military service means very little.

In times past, there was a somewhat clear dividing line between military service and civilian work. That is not the case today. It is true that nearly everyone, including General Hershey, sees the army as the least desirable type of national service. Hershey even uses it to punish dissenters, and calls induction "the club" by which he can force individuals into some sort of work necessary to the "national interest." Procuring manpower for the services is just a small part of the work of Selective Service, as Hershey has repeatedly said:

"Delivery of manpower for induction, the process of providing a few thousand men with transportation to a reception center, is

not much of an administrative challenge. It is dealing with the other millions of registrants that System is heavily occupied, developing more effective human beings in the national interest."

The way it works out is that those who have been barred from attending college because they are poor or black serve the "national interest" best by killing and dying for it. But what must be realized is that the task of the military and the task of those civilians channeled into working for the "national interest" is the same: maintenance of the status quo throughout the world.

When a guy registers for the draft at age 18, he loses another big hunk of the freedom he has been losing since his socialization into the American way of life (death) began. He has to start proving to his draft board, whenever it wants proof, that he should be deferred. He understandably begins to feel uneasy about that obligation. He sees himself, the lone defender of his freedom, facing the wiles and manipulations of Selective Service bureaucracy. He begins to see that he has little control over his life, that doing what is in the "national interest" prevents him from acting in his own interest.

The choice from that point is clear. If he does what is in his interest, he is punished - loss of deferment and the army. He can either adjust his own interests so they coincide somehow with the "national interest" (College students, adept at rationalizing, do this pretty often), or he can decide to put an end to the system of conscription.

Those who decide to fight conscription find out soon, if they don't know already, that the draft is merely the agent of a whole socio-economic system, monopoly capitalism; that the whole system is the real oppressor; and that repealing the draft would be nothing more than putting the proverbial band-aid on one of the more visible manifestations of a cancerous, poisoned body. Something must be done to change the entire system.

Proposals for a lottery draft or an all-volunteer army do not deal with the real problem. Selection of conscripts by lottery to fight the wars of the American Empire does nothing to challenge the legitimacy of that Empire. Vietnamese people won't die any differently because their murderers have been chosen randomly. None of the bills in Congress favoring reliance on an all-volunteer army even propose to do away with the system of registration and classification. They all support a standby draft, able to be utilized whenever the "national interest" is at stake. And it looks to me like the "national interest" will be increasingly threatened in future years.

Although I have a healthy fear of the tested effectiveness of U.S. counter-insurgency efforts in the underdeveloped countries of the world, I also have a lot of faith in and respect for the growing frustration, hatred, and awareness on the part of the people in those countries. Cuba and Vietnam have been important examples to them—they now see that through struggle, U.S. imperialism can be defeated. And they are not alone. In this country, black people have

led us in learning from whom and what our oppression stems.

What that means for draft-age young men in the U.S. is clear: there will be two, three, many Vietnams, and they must decide which side they are on. The situation demands that they choose.

## Young and CIA

(continued from page 16)

ecutive position with the CIA. He became head of the Student and Youth Section of Covert Action Unit No. 5, which was the CIA's branch managing the NSA infiltration.

Young has been a long-time advisor to the State Department on Congo Affairs since leaving NSA. An NSA officer in the early 1960's summed up the importance of the ISC North American Secretariat this way: "You were sent there because you were the Agency's man."

In addition, Young was one of the prime movers in organizing the first Pan-African Student Congress, held in Uganda in 1958. This ISC congress brought together student leaders from north, central and south Africa, all of whom were unaware that their behavior and opinions were being recorded and evaluated for the CIA by the Agency's agents there.

Young also attended other international meetings, including the 7th annual International Student Conference in Nigeria, in 1957.

According to Phil Sherburne, NSA President at the time the CIA expose occurred, the CIA was particularly interested in sponsoring work with student unions "in developing countries, particularly those in Africa," and "especially Nigeria." Attending as an NSA delegate, Young presumably monitored the Nigeria conference for the CIA. As Michael Wood, the former NSA Director of Development who broke the story to Ramparts put it, "All those people who go to the ISC were witty agents." (NT Times, Feb. 19, 1967).

After completing his stint as ISC North American Secretary, Young was rewarded by the Agency and NSA with the post of NSA Overseas Representative. This was described by a former NSA Staff member as a "thank-you-job," for "service well done." It amounted to free travel money for the recipient, with occasional attendance at student conferences and reportage back to the Agency as the price for the travel benefits. Young held this post from at least February, 1959 when he left ISC in the Netherlands, until the fall of 1959 when he returned to the United States to enroll at the Harvard Graduate School.

Following his NSA and ISC work, M. Crawford Young has returned to Africa on at least three occasions. In 1961-1962, he worked in the Congo while a graduate student at Harvard, before coming to Wisconsin in 1964. He taught the academic year 1965-1966 at Makerere University College, Uganda, and also recently returned from a tour of several African nations, reportedly on University business.

Nostradamus, born in 1503, is still remembered for his prophecies, but was condemned by a group set up by the Roman Catholic church in 1781 to examine many books and manuscripts.

Australia has a net migrant intake of about 80,000 people a year.



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## Army Math Research Center:

# Imperialism on Campus

Last spring during the police riot, a speaker at a library mall rally tried to explain the Madison police in terms of U.S. imperialism. A person standing near me in the crowd suddenly shouted, "talk about us." I mention this because the speaker, far from trying to use the occasion for his own purposes, was actually trying to locate the real causes of the riot. His failure to communicate was important because it was representative. There is a lingering suspicion that anti-imperialism is a line not an analysis and is, in terms of the particular, not all that relevant.

The purpose of this article is to talk about imperialism in a particular and quite possibly parochial way—namely, in terms of the university. There is an obvious level on which imperialism exists—R.O.T.C., war research contracts, etc.—but that level, really, is only a visible top to a much larger ice-berg. Like an ice-berg, imperialism in the university is more dangerous as it is hidden, and the hidden part of imperialism at the University is far more massive than the visible. Interlocking systems of financing, politics, and inherited cultural values, ultimately bring imperialism into contact with the everyday lives of every administrator, teacher, student, and worker on campus. Imperialism is the *raison d'être* for the continued existence of most, if not all, American Universities.

At the outset, it is important to understand that imperialism is not a policy to be implemented or changed according to who sits in the White House or in Congress. Rather, it is a system, representing a very particular stage of capitalist development. If it is responsible for the murder of children in Vietnam, it is also responsible for the last good movie you saw, for the records and books you buy, for the food you eat. It sustains J. Edgar Hoover, Melvin Laird, and Hubert Humphrey; it also sustains the people you love.

Lenin noted five key features of imperialism. It is probably important to keep them in mind as we go along because, aside from comprising an uncomfortably applicable diagnostic chart for our society, they reinforce the sense that imperialism is a process whose consequences are ultimately bound up with everyday life. Imperialism, he noted, was marked by: the emergence of monopolies as a decisive factor in economic life; the merging of bank capital with industrial capital thus tending to create a financial oligarchy in the nation; the export of capital as opposed to the export of commodities; the formation of international capitalist combines. These first four features create, of necessity, the last feature, the one we more normally associate with imperialism, the territorial penetration and subjugation of other countries. In addition, Lenin observed that imperialism, because of its enormous profits tended in the mother country to create privileged groups of workers separated from the rest of the working class. An imperialist country, then, was characterized both by great wealth and decay—decay because the system, depending as it did on the wealth of other countries for its own sustenance was ultimately parasitic, even as it seemed to create affluence.

Any reader of Jim Rowen's "Profit Motive 101" will immediately recognize some of the ways in which the financial interests of the University of Wisconsin reflect some of Lenin's key features. Monopolies, the mixture of bank and industrial capital, are vitally bound up with the University's ability to function. Without its far-flung and interconnected money-making interests, its regents, alumni, and "friends," of Wisconsin, it would effectively cease to operate. The appointment of regents who also happen to be high-powered capitalists is not merely the result of back-scratching in the State House, but of sound (according to this system) financial planning. The greed of this or that regent and the health of the university are not necessarily contradictory at all. In the case of one regent (the late Oscar Rennebohm), we saw that they were actually complimentary.

When we come to something like the Army Math Research Center, we get more to the everyday operation of the University. The people who work at AMRC are academics; their work is not directly concerned with profiteering. Yet, the operation of the Center, in ways going far beyond its immediate value to the U.S. Military, is as inevitable a part of imperialism on campus as the financial oligarchy who control the university.

The Army Math Research Center was created in the 1950's in response to a general drive by the Defense Department for expansion of research and development facilities in the nation's universities. If the Defense Department's interests in universities were not entirely gratuitous (remember the cold war?), neither were the universities' receptivities to the D.D. Last year, America's ever-expanding universities found themselves \$8 billion richer thanks to money from Defense. The Army Math Research Center was awarded \$1.4 million of that total.

The AMRC was set up to provide research in four general areas (legitimate math departments have many more). The reason for the limitation was to provide a steady stream of work in those areas that the Army felt would have special applicability to its own needs. Applied rather than "pure" research was the focus and as spokesmen for the AMRC will quickly point out, that meant research that could be applied to non-military as well as military purposes. AMRC's staff is, it is quite true, for the most part made up of people who are interested in math—not war. It is also true that AMRC offers math researchers (particularly young ones) a genuine opportunity: research uninterrupted by teaching, administrative work, or other outside chores. Furthermore, these researchers are under no obligation to shape their work to the particular needs of the military (although who gets taken might well depend on the project work involved). Most AMRC work is published in open journals, and is, in the words of one of the Center's spokesmen, "accessible to friends and enemies of the U.S. alike."

Yet, for all the legitimate work that goes on, AMRC is vital to the military. The fact that legitimate work goes on, far from removing the center from complicity with imperialism, enables us to see in it a kind of model for the

way in which an academic discipline can be subverted. In the first place, not all staff members are disinterested scholars. The director of the Center, J. Barkley Rosser, for example, as early as 1947, had written a book on the mathematical theory of rocket flight. A director of the "Focus Project" for the Institute of Defense Analysis during 1959-61, Rosser received a commendation from the Secretary of Navy for work on the Polaris missile (1960). More recently, Dr. Rosser co-authored a project (with two other AMRC staffers) entitled "The Probability of Survival of a Subterranean Target Under Intensive Attack."

The division of the staff between permanent and non-permanent members is another factor in determining the value of the center to the military. In addition to 12 Research Fellows, the AMRC had over 75 staff members in Fiscal 1968. Of these, only ten held permanent appointments (permanent appointments, by the way, have security clearances; non-permanent people ordinarily do not). The value of these permanent staffers is summarized in the 1968 report of the AMRC to the Army:

These are specialists in areas of value to the Army. They have responsibility for the long-range investigations of MRC. Not only do they themselves carry on active research in their specialties, and do some teaching and directing of graduate student programs, but they help select able people for the non-permanent members of MRC who will carry on mathematical research of relevance.

Even if one allows for a certain fund-raising servility in the tone of the report, what it says speaks for itself:

The permanent staff of MRC, and to a lesser extent the non-permanent members, furnish instruction to Army personnel, advise and assist them with respect to the solution of mathematical problems, make technical studies of the use of mathematics by Army activities, and participate in Army sponsored mathematical meetings and discussions. (p.3)

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The permanent staff, in other words, controlling the operations of the center, can appoint non-permanent people whose major interests are indeed in math rather than war—but whose work will invariably have application in those areas determined by the military to have special and immediate interest. No obligation of allegiance or collusion is called for (other than accepting a choice deal from a dirty source), in fact, politics, left or right, become wholly irrelevant. On this level, the Army and its collaborators in academia, have harnessed potentially useful research that might otherwise have been spread around in many different journals and university departments.

On the other hand, while this division creates a good deal of "open" research at the center, it also helps provide cover for more directly related war work. For such work does indeed go on. The advice and assistance of AMRC staff, casually alluded to above, takes the form of both on-campus and off campus work. For example, Army personnel involved in particular projects, may come to the center for consultation on special problems. In some cases, Army personnel are granted "Research Residencies" which involve extended stays of time. In Fiscal 1968, Army personnel from the Watervliet Arsenal and the U.S. Army Coastal Engineering Center were entertained at AMRC. Visits by AMRC staff to military installations also take place. A sample of some of the 1968 visits are as follows:

Feb. 6-10. At the invitation of the Army, Professor Herman F. Karreman visited a number of installations to be informed on the air defense activities of the Army. This involved visits to the Air Defense Training Center at Fort Bliss, Texas, to White Sands Missile Range, New Mexico, and to the NORAD Center of the North American Air Defense Command, Ent Air Force Base, Colorado. At each installation, Professor Karreman called attention to the availability of MRC for technical assistance and

advice. At the NORAD Center, he discussed the work of the MRC on the probability of survival of a subterranean target under air attack with Lt. General Robert Hackett. In answer to requests made during his visits, Professor Karreman upon return sent information about the activities and capabilities of MRC and about their in-service educational program to Major General George V. Underwood and Colonel M.A. Rodgers of the Air Defense Training Center, to Major General H.G. Davison, Col. D.F. Jones, and Dr. James Pappas, White Sands Missile Range, and to Lt. General Robert Hackett and Dr. John Sterrett of the NORAD Center.

July 6-7 (1967). Professor Bernard Harris attended the second meeting of the Joint Munitions Effectiveness Manual/Surface to Surface Methodology Committee held at the Ballistics Research Laboratories, Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland.

Oct. 30 - Nov. 1 (1967) Dr. Rosser attended the Conference on Unguided Rocket Ballistics sponsored by the White Sands Missile Range and held at New Mexico State University....As a result of some technical questions raised at the Conference, Dr. Rosser later wrote to Dr. Louis D. Duncan, White Sands Missile Range, giving additional information about his treatment of the Runge-Kutta method and sending him a copy of TSR No. 698.

May 28-29. Professor L.B. Rall attended the review of the Military Theme "Mathematical Analysis of Nonlinear Systems" held at Harry Diamond Laboratories, Washington, D.C., and presented the work done by MRC in this area during the previous two years. Presentations were also made by a number of research contractors and representatives of various Army installations concerning achievements in this area, and problems requiring future attention.

In making basic distinctions between military and non-military work, there is a danger of oversimplification. For while it is true that certain kinds of research and "assistance" are more flagrant than others, it should be kept in mind that there is an important relationship between disinterested scientific research and the interests of the military-industrial complex. The innocence—perhaps I should say the uselessness—of much of the material emanating from the AMRC is part of what the Army is paying for. The Army's goal is not merely to get scientists to build bigger and better bombs for them (that surely is involved)—but it is also to create dependencies, dependencies which can be refunded in the form of cooperation—if not outright support—in matters having ultimately little to do with science. For there is also another side to "open," innocent work done at the AMRC. In a nutshell it adds up to furnishing the Army with the intellectual respectability needed to win over not the hack laboratory technicians but the good, working scholars and researchers in America's universities. The AMRC has aided the Army in this regard in a variety of ways but nowhere more clearly than in its sponsorship of national conferences around current interests in mathematics. These conferences, covering such esoteric topics as "Theory and Application of Spline Functions," attract pure research specialists and personnel from industry and the military as well. The reason for such an amalgam is clear: the topics of interest are both attractive in themselves and extremely useful in terms of military and industrial applicability. The mix of academic, military, and industrial personnel (present at every one of these conferences) may be illustrated by looking at one conference, an "Advance Seminar on Stochastic Optimization and Control," held at Madison, October 2-4, 1967. Some of the Army installations represented were: White Sands Missile Range, Harry Diamond Laboratories, U.S. Army Behavioral Science Research Laboratory, Army Edgewood Arsenal, Redstone Arsenal, U.S. Army ROTC (U. of Wisconsin, Madison), U.S. Army Research and Development Group for Europe (Frankfurt, West Germany), Office of the Assistant Vice Chief of Staff, Ballistic Research Laboratories, Aberdeen Proving Ground. Professors from the following universities were also present: University of California - Berkeley, University of California - Los Angeles, Stanford, Cal Tech., Brown, and Wisconsin. In addition, representatives of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, Boeing Scientific Research Labs, and the RAND Corporation were in attendance. The conference topic, which had applicability to a divergent number of interests, revealed how intertwined—and in terms of scholarly research, how collusive—the AMRC's operation is. In relation to the military and its satellite industries, the conference had particular value in problems of ballistic missile systems. But stochastics, a legitimate field of concentration in mathematics, has applied value in literally countless areas of technological and industrial activity, and any company might have found value (that is, profit) in the work of the conference. In fact, the interest of the military in the AMRC is not exclusively military—it is also economic and political. That is, it is in the Army's best interest to draw scholars and researchers into positions of cooperation and collusion with the economic and political powers of the state whose interests the Army will wage war for. There was a flyer put out by the AMRC last fall during a period of hyper-nervousness (SDS was supposed to be preparing to seize their building, napalm their files or some such); it was designed to broadcast the really peaceful pursuits of the Center. It is possible that an incredibly wondrous naïveté found only in the furthest reaches of mathematical esoteria could produce prose of such an order, but what it reveals is more interesting than what it hides:

The work of the Center has been described as devoted to maintaining the nation's position in science and technology among the countries of the world.

The problems on which these scientists work are as varied as their individual backgrounds. A few examples will illustrate the kind of thing that an applied—as

(continued on page 9)



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# Power and Powerlessness

By Jim Rowen

The cry "Power to the People" is not merely a slogan; it is a recognition that power has been stolen from the people, and until it is repossessed our society and institutions will remain fundamentally exploitative and unjust.

Power to the People is as applicable and as necessary a demand on a college campus as it is in the ghetto or the factory, and on campus the "people" means the students. At Wisconsin, and on campuses across the country, students are being victimized, usually with institutionalized subtlety but with increasing brutality, by a power structure consciously built and perpetuated by the state's wealthy ruling class.

I have written a detailed study of who this power elite is and how they have functioned since the late 1950's. It is not my intention to rehash that analysis here, (see Profit Motive 101: University Power Elite, in the library or at the Cardinal). Rather I would like to briefly discuss the power structure and dwell on the consequences for the powerless student, hopefully giving students a framework of analysis with which they can relate to the University and the society that created it.



It is surely the most basic rule of capitalism that economic power which yields social and political power rests with those who control capital—either cash or credit—or the manufacture of goods and services which are sold or exchanged. Obviously, then, banks are prime centers of power in a capitalist society, and particularly in the United States, where banks have established effective control of major industries across the land through the means of holding companies, director interlocks and ownership of major blocs of company stock. All these relationships between large American banks and the 500 biggest corporations are minutely detailed in the Patman Report, which is essential reading and reference for anyone wanting to understand the intricacies of modern monopoly capitalism.

Unfortunately, however, the Patman Report does not conceptualize universities as corporations, a predictable error considering the mythologies insulating higher education from meaningful analysis. But it is clear that the University is a corporation treated and controlled by Wisconsin's banking companies as if it were a foundry or a paper mill.

In the state of Wisconsin, there are several bank holding companies, which are organizations of banks in different cities run by one controlling board of directors. The largest of these is the First Wisconsin Bankshares Co., made up of 12 banks which dominate the money market in Wisconsin's major cities, Milwaukee and Madison. Officials of this company hold key positions on University dummy corporations, supporting foundations, the University Board of Regents, and the financial advisory staff.

Bankshares has been involved in lucrative University business for a long time, including the construction of dorms and the University's most spectacular intervention into the private economy, Madison's Hilldale Shopping Center. The Regents have also purchased approximately one quarter of a million dollars in Bankshares stock.

The Regents are constituted like a company board of directors, with appointment for a nine-year term by the Governor as a reward for faithful allegiance and financial contribution to the successful candidate. Three-term governor Republican Warren Knowles will shortly replace lone Democrat Maurice Pasch and complete his total partisan sweep of the University Board of Regents.

Who are these men who preside over a multi-university? Educators? No. Businessmen, and not mere petit bourgeois middlemen or shopkeepers, but powerful industrialists specifically selected to maintain a particular climate on the campus favorable to expanding capitalism. We shall see shortly that their conception of a university is directly opposed to that held by an increasing number of students.

The heart of the Regents decision making concerns expenditures; its budget (half a billion bi-annually), its trust funds (\$43,000,000.00), purchase of stocks and bonds, construction, and other similar decisions. These

decisions are made in the Business and Finance Committee, composed of four Regents and the Regent President as an ex officio member. These five men, Walter Renk, Gordon Walker, Bernard Ziegler, Charles Gelatt and Dr. James Nellen (ex officio) are the upper echelon of corporate Wisconsin. Renk is president of Renk Farms, and Renk Enterprises, a Director of American Family Insurance, General Telephone Co., Wisconsin Power and Light, and First National Bank of Madison, (part of Bankshares holding company referred to earlier). Walker is a Director of Bankshares holding company, American Bank and Trust, Jacobson Manufacturing Co., Wisconsin Metal Products Co., and President of Walker Forge, Inc. Gelatt is a Trustee of the enormous Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co. Ziegler is a Director of the West Bend Mutual Insurance Co., First National Bank of West Bend, Security Company of West Bend, and President of The Ziegler Foundation. Regent President Nellen is a Director of the Green Bay Packers, Inc. and is their team physician. These five Regents are usually and generously referred to as the "conservatives" complimented by four "moderates" a convenient minority.

As businessmen, regents have profited for years from University investments and projects in their own companies. Profit Motive 101 details the profits made by Regent Renk, and former Regent President, the late governor Oscar Rennebohm. Charles Gelatt's Northwestern Mutual has some very lucrative, Regent-approved rental contracts with the University. Bankshares business now also profits Gordon Walker, a recent appointee to the Board. Surely Regent Nellen will favor the University plan to permit Green Bay Packers to play an exhibition game at Camp Randall stadium. However morally questionable or upsetting this kind of personal profiteering is, it is not this predictable business phenomenon with which we are most concerned.

Rather, the Regents must be viewed as part of the ruling elite, running an institution second to none in the maintenance of an expanding capitalist economy through the production of certain kinds of students, and the continuance of certain kinds of research. This is what Universities and University Regents are about, and new students absolutely must recognize these facts as early as possible in their years at Wisconsin.

The University of Wisconsin is one of the major research institutions in the United States, carrying out about \$175,000,000 annually in research and development contracts with the government and private industry. A reading of the Regents' monthly minutes and accompanying index of Gifts, Grants and Contracts is well worth the time.

The board inquires of University President Harrington, "How well did we do" in obtaining money this month? Harrington says "pretty good," "not bad" or "not good," and then explains. What follows is the index. About 90% of the money is from the U.S. Government which pays for both innumerable individual projects and major centers on campus which contribute to pacification Americana at home and abroad. Maintained here is ROTC the Army Math Research Center, (dealt with in an article elsewhere in this booklet,) the Land Tenure Center, (State Department), the Institute for Poverty Research, (OEO), and other Army, Navy, Air Force, NASA, AID (State Department), programs.

