

OBSERVER

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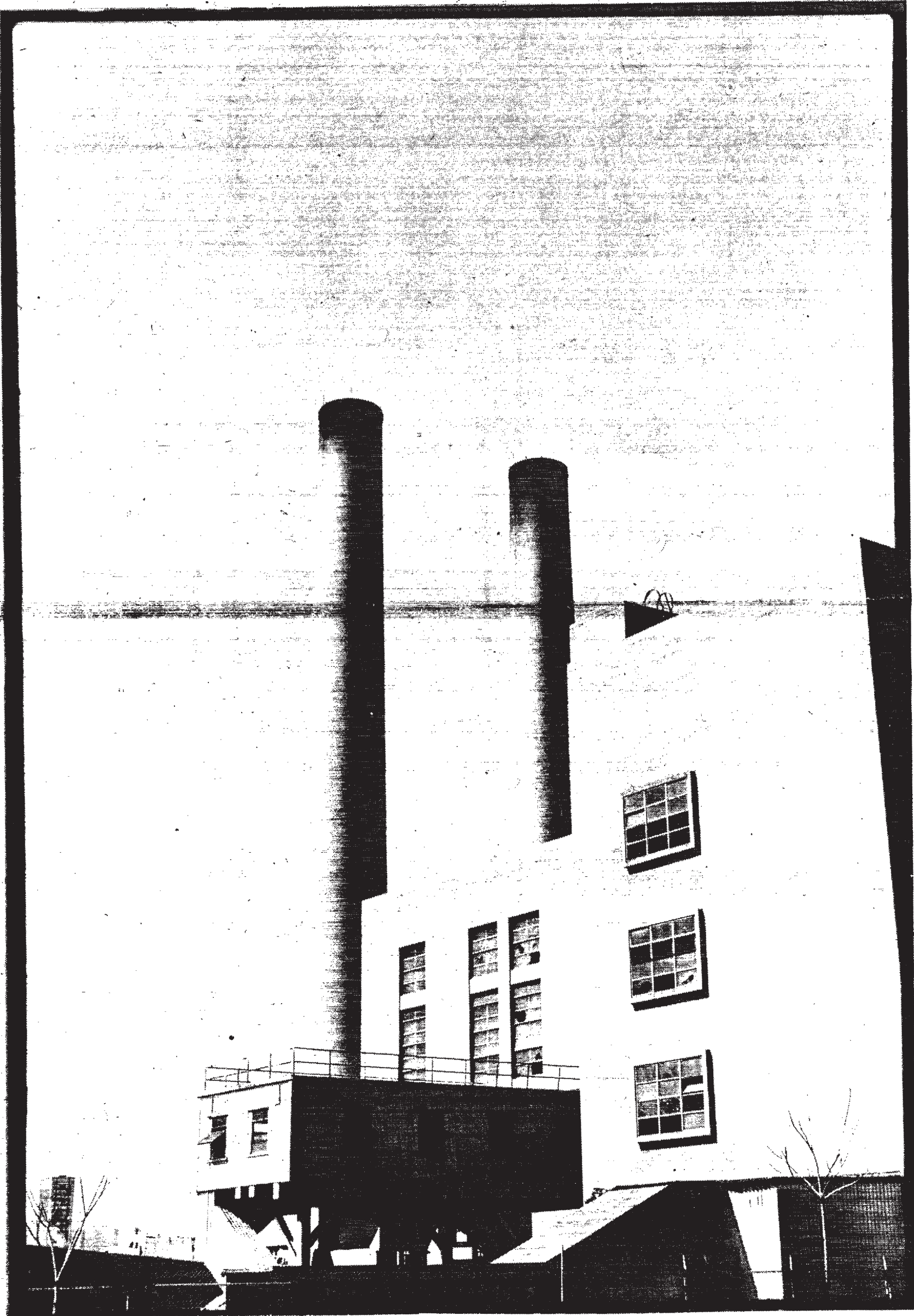
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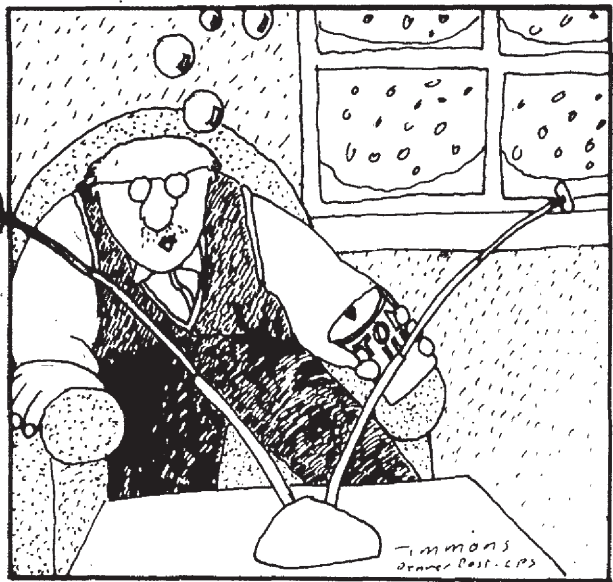
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PIC. IVAN STOLLER