The other major segment of monthly funds solicited by the University comes from industry, which sponsors research and fellowships in their fields of interest. These grants amount to cheap labor and research which the corporations get from the University. In the month of July, the latest Gifts and Grants listed the following U.S. companies making research arrangements at Wisconsin:

Gulf Oil, Reynolds Metal, U.S. Steel, Oscar Mayer, Green Giant, Dow Chemical, General Foods, Del Monte, United Fruit Co., Kennecott, Campbell Soup, Abbott Laboratories, National Canners Association, Merill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith, Ralston Purina, Chevron Chemical, Shell Chemical, Packerland Packing Co., Wisconsin Berry Growers Association, and numerous other companies and groups.

What the Regents do is to maintain a climate on campus, and continue to build facilities that will attract this research money. As bankers and industrialists, they have the most to gain in helping the system along.

But in the past few years, there has been a growing problem. The students have become unwilling to be molded into the future business leaders of tomorrow, and from an industry filling station to a relevant institution for solving the social problems that capitalist America has created. While the Regents are greasing the machinery

the students have been throwing in monkey-wrenches.

The Regents, and the administrators have made various responses to this problem of students who want to take the power to change the direction and definition of the University. They have reacted to the problem with police assaults and lately military occupation. Yet this kind of singleminded attempt to crush an ideology has backfired on universities, who find that they can stop an immediate demonstration with violence, but only insure an increased number of future manifestations and participants by ruling with the unsheathed bayonet, the flailing billy club and clouds of gas.

So now Regents, with the eager cooperation of State legislators, are employing reactionary political and economic strategies in an attempt to stifle trouble before it breaks out. Wisconsin has cut the quota for out-of-state students, on the Bull Connor logic that outside agitators not social contradictions are responsible for social unrest. Tuition skyrocketed in the belief that upper class students will demonstrate less than the middle or lower class and will more willingly graduate into an industry position.



ID cards will be required for all students, fulfilling the outside agitator theory that the non-student is the true trouble-maker. Women's hours will probably be reinstated, in the belief that the enforced double standard is the way to pacify women. The Cardinal received Regents' economic sanctions, but embattled papers do not roll over and die. The Regents are trying everything and anything to lobotomize, threaten and anesthetize, or destroy, students' growing consciousness of the American University. Yet with all these plans, there is but one error. They will not work, but will only intensify students' attempts towards changing the definition and role of the University.

All Power to the People means that student's don't have it yet, but the recognition of the importance of the University to the ongoing society is a spur towards organizing to gain power. Departmental organizations and untenured faculty can be expected to make great strides in the academic/political year of 1969-70. The TAA, now the official bargaining agent for graduate assistants, is now organized to fight for the interests. University officials are digging in; students are getting it together, too, and this year will probably see the results of this growing fight over power. Power to the People.

## Army Math Research Center

(continued from page 7)

opposed to pure—mathematician is thinking about when he is at work.

One, for example, studies the strange properties of elastic substances, the mathematics of bending and cracking which concerns all who deal with new plastic bonding fibers—engineers, architects, sculptors, furniture and aircraft designers, luggage manufacturers.

Another puzzles over the waves which steadily wear away beaches and cause deterioration of wharves and pilings. He had found, for example, that bottom contours even a great distance at sea have a profound effect upon the shape and intensity of the waves that pound the shore.

A branch of mathematics that concerns another specialist deals with the properties of materials which flow. This is of great interest presently in a wide range of fields from aerodynamics to sewage disposal.

It is of little concern that the applied researchers depicted above never have a martial thought (actually they do—"aircraft designers" and "aerodynamics" are in this sense, marvelous portmanteau terms), but, far more interestingly, their utopia of applied math is a good representation of imperialism. To work on "applied" mathematics is, in terms of this country, to work nearly always on problems that have value to the private enterprise system. The private enterprise system, at its presently matured stage of development, depends on

its ability to penetrate foreign markets, to dominate and, if need be, militarily subjugate other countries. It is on behalf of all the "peaceful" uses of applied math mentioned in the flyer that the U.S. military readies itself with ever newer, ever more efficient instruments and policies of death. "The nation's position in science and technology among the countries of the world" is, given our social system, that of oppressor to the oppressed.

The Army Math Research Center provides just one example among many at the University of Wisconsin of how imperialism operates in day to day campus life. In a sense, the example is an obvious one, because of the direct involvement of military interests. Thus, there is an inherent danger of seeing the problem as one simply involving militarism. Militarism, to be sure, is part of the problem, but only part. ROTC, some of the more directly related research projects (such as building tank engines for the Army), are also only partly to be understood in terms of the military. The deeper problem is imperialism. In future pieces, I will attempt to describe operations within the university that are less obviously related to the military but that more certainly show political and cultural processes which are inevitably associated with imperialism. It is only when we understand that what we oppose is rooted not in a set of conveniently invented (and hence conveniently disposed of) demon myths, but in the very tissue of social life itself, that our understanding of what must be done will become irrevocably clear.



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# A Survival Lesson on Gas

What follows below may be used as a practical, do-it-yourself handbook.

It is an outgrowth of the chemical warfare waged by police against students and other Berkeley citizens this May. If you want a guide to first aid in case you are gassed or maced, clip it out. Paste it in your medicine cabinet, or carry a copy with you.

The article is reprinted from the May 25, 1969, Instant News Service, a bulletin issued each day during the Berkeley People's Park crisis. It is based on an interview with Chuck McAllister, coordinator of the medical first aid groups in Berkeley and member of the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

There are five kinds of chemical riot control agents used in Berkeley in recent months, as can best be determined by persons treating the injured: 1) CS tear gas, 2) CN tear gas, 3) nausea gas, 4) blister gas, and 5) mace.

Be aware that the police use some canisters that blow up in your hand when you try to pick them up... Do not use vaseline for any gas because gas adheres to vaseline and causes more severe burning; vaseline can be used for mace, which is a liquid (see below)... A rubber gas mask is an ideal protection against any gas except nausea gas (see below)... Wet paper towels can be used for breathing more easily with any of the gases... Surgical masks, which are good protection against the two tear gas (CS and CN), can be picked up from a medic... Do not rub your eyes after being gassed or maced but do carry and use eye drops... Do not try to get gas or mace off your face with soap because it might run and get in our eyes, irritating them further... The long term effects of gas and mace are not known.

## CS Tear Gas

**Dispensing.** The gas comes in various kinds of canisters, in plastic grenades, in pepper fog machines: it is also sprayed from helicopters.

**Properties:** CS is a very heavy, potent tear gas which contains burning and nausea agents, in addition to normal tear gas agents. CS, along with blister gas, is a fat soluble gas with a peppery smell.

**Symptoms:** Harassing sting, nausea, reddened exposed area, burning feeling, tears, runny nose, tightness, coughing, and in some cases sneezing.

### Treatment

1. Irrigate eyes, preferably with a diluted solution of boric acid (3 parts water to 1 part boric acid) or—if not available—with tap water.

2. Clean eyes with standard, over-the-counter eye drops (such as Murine), putting in the drops from the inside (i.e., the nose side) toward the outside.

3. Get the gas off your skin. The best way is to apply mineral oil (with a sterile gauze pad or sterile cotton

ball) to the face and other affected areas. Mineral oil breaks down the gas. If you don't have mineral oil and can't find a medic with any, immerse all exposed areas in water and then wipe the entire area except the eyes with isophopyl or rubbing alcohol. Alcohol sets up an evaporation process, cooling the stinging and subsiding the pain.

If you don't follow the immersion in water with alcohol, the stinging will last 30 min. to 2 hours (depending on amount of exposure), but if you use it the stinging will subside in 5-10 minutes.

**Protection.** A rubber tear gas mask is the best; in place of that, use wet towels or surgical masks.

## CN Tear Gas

**Dispensing.** CN is packaged the same as CS.

**Properties:** The mildest form of tear gas used, CN smells like apple blossoms and is water soluble.

**Symptoms.** Same as CS minus the nausea and stinging—all symptoms are milder. You can be exposed to CN for a longer period than CS without serious side effects except in the case of a heavy concentrated dose which can be lethal.

### Treatment

Same as CS except for getting the gas off your skin. With CN, immersing the exposed area with plain water is sufficient—you don't need mineral oil or alcohol.

**Protection.** Same as CS.

## Nausea Gas

**Dispensing.** As far as known, this gas has been dispensed locally only in canisters. When it lands, the canister lets off a small puff of smoke and then... nothing. It looks like a dud but it's not.

**Properties.** Clear, colorless, odorless. It does not affect the tear ducts and is, therefore, not a tear gas.

**Symptoms.** Projective vomiting, in which the contents of the stomach are forcefully ejected several feet. (Projective vomiting could make a person tear his stomach or esophagus linings). Instant diarrhea (within 2-3 minutes) with severe stomach cramps. (Severe diarrhea could cause rectal hemorrhaging). Upset mind balance—you have difficulty functioning which in battle is a bum trip. Pain and heat sensations in lungs—persons with upper respiratory difficulties (asthma, bronchitis, etc.) are the hardest hit.

### Treatment

See a physician if symptoms do not disappear or if they become more pronounced (i.e., if breathing becomes labored or if diarrhea persists for, say, two days).

**Protection.** The only thing to do is run like hell in the opposite direction. Do not pick up the canister. Do not wear a rubber gas mask because you might choke on your own vomit (the gas is absorbed by the skin). If

wearing a mask, rip it off and run.

## Blister Gas

**Dispensing.** Comes in a canister.

**Properties.** White powder which, like CS gas, is fat soluble.

**Symptoms.** Blistering—instant or within 48 hours—similar to second degree burns. Generally does not affect tear ducts or nose membranes.

### Treatment

Pat exposed area with sterile gauze saturated in mineral oil (or, if not available, salad oil) and treat as second degree burns (wrapping in sterile gauze, padding, keeping away from air). See a doctor.

**Protection.** Rubber gas mask (surgical mask isn't sufficient), gloves, cotton hose (nylon probably isn't enough), long pants, shoes, neck wrap—i.e., covering up as much as possible since whatever is exposed is liable to be blistered. Anyone blistered is advised to stay off the streets since the pigs could conceivably pick you up for sporting blisters.

## Mace

Mace differs from the chemical agents given above in that it's not a crowd control device—it's used more on person-to-person contacts with one blast felling maybe 4 out of 50-100 persons.

**Dispensing.** Mace is a direct-stream liquid dispensed in propellant canisters. Reportedly, the N.Y. Police Department is working on packaging mace in grenades, which would make mace a crowd control device.

**Properties.** Mace is a liquid composed of: 1) Approximately 10 per cent CN tear gas which, in a direct stream can do severe damage (temporary or permanent) to the eyes, 2) approximately 70 per cent general propellant (whatever it is that makes it jet out), 3) approximately 10 per cent kerosene (this causes the burning), and other things.

**Symptoms.** Severe pain in eyes (feels like hot poker stuck in eyes), watery eyes, temporary blindness, reddening and burning of exposed area. If sprayed into a person's mouth, it can cause convulsions.

### Treatment

1. Heavy irrigation of eyes for period of 15-20 minutes with boric acid solution (see CS) or plain water, including all of affected area.

2. Wipe affected area except eyes with isopropyl or rubbing alcohol to dilute the kerosene and subside burning.

3. Apply eye drops.

**Protection.** Ski eye goggles. Also, vaseline can be applied prior to exposure and wiped off immediately afterwards.

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Violinist Andor Toth, cellist Gabor Rejto and pianist Adolph Baller, performing together as the Alma Trio, have played to packed houses both in New York's Town Hall and on tour in the Soviet Union. Organized in 1944 at the Alma Estate of Yehudi Menuhin in California, the trio has toured extensively in North America, Europe and the Far East. Their repertoire includes both standard and contemporary trios as well as sonatas, in which individual members perform as soloists.



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# Speculator-Developers Control Housing

(continued from page 1)

of both apartments and rooms has been developing near campus, largely due to speculation by the larger property holders in the area. As a bloc this small group is gradually taking effective control of the future supply of housing in Madison.

The existence of a shortage of housing in the city (largely due to the real estate industry) is not a new phenomenon for Madison. The shortage was so acute in 1950 that the Madison Housing Authority applied for federal funds for a public housing project. In order to get funds MHA had to prove a need for low rent housing which was not being met by private enterprise. Their survey of the city showed an immediate need for 300 low-cost units.

The City Council approved application for federal funds to plan the project and was believed to be favorable to the entire project. Wingra Homes, as it was called, was attractive to the city because no city funds would be required, the project would more than pay for the cost of services (like sewer, education, and streets), and it would be built on city-owned land which was producing no income at the time.

The last step necessary was for the council to approve a cooperative agreement, which would promise that the city would match the 300 new units with the repair, improvement, closing or demolition of 300 existing sub-standard units. City action had already begun on this when the real estate industry stepped in.

Council approval was halted by a group of city realtors who petitioned to have a public housing question placed on a referendum ballot. The question was vaguely worded, with a YES vote counting against the project, as well as against any future public housing construction in Madison. An intensive and expensive campaign, filled with distortions and fear tactics, was conducted by the anti-public housing group. According to the anti-housing group, MHA was going to demolish private homes in the city regardless of their condition, so it could get federal money (Wisconsin State Journal 10/5/50). A majority of the voters were convinced by the campaign to vote YES.

The referendum resulted in the death of Wingra Homes and the perpetuation of the housing shortage. It left the entire Madison market open to private enterprises and speculation except for the University housing but in this, too, the real estate industry exerted its influence to stop the new University housing.

University enrollment has increased rapidly from the mid-fifties; from that time until 1965 the University tried to keep up with these increases by building dormitories and grad student apartments. As this happened, however the University expanded in other ways; new class and research buildings had to be built, parking had to improve, service facilities had to be provided.

All of these things required land and to get land close to campus meant that student apartment buildings would have to be torn down. Since the opening of Ogg Hall in 1963, University expansion continued, enrollment has gone up, apartments have been demolished, and no new University housing has been built.

The University in 1963 asked the State legislature for funds to construct apartments for single undergraduates to alleviate the growing shortage of privately operated units. The University already owned land (across from the southeast dorms) and has plans already drawn up. At the legislative hearing on the appropriation, a group of Madison realtors (some of them campus area speculators) appeared and, with help from favorable legislators, convinced the Republican-controlled body that the apartment business should be left to private enterprise. Newell Smith, director of University Housing, believed that the 400 units in the project would fill a temporary vacuum, but that it was only a stopgap measure and more would be needed later.

The Legislators were convinced, however, that private enterprise was willing and able to provide the necessary housing. This was an obvious misperception of the Madison real estate industry, for there had not been one low or medium priced apartment building built in the city since 1959. The complete faultiness of their reasoning is further supported by the fact that private enterprise in Madison has still not built a single low or medium priced unit since 1959, and that the units being built are becoming increasingly more expensive and increasingly more profitable for landlords.

It is apparent that the Madison real estate industry as an informal bloc has nearly absolute control of the supply of housing and has the power in both city hall and the Capitol to maintain that situation. With the University continuing to expand (2000 beds within one mile of campus have been eliminated during the past four years) and temporarily unable to construct new housing of its own, control of the apartment supply has become concentrated to a great extent in the hands of a few speculator-developers who have the ability and the money to put up new housing if they so desire. The result of all this has been that students have been forced to move farther away from campus, live in high rises not designed for the comfort of residents, and pay exponentially increasing rents.

The University dorms are the only living units for undergraduates not under private ownership. Because they are owned and operated by the University (a non-profit institution) room and board rates would presumably not change as much as would the rents in privately owned buildings. Room and board rates have increased from 3-10 per cent since 1965, a very small increase in comparison to changes in other units.

The problem with the University dorms is that they are designed to house large numbers of students in an uncon-

fortable fashion. Rooms are small and usually shared, joint facilities such as bathrooms are usually crowded, and study facilities are poor where they exist. The University dormitories do offer advantages not available in private dorms or apartments. It is easy to meet new people (an advantage for entering freshmen), cooking and dishwashing are avoided, and cost is relatively reasonable for a student who eats three meals per day. Few students, however, are able to endure more than two years of these advantages. They then venture out into the completely new world of privately owned housing.

Ten years ago private student housing consisted almost entirely of old frame houses which were rented as flats. Since that time many of these houses have been demolished for University expansion or for construction of medium or high rise type apartment buildings. The remaining houses have been filled to maximum allowable capacity with students and elderly persons, who are victims of the poorest maintenance and the largest rent increases.

The Mifflin Street area is the only near-campus neighborhood which has not yet seen the beginnings of the trend toward high rises, at least not on the surface. There is one new high rise on the fringe of the area, Perry Towers, which rents for \$87.50 per person per month for a one bedroom unit for three. Other than that, the only units in the area are old frame houses which provide the only medium rent housing left in the campus area. If the real estate industry is able to carry out its present plans, in conjunction with, and with substantial help from, the city, frame houses and medium rents will become things of the past, as will the Mifflin Street community.

The City Council has rezoned the entire area for high density residential construction. The city is currently rebuilding and expanding the sewer system in the area with the knowledge that within several years the area will be almost entirely high rises. Absentee landlords have allowed properties to degenerate in order to save on maintenance costs and to make razing buildings for high rises appear more justifiable.

City Building Inspector Leo Burt toured the area following police action last spring and found over 600 building code violations in the four block section. He "ordered" them corrected by July 15. On reinspection on the 15th, fifteen of the 113 buildings with violations had complied with the order; no punitive action was taken against the landlords who had failed to repair their properties.

Eighth ward Alderman Paul Soglin researched the speculative market in the neighborhood last winter and spring, and that work revealed an interesting pattern; properties are being purchased in blocks by speculators for prices far above standard market value. The intent of this is to acquire enough adjoining parcels of land to enable the developer to raze existing buildings and build a high rise, which would accommodate many more students and at higher rents. Small landlords are being forced out of the area by the large speculators. Once the small holders leave, the market will become similar to the

(Continued on Page 17)

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# Smile: University Requires Photo ID

The University will begin the massive job of photographing all students during registration week this fall, and expects to complete it during the first week of classes.

The announced purpose of the pictures is for use on University identification cards which all students will be required to carry, although the requirement is almost meaningless since students cannot normally be required to show the cards, according to Wisconsin Attorney General Robert Warren.

The University, however, will be able to reproduce the photographs and may keep copies in its files. These copies, if kept, could be used to identify students in photo-

graphs of disruptive activity. University officials contacted by The Cardinal said they did not know if the University would keep copies of the photos.

The University has for years taken photographs of entering freshmen. These are sent to the office of the dean of the college in which the student is enrolled. These pictures are of little use in identifying student disrupters because University officials would not know which dean's office to go to unless they already had some idea of who the disrupters were or which college they were enrolled in.

These photographs are taken during registration. They are taken in the summer if the entering student goes through the summer orientation program.

New photographs of all students must be taken this fall because the existing photographs will probably not be suitable for identification cards, University officials told The Cardinal.

The University has photographed student disruptions in the past but has had difficulty identifying the students in the photos. Some students have been identified because other persons have recognized the students pictured.

Warren said students could be required to display the cards when the campus is closed to nonstudents during emergencies, which is allowed under a new law passed by the legislature as a response to student disruption. Police would continue to have the right to require persons reasonably suspected of wrongdoing to identify themselves,

Warren said.

The cards would therefore be useful only in circumstances where a student can be required to identify himself or show that he is a student.

The suggestion that photographs be included on ID cards was first made by the regents after the October 1967 Dow protest, according to University Vice President Robert Taylor. The regents then noted that some students were arrested, had given false names and claimed not to have identification, and were released without being taken to the police station. These students could not be identified later.

However, there has been no allegation of difficulties in identifying arrested students since that time. Arrested students are normally taken to the police station and positively identified before they are released. The regent action approving the ID cards came more than a year and a half after the 1967 Dow protest.

The suggestion was frequently made in discussions at recent regent meetings prior to approval of the new cards, that the cards would aid the administration in controlling student disruption. However, no specific illustrations of how possession of the card could make it easier to identify a student disrupter were ever given during these discussions.

Students who have not preregistered will be photographed as part of the registration process. Others will be photographed during the first week of classes.

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## Discipline: Double Jeopardy

(continued from page 5)

criticized by the regents, who noted that both had been convicted in court.

The regents chose not to take the extreme step of assuming jurisdiction of the cases and reversing the com-

mittee's decisions. However, the criticism could mean that the committee will be largely bypassed in the future, with all important cases going directly to the regents. The one case which arose since the faculty committee was criticized was taken directly to the regents.

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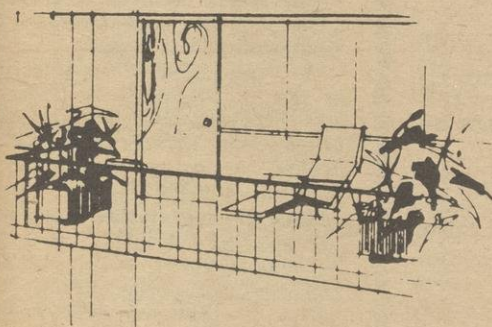
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# Black Studies Chairman Linked To CIA Positions

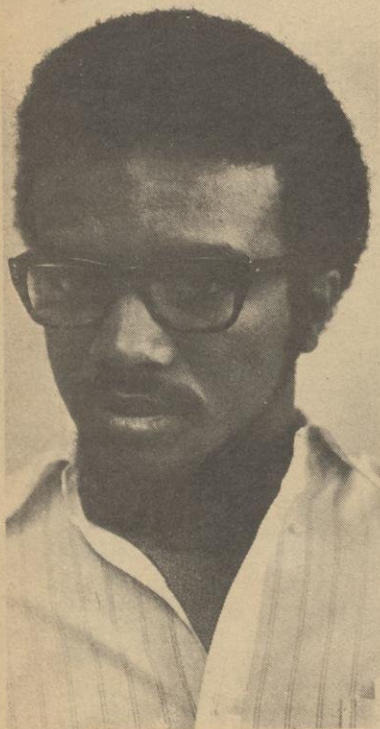
## Young Criticized By Chairman of Black Council

A spokesman for the Black Council said Monday that he believes M. Crawford Young, Chairman of the Steering Committee for the Black Studies Department, is trying to play a subversive role in the formation of the new department. Horace Harris, Chairman of the Black Council, believes Young's motives are contrary to the interests of black students.

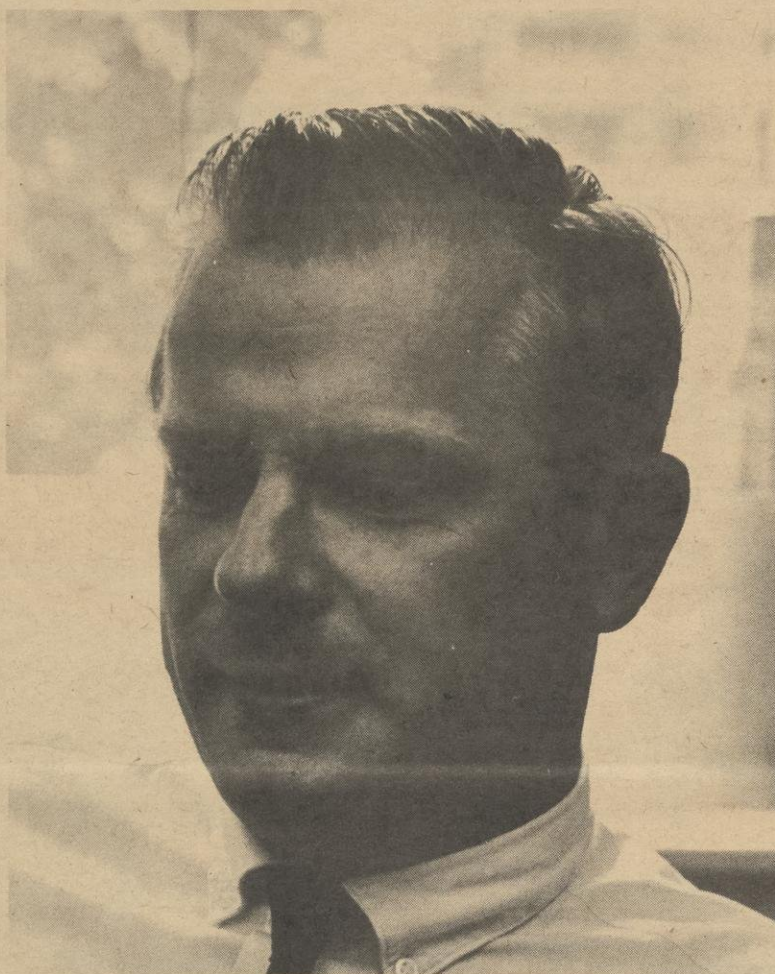
The steering Committee which Young chairs was set up by the faculty after the February strike. It was designed to include seven faculty members and two students. However, the Black Council has not appointed any members to the committee and will not do so until a black chairman replaces Young and the members are changed to make the majority black. The Council is also demanding that it be allowed to name seven black student observers to the committee rather than two student voters.

Young refused to give up his chairmanship when asked to do so by the Black Council last spring. Harris believes Young wanted to retain his position long enough to shape the direction of the department. The committee is presently drafting a proposal to the state's Coordinating Council on Higher Education outlining the department's planned areas of study and budget. Young and the committee are also interviewing and recommending possible faculty members. As soon as three tenured faculty members are chosen, the committee will be dissolved, and the faculty will operate the department.

According to Harris, the steering committee has three black and four white members. However, there was only one black present



Horace Harris



M. Crawford Young

at the committee meeting he attended. Harris said the University has repeatedly told him and the Black Council that it is seeking more black members, yet no changes have been made.

Harris added, "The University sees it in its own interest not to serve the interests of black students. That's why it staffed the committee as it did, and that's why it selected Young as chairman."

The Black Council is made up of twelve black students elected during the first week of the February strike. It is this group which will select seven student observers to the committee if and when it gets a black chairman and majority.

The Council suggested possible committee chairmen only recently because it did not want to be held responsible for any decisions, since it has no real power. The Council also assumed that a majority of blacks would be named to the committee, and that the chairman would be black.

Criticizing the fact that five out of the seven members of the committee are Africanists by training, Harris said he did not believe that Chancellor H. Edwin Young and the administrators who appointed the committee could think that being an expert on Africa had anything to do with understanding the lives of Afro-Americans.

In an article Harris wrote for The Daily Cardinal in May, he said, "If, however, the Chancellor and his committee were serious in their commitment to get timely and significant black student participation and if they were interested in a department which addressed itself to the needs of Afro-Americans, then there would be no deadlock on this issue of student participation."

## Young Held Strategic Post During NSA-CIA Affiliation

Prof. M. Crawford Young, Chairman of the Afro-American Studies Steering Committee set up by Chancellor H. Edwin Young following the February Student Strike, was an important CIA employee while holding a top executive position with an international student group and various posts with the National Student Association in the 1950's, (NSA).

Prof. Young, also an Associate Dean of the Graduate School and reportedly in line for the Chairmanship of the Political Science Department, was an official of the International Student Conference (ISC) located in Leyden, the Netherlands. Young was the North American Secretary on the ISC's ruling Secretariat for eighteen months, from September, 1957, to February, 1959.

In the 1950's, the CIA had infiltrated NSA to further the cold war struggle for the allegiance of the world's young leaders. The ISC, a union of many dozens of student associations around the world, was established in 1950 by the NSA as a counterpoint to the International Union of Students (IUS) which was allegedly "pro-communist" and sponsored "pro-communist" world youth festivals and congresses. NSA itself had been founded in Madison in 1947 through the efforts of 25 anti-communist American students who had bolted the IUS in 1946.

According to a current NSA spokesman in Washington, the position of ISC North American Secretary which Young held was "a very important position, traditionally held by someone who knew of the NSA-CIA relationship. His job was to monitor the activities of the other members of the ISC Secretariat." A foreign student under CIA observation had his personality evaluated by the NSA undercover agents, and his backers and detractors were also recorded, all for possible use in the future should the CIA wish to bargain with or pressure a student leader.

These reports, according to Ramparts (March, 1967), were helpful to the CIA in evaluating the political tendencies of students who were

likely to become national leaders in "critical areas of the world." Predictably, the ISC's official position on world issues was pro-Western.

The ISC received financing from two foundations which were identified as major CIA conduits channeling CIA money to the NSA. These foundations, the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs and the San Jacinto Foundation, provided the ISC Secretariat, of which Young was a member, with large sums of money until the NSA-CIA relationship was exposed.

An explanation of the selection of the top NSA-CIA job trainees was provided by a former NSA officer who served in the early 1960's. According to this knowledgeable source, the ISC North American secretariat was "one of the real top jobs." It could be held, however, only by someone who had gone through the CIA's International Student Relations Seminar.

This "leadership training" was given perhaps 15-20 persons, chosen from several hundred applicants. Only a mere three to five individuals were selected from each year's class to assume high level NSA-CIA positions. These elite trainees were then made "witty." This was the CIA's term for those who were informed of the CIA's undercover work through NSA. "Witty agents" were then made to sign a security oath, a violation of which could result in a 20-year prison sentence. Past and present NSA officials stress that the ISC secretariat post had to have been held by an agency employee.

Persons holding the ISC North American secretariat received benefits from the CIA, including the opportunity for future government jobs. M. Crawford Young's immediate predecessor at ISC, Robert Kiley, moved to an ex-

(continued on page 6)

## Editorial Insult Upon Insult

Let the facts speak for themselves:

In February black and white students refused to go to classes to support the demands of the Black Council. Among those demands was one for a Black Studies Department controlled by black students and faculty. The result, which can hardly be labeled a response, was a nine man steering committee consisting of four white and three black faculty and two students to be appointed by the Black Council. And now this supreme insult to the blacks: M. Crawford Young's credentials are uncovered.

And you, Chancellor H. Edwin Young, what did you know about the man whom you appointed to the post? Could it be true that the great University corporation did not know whom it was appointing to this chairmanship? Or did his credentials make him an obvious choice for selecting the correct three faculty members in whose hands the Black Studies Department would be formed—after all, M. Crawford Young knows the who's who in Africa?

It is too simple to only demand that Young be removed from his chairmanship, for the University has shown that it cannot be trusted. The initial demand was for a department controlled by the black students; that only can assure the development of anything meaningful to the blacks whom that department would serve if any would still consider entering or remaining at this University after such duplicity.

And what about the highly taunted neutral University? This incident can hardly be labeled highly objective neutral academics. It seems that the ivory tower is fast proving itself a whited sepulcher. If the University has any function in society, it must serve one hundred per cent of the people, not a handful of real estate speculators oligopolies, and the government which they control.

It is the frustration resulting from incidents such as the Young case which has driven students to revolt and even attempt to destroy the ugly symptoms of a concrete world. It is this frustration which forces innocuous campus newspapers to radicalize their perspectives.

Do not worry; Ah, do not fret: This old train will get there yet!



# Tenant Union

(continued from page 14)

Langdon Street area, where high rises have been in operation for several years with another new one under construction.

High rises could potentially fill the housing need in Madison; high rises as they are now being built are only aggravating the situation. The most widespread objection to high rises, such as the Surf, Perry Towers, and Henry Gilman, is that they are designed for profit with little consideration given to the persons who will be living in them. Neighborhood residents now have no choice as to what kind of housing is being built because developers are all building high-rise, high-rent units with stifling character exceeded only by the University dorms.

Henry Gilman, a luxury building which opened a year ago, presents an example of the priority of property over people in the construction of this type of unit, as in most of the rest of the real estate industry. Tenants in Henry Gilman are paying six months rent for unused porches because the landlord needs the outside space provided by porches to bring his building within city specifications. City law requires that an apartment building have a minimum amount of outside area per resident and per square foot of living area. Henry Gilman has very little actual outside area and most of that is taken up by a concrete parking lot. In order to meet city regulations without having to build a smaller structure, the developer added porches to each apartment. According to city ordinances porches are considered "outside space," even though these porches are surrounded on three sides by concrete. Given Madison's weather these porches are usable for only two or three months of the school year but tenants still pay 9 1/2 month's rent on them. The attitude toward tenants shown by such actions is hardly one of concern for their well-being and welfare.

Rents in high rise units are clearly in the luxury range. The campus area and the city in general are not in need of luxury apartments but this is the kind of housing being provided by private developers. The increase in luxury living units and the accompanying decrease in the number of low and medium rent units have had a great effect on the overall rent situation. Mr. Gil Hamre of the University Housing Bureau estimates that the average rent for most

double apartments has increased about \$5-10 per month per year since 1965. According to Mr. Hamre this would mean that "an apartment which rented for \$115 per month in 1965 would cost about \$140 per month for the next school year."

The Housing Bureau listings from four years ago had many single rooms which rented for \$7-10 per week. At the present time there are no units listed for less than \$10 per week. Another example of the spiral is an apartment for five girls which rented for \$60 per month per person last year. The rent for the coming school year will be raised to \$67.50. Since the apartment is on the customary 12 month lease this increase amounts to \$450 per year in income for the landlady for one floor of a relatively old frame house. All of these figures are for older units whose rents reflect the change in the city's real estate market. They point to the fact that it is now possible for landlords of older buildings to increase rents each year, without improving the buildings, and still be able to fill all the units.

When questioned as to why they have written such sudden and drastic increases in rent into their leases, most landlords will cite rising taxes, maintenance costs, inflation, and competition as reasons for their action. The effect of these factors cannot be denied but the real reasons for most of the increases, as well as the rents charges for high rises living, can be attributed to the real estate industry itself.

Taxes in Madison have risen sharply since 1965; the mill rate has jumped from \$42 per \$1000 of assessed property value to \$53 in that period. An increase in taxes of this magnitude makes it near impossibility to hold rents at or near their 1965 levels.

It is difficult to determine the exact effect of taxes, or any of the other factors mentioned above, on the rent for a particular apartment or building. It can be shown however that more important reasons behind the rent hikes than these are factors which are completely within the control of the real estate industry. The most important of these, namely the artificially controlled shortage and speculation, have great bearing on where rents are set in Madison.

To support the thesis that taxes and inflation are far from the prime components in establishing rents, a look at rent trends at the Regent will be helpful. The Regent is owned and operated, through a holding company, by two Wisconsin based corporations, Towne Realty and Northwestern Mutual Insurance Company. By aligning

with Northwestern, Towne Realty has been able to take advantage of a Wisconsin state law which exempts insurance companies from paying property tax on holdings like the Regent (or Towers, which Towne/ Northwestern also own). Rents at the Regent would, there-

(Continued on Page 19)



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# Tenant Union

(Continued from page 17)

fore, not be influenced to any degree by changes in local taxes.

In spite of this, rent for a two-bedroom apartment for four persons has risen from \$625 per person per school year in 1965 to \$750 for the coming year, an increase of 20 per cent in four years. It is extremely hard to believe that the combined effect of inflation, maintenance costs, and cost of living add up to 20 per cent since 1965. Increases at the Regent must be attributed in large part to the desire on the part of the corporations to realize a greater profit from their investment and also to the fact that demand on the Madison market is high enough to make such drastic increases possible.

Another example of the fact that the rent spiral is primarily due to the landlords is the treatment by landlords of elderly residents of near-campus houses. With alarming frequency couples who have lived in neighborhoods their entire lives are being forced to move out by landlords, so that the landlord can pack his apartment with students who are able, though not necessarily willing, to pay higher rents and live in more cramped conditions.

Incidents like this, involving elderly persons, lifelong neighborhood residents, and working families on the East side, are becoming commonplace for Madison. They hurt all persons involved except the landlord. They also point out the fact that no one with any power in the real estate game is watching out for the interests of tenants.

It is in response to this that the foundations of a city-wide Tenant Union were laid during the past months. Before discussing the Union, however, it is necessary to look at attempts in the past to try to go through "legitimate channels," particularly state and city government, to solve tenants' problems. These channels have been tried and have consistently failed to offer any meaningful solution to the housing crisis in the city. The stances of these legitimate agencies are much more closely aligned with the interests of the real estate industry than with those of the tenants.

The state's most direct contact with Madison housing is its control over University funds. As discussed before, the Legislature in 1965 killed an appropriation for funds for apartments for single undergrads. At this same time the Legislative committee which heard testimony on that appropriation made a study of campus housing and decided that there was no need for the state to intervene.

There was either a lack of foresight or understanding on the part of the committee or an intentional oversight of the real problem, because Newell Smith, University Housing director, has stated that by 1975 the University area will need about 8000 new housing units to accommodate rising enrollment (Daily Cardinal, 10/17/68). The obvious contradiction between these two views is explained by the fact that the Legislature is unlikely to favor any move which would assume responsibility for areas traditionally in the realm of private enterprise.

Another influence on the city market which is due to state action (and inaction) is the tax loophole for insurance companies. The statute which gives companies like Northwestern Mutual their protected status was passed in 1941—the bill was authored by then-Senator Warren P. Knowles.

The loophole was never strongly challenged until just recently when it was publicly revealed that Northwestern owned Towers and the Regent and that the city was receiving almost no income from the buildings. Estimates of the amount of revenue lost to the city because of the loophole ran into millions of dollars. During the current legislative session Assemblyman Ed Nager from central Madison proposed a bill which would eliminate the exemption. Despite the largest public outcry ever heard on the law, the Nager Bill was easily defeated, 83-17.

The state government has taken no other official position in reference to housing during this session. The unofficial stance of the state is still similar to its mood during the last session, when Milwaukee Mayor Maier tried in vain to get the Legislature to reconvene to consider urban problems, mainly housing. The legislature has considered only one bill which might help urban housing problems, a receivership law, which would grant to cities over 10,000 the power to take possession of buildings which are considered slums and which the landlords will not repair themselves. The bill has passed one house but has been forgotten because of the lack of budget and other more pressing matters. Other than this little help can be expected from the Capitol, least of all financial help.

City response to the housing crisis can come from several sources: the inspection department, planning department, City Council, or the Mayor himself. Responses have varied, depending on the particular situation, but the net result has been that the city has generally allowed the real estate industry to develop the city as it sees fit.

Besides building code enforcement, the city can exert effective control over the real estate industry through zoning ordinances. Events during past years, however, point to the fact that the city is not holding strictly to its own long range plans for the city and is willing to grant special requests to developers who need zoning changes and variances.

City Council has rezoned entire areas (Mifflin Street for one) for high density residential living units. Council has also granted variances in zoning ordinances for buildings which did not meet city regulations for some reason. Devines Tower was granted a variance to allow it to be built to a height of more than ten stories. To get such variances for a new apartment building had been a relatively routine task until the past year.

The incident which marked a change from the pattern, and which presented a first effort to unite tenants in several parts of the city, was the Jennifer Street rezoning. Realty Associates (whose directors include a University Regent) applied to the city for a spot rezoning of a medium density residential area, so that they could construct a luxury high rise on a block of land they had pieced together. The building was to be the first student unit to be built on the East side and would have set a precedent for future development.

The difference between this and other spot rezonings



was that the Jennifer St. neighborhood is a non-student area where little resistance was expected to the project. Neighborhood residents quickly banded together and appeared at hearings and council meetings on the subject. Student groups also opposed the rezoning attempt for basically the same reasons—the high rise would be replacing low-rent houses and neither the students nor the working people on the East side were willing to allow the luxury apartment trend to continue without a fight.

In spite of pressure brought by citizens groups the City Council approved the rezoning, but not without the strongest opposition ever seen in council to such a move. The rezoning decision still had to be signed by Mayor Festge so the groups concentrated their efforts on his office. Pressure brought to bear on Festge from Assemblymen, councilmen and University professors all helped to convince him to veto the application.

The opposition to the Jennifer St. rezoning was significant because it set an example for other neighborhoods faced with the possibility of extinction because of high rises. It was also significant because it marked the first time that student and non-student tenants had banded together in any way to protect their common interests. The Jennifer St. case showed many persons that the absolute power over the housing market now enjoyed and exploited by the large developers need not be the case. Neighborhood residents do have the ability to stop plans by the developers which are contrary to the needs and desires of the community.

In response to the housing situation and the apparent lack of desire among responsible parties and legitimate channels to change it on their own initiative, the Madison Tenant Union has begun laying the foundation for a permanent organization of all city tenants. The need for such a union should be obvious in view of what has been discussed to this point. The sense of urgency has developed, particularly among student tenants, although there are parts of the city with poorer housing conditions than the student community.

The long range goals of the MTU include recognition of the Union as the collective bargaining agent for tenants, rent control or reduction, acceptance of a model lease, and a voice for tenants in the long range planning of the city. Obviously none of these are going to be easy to gain, especially given the closeness of city landlords in times of trouble. In order to expect to ever achieve any of these goals the MTU will have to build an extremely large and well organized block of tenants. As seen in the past, tenants when acting as individuals are powerless against landlords and are generally ignored when decisions on housing are made. With the existence of a strong union landlords could no longer afford to ignore the wishes of tenants. As a group, tenants would have economic and political power in matters which are now in complete control of real estate speculators.

Most of the summer has been spent by MTU workers in trying to settle on a plan for organization of the Union. In order to develop the strong base of support needed for the union to be effective, the union will be organized from the bottom up, with the basis of organization being geographic locals. Locals would be limited to 50 tenants and each local would elect a steward to the policy-making body for the union. Current plans call for beginning to recruit members for the Union in September.

During the summer, work has continued on publicity, legal research and realty research. A grievance committee has taken up the task of formalizing complaints against landlords and will be able to handle tenant problems, in conjunction with Legal Aids, in September. Union workers have been in contact with tenant organizations in other cities, particularly the Ann Arbor

rent strike, and much has been learned from them which has been and will be of assistance in trying to organize Madison. The one feature of the MTU which makes it unique from other Tenant Unions is that MTU is consciously trying to organize a union which includes all renters in the city. This includes students, laborers, retired persons, professors, store renters and dormitory residents.

A broad base as now envisioned by Union workers is expected to present some problems in coordination, but it also will make more tactics possible and will also allow the union to operate on more than one front at a time and in a more aggressive and effective manner. The ultimate weapon of any union is the strike and the possibility of a rent strike will always be present. The strike, however will probably be employed only if other tactics fail to achieve union aims. Among the other tactics being considered are rent slowdowns, boycotting, direct negotiation with landlords, lobbying, and legal offensives.

Several areas which the MTU will have to consider are involvement in long range planning and zoning and in actual entry into the speculative market. Efforts on the first area have already begun. Contact with faculty members in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning and the Union will in the future be able to present a constructive alternative to the current trend in city housing, with the emphasis on serving the needs of the community rather than the interests of land speculators.

For the time being it may be necessary for the Tenant Union, or groups like Madison Association of Student Cooperatives, to consider purchasing rather than renting buildings. The Mifflin Street Coop is within a few months of being bought out from the owner by a developer, for the purpose of building a high rise. If the co-op is allowed to go under for this reason, there will be little that can be done to save the rest of the community from extinction. The Co-op has considered outright purchase of its building but if that is to be done, action will have to take place very soon and will require a great deal of support from students and all other tenants in the city.

Another possibility is to obtain finances for the purchase of older houses from Housing and Urban Development (HUD), which has established a loan fund to help University and student groups to establish living cooperatives. The Inter Cooperative Council at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, was granted the first loan under the program two months ago to build cooperative housing for 200 students.

Another welcome side-effect of purchase might come if the houses purchased are in strategic locations such that they break up attempts by speculators to build high rise lots. This type of backward blockbusting could potentially be an effective weapon against the high rises.

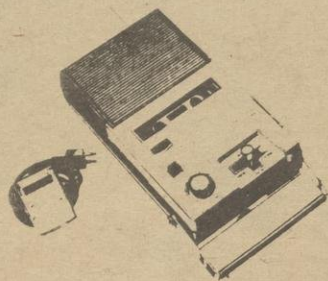
The role of the Tenant Union, in addition to working to protect the interests of tenants, will also be to coordinate efforts of this nature. The potential for a mass organization is present in the city now and, in light of what has been presented here, the formation of the MTU cannot be delayed any longer. Those who have control of housing now (i.e., any but tenants) are unwilling to change their practices and policies, other than to make them worse. Tenants are beginning to see that the only way this trend is going to reverse is for them to take action. It has been tried before, by individuals, civic groups, student tenant groups, and lobbyists—all have failed. The tenant union approach can work because it will have the one thing which landlords will respect—collective economic power.





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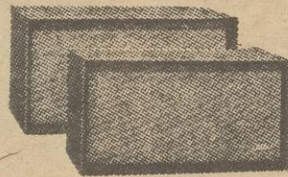
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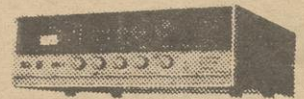
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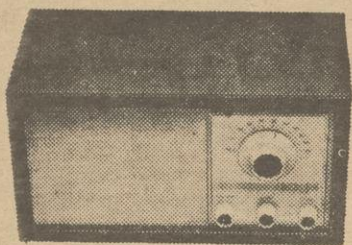
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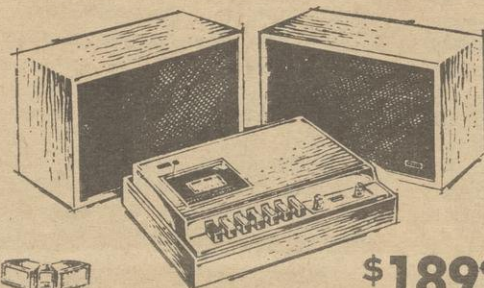
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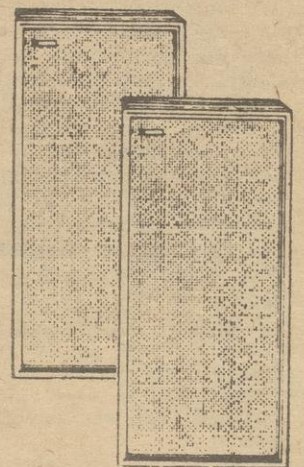
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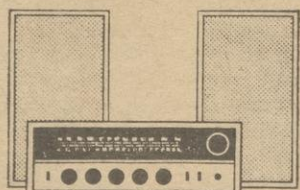
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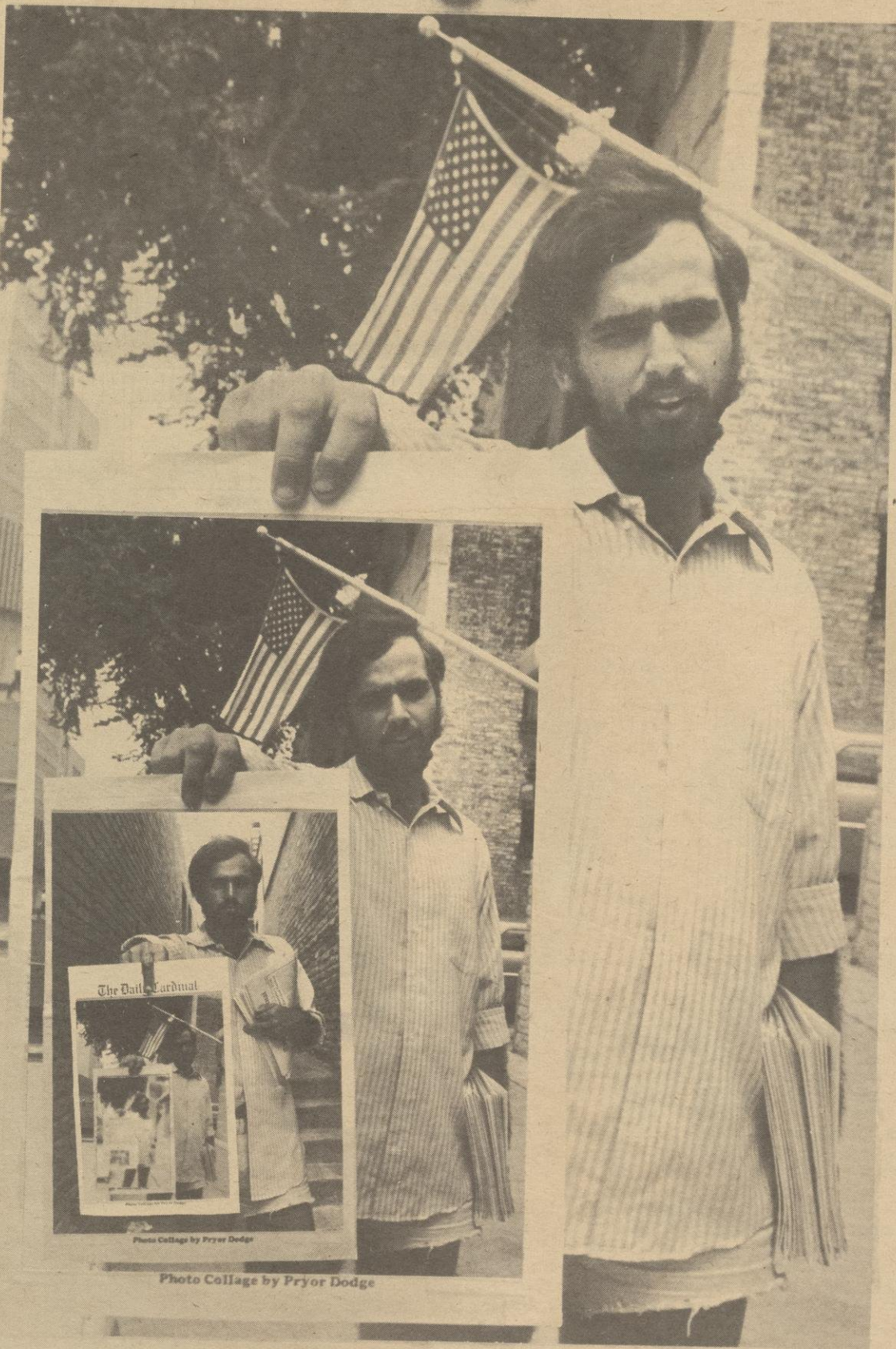
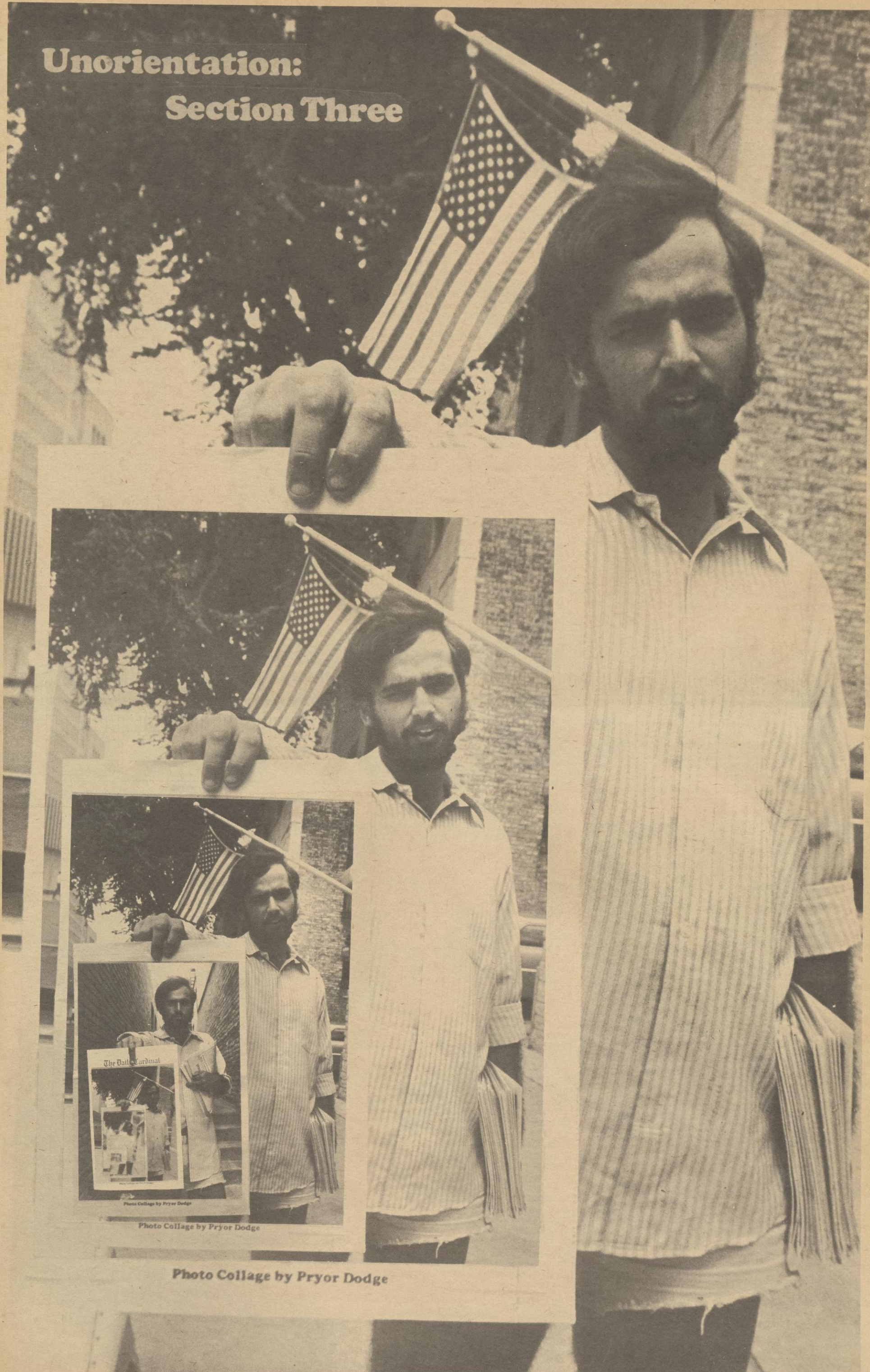


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# SDS On Campus, 1968-69

Wisconsin was next on the SDS list of schools to be liberated, Columbia four months before and now Madison would fall before the wrath of student revolutionaries, at least that was the way Newsweek saw it in September of '68.

In terms of the tension and excitement on campus that first week the media wasn't that far wrong. Out in front of the union amidst the hawkers of underground rags, folks seemed to be flocking to the SDS literature table asking when will it happen and over what issues, not will it but how and when! People were coming up and asking okay how exactly is this University screwing Vietnamese people, black people, and working people and what are we going to do about it?

All of which this University was and is doing, but what did we as the organized left on this campus reply... well we blubbered out, people need to understand how to take control of their own lives, this University should be confronted in departmental organizations, in the dorms, in the class rooms over why students don't have a say in the decision making. People we said should continually confront those professors on why students can't go to departmental meetings and vote or we should go into a class room and bicker with some professor over the lack of small discussion sections while that same professor 50 minutes later will go back to his office and work on his book for the State Department. Or go to a dorm floor and talk about the food and the paper thin walls and that somehow all of this would magically lead folks to a radical understanding of chaos of America today.

Five hundred people came to that first SDS meeting and we led them into nonsense and jive, for the first six weeks last year SDS insulted the students of this campus intellectually and politically. A large segment of this campus either understands or is open to understanding that the National Liberation Front, (NLF) is just and speaks honestly to its people and the United States government is an oppressor and that Huey Newton and Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party are leading black people to their liberation and Carl Stokes of Cleveland ain't.

So the fever of that first week was quelled by those first SDS meeting. But then the November 5 non-elections were approaching and there seemed to be a hope that the broader and most important issues might be brought home, so we had our midnight poster raid, "Strike 3 Nov. 5." "Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win." And a march Nov. 5, down State St., 3000 people in the streets saying there was no difference between Tricky Dicky, the Hump and Wallace.

Then 2000 of those folks came back to the Union theater and SDS proposed that there be a building seizure, protesting the elections, the return of Dow on Nov. 8 and that within those buildings we would build something, we would begin to use the facilities of this University to serve the people of the whole world.

But folks couldn't understand it, and rightfully so, what were our demands on the University, what specifically were we trying to expose, what exactly could we do in those buildings the two hours we'd be there before the pigs would come and beat our heads a la the Dow demonstration of 1967, is SDS just setting folks up to be clubbed.

The problem was that those questions couldn't be answered because our own desire to show this University up for what it is and to break out of our narrow anti-authoritarian organizing overshadowed our political sense of present coherent winable demands and tactics that wouldn't mean certain slaughter.

Our constituency, the people that we are supposed to reach, defeated us, at the time we considered it a liberal defeat of radical politics, that it wasn't, it was simply a defeat of adventurist non-sensical politics. Nevertheless, SDS retrenched into the panacea of internal education and we planned for the spring semester.

The San Francisco State strike against racism waged on and we passed over the significance of that event and said an anti-imperialist struggle was the thing for this campus. The blacks here wouldn't move, showing the depth of our own racism. To believe that 400 black students from the most active and oppressed caste of people in America could be so removed that they would not move in behalf of their own people shows how deep white supremacist attitudes have been ingrained in us. So we didn't educate ourselves in the true history and nature of racism in this society and we and the black students would pay the price later.

In January, 1969, we decided that there was and is no reason why this University should be allowed to continue to carry on a ROTC program and send officers to hinder the Vietnamese revolution for national liberation. There is likewise no reason that the Army-Math Research center should continue to work on the ABM and generally pervert science into something that oppresses instead of liberates. This University should likewise cease in the job that its doing on Latin American peasants through the Land Tenure Center. And finally, the Agency for International Development (AID) funded the Thailand Project that trains administrators for the oppressive right wing dictatorship of the Thai govt., that should stop too.

As the new semester started these were the targets. Pamphlets were produced, ROTC classes zonked, organizing began to be done, things were starting to come together. Amidst all of this, the University was sponsoring a Black Revolution Conference, a conference that was to be the great pacifier, the great co-opter. But instead it was the catalyst.

So on a cold Friday in February, 13 non-negotiable Black demands were issued forth on this University which included an autonomous Black Studies department controlled and organized by black students, at least 500 more black students, and the admission of the expelled Oshkosh students. Thus a student strike was called.

Classes were entered and stopped by roving bands of blacks and their white supporters and the demands read and explained. A rally was called for late Friday where there were further explanations. Another rally called for noon, Saturday. More speeches, further explanations and pep talks, but it was clear by Saturday that the black leadership was just killing time during those speeches.

This University was on strike over black demands

and it appeared that the administration didn't understand what that meant, for a basketball game was continuing as scheduled. The Black Council explained said all functions of the University would cease until the Black demands were granted.

Four hundred demonstrators chanting "On Strike, Shut It Down" marched from Great Hall, up and down State Street, and then across University Ave. towards the field house, just two or three pig cars, things seemed cool. The pace picked up. We were running to get in those field house doors. This goddamn racist University is on strike and that's it, but then suddenly we were there and shit, there were 200 riot police at the doors inside, a few people got in, a few arrested, a few windows busted, we couldn't all get in, but the point was made. Wait till Monday we will stop classes at this University.

Sunday was generally a day of reorganizing in large dorm meetings and in the student community. Monday was a day of large scale picket lines and scabbing students were talked to as they entered buildings. Some classes were broken up despite the Chancellor's edict that anyone disrupting a class would be arrested and expelled.

Tuesday—in the afternoon impenetrable picket lines and fights between strikers and non-strikers. Late Tuesday smiling Ralph Hanson (head Kampus Kop) led 300 Madison riot cops onto campus and they cleared and shut down Bascomb Hall and Commerce.

Wednesday saw more pigs, mobile picket lines and crowds went into the streets stopping traffic on State St., University Ave. or wherever.

Law and Order Knowles called the National Guard late Wednesday, which resulted in more striking students into the streets. Completely mobile tactics were the thing. Roving groups of 300 to 400 strikers roamed the streets disrupting traffic and splitting when the pigs or guard showed.

Thursday night we marched, 10,000 of us marched down Langdon and fraternity row, Wisconsin Ave. around the square and back to campus. Friday was a repeat of Thursday but with fewer people. The intensity of the strike was waning. People were saying that a week was enough and that they would have to go back to classes. Folks knew that their professors were going to try and mess them over and so it was back to the class room drudgery and get the degree which few people really want but which in this society most people seem to need.

In terms of what was gained, the University said they would look for more black students (don't count on more than 150) and that they would initiate a Black Studies Department. To show their sincerity the University appointed Prof. Crawford Young the chairman of the steering committee for the Black Studies Department. Crawford Young has had a long history of CIA connections, through his years working for the NSA and later when he toured Africa.

Essentially the strike ended on that Friday in failure. A large part of the responsibility for the quick end to the strike must fall upon SDS. Organizers before and during the strike did not explain the nature of racism and lay out what black people were fighting for and why and the difficulty of that task. Furthermore, we couldn't relate that struggle in a way that demonstrated how very basically it was in students' interests to wage that strike for as long as necessary because that struggle was objectively much more important to them than the classes or degrees of this University.

What we didn't explain then, and what we must continually explain now, is that black people have been consistently throughout the history of this nation the most economically oppressed; in other words they have gotten the worst jobs, the worst pay and the least chance for upward mobility. Furthermore and equally important is that they, as Bobby Seale points out, have a language which they share that is different from that of whites, a different psychological response to their oppressive conditions and finally black people are grouped together in specific geographical locations (the ghettos and black belt of the south.)

What all of that means is that black people have a common culture that has been suppressed by White America. Because they have been economically and culturally exploited and exist in a particular geographical location, black people, like the Vietnamese people, are a colony being invaded and controlled by the American power structure. In both cases it has been the white businessman and the white soldier or policeman who have entered both territories to rob those peoples of land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace and their internal life essence.

If we as white people object to American intervention in the nation of Vietnam, so too we should oppose American involvement in the black colony and that we should not oppose the right of self-determination of Third World and Black peoples. We should not then bicker over whether points six or nine of the 13 Black demands are wrong, we do not have the right of do that. We don't have the right to tell the oppressed peoples of Vietnam or Black America what they have a right to demand and not to demand. We have to support those people's struggle for self-determination.

As we explain the historical place of black people, so we must explain the Black Liberation movement today. Just as black students moved here around the need for Black Studies, so they also moved on many other campuses, most notably at San Francisco State College. So there has been too, insurgency in black communities through the organizing activity of the Black Panther Party, and finally in plants there has been Black motion, particularly in the Detroit auto plants through the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

The last two organizations openly proclaim that in their organizing for Black Liberation, the only way to bring that to reality is through a socialist revolution. Black Student Union's across the nation are now saying that the use of Black Studies is to make it possible for black college students to learn how to make liberation of their people possible. What that means to them is an education which teaches socialism and the need for a socialist revolution against the American power structure.

We as whites must understand that the Third World and Black movements are struggling to crush the American economic system and those who control it, and to re-

place it with socialism.

We must furthermore see that the struggle and its aim very basically affects us as white people, for if there is not to be near genocide throughout the world against those movements, we must build a movement in this country to support those struggles, and we must build towards socialism here in white America.

Socialism here, in the context of it being anti-racist and anti-imperialist, would bring a society based on humanity and cooperation and not competition and that would mean a qualitative change in the lives of the masses of this country. Man could become a total human being using the mind, the body, and the spirit.

White students after understanding the oppression of Third World, black, and working people, need to further understand how their studies, their jobs and their lives are not and will continue to be oppressive and that there is a further benefit in allying with Blacks and Third World people in order to smash capitalism and build socialism.

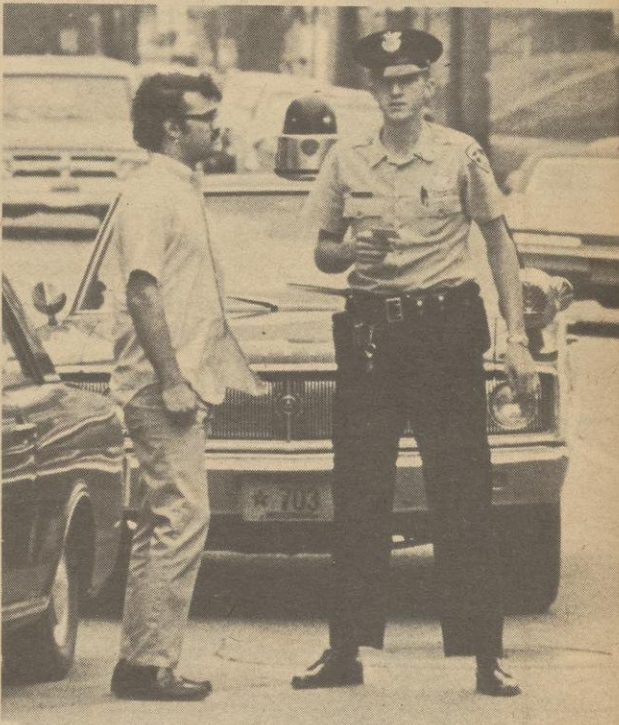
With that understanding the black strikes of the future will not fizzle out after a week, but will continue onto victory. The left didn't do that in February and it must now.

With the completion of the black strike SDS generally retrenched and went through its semi-annual restructuring to the chapter as if that were really the reason for SDS's failings. Then came more talk about an anti-ROTC campaign primarily prompted by The Cardinal's and the Wisconsin Student Association but before and concrete talk about action started..... well there was this block party.

The International Were Wolf Conspiracy (IWWC) a group of really tough anarchists called for just a general fun and games party on Mifflin St., in the heart of the student ghetto. It started slow early Saturday evening with dancing in the streets and food and dope and then the pigs. First the cops just cleared the streets, but the crowds grew, and folks were damn well determined that they were going to have a party—fun that they created and could dig, not as defined by plastic America.

The culture of youth was demanding the streets and we were to have them. Can you dig it? Then came the tear gas canisters and some arrests and beatings by the pigs. And then darkness fell and bricks and bottles came down on the cops more gas, more beatings. Affinity groups threw up barricades surrounding the Mifflin and Bassett St. intersections in front of the Community Co-op and then barricades at Bassett and W. Washington St. Pitched battles against the cops as we held those intersections for six hours.

During those hours folks began to understand what a community was and what pig power was and yes, what people power was and that despite the gas, and the clubs and the cop cars busting through our barricades at 60 mph, despite all of that we could issue forth our own violence and hold those barricades and that turf because it wasn't the Regent's or Mayor Dyke's land. It was ours, and we'd fight for it. At 1 a.m. the pigs took Mif-



lin and Bassett, but we'd be back.

So the battle began again Sunday night and again Monday and before it all ended the battle would move out of the student community and into the State St. business area where the windows of particularly avaricious businessmen and real estate offices were busted, and roving bands would lay in waiting for cop cars and ambush them with rocks, and then split. Thus on the fighting spirit of Mifflin St. the academic year ended.

Let us assure everyone that this next year will be tougher and more politically polarizing than ever before. There most certainly will be actions around Black Studies again and this time we will win.

The perennial issues of ROTC, Math-Army Research Center, Land Tenure Center, and Thailand project will be attacked and beaten. Furthermore with the continuance of the imperialist war in Vietnam there will be organizing during the first part of the year towards returning to Chicago on Oct. 8-11 in support of the NLF, the Black Liberation struggle, Puerto Rican independence, GI rights and fighting for the freedom of all Political Prisoners. The Chicago action is being organized in the spirit of all our battles of the last year the Black Studies Strikes, Mifflin St., People's Park.

So, welcome to the University of Wisconsin and remember, youth make the revolution, youth will make it and keep it, throughout America and the world! Be Strong! Be Beautiful!

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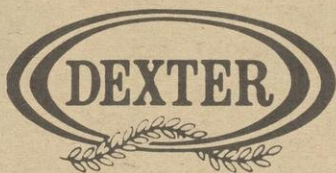
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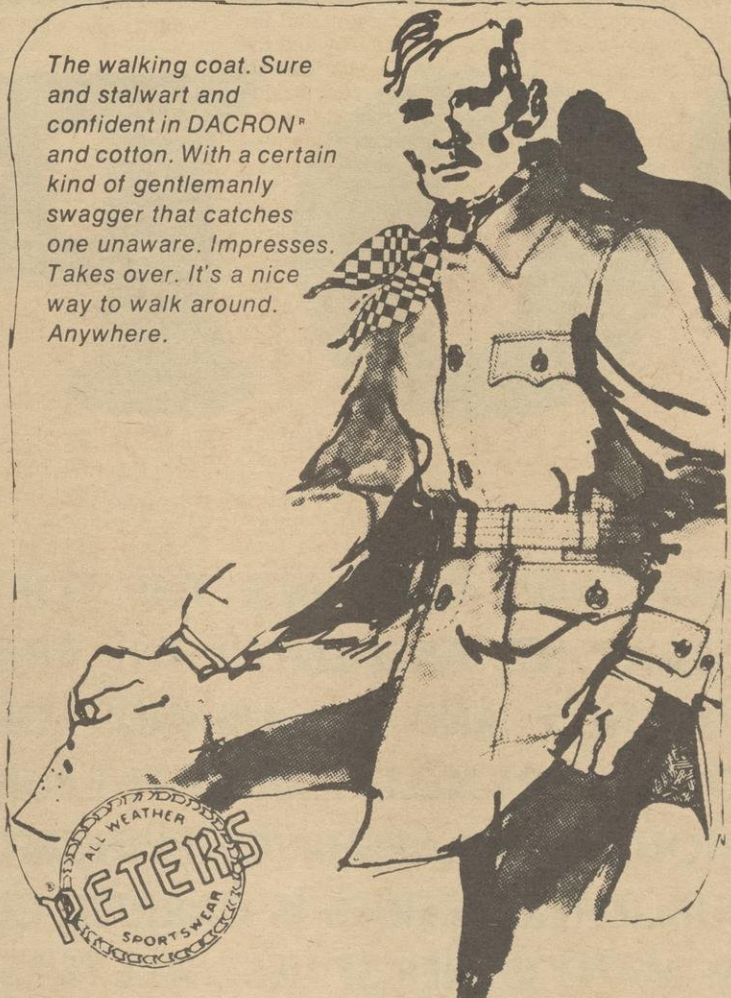
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# Poli Sci Students Organize

PSAS, the Political Science Association of Students, was organized in the fall of 1968 in response to growing dissatisfaction with departmental policies and structures. The general organizational principles focused on fostering a critical examination of courses, internal mechanism of control, and the position of the political scientist in the university and society. A program was developed stressing democratic participation of students in the classroom and department.

Among the struggles engaged in in the academic year 1968-69 were those involving the implementation of a teaching contract among students, teaching assistants, and professors; effective student representation on committees and at departmental meetings; and student participation in the awarding of financial aids as well as examination of the principles determining the allocation of those funds.

An evaluation of the first year of struggle points to several positive trends, if not concrete achievements. "Politico," a departmental newsletter put out by PSAS, has achieved recognized status as a biweekly publication. It serves as a vehicle to discuss and formulate policy and programs and reach the at-large constituency in the political science department.

Although the scope and scale of organizing efforts within the specific political science classes was limited, attempts were made to establish radical caucuses.

One of the most important activities of the year was PSAS' endorsement and support of the black students' demands and strike. The discussions and attack of institutionalized racism led to a follow-up campaign regarding departmental policies of admissions and financial support of black students.

A first attempt to work within the current departmental structure led to the realization that such efforts would result in cooptation and the implementation of a token program based on bourgeois, middle-class values and assumptions. An alternative tactic was adopted in which the faculty and departmental structures were circumbent. A student committee has been investigating possibilities of obtaining independent funds and making contacts for recruitment from black colleges.

On the other hand, we are aware of failures in the past year. In terms of strategy, early efforts were concentrated on attempts to persuade the faculty of the reasonableness of our programs. The result was a theoretical



strategy in regard to both the University and the movement. In addition, too much emphasis was placed upon structural changes, leaving the area of course content relatively unexplored.

Another failure was to organize almost exclusively around issues effecting graduate students, especially student power concerns within the established confines of graduate school. Thus, the failure to evolve programs to draw undergraduates into the activities of PSAS and the movement on the whole. Nor did we tie our activities to the larger questions of the functions of the university in the context of American capitalism, imperialism, and racism. Hopefully the evaluation of both the successes and failures of the past year will lead to a more effective program for the fall that will draw the relationships of specific programs to the larger problems confronting the university and society.

Although PSAS emphasizes democratic decision-making and the full participation of its constituency, several of its members have been meeting regularly throughout the summer. Included in the suggestions put forward concerning a program and series of activities for the fall offensive are: (1) a counter-orientation program for incoming graduate students; (2) the setting up of a series of reading courses for both grads and undergrads in which students could pursue their own interests, i.e., classes that would be collective in structure and most likely radical in content; (3) a campaign against the Ford Foundation for its role in grad school speedup and determination of the course of graduate life, i.e., the necessity of meeting "normal progress" requirements as defined by the department in order to be considered for financial aid, and the funding of imperialist work in the department; (4) the continuation of activities to recruit blacks (and possibly extending this project to include working class whites and third world peoples); (5) mobilizing support for the upcoming anti-war and anti-repression demonstrations in Chicago and possibly Washington; and (6) the continuation of the struggle to achieve meaningful student participation in departmental decision-making structures. We welcome additional suggestions, invite participation, and encourage individuals to organize in the classrooms both to implement radical caucuses and teaching contracts and question the imperialist and capitalist assumptions and content.

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# Third World: Power of Unity

During the spring semester of '68, a group of non-white Third World people came together in support of Black students' demands. These demands reflected vital and pressing needs and were relevant to some of the problems of the brothers and sisters in the ghetto. We joined the strike because we felt that those needs—for the means of providing their own welfare and deciding their own destinies—are ours, too. Also, like other students that joined, we want to build a society free of racism and exploitation.

During this struggle we learned the power of unity—our most effective strategy. We realize that the enemy is ONE. OUR OPPRESSION HAS BEEN POSSIBLE BECAUSE OF OUR ISOLATION. In the process of our subjection, minority groups have developed an intense sense of distrust of each other, dehumanized ourselves by calling each other the names the oppressor calls us, and so on. This is a consequence of a racist system that minimizes our power by playing up our interests against each other to prevent us from turning against those established on top. Eldridge Cleaver recognized this process:

During a certain stage in the psychological transformation of a subjected people who have begun struggling for their freedom, an impulse to violence develops in the collective unconscious. The oppressed people feel an uncontrollable desire to kill their masters. But the feeling itself gives rise to myriad troubles, for the people, when they first become aware of the desire to strike out against the slavemaster, shrink from this impulse in terror. Violence then turns in upon itself and the oppressed people fight among themselves: they kill each other, and do all the things to each other which they would in fact, like to do to the master. Intimidated by the superior armed might of the oppressor, the colonial people feel that hell is invincible and that it is futile to even dream of confronting him.

This is the internalized violence of oppressed people. Angered by the misery of their lives but cowed by the overt superior might of the oppressor the oppressed people shrink from striking out at the true objects of their hostility and strike instead at their more defenseless brothers and sisters near at hand. Somehow this seems safer, less fraught with dire consequences, as though one is less dead when shot down by the oppressor. It is merely criminal to take up arms against one's brother, but to step outside the vicious circle of the internalized violence of the oppressed and take up arms against the oppressor is to step outside of life itself, to step outside of the structure of this world, to enter, almost alone, the no-man's land of revolution.

One of the elements that has contributed to our isolation has been the difficulty in relating to each other. This has ensued from an ignorance of ourselves. Therefore, after the strike, we have been involved in internal education sessions. The various ethnic groups comprising our organization caucused and presented panels on their own experiences of oppression. Speakers were sponsored to counter campus isolation such as from the Black Panther Party and the Young Lords Organization (Puerto Ricans in Chicago). We are working out coalitions with the Black Council, the African Student Union, and the American Indian students.

Another element in our isolation has been the image we have of ourselves. We are taught to join the "American way of life" (as second class citizens, of course), to be quiet and complacent for crumbs from the rich man's table, and if you manage to get a Ph.D, dress well, play the game (and not freak out) then you might be "coming for dinner." But if you challenge their values, demand to be heard as an equal, repression is the

"response." But we refuse to be caught in this conflict any longer. Coming to dinner is a token; the threat of repression an intimidation. We will continue to assert our identity and have defined it as a function of our active involvement together.

We believe that the lives of Third World people, in the U.S. and abroad, are not determined by our own desires, needs, and values; rather, that they are controlled and channelled according to the desires, needs, and values of a group of people who have the instruments of power in their hands. We are systematically dehumanized by the imposition of certain ways of life that are not in our interest. Such imposition takes various forms but its common denominator—the exploitation of a people by a controlling elite—points to a single reality: IMPERIALISM.

We see this reality pervading the Third World at all levels of penetration. We see the genocide of Vietnamese, the intimidating and always ready presence of troops in Okinawa, Puerto Rico, Thailand, Venezuela, etc.

We see the distortion and adjustment of national economies to the interests of U.S. economy. For example, roads and railroads in Cuba before the revolution served only American interests. They connected the American-owned sugar centrals and ports, instead of serving as a means of transportation and communication for the people.

As another example, during the 1896 Philippine revolution, American help that turned out after a few months to be American intervention and eventual colonial occupation led to the perpetuation of an agricultural economy and its eventual transformation into a predominantly sugar and coconut economy almost entirely dependent upon the United States as a market. Industrialization in the Philippines was effectively prevented from the start by the imposition of free trade relations in 1909 that allowed American goods to enter the Philippines without paying tariff duties.

We want the resources of the American corporation transformed into an instrument for constructive action, not an instrument for economic and political exploitation. It is one of the paradoxes of modern life that American corporations, operating amidst the poverty and misery of the Third World, are yet making enormous profits to further enrich the already comfortable American corporate class. American corporations have become the main instruments of the United States in making underdeveloped countries but extensions of American territory. These corporations have set up factories in developing countries that are in no way linked to domestic U.S. industries. Thus corporations like GM, Ford, General Electric and others have set up assembly plants in developing countries to weld together and assemble various parts that have been manufactured entirely in the United States. Or the steel, iron, and petroleum industries have established mining and extracting industries to produce raw materials that will be manufactured not in the underdeveloped countries themselves, but in factories in the United States. The Third World that served as a hewer of wood and a carrier of water for the colonial master in the 19th and early 20th century a packager, assembler, or buyer of finished American goods or a supplier of raw materials. Nowhere in these economic relations does the Third World acquire the necessary technological skills to develop on its own. The end result of this process is that the Third World has become another American ghetto, politically and economically dominated by U.S. corporations that have so much political power that they can dictate who will run the governments of these countries and how.

When this form of penetration fails and countries attempt to become independent, then we see political repression. Such was the seizure of sugar quotas from Cuba, and now Peru, because measures were taken that did not suit the U.S. These pressures, smashing political independence, prevent national self-determination.

At the same time we see the U.S. supporting dictatorships that protect U.S. industries rather than benefit the people.

We know that the exploitation of workers in Third World countries is not just a mere conflict of classes within those countries. This simplification clouds the fact that these nations comprise a class of oppressed people, and that the U.S. constitutes an oppressor nation-class. To illustrate this, in Puerto Rico, where the cost of living is higher than in the U.S., a worker employed by a given American company (that pays no taxes) receives only one-third of the salary of his American counterpart working for the same company in the U.S.

Thus we believe that before any type of social change can occur in the Third World nations, self-determination and an end to imperialism has to happen.

In a parallel way, imperialism operates domestically. There are colonies existing within the mother country whose people are exploited as special groups or "castes." This manifestation of domestic imperialism—RACISM—has to be destroyed before the barriers impeding unity of the oppressed classes can be torn down. Only then can we achieve a real change in the social structure, as then the real enemy becomes clear.

Thus we want an end to the drafting of Third World people in the U.S. and Puerto Rico. We do not feel compelled to defend a government that does not meet our needs and forces us to join in the genocide of our brothers and sisters in the Third World. We feel a common bond with them not only because our origins are from these nations, but also because as minority groups our economic, social, and political exploitation here is simply a continuation of exploitation of Third World people abroad. For example, unemployment figures in the 1962 Manpower Report of the President shows white unemployment to be 4.9 per cent of the labor force contrasted to 11 per cent for non-whites, which includes blacks and other Third World minorities.

We want the khaki troops and the blue troops out of the ghettos in the U.S. We want our communities to control their own police.

There are 17 known concentration camps in the United States, once used for the illegal detention of Japanese



American citizens during World War II. The Emergency Detention Act gives the President the power to imprison, without a court trial, anyone "whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person probably will" pose a threat to internal security. We want these camps levelled and the law abolished.

We want the Indians' land returned to them. The Wisconsin Dells, which now belongs to the Wisconsin Alumni Association, is a profit-making enterprise which uses the Indians as tourist attractions. Five Indian children died in a fire this summer because of lack of proper facilities there.

We want free health care for our people. Chinatown in San Francisco has the highest population density in this country next to Manhattan. It also has the highest TB and sickness rate in the nation. The AMA, the institution supposed to take care of life itself, spends \$1.1 billion yearly lobbying against preventive medicine, etc.

We want education and technology to destroy privilege, not perpetuate it. We want schools that teach according to the needs of the people, not just keep order. History is taught from books that completely ignore the crucial roles of Third World minorities. In fact, Third World children learn that their Pilgrim ancestors landed on Plymouth Rock.

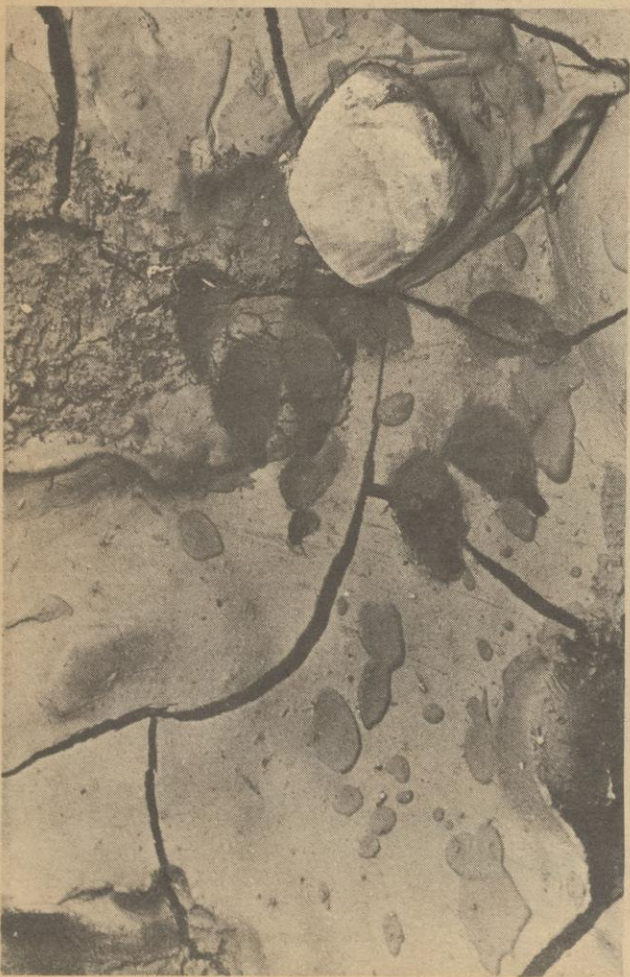
We know that admissions policies in the university are discriminatory in nature. The university is not open to Third World people due to lack of equal educational opportunity starting from primary school and continuing with the "track" system in high schools. Even when this difficulty can be overcome, financial barriers pose an additional obstacle. At the University of Wisconsin, out-of-state tuition has just been raised from \$575 to \$863, and in-state tuition raised from \$175 to \$225 per semester. Special Scholarship programs which supposedly remove the financial barrier only do so for one year; after that the Third World student is on his own as far as financing his college education.

We want to eliminate the necessity of owing survival to season and weather, a life that is not fit for human beings. We want the government to provide stable decent jobs for all migrant workers. We know that at present the government spends more money on migrant birds than on migrant workers.

We want an end to repression of political dissent, freedom for Huey Newton, Los Siete de la Raza, and all political prisoners.

We believe that as long as relations between people are not based on equality, racism will prevail. However, we are aware that racism, although an institution that perpetuates itself, is not the root of our problem. Rather unequal distribution and control of wealth (be it in the form of money under capitalism, land under feudalism and so on back in time) is the basis for all other inequalities built around it. We believe that in the present society, value as a human being, although perhaps not directly bought, is gained through bought education, bought beauty, bought health, etc., and those who have it have to exclude those who do not in order to retain their value." We believe that capitalism has sharpened this inequality. The stratification has made each class relate to and identify with the higher classes, never the lower—bringing about artificial divisions between people, divisions which are, nevertheless, very real and serve to maintain the structure. The white worker is thus led to regard the black worker's becoming his economic and social equal as a threat to his own "value." Thus the expediency of racism—the exploitation of a people being psychologically justified.

Third World people are beginning to see themselves not as competitors for a piece of stale pie, but as common members of an oppressed class-caste. We are emerging from our isolation and fragmentation into a unified force that will build a future society based on equality, co-operation, and freedom.





## Science Student Union

# Patents Belong to the People

Many people are attracted into science while they are young by creative, artistic experiences. As a twelve-year old, I was drawn into chemistry by a childish awe at the many colors of metal ferrocyanides. And in high school I had the highly satisfying experience of discovering a new series of compounds, and, since my basement lab was very sparsely equipped, of developing my own techniques for identifying them.

But in recent years I have been finding "real" science to deviate more and more from my early dream. My first disappointment came when I was told by a University professor that my high-school problem was considered "not interesting" by the arbitrators of modern science. Then I could not understand why the philosophical and aesthetic excellence that I sought in science was something I was supposed to ignore in the rest of life: my second disappointment was in being forced to write scientific papers in bad and uninteresting English; my third came while working one summer for Dow Chemical Company in Midland, Michigan. This company town of 30,000 populated by the second-highest percentage of PhD's of any American city, was so excruciatingly sterile that each weekend I longed for the work week to begin in order to end the boredom. This panicked me: was this the quality of life I would have to lead for the rest of my life?

I became alienated from science, passing the exams and doing research while my interest was far away, in attempting to combat racism. But recently I happened to discover that I was not alone in my alienation. In the Science Students Union others were talking about these

experiences, analyzing their causes, and on the basis of these analyses, acting for change in society. I found the root to my unpleasant alienation: I realized that, in order to extract the maximum amount of research out of its scientific workers, the capitalist state needs them to be highly alienated and fragmented. The Hardest Task That Capitalism Demands Of Science Students Is That They Learn To Be Not Interested In Life.

All these things were brought to a crisis when I was telephoned by Dow Chemical Company this summer and informed that they wanted to take out a patent in the work that I had done. I realized that not only would my invention be of absolutely no use for combatting racism or for any other worthwhile objective, but that the profits from it would finance the further Midlandization of American Society. And so, even though I had had to sign away all my rights in order to work for Dow, I determined not to cooperate with them on the patent application. I returned it with this letter:

Mr. J. R. Lochhead  
Patent Department  
Dow Chemical Company  
Midland, Michigan

Dear Mr. Lochhead:

After thinking the matter over I have decided that I cannot in good conscience sign the patent application for the catalytic oxidation process

(continued on page 14)

## New University Conference

Statement from the U.W. New University Conference Chapter:

The New University Conference (NUC) is, to quote the Preamble to the NUC constitution passed June 14, 1969:

A national organization of radicals who work in, around and in spite of institutions of higher education. Formed in a time of imperialist war and domestic repression, the NUC is part of the struggle for the liberation of all people. It must therefore oppose imperialism, racism, economic exploitation and male supremacy.

We believe that institutions der-

ive legitimacy and have the right to exist only to the extent that they serve the people. We see campuses not as havens, but as the immediate, though not exclusive settings for most of our activities.

We join all those committed to struggle politically to create a new, American form of socialism and to replace an educational and social system that is an instrument of class, sexual, and racial oppression with one that belongs to the people.

The University chapter, which began to organize in January,

has a membership of faculty, grad students, and their wives. Interested university staff will also be invited to join. Chapter activities in relation to the local scene (as opposed to work for the national organization) have included a counter-statement on the faculty's Black Studies proposals and leafletting at the post-strike student hearings. Currently, the NUC has begun to study and discuss problems such as militarism on campus, racism, women's liberation, open admissions, and grading using basic radical texts as well as other sources.



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# Black Panthers: Liberation

May 2, 1967, marks the day the Black Panther Party was catapulted to national significance. On this day they appeared at the California legislature in Sacramento to protest the passage of the Mulford bill which would revoke the constitutional right of bearing arms. What marked their protest was the fact that they were armed, extremely disciplined and all black.

Yet, this is not where the history of the party begins, for it began back in the black ghetto of Oakland in 1966. The ghetto, which constitutes about 20 per cent of the population of Oakland, had been subjected to increased repression and brutality on the part of the white police force of Oakland, and it is in reaction to this brutality that the party was formed.

Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, co-founders of the party, recognized the need for some organization to protect the people of the ghetto from police harassment. Emerging from a group called the Soul Students Advisory Council at Oakland's Merrit College, they formed the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. The black panther, explained Newton, is an animal that will not attack. But, if attacked, he backs up until there is no more room to back up, and then and only then, will strike back against his assailant.

The party views the police, almost all of whom are white, as occupation forces who patrol the black community to protect white interests. Police in the ghetto act only in incidents involving white people or property owned by whites while they stay away from incidents involving only blacks. Thus the Panther party emerged as a vehicle for the local people to protect themselves from often brutal attacks. The panthers patrolled the areas along with the cops and informed residents if their legal rights when dealing with the police.

Many officials feel that the Panthers are responsible for the frequent occurrence of violence in the ghetto but this is not the case. It has been shown in the various findings of the riot commissions that it has been the brutal actions of the police that have triggered riots. Police are told to shoot first and then ask questions. It is in fact the work of the Panthers that has averted much racial violence in the San Francisco area. After King's assassination Bobby Seale urged black people to stay at home because he realized that such sporadic violence and rebellion often results in death for black people and provides no meaningful economic change in their lives.

The official work of the Panthers began with an investigation of the cold-blooded murder of a young, unarmed black named Denzil Dowell by a policeman in Contra Costa California. In following through their investigation they alerted the community of California of their existence and it was this awareness that forced the state legislature to act with its rapid passage of the Mulford bill.

Since their national recognition the establishment press has written the Panthers off as a dangerous, terrorist, racist group that should be jailed. By doing so the press has never referred to the political stance of the group and has distorted the true meaning of the Panthers for the rest of the American people. It is extremely important to understand what the Panthers stand for.

In stating their program which was first articulated in October, 1966, Newton said, "First we want freedom, we want the power to determine the destiny of our black communities."

"Number two, we want full employment for our people."

"Three, we want an end to the robbery by the white man of our black community."

"Four, we want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings."

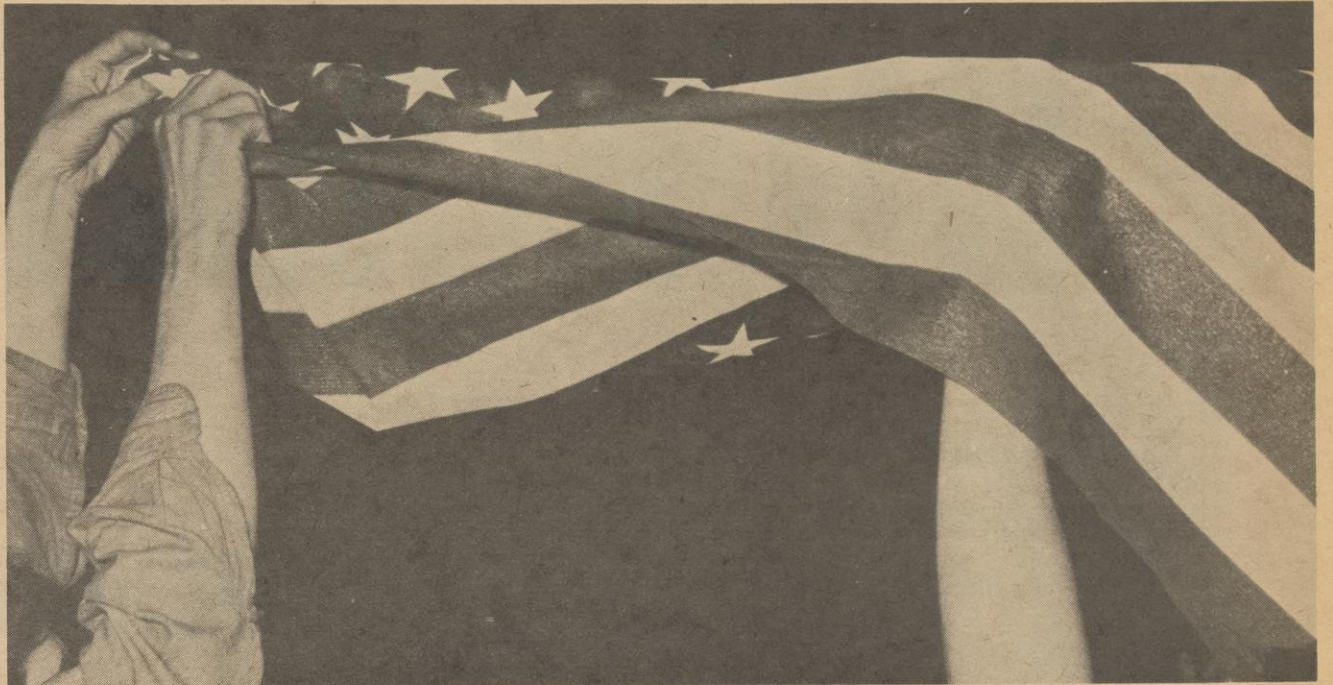
"Five, we want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society."

"Six, we want all black men exempt from military service."

"Seven, we want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people."

"Eight, we want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails."

"Nine, we want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people



from their black communities, as defined by the constitution of the United States."

"Ten we want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace."

"And as our major political objective a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny."

Articulated in the program is a concept of the American black people as an oppressed colony which has come to be the theoretical basis of many Panther statements. Their oppressor is the white mother country which maintains occupation forces in its colony. Acts which are aimed against the occupation forces, the police, are not considered unlawful by them, but in the interests of the eventual liberation of the black colony.

Statements in the panther program that call for the release of black men in jails further point up the relationship between colonial people and oppressor. These men never could receive a trial by their peers (black and lower class), and thus, it was impossible for them to receive a fair trial. They are all being held as political prisoners.

This is particularly true in the case of Newton, accused of a murder that it is unlikely he ever committed. The Free Huey campaign stresses the fact that he should be released as he is being held as a political prisoner by the mother country.

The Panthers have been accused of reverse racism and discrimination since there are no whites in the organization. The Panthers respond to this by saying that racism is the white man's bag and that one doesn't fight racism with racism but with socialism. By studying the history of this country they have come to understand that racism has become a means for keeping whites and blacks separated in various struggles and has made possible the economic exploitation of blacks. The only solution to the existence of racism that the Panthers can see is a plan of socialism.

Such plans have begun in local communities on a limited basis. The Breakfast for School Children program was begun when the Panthers recognized that many black children in the ghetto went without sufficient breakfast or none at all. By persuading local merchants to contribute food they set up a program for the children which along with breakfast included classes in history. Local authorities alarmed at the large and warm response the Panthers received began to set up their own programs but the people of the ghetto understand that it was the Panthers that initiated such programs, and thus they support the Panthers.

To achieve their own political goals the Panthers have established working alliances with groups such as the Young Lords Organization (YLO) Brown Berets, Young Patriots and Students for a Democratic Society, forming a rainbow coalition fighting against imperialism and capitalism. The Panthers understand it is in their interests to support peoples of the third world in their struggle against American imperialism and thus their support for the North Vietnamese and their solidarity with the Cuban people. These alliances and expressed solidarity distinguish the Panthers from other nationalist groups. Their revolutionary nationalist perspective has brought them into conflict with other black groups including cultural nationalists. The Panthers see cultural nationalists, sometimes called pork chop nationalists as reactionary since cultural nationalists think that by merely returning to an African culture freedom will follow.

Newton further distinguishes revolutionary nationalism by saying, "It is dependent upon a people's revolution with the end goal being the people in power. Therefore, to be a revolutionary nationalist you would of necessity have to be a socialist." To fight for liberation at home the Panthers have allied with various groups to produce a united front against facism. The Panthers believe facism, already existant in the black and brown communities, is on its way into white communities. The United Front Against Facism which just had its first conference this summer produced a petition campaign which would work for the control of the police in the black communities by the people themselves rather than an outside force.

As the Panthers continue to grow and expand into many new cities across the nation they have been subjected to increasing amounts of repression on the part of the government. Many Panthers have been framed and held for excessive bail so that they must expend effort in freeing themselves instead of valuable organizing. Yet with each act of aggression directed against the Panthers they gain new members in the ghetto and more support outside of the ghetto. People see and understand that the Black Panther party offers a viable alternative to racism and capitalism and this is what the government fears, and thus seeks to eliminate the Panthers at any cost.

## YSA Struggles for World Revolution

The Young Socialist Alliance is a national revolutionary movement with an international revolutionary purpose.

Madison YSA members are in the center of campus and community battles against racism, the Vietnam war, and capitalist oppression of the American people.

YSA also works to explain and popularize the worldwide struggles against imperialist domination and for the achievement of socialist revolutions everywhere. Public forums and literature sales at the Che Guevara Bookstore and Movement Center, 202 W. Gilman (corner of Henry) are some of our main vehicles for public discussion and education.

In seeking to build a socialist America, YSA is unavoidably committed to destroying the world imperialist system—a system headed by the capitalist ruling class of our own nation. With the end of capitalism in the United States of America will come a permanent halt to the economic, social, and political oppression of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America now suffering under neocolonialist rule.

YSA has grown rapidly since its founding in 1960. But to make a revolution in the U.S., many times the present numbers will be required. YSA needs and welcomes to our ranks all revolutionary youth who support:

### BLACK LIBERATION.

YSA supports the black liberation movement and black YSA members participate in it. Afro-Americans are determined to run their own lives instead of being ruled and oppressed by white capitalist America.

YSA unconditionally supports the struggle for self-determination by any means necessary, for black control of the black community, and supports the formation of an independent black political party to confront the two-party system of racism and fight for these demands.

### THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

YSA supports the Cuban revolution as the socialist example for the development of the colonial revolution. It believes that Cuba's socialist revolution combines economic and social progress together with democracy and wide





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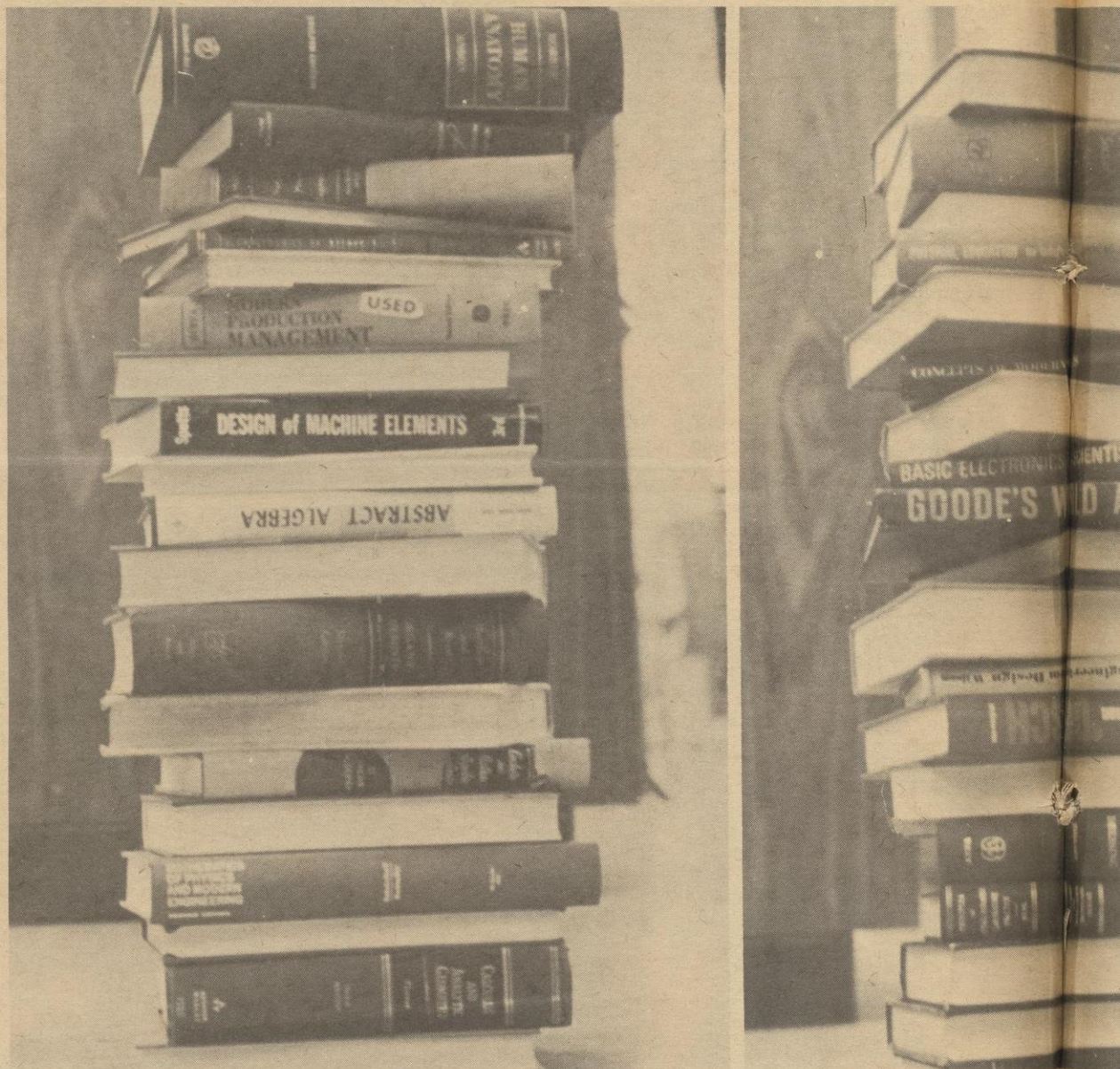
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## Science Union

(continued from page 7)

invented by Dr. Wymore and myself, or the assignment of this patent to the Dow Chemical Company.

I do this not so much in protest of Dow's manufacture of napalm, which is an ugly enough business, but more in agreement with the statement of the president of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union, Mr. Grosz, that the chemical industry is not much in need of manufacturing more products.

Since doing this work four years ago, I have become aware that the people of this land and world have many, many unfulfilled needs: Black people need the power to build their communities. Vietnamese need to be able to build their nation free from American dominance and bombs. Youth needs an alternative to the dehumanizing, non-nourishing emptiness of the suburbs (among which Midland, Mich. is one of the worst). Low- and middle-income people need relief from the tax burden of subsidizing the new industrial state. Elderly people, used up by their past employers, need a meaningful place in society, and protection from inflation. We all need clean air, clean water, and an ecologically-balanced environment.

Many people, aware of these human needs, have criticized the spending for the present moon shot as a misappropriation of funds. But beyond this I notice that a sizeable proportion of America's wealth, resources, and power is in the hands of giant corporations such as Dow Chemical Company. When these corporations invest their funds in research, development, or new production, only occasionally do they go to meet any of the above human needs. Far more often they go into pro-

duction of a new "product", such as freeze-dried coffee, Saran Wrap, or enzyme detergents, that are so little needed by people that an extensive advertising campaign is required in order to get people to buy them.

And so I wonder about this invention. How many millions will be spent to exploit it? And what will be the great benefit to mankind? Perhaps a marginally-improved Saran wrap that maybe doesn't crinkle so readily? Well, scientists have a need too. We need to see that the fruit of our labor is going to be worth something to mankind.

Indeed, I recognize why so many useless products will continue to flow forth from corporations like Dow. Most of the real needs that people have today are not and cannot be made profitable (their material needs generally having already been satisfied). Thus pollution abatement and ecological planning are expensive, and the prospects of their being "profit-producing" are remote to nil. The giant industrial sector of our society can make only pipsqueak (if not negative) contributions to fulfilling the real needs of the people—because it is burdened with the weight of the profit system. Perhaps someday this burden can be lifted from industry, and it can then serve the people well.

Finally, I discovered in talking to my patent attorney that you do not even need my signature in order to obtain this patent and its assignment. I cannot stop you: my protest will have no effect, and is totally symbolic. My position as a "research scientist" at Dow was therefore no different from that of an assembly-line worker—neither of us had any say over the use to which our labor is put.

Why, then, the farce of putting the patent in my name, and why the insult of offering me a one-dollar "royalty" for the patent? My in-

vention legally never belonged to me in the first place. Why should I pretend to follow in the footsteps of Ben Franklin or Thomas Edison? They owned the fruits of their labors—I cannot own mine. In fact, I do not wish to—I look forward to the day when I can assign my inventions to the living beings of the Earth. THE PATENTS BELONG TO THE PEOPLE!

Peace and Community,  
Gary Wulfsberg

\* \* \*

The Dow man replied in a patronizing manner, saying that he would like to talk about these points over a beer sometime, but that right now they needed the patent signature. To Dow, my questions about where they were dragging us is much less urgent than that they have my signature so that we can be dragged there in a hurry. So they said that they will sue me over the matter.

My experiences, I think, are hardly unique—all of us must eventually either face these questions or forever struggle to avoid understanding them. We all—black and white, American and Vietnamese, scientific worker and nonscientist—live under the shadow of an advanced industrial society that is, to put it mildly, disappointing. Let us work—be it in Science Students Union or in any other Movement group—toward changing this society to one in which technology and all human institutions serve human needs.

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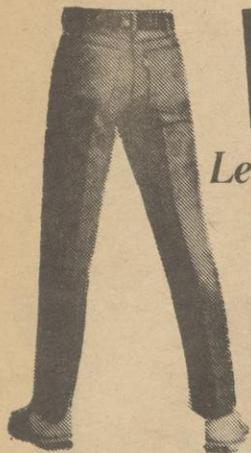
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## WSA Plans New Activism

The Wisconsin Student Association is planning to assume a more dynamic role this year as an action and issue oriented organization.

Last year WSA involved its support of the February strike led by black students. According to WSA officers, participation in the strike marked only the beginning of WSA's new activism.

"We said last year that the needs of black students were the needs of the University," stated President David Schaefer. "We intend to demonstrate that those needs can be met by bold and nonviolent student activity."

Specifically, WSA plans on challenging the University's refusal to give students authority on the departmental and University-wide levels.

"There must be new and more widely-based departmental associations," said Neil Weisfeld, executive vice-president. "And those departmental associations from all indications we have, can now begin to play a vital part in forcing curricular changes, in forcing an overhaul of the grading system that almost everyone now agrees is ridiculous, and in pushing for a new emphasis on teaching and on student involvement in all departmental decisions."

In the housing field, WSA has already begun to coordinate student efforts in the new Madison Tenants Union. Barbara Knapp, the tenant union's secretary, doubles as WSA housing chairman.

And in the area of minority group problems, WSA continues to support the demands of the Black Council and other third world groups. "The University has been delaying long enough," claims Margery Tabankin, administrative vice-president. "Time is running out."

Time, in fact, is one of the elements WSA plans on exploiting most. "Change is gonna come," says Schaefer. "We'd like to see it come peaceably."

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## Women's Liberation

# War Linked With Personal Oppression

"The University of Wisconsin students are a joy to behold, worrisome to contemplate, and wondrous to hope upon. They are pink-faced farm boys, wild haired New York yguths, lonely-homely daughters of factory foremen, and pretty coeds showing enough thigh to make grandma groan like a ghost."

From a pamphlet "A Little Look at Our Intellectual Bean Patch" put out by the University of Wisconsin Office of the President.

Last year there was a lecture scheduled during freshman orientation entitled "Freedom and Control-Dialectic for All Seasons." Four professors were to lecture students about what freedom is. Well the professors didn't get very far. A group of people came in and did a guerilla theatre skit depicting a Vietnamese woman being shot. This opened the meeting into a discussion of the entire orientation program. One freshman got up and said, "Look, if we're supposed to be free, how come we have to go to required ROTC orientation?" The next Saturday students held a rally of over 500 people to protest ROTC orientation.

A group of women felt that the war didn't just concern men. They felt that although they didn't have to go to ROTC, they were strongly opposed to it.

So one morning a group of 50 women went into a ROTC lecture. They marched in, read a statement and then sat down. They cheered the colonels as they were introduced. They whistled at the pictures of the pretty girls the students were shown. (Look at the pretty girls you can go out with if you join ROTC) they learned about the courses, such as dead reckoning.

In February, after several disruptions of ROTC classes, officers barred outsiders. The next day, most of the guys in the class stomped their feet during the lecture, talked, laughed and refused to put out cigarettes, etc.

Last spring the Regents voted to abolish required ROTC requirements.

The ROTC demonstration raised questions in the minds of the women who had become involved. These women were opposed to the war in Vietnam, and also concerned about special oppression facing women. However, they did not know how to relate the two.

During the fall semester a women's liberation group was formed to discuss these and other relevant problems. Their ideas follow:

Many women feel ridiculous, and ignorant in their courses. For example, in a political science course the women are confronted with concepts of the pluralistic input-output system. Many women were not able to comprehend this concept.

In addition, many women felt their questions about political matters were never answered. How was the war in Vietnam started? Why are women discriminated against? Or in a psychology class they wanted to learn why so many people in America are so messed up. And the women began to realize that it wasn't they who were stupid, but that courses offered were not relevant to what they wanted to learn.

The women had internalized their feelings, blamed themselves for their stupidity, when in fact they should have been blaming the University.

The women discussed life in the dorm, and how it was lonely and alienating. They discussed the pressure on women to go out every Friday and Saturday night. Seventeen magazine just happened to be sitting in the lounge, and it told the women it was their fault if they were not getting dates. Maybe they had bad breath. Why can't a girl ask a guy out anyway?

The women began to realize that their main task in college, as defined for them by parents and society, was to get a man. A girl was feminine if she was weak, dumb, and passive. She got a guy by making him feel like a man, by telling him how great he was. They felt their identity in life was to get a man and they raise a family, and everything else was unimportant.

The women talked about what they were going to do after they got out of school. Most didn't know. Some considered teaching, but knew as teachers they would have to teach kids about America, the land of freedom and equality or be fired. The educational system is so bad, that it is usually impossible to teach.

Consider social work. Women go and "investigate" poor people to find out if they are really poor. Then the social worker must help the family adjust to a sick society. Workers would be right fully seen by people they were trying to help as policemen, and would be hated.

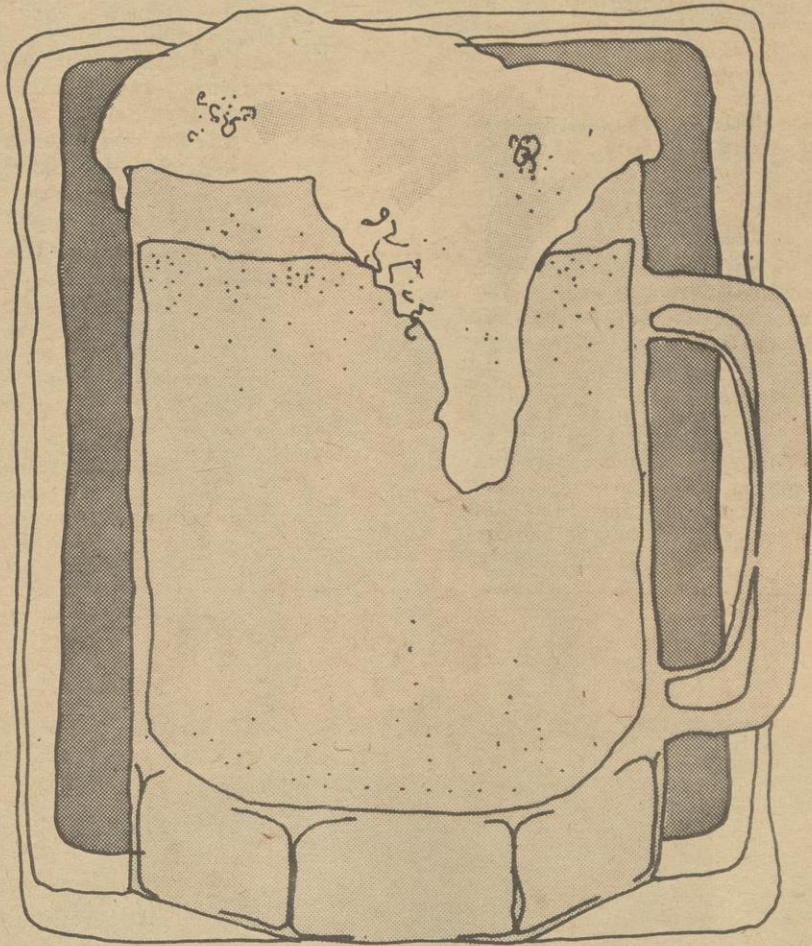
As the women talked of their own oppression, they began to see that it was rooted in the capitalistic system, the same system that oppresses Black and Third World people. They felt that it was crucial to recognize the greater oppression facing Black and Third World people. These groups are leading the struggle against U.S. imperialism, and women feel it is in their interest to support them.

How does women's oppression compare to the oppression of Black women such as Erika Huggins whose husband was murdered in L.A. and is now imprisoned in New Haven on trumped up charges? Or to the oppression of the Vietnamese? For example the pill which "liberated" women was perfected through experiments on Puerto Rican women. How many mothers hired Black women to clean their homes so that they could get out of their homes?

The role of the University of Wisconsin in oppressing

(Continued on Page 20)

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# Eldridge Cleaver on revolution and education

By Eldridge Cleaver

*Following is the first public communication from Eldridge Cleaver, minister of information of the Black Panther party, since he went into exile in the third world last November. A transcription of Cleaver's tape was published in full in the June 28 Black Panther newspaper. This edited transcription was distributed by Liberation News Service.*

"In the old days, human genius, the brain of man, created only to give some the benefits of technology and culture, and to deprive others of the bare necessities, education and development. From now on all the marvels of science and the gains of culture belong to the nation as a whole, and never again will man's brain and human genius be used for oppression and exploitation. . . . The working people will perform this titanic historic feat, for in them lie dormant the great forces of revolution, renaissance and renovation."

—V.I. Lenin,  
Collected Works,  
Vol. 26, Pg. 284

clarify a little terminology. The best terminology I know of for discussing this distinction between the struggle with the physical environment and the struggle with the social environment is the terminology developed by Marx. He designates the struggle against the physical environment as taking place within the economic base of society. And upon the economic base of society is erected the superstructure of society. So that the struggle in the social realm takes place in the superstructure, and the struggle in the physical realm takes place within the economic base.

Now in the economic base we find the natural resources, the technology, industry; all the machines and the tools and the means that mankind has developed for coping with the physical environment are designated as the means of production, the means of producing material wealth, goods and commodities from the natural resources themselves.

## The superstructure

Now all of the institutions of society, everything from the educational facilities to the hospitals, the postal service, everything that you think of as belonging to the organized aspect of society takes place within the superstructure. This is where our lives

as a whole or to claim this as his own personal property, or to claim that he owns the body of information that is a heritage of mankind. This would be absurd. It would not be tolerated by the community and probably those charged with disseminating this information would take a period of time to alienate the learning process from the community and consider it as their own private property.

Of course, I have been talking about this as though society were an organism in which people were in harmony with each other, in which they cooperated with each other and in which they were not waging wars of aggression against each other and not in conflict with each other. But in actual fact and in terms of human history, this has not been the case.

## Control of the superstructure

In human history, we see that society has been broken up into classes, into antagonistic ethnic groups that struggle against each other for survival as they see it. They enslave each other and make their living at the expense of other groups, special interest groups are formed, etc.

So that in reality we have to look at our own situation, have to look at the situation that exists in the economic base in terms of the class struggle, also in terms of the ethnic struggle, also in terms of the ethnic struggles that have gone on.

And so when we look at our own situation today, we find that those who are very powerful in our society because of their relationship to the means of production, because they are rich, because they own the factories, because they own the natural resources, so that they have an advantage in the social situation—they are able to gain control of all the institutions in society. They are able to appoint people who themselves may not be rich, or may not own stock, or any control over the means of production or the natural resources, but because of their educational capabilities they are able to be appointed to positions of managing society.

But at the top of the social organization in the U.S., we have a ruling class and because of the wealth of this ruling class, it is able to dominate American society, determine who is appointed, for instance, to the judicial system, the judges, able to determine who is appointed to the board of regents to administer the colleges, able to determine who is elected to office, because they control the wealth and we all know that it's necessary to have vast amounts of money at one's disposal in order to wage a political campaign.

So those who control the economy of the U.S. are able to control the rest of society, so that we find ourselves in a situation, those of us who are not in this advantaged position—black people, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Eskimos, virtually every ethnic group including poor white people and also middle-class college students—we all find ourselves in the position where our lives are manipulated and controlled by those who have this advantaged social position.

We have to struggle in order to survive, but we are not struggling against the natural environment. Our struggle is not in reality taking place against nature itself, we're not struggling against the earth, but we are struggling against the way society has been organized. We're struggling against those who have organized society to their advantage in order to continue their control and rule of the entire social unit.

It's very important for us to understand that we are called upon to wage this struggle with the same desperation, and the same do-or-die necessity that a caveman in some forgotten time in human history had to struggle against the natural elements.

In reality, our adversaries are other men, other women and other social classes. In terms of the racial strife in the U.S., our class struggle is often hidden by our ethnic struggle, we are manipulated along the color line as well as along the class line. We are exploited economically, and we are discriminated against racially also.

Today, as always, the struggle of the exploited people in the U.S. is taking place on all fronts; the most sensational and explosive clashes are being centered and focused more and more on the college campuses and on the high school campuses.

We understand that those who control the mind can control the body. Those who are interested in keeping people in oppressed positions and then dominating their



Eldridge Cleaver

## The environment

One way of understanding what's going on, on the college campuses and the high school campuses in the U.S. today, is to take a look at what the essence of education is all about.

Basically an education is simply passing on the heritage, learning, the wisdom and the technology of human history, passing it on to the coming generations. We want this information to be passed on to enable and to help mankind to continue to survive and to cope with our environment.

In terms of surviving and coping with our environment, basically, we have two worlds to deal with. We have the natural world—the task of surviving against the given world, for which technology has been designed. This has to do with the natural resources, the task of eking out a living from the earth itself. And on the other hand, we have a social world, the social situation.

The struggle against the physical environment, of course, is primary. We have organized our social situation in order to cope with the physical environment. The way that we organize agriculture, the way that we organize industry, the way that we organize the economy as a whole, the way that we organize the political situation, all of this historically has been towards facilitating and better enabling us to cope with the physical environment. Over the centuries a very complex situation has developed.

At this point I think it would be useful to

have been built and sustained by our means of producing the material wealth.

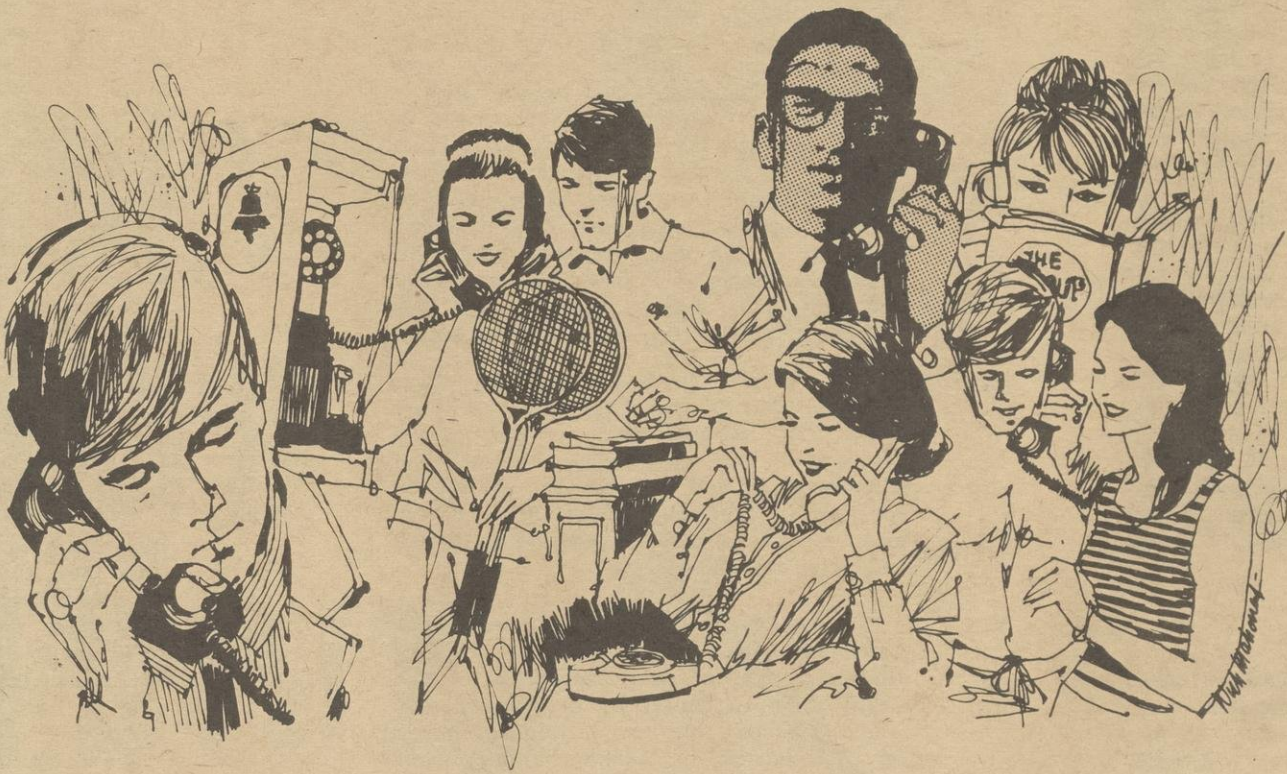
Now let's get to the essence of an education. In a very simple structured social organization, where technology and learning have not become complex, it would be possible for one's father or one's uncle to pass on the technology. Your father could teach you how to fish or your father could teach you how to hunt with a spear or a rock, or a bow and arrow. But as the situation becomes more complex and as the level of information and knowledge and understanding of the environment increases, to the extent that it requires people to specialize in passing on this information, this is where the problem really sets in. When it was necessary for people to be designated as teachers and to specialize in or devote all their time to passing on this information, then the learning situation itself had to be centralized. Schools, universities, what have you, were developed so that the maximum use of a man's time and energy could be made under the situation, under the circumstances.

Now you can readily understand how in a very uncomplex social situation it would be understood by the community, by everybody involved in the social unit, that these places or institutions of learning were there to serve and to benefit the community as a whole. It would be absurd for a teacher or one who is charged with administering the learning process as a whole—it would be absurd for him to alienate himself from the community

(Continued on Page 18)



# Welcome to Madison U. W. STUDENTS



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Wisconsin Telephone Company



# Eldridge Cleaver on revolution and education

(continued from page 16)

perspective and their outlook on life understand that it's necessary for them to control the learning process in order to brainwash people, in order to camouflage the true nature of this society.

So they sanctify their system, teach the exploited people and the oppressed people to virtually love the system that's exploiting and oppressing them. So they have an interest in seeing to it that the content of the curriculum is to their liking, and that it does not expose the true nature of the decadent and racist society that we live in.

On the other hand, the exploited, and oppressed people have the opposite interest. They have an interest in exposing the true nature of the society and in educating themselves and their children on the nature of the struggle and in transferring to them the means for waging the struggle so they can be aware of the level of the struggle, of the progress and the history of the struggle and the nature of the enemy and the true vulnerability of the enemy.

In other words we want to be able to teach ourselves and our children the necessity for struggling against this ruling class.

What we have to realize above all else is that our enemy, and that which we in fact are struggling against, is not an individual college president or high school principal, or a board of regents or the board of education, but it's the entire social structure. We're struggling against the capitalist system, which organized itself in a way that purchases our lives, that exploits us, and forces us into positions where we have to wage a struggle against the social organization in order to survive.

## Black studies

Our struggle to gain black studies departments on college campuses, our struggles to have black studies added to the curriculum across the nation, this is a struggle that the enemy sees as a grave danger. The enemy also recognizes the struggle of young white people on the college campuses and high schools as a grave danger; and he is right, it is a grave danger, because what we realize is that the education that is being given out is designed to perpetuate a system of exploitation. On the one hand it's designed to keep the masses of white students in harmony with this system, to keep them supporting the system, to indoctrinate them to fight the wars that protect the system, and that extend the influence and the power of the system.

We're all becoming conscious of the evil of the system, conscious of the fact that this system can no longer survive. We have a historic opportunity for attacking the system and destroying it at its root. So that all of the manipulations that the capitalists and the watchdogs of the capitalists go through are designed to destroy the thrust of the movement. It designates as criminals those who are in the forefront of the struggle, and those who are guiding the struggle.

Historically, the struggle in the educational arena in terms of black people has been waged from, on the one hand, the slavemaster not even wanting black people to learn how to read and write, to black people, on the other hand, learning how to read and write; and then the struggle transposed itself over into what black people were allowed to read and write until today black people have reached a point where they want to control totally what they read and write.

This has been a steady struggle against the opposition of the slavemaster, it's been defeat after defeat for the slavemaster, until now we have burst into consciousness, until now we have realized the necessity of taking control over our education. And when you see this long line of progression from the struggle to become literate to the struggle today to control totally the education, you can see the true nature of the opposition that we face.

All of these racists and liberals who are opposing our moves today, to gain control of our education, they are nothing but the descendants of the outright racist slavemaster who opposed us in our attempts to learn how to read and write on the plantation during the days of slavery.

So that all of their rhetoric, all of their arguments, all of the changes that they go through in the last analysis are a continuation of the desire and the necessity of the slavemaster of keeping us ignorant and unable to manipulate ideas. Because in order to organize a revolutionary struggle, we must be able to do this. We must have knowledge of ourselves and our enemy, and of the situations

that we find ourselves in, in order to organize a true revolution to move against them.

## College and community

One of the great weaknesses in the movement at this particular time is in the campus focus of the attack on the ruling class and the power of the ruling class. And this has to do with the compartmentalized thinking of the traditional American society in which the college community and the college campus is viewed as something separate and distinct from the rest of the community.

The college is not really looked upon as a part of the community. People who are not concerned with themselves going to college or who have no children in college feel that what's going on, on the campus, is none of their business. But nothing could be farther from the truth, because in reality, your colleges and institutions have been set aside to perpetuate the human heritage, and to pass on human wisdom, the knowledge and technical skills for the further development of society and civilization. And every single individual living in a given society has a stake in what is going on, on the college campuses, they have a stake in seeing to it that what happens on the campus is proper, and that the best interest of all the community is being served.

The attacks focused on the college campuses serve to expose the nature of power in the U.S. Because when we look at the composition of the board of regents and administrations and councils that control the colleges, we find them replete with military men, retired generals, foundation personnel and big business men.

So we could say that the boards that administer the universities are a good barometer, or a clear barometer of the stratification of power in the society as a whole. We don't see poor people represented on the boards of administration of the institutions of learning; this is because in the society beyond the college campus, poor people do not exercise or possess any power. If they did have the power, they would be in a position to see to it that some of their members were appointed to these boards. But those who control the economy, those who control the various sources and levels of power in the community and around it, are able to have their lackeys and their flunkies appointed to administer these institutions of learning.

## Defense is initiative

It's a mistake to think that the ruling class cannot be successful if a proper response is not made from the movement. This is a mistake that's been made time and time again in the various revolutionary struggles around the world. There have been cases of the revolutionary movement being very highly advanced, very well organized, much more organized than we are in the U.S., with a higher theoretical understanding and with very good party machinery, etc.—and they have been crushed because the power structure would resort to unlimited means of brutality. They would kill, they would imprison, and they had the mass media in their control, and they could use the mass media to justify this, and to brainwash other people who were not organized to do anything about it.

So it's a question of time. The movement is always behind. The movement has the initiative. The power structure, by overreacting, seeks to buy time for itself, and the pressure that the movement puts on the power structure determines the amount of time that is left. Because if things develop and progress at such a pace that allows the ruling class to devise means of coping with the movement, then all is lost and the movement itself is doomed to failure. So that a broadening of those involved, or those concerned, and those whose support is now latent, is what is required.

Poor black people and poor white people and other middle-class people who are not themselves directly involved in the college situation need to be made to understand that something of their own precious liberty, which either they never had or which they thought they had, is being decisively determined in the struggles that are going down on the campuses today.

## This society has failed

Because it is the duty of any society to see to it that every individual in that society is invested with the human heritage and

provided with the technology, the skills and the knowledge that will enable him to cope with his environment, to survive and to live a good life. This is the duty of the society to provide that, just as it is the duty of the society to provide the highest level of medical assistance, housing and also employment, every benefit that exists in society, it's the duty of the government to provide that.

As long as the government is not providing that, it is not worthy of existing. And under our form of government, which is called representative democracy, it is not possible to provide this, it is not possible for a capitalistic economy to provide a universal education for the people. What it has been providing is universal brainwashing that masquerades as universal education; the quality of the education is contemptible, it's inhumane, and it's only geared to provide a level of intelligence or a level of competence that will enable the product of the educational system to become war material, to be exploited by the capitalistic economic entities in the U.S.

We're not reformists, we're not in the movement to reform the curriculum of a given university or a given college or to have a black student's union recognized at a given high school. We are revolutionaries, and as revolutionaries our goal is the transformation of the American social order.

In order to transform the American social order, we have to destroy the present structure of power in the U.S., we have to overthrow the government—it has to be understood as being nothing but the instrument of the ruling class.

It is not the task of revolutionaries to keep their heads up in the sky, wondering about what they would do when they're in power; what they have to do at the present time is to have their mind centered on destruction. We're out to destroy the present machinery of the ruling class, that is our task and that's what we must be about. And we say that we will do this by any means necessary.

We must do this by the only means possible, and the only means possible is the violent overthrow of the machinery of the oppressive ruling class. That means that we will not allow the ruling class to use brutality and force on us, without using the same force and brutality on them.

We must destroy their institutions from which they derive their power. A given college president may have his power as a result of being involved in a corporation. We must attack him on the campus but we must also pursue him off campus and attack him in his lair, the lair of his power, in his corporations. This could be through boycotts of the products of that corporation, or through the physical destruction of that corporation, or the physical alienation of him as an individual.

We must not get into a bag of thinking that we're involved in a game. A revolution is not a game; it's a war. We're involved in a war—a people's war against those who oppress the people, and this is the war in the clearest sense of the word. It is only that our resistance is underdeveloped, the repression is overdeveloped, because the ruling class has arsenals of the materials of war to unleash on us. They're only using the timid materials at this particular time, because our resistance to their aggression has heretofore been timid.

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WISCONSIN STUDENT ASSOCIATION

511 MEMORIAL UNION

MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

Dear Student and Parents

The Wisconsin Student Association has negotiated a new health insurance policy for you with Blue Cross-Blue Shield. In case of accident or hospitalized illness it pays physicians' charges, miscellaneous hospital expenses, and semi-private room rates in full for the first \$2,500, and to the extent of 80% for the next \$2,500 in benefits.

Only purchasers of the Wisconsin Student Association's Activities Card are eligible to enroll in this program. Your WSA card costs only \$2.00 and is included in the price of insurance. The Activities Card entitles the bearer to such services access to WSA Exam Files, priorities on Homecoming, Symposium and on Student Government Committees, and to participate in WSA's purchase of your Activities Card also provides the funds for the operation of the Wisconsin Student Association. The WSA is a link between administration, faculty, government, and students in areas of educational and social policy.

The Wisconsin Student Association worked with other groups to liberalize co-ed visiting privileges in dormitories, to end women's hours on the Madison campus, to institute a much-needed black studies department on the Madison campus, to extend the pass-fail program to sophomores and freshmen and is currently working on other academic reform projects of interest to students. WSA also provides many other services for students such as the WSA housing booklet and model lease, a course and teacher evaluation booklet, a life insurance program, and a new persona property insurance policy.

If you wish to participate in the group health insurance program, return the accompanying enrollment form along with the proper premium. Receipt for the premium and your WSA Activities Card will be mailed to you as soon as both have been processed.

This insurance program provides the best possible coverage for the lowest possible price. We hope that you will take advantage of this and ther WSA sponsored programs this year.

Remember, WSA is your student government.

Sincerely,  
James R. Barnett  
Vice-President of Financial Affairs  
David R. Schaefer, President  
Wisconsin Student Association

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Mailing Address for Correspondence Street No. City & Zip Code

Group: WISCONSIN STUDENT ASSOCIATION

I am (check one) Single ☐ Married ☐ Other ☐  
Coverage desired: Student ☐ Student & Spouse ☐ (optional maternity ☐  
Student, spouse & children ☐ (optional maternity ☐  
Full year ☐ 1st Semester ☐ 2nd Semester ☐  
Date of Birth Social Security Number  
Check Here ☐ If You Are Now Covered by This Plan or Other B.C.B.S. Plan  
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B.C. Other Amendments  
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WISCONSIN STUDENT ASSOCIATION  
511 MEMORIAL UNION  
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

Dear Students and Parents:

The Wisconsin Student Association, in keeping pace with its objectives of providing and constantly improving needed services for the student body of the University of Wisconsin, is proud to announce that it has negotiated a new Student Personal Property Insurance Plan for you with the Citizen's mutual Insurance Company of Janesville, Wisconsin. This program provides \$3,000 of coverage on unscheduled personal property (books, clothes, stereos, sports equipment, etc.) after a \$25 deductible, for only \$25 for an entire calendar year. Five dollars is refundable if coverage is desired for only the nine-month school year.

This program was adopted after much research and study and upon the advice of our faculty insurance advisers. Several fires in apartment buildings and dormitories and numerous instances of theft over the past two years or so have resulted in thousands of dollars worth of loss to Wisconsin Students and their families. Neither private landlords nor University dormitories or Housing provide insurance coverage for students' personal property. WSA felt that a definite need existed for some low cost type of protection for students so that they and their families would not have to suffer so great a financial burden in case of some unfortunate loss occurring. This program was specifically developed to meet this need.

This policy covers students' personal property against fire, theft and loss. Coverage is provided in any type of residence at school, traveling to and from school and while on vacation. It is the finest coverage available for the price.

Return the accompanying enrollment form if you would like to participate in the program. A policy will be returned to you as soon as it has been processed. We hope that you will take advantage of this and other WSA-sponsored projects during the year.

Sincerely,

James R. Barnett  
Vice-President of Financial Affairs

David Schaefer, President  
Wisconsin Student Association

# STUDENT PROPERTY INSURANCE

CITIZEN'S MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY  
Janesville, Wisconsin

All questions must be answered. Incomplete applications will be returned. If answer is "none", state "none".

Name of applicant \_\_\_\_\_  
AGE \_\_\_\_\_ Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_ Married \_\_\_\_\_ Single \_\_\_\_\_  
Campus Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Private dwelling \_\_\_\_\_ Apartment \_\_\_\_\_ Frat.-Sor. House \_\_\_\_\_ Dormitory \_\_\_\_\_  
Hotel \_\_\_\_\_  
Home Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Class \_\_\_\_\_ Freshman \_\_\_\_\_ Sophomore \_\_\_\_\_ Junior \_\_\_\_\_ Senior \_\_\_\_\_ Graduate \_\_\_\_\_  
Student \_\_\_\_\_

## AMOUNTS OF INSURANCE

\$3,000 on unscheduled personal property, except as hereinafter provided, including but not exceeding \$150 on gems, precious and semi-precious stones, jewelry, watches and furs; but with respect to such property of the Insured this limitation shall not apply to loss or damage caused by fire, lightning, windstorm, cyclone, tornado, hail, explosion, riot, riot attending a strike, smoke or damage by vehicles





## Daily Cardinal's Action Ads

### Pad Ads . . .

ROOMS, kit, priv. clean, fall sum. rates. Parking, near stadium. 231-2929, 257-3974. xxx

GIRLS: Why not live at Conklin House? This fall, Kitch. Priv. 222-2724, 255-8216. 14xA21

SUM. (2-3) E. Gorham. 257-7347. xxx

LGE sgle rm for sum at 515 W. Johnson St. 251-1876, 255-8358. xxx

CAMPUS 1½ blks to Union & lib. Ladies or men. Sum & fall. Devine Apts. 256-3013, 251-0212. xxx

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#### FEATURING:

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- Call 267-6400 or come & visit our model apartment.

### THE REGENT STUDENT APARTMENTS

1402 Regent Street  
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ROOMS for Fall. Men. Cheap. 10 Langdon. 255-2582 aft. 7 p. m. xxx

CONTRACT at Regent to sell. 222-7736. 3x21

### Pad Ads . . .

CAMPUS Robin Apt. 2 bdrm. Fall. 4 people. 3 blocks south of University Ave. New Bldg. Also 2 bdrm town house. 637 South Orchard. Quiet neighborhood. 233-9152. xxx

ROOMS, Men and Women, Fall on campus. Kent Hall, 616 North Carroll St. Call 255-6344 for info any time. 4x21

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CENTRAL - East - Brand new 2 bedrooms, air conditioned, dishwasher, lease, adults, 255-0785, 256-2740, 256-5871. 2x21

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EAST Side Bicycle Shop — new & used bike sales. Repairs & parts. 249-0701. 2102 Awood Ave. 19xS9

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## Women's Liberation

# War Linked With Personal Oppression

(continued from page 15)

working women was discussed, women employees in the dorms, the cafeteria and the hospital, receive about \$100 a month less than men employees for doing exactly the same work. The University provides free medical care to students although many working women on the East Side have little or no medical care available to them. Most working women work about 16 hours a day—8 hours at work, and 8 hours at home. They are forced to pay much of their wages for paying a baby sitter.

On Tuesday, July 15 five Indian children were killed in a fire that burned down their frame house in Wisconsin Dells. The land on which they lived was "donated" by the Wisconsin Alumnae Research Foundation. Their parents were at work at the Badger Army Ammunition Plant.

The Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation was founded in order to make profits off of inventions made at University of Wisconsin laboratories. They produce about two to three million dollars per year in profit for the University. They own three subsidiary companies which operate an amusement park type operation in the Wisconsin Dells. But the wealthy WARF doesn't provide any day care centers, nor does it provide any firefighting equipment. The Army Math Research Center was started with a \$1.2 million grant from WARF.

It is clear in this case how a fight for women's liberation is a fight against the university and imperialism. It is important that women help to develop a consciousness so that women see that a fight for women's liberation is a fight against imperialism.

Many of the problems that women are facing today are due to the crisis of American imperialism. America is being forced to spend more and more money on putting down national liberation struggles, as the U.S. government is doing in Vietnam. As a result, there has been a tremendous cut back in funds for social services, welfare, education and medical care. The demands of welfare mothers, of Black students, of hospital workers, are again and again being turned down because capitalism is finding it more and more necessary to make profits for its corporations, rather than provide its people with education, decent jobs, medical care, etc.

The family is a basic institution of capitalism. A woman's role is to maintain, reproduce and repressively socialize the labor force. The family relationship in which the male is dominant and the woman subordinate is a prototype of the larger stratification within society, between the ruling class and the working class. This is not to say that men are the enemy or that men are the rulers. Working men in America are alienated in that they have no control over their working conditions and the product of their labor. They are in the schools, on their jobs, in the courts and by the pigs. Often they respond by taking out their frustrations on their wives.

Women are also used as a surplus work force. For example, during the depression, when there was a large degree of unemployment, women were encouraged to stay home. Articles were written in women's magazines about how Jane ruined her marriage by getting a job and how happy she was when she quit. During the war, when women were needed to work, they started writing articles in women's magazine about how Jane was sick and tired of staying home all the time, and felt so fulfilled now that she had a job.

These relationships are also revealed in the family. Many women come from messed up family situations. Their mothers could only define themselves in terms of bringing them up, and therefore refused to let go. Or parents want them to be a success, get a good job, earn a lot of money, make it in America, and cannot understand our rejection of bourgeois individualistic television set Mustang plastic America.

Women are also encouraged to define themselves in terms of material goods. Are you lonely? Maybe you need a new dress? (Why not one of those new ones from Pakistan?) You need a date? Why don't you buy some Tame? America digs making women feel inferior, ugly, stupid, because they make money off of them that way.

Although women cannot be fully liberated in a capitalist society, it is important to engage in certain reform struggles, and to win these struggles. Although, for example women will not be free when they win equal wages with men, involving them in this struggle, will win something that will make them slightly better off, and hopefully raise their consciousness of a need for broader changes. Some of these struggles could be for equal wages for university employees, legalized abortions, day care center, free birth control, etc.

2) Many women have little chance to talk about politics. It is important that women talk about the war, imperialism, racism, women's liberation, etc.

3) Women should actively support the demands of black and Third World students, welfare mothers, and demands against such imperialist institutions as the Army Math Research Center or ROTC.

4) In many cases, women were attacked during the Dow Demonstration, the strike over the Black demands, and on Mifflin Street. It is important that women learn how to defend themselves.

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# Student Unions: A Possible Answer

What is a student union? Certainly the Wisconsin Student Association, the closest thing to a union on this campus, is not the only model, nor perhaps is the most effective available. These notes are intended to put student unions in some comparative context and not to point to a particular alternative for this campus. It is first of all true that effective student unions are rare and difficult to organize. One must agree first on a definition.

SDS oriented students will have a different notion of a union than students attracted to the National Student Association. Some student unions are primarily political—seeking to effectively express student opinion on national or international issues. Other unions are "corporate" in that they are concerned with student life only—with dormitories, relations with university officials, etc. Other unions seek to combine these two approaches. It is not always true that "political" unions are more militant than "corporate" unions. Students may be highly vocal and active around issues which directly concern them, or apathetic about an issue of foreign policy. The "mix" between orientations, as well as the organizational techniques of starting a successful student union are complex questions. The answers, of course, depend on local conditions and foreign models can provide only broad suggestions.

It might be useful to examine some of the best known models of student unions to see if there might be some relevance for the local Madison situation. The most effective student unions are probably those in Latin America, although in recent years, many Latin American unions have lost much of their power. It is highly significant that Latin American student unions have been deeply involved in national politics for almost fifty years, and in some nations are one of the chief opponents of military or reactionary regimes. One of the myths about the Latin American student union is that it has been responsible for the decline of standards in universities (which in fact have declined in recent years). The causes for the decline, where it has occurred, are not directly related to the student movement, although it is true that in a few cases students have used their power to "over-politicize" the university by using overtly political criteria in faculty hiring, awarding scholarships, etc.

Latin American students began their movement in the city of Cordoba in Argentina in 1918. The movement was initially a university reform movement, and had almost no broader political demands. Later, the movement spread to other Latin American countries, and also widened its political and ideological program.

The Cordoba Reform Movement succeeded in obtaining for students in many Latin American universities a direct voice in the running of their universities. Typically, student representatives, generally elected from the student union, sit on the highest governing bodies of the universities, have a voice in electing the rector (president), and in other policy matters. Students also have a substantial voice in the appointment and evaluation of

professors. Under the Latin American system (again instituted as a result of the Cordoba reform movement), there is no such thing as permanent tenure at many institutions and professors come up for renewal of their "chairs" after specified periods. Students sit on the committees which evaluate the professors in many universities.

This power has, in a sense, institutionalized the student union. Power in student union affairs means power in the university, and political factions in the university often form alliances with the student union over specific issues. The Cordoba Reform Movement intended to upgrade the university in Latin America, which it criticized for being irrelevant, catering only to the upper classes and not to the emerging middle and working classes, and for being tied to the Catholic Church. Ties to the Church were severed, and universities became responsive to the middle classes (working class students are still virtually excluded), but the quality of instruction was not greatly improved.

Student unions in recent years have become highly politicized and in some areas no longer reflect the non-political needs of the students. Factional disputes within student unions (usually among various groups of the left) have caused problems as well, and in some countries have become endemic. Repression from military regimes is also an important factor, particularly in countries like Brazil, where student leaders are regularly imprisoned and sometimes killed. Thus, the Latin American student movement has become a largely political movement, and its ties with less ideologically oriented sections of the student community have declined in many countries.

To claim that the Latin American concept of "student power" has ruined the university is unjustified. However, it is also true that the Latin American student movement faces many problems and no longer constitutes an effective voice of the student community, or even of the progressive sections of the student community. The Latin American student movement has not solved the conflict between political and corporate concerns of students, and its thrust has been in a political direction, often to the detriment of the legitimate although less drastic demands of students.

Japan has also been held up as an example of an effective student movement and a militant national student union. It is true that the Zengakuren, Japan's national union of students (comparable to the US National Student Association in that it is really a federation of local student governments), has been one of the most militant and effective political organizations in Japan in recent years. At present, however, the Zengakuren is nationally divided into at least a dozen warring factions, and physical fighting is not uncommon among some of these groups. Thus, it is not an effective and united voice of the student community, or even of radical students. Curiously, the strongest single national student organization in Japan is affiliated to the Japan Communist Party and has taken a moderate stand on most student issues.

It is more important to look to local campuses and regional groupings than to the Zengakuren, since it is on this level that action takes place and results are achieved.

Japanese student organizations have shown a unique ability to shift from local campus issues to broader national concerns and back again. The frustrations at mass higher education, the examination system, and the like which spilled out during the recent six-month strike at Tokyo University, have been effectively channeled to foreign policy problems, such as nuclear testing and Okinawa. Typically, local campus leadership is in the hands of sophisticated ideological students from one or another of the Zengakuren factions, but usually these students have a sense of the direction of the broader student community and try to deal both with political issues and with student grievances.

European student unions have been more traditional in their concerns, although in recent years groups like the German SDS (Socialist German Student Federation), and the French UNEF (National Union of French Students), and other groups have become much more political and more militant as well. Despite the dramatic success of the French events of May 1968 and the strength of the German SDS on a number of campuses in Germany, the "new" trend in student movements in Western Europe has not been completely successful. Groups like the German SDS have not been much concerned with local campus grievances, although they have successfully radicalized a large segment of the student community. The traditional German student federation, the VDS, was recently taken over by SDS, although as a result both groups split into right and left wing factions.

The traditional European idea of "student trade unionism" is still an important force. Indeed, student unions in France (before 1968), Holland, Belgium, Italy, and other countries have been rather effective in providing services, such as reduced tickets in theaters, student run restaurants, etc., for students. They have, however, typically not been concerned with broader political issues. In the very recent period, however, in part in response to pressure from more radical groups, the student unions have become radicalized and have taken a more active political role.

What is the relevance of all this to the University? For one thing, it is difficult to organize an effective student union which can combine the political and the local needs of students. It is very clear that the American pattern of elitist student governments which have little contact with the students cannot be effective in building an effective student union. At the same time, the political groups will also have difficulty in organizing an ongoing student union based on militant left politics. A student union must be able to exercise power, since it is only through power that aims will be achieved. And power on a campus comes only through the mobilization, or at least through the articulation.

(Continued on Page 23)

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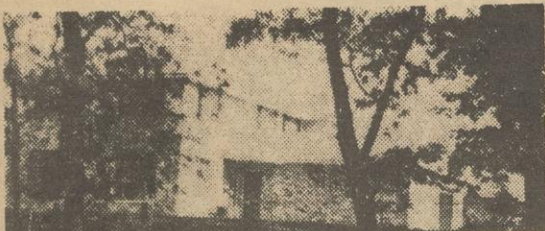
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## University Has Nation's First TA Union

The Teaching Assistants Association (TAA) is the nation's first majority union of TA's to gain exclusive collective bargaining rights. Formed in 1966 to establish job security for TA's and to deal with educational issues, the TAA presented the U.W. administration with proof of authorization from over 50% of the University TA's in March, 1969. As a result of an agreement reached on April 26, 1969 and a campus wide representation election held in May (in which the TAA carried 77% of those TA's voting), the TAA is now the sole collective bargaining agent for the University's 1800 teaching assistants.

The need for organization has been dictated to TA's by the conditions of their employment. It is not without reason that the Wallstreet Journal (Jan. 8, 1969) referred to TA's as "Academia's Serfs." A typical TA often puts in a 20 hour work week, six of these hours in class, and takes nine to twelve credits of graduate work. The average TA salary is about \$3,000 per year. In some departments, however, TA's earn less than \$2,300 per year, out of which they must pay rising tuition and book expenses, rising taxes, rising rent, transportation and food costs, while in many cases trying to support a family. According to a faculty study, teaching assistants give 68% of instructional time for freshmen and sophomores, and 44% for juniors and seniors. The university estimates that the TA system saves the state \$5 to \$6 million each year.

Although they do the lion's share of teaching at the University teaching assistants have no power over the terms and conditions of their employment. TA's have no say in what they are paid, no assurance of continued employment, no voice in course assignment. During contract negotiations this summer the TAA has proposed a formula for guaranteeing TA's a fair living wage, a just system for review of TA appointments, and a mechanism for co-determination of course assignment. To protect TA's from arbitrary dismissal, the TAA has introduced an equitable grievance procedure.

The TAA is concerned, however, as much with the role of the TA in the university, as with "bread and butter" issues. A man can find fulfilling only that work in which he has the right to determine what he is producing and how he is producing it. The TAA feels that as workers in an industry producing research and trained personnel, teaching assistants have a right and an obligation to participate in determining the uses of their labor. The TAA commits itself to securing TA's a part in planning what and how they teach. Specifically this means questioning the assumptions on which the TA's job is based; the relationship between a teacher and student in the learning process; the social assumptions that underlie both methods of presentation and content; the uses to which the TA's knowledge and talents are put by society; and the present structure of the University, how it affects the learning experience and how it might be improved.



## Union Formed by Non-Tenured Faculty

The aim of the non-tenured faculty union which is now forming on the Madison campus is to organize a majority of the junior faculty (lecturers, instructors, assistant professors) into a union. Once a majority is reached, the union will then seek to enter into a collective bargaining relationship with the University for the benefit of its members and for the improvement of the quality of education in the University.

Goals to be achieved by collective bargaining are still tentative. Whatever goals have emerged from informal discussions to date derive from specific grievances of junior faculty, and others are directed toward wider university reform, especially in teaching.

As it is now constituted, the non-tenured faculty union has no affiliation with any established labor union on or off campus. Such affiliation will depend entirely on the decision of the membership. The present operating premise is that if a properly-run, energetic organizing campaign is conducted, a majority of the junior faculty will become members of the union. If after a serious effort over a substantial period of time it becomes obvious that this premise is not valid, then the organizing effort will be wound up and the union dissolved. A weak union which is not growing in strength is not only ineffectual, but actually performs a disservice to its members.

The organizational plan is simple. At present the union is identifying and recruiting individual faculty who will serve as organizers within their departments and work on the several organizing committees. Ideally, by fall, there will be an organizer in each department, in each college, on the Madison campus. When the membership drive actually begins, departmental organizers will contact their colleagues and obtain membership commitments: signed pledge cards and a small amount for yearly dues.

Currently two committees exist already: Organization and Literature. All committee meetings are open as is membership for those interested in building this union. In the near future a constitution will be adopted and a general chairman elected by the membership. Open and informational meetings are held twice a month, the first and third Monday of each month, usually at 8 p.m. at the Union. The first half of these meetings is devoted to a discussion of issues raised in position papers which will be distributed in advance. The second half is reserved for committee reports and organizational work. Those who do not want to remain for the second half of the meetings are encouraged to contribute to the discussion of issues in the first half. A mailing will announce the place and the topics for each meeting.

If you are a lecturer, instructor, or assistant professor in any department on the Madison campus, you are invited to participate in the organization of the union. Your personal influence can contribute significantly to the shaping of our union.

For further information please write to, or call (Ext. 2-3561)  
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## YSA

(continued from page 11)

participation in decision making.

### THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION

YSA is against capitalist and imperialist oppression.

### SOCIALIST CANDIDATES

YSA believes that it's wrong to confront the rulers of America one day and vote for their candidates on the next. YSA has consistently called for a break with the two parties of war, racism and poverty. It supports socialist political campaigns such as the Socialist Workers Party's 1968 presidential ticket of Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle. These campaigns take the socialist answer to millions of Americans.

### THE ANTI-VIETNAM WAR MOVEMENT

Today, Vietnam is the focal point of the world revolution, and YSA is part of the international fight to defeat U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people. YSA has played a leading role in organizing opposition to the war in Vietnam. Members have been among the most active builders of the giant protest actions such as those of April 15 and October 21, 1967. It demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese can determine their own future.

### THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE

YSA solidarizes with the mounting movements against bureaucratic oppression and for genuine workers' democracy in the workers' states of eastern Europe.

### THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF AMERICA

YSA believes that the root cause of war, racism, and poverty is the capitalist system, a system which means control by the wealthy few over the lives of the majority. It wants to change this. YSA wants a system of real majority rule, where the wealth and achievements of society can benefit everyone. YSA wants a socialist United States and a socialist world.



# Short Bibliography On the University

This bibliography is not complete, nor is it a completely unbiased guide to the available literature. It is, rather, a short listing of some of the more recent and critical material on American higher education. It is presented in the hope of providing students with a critical look at their own institution.

Alan Krebs, *The University* (1967, 9 pages). (available from the New England Free Press). This short but stinging critique of the American university was written by the founder of the Free University of New York.

Carl Davidson, *The New Radicals in the Multiversity* (1968, 37 pages) This pamphlet, written by a former officer of the SDS, provides a "new left" critique of the university, and some suggestions for the role of radicals in higher education. (available from SDS)

Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University* (New York: Harper paperback, 1963, 139 pages). The most accurate and concise "establishment" description of current trends and developments in the American University. By the originator of the term "multiversity."

Theodore Roszak, ed., *The Dissenting Academy* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1968). The contributors tear apart most academic disciplines, from anthropology to sociology, claiming that they are irrelevant, linked to the established social order, etc.

Harold Taylor, *Students Without Teachers* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1969) The most radical—and most readable—of the recent moderate proposals for academic reform.

James Rowen, *Profit Motive 101: University Power Elite* (Daily Cardinal Reprint, 1969, 8 pages). The Cardinal's expose of the Board of Regents and its wheeling and dealing. The links between the University and the power elite of the state are set forth with facts and figures.

Stephen Spender, *The Year of the Young Rebels* (New York: Vintage paperback, 1969). One of the best accounts of student activism at Columbia, Berlin, Prague, and Paris. Mr. Spender is both sympathetic and coherent in his description.

## Student Unions

(Continued from page 21)

sciousness of a substantial proportion of the student body.

The tactics of any student union remain unclear. It would seem that a major campaign to have student control or even major participation over hiring and firing of professors will not be very effective, not only because the administration and faculty would be opposed, but also because this issue would probably not arouse the interest of a large number of otherwise uninvolved students. Clearly, students have many complaints about university life, the faculty, and administrators. The challenge is to build some coherence into this vague dissatisfaction and to articulate it effectively.



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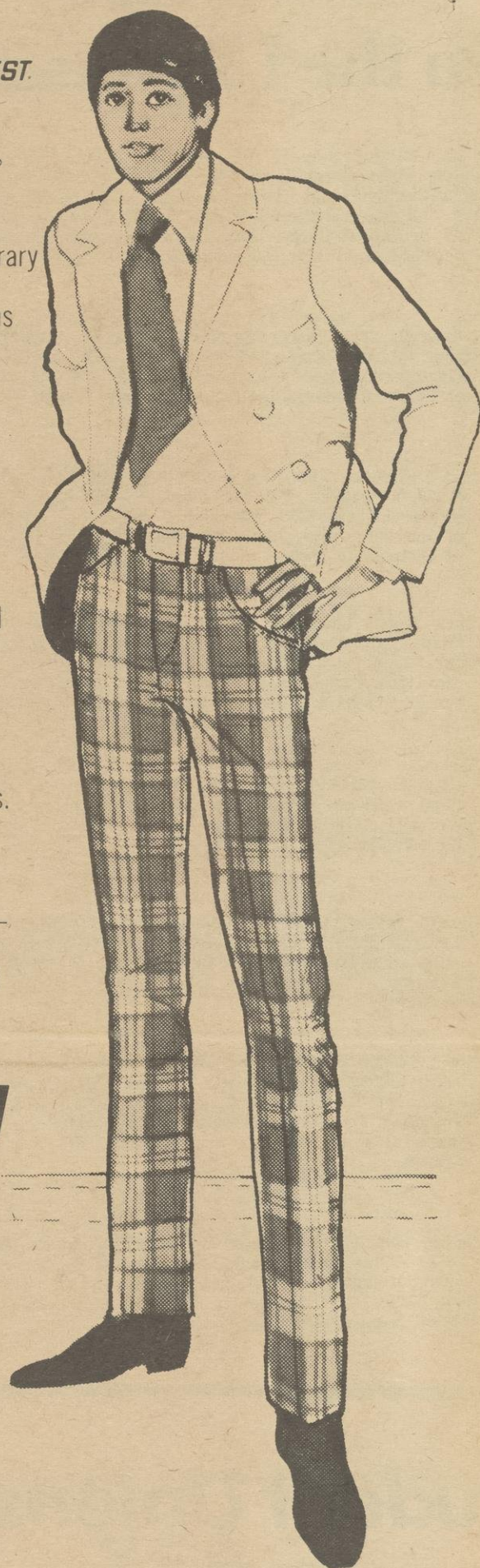
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