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O B S E R V E R

Sexual Freedom and the New Right

The following is the transcript from the talk given by Christine Stansell at the Bard Teach-in on Reaganism and repression on April 15.

In this talk, I'm going to focus on abortion, although my subject is the more general one of "Sexual Freedom in the Eighties." It should become clear that I do this because I believe that abortion is the focus of the New Right's attack on sexual freedom and, indeed, they're a challenge to American democracy. Because I have so much territory to cover in such a short time, I want to answer five questions. First, what is the recent history of the abortion struggle? Second, who comprises the New Right? Third, what is the situation today? Fourth, what will we face in the next decade if the New Right wins? And finally, what can we do to stop them?

Before the late nineteenth century, abortion was one of the few available means of birth control and practiced by countless American women - so much so, in fact, that Europeans termed abortion the "American sin." Town and city newspapers, for instance, regularly printed only slightly veiled advertisements for abortifacients (drugs inducing abortion) and practitioners who performed abortions. Beginning in the 1860's, state after state outlawed abortion, in a movement roughly associated with the professionalization of medicine and the campaign of "regular" physicians to wrest the practice of "female" medicine from the midwives and "irregulars" who had traditionally dominated it. The point here is that for centuries the choice for abortion was common, an unquestioned traditional prerogative of women; only in the last hundred years has it been seen as an arena for the intervention of state authority.

Nonetheless, American women continued to seek abortions, even when they were illegal. In the absence of safe and absolutely effective contraception and of free access to what contraception existed, abortion remained as it does today, an essential back-up service. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, the feminist movement fought for legalized abortion - "free abortion on demand" - as an essential precondition for the liberation of women. In 1973, feminists won that battle. In *Roe v. Wade*, the Supreme Court struck down a Texas state prohibiting abortion. In its decision, the Court expressly denied the fetuses' "right to life" and instead affirmed women's "right to privacy": abortion was a matter of conscience for the individual woman involved.

Since 1973, there has been a quiet and

steady erosion of this victory. Shortly after the *Roe* decision, the Catholic Church hierarchy mandated the formation of a national "Right-to-Life" campaign. Anti-abortion forces quietly chipped away at access to abortion in various federal health programs and insurance plans. In 1977 their counter-offensive picked up momentum with the Hyde Amendment, in which Congress prohibited Medicaid funds for abortion except in cases of rape or incest, or when the woman's life was endangered. (These provisions were only added later to the bill by more "humane" Congressmen; the original bill denied funds even in these cases.)

In 1978, various sectors of the federal labor force were denied insurance benefits for abortion. Federal funding was withdrawn from amniocentesis counseling (amniocentesis is a procedure which detects birth defects in the fetus; right-to-lifers oppose its use because they claim it encourages abortion.) On the local level, Akron, Ohio passed an ordinance which would be regarded as a model for discouraging abortion. Akron's law of "informed consent" required parental consent for teenagers seeking abortions, and a waiting period between the time women applied for the abortion and the time the procedure could be performed. These same years witnessed the firebombings of several clinics (to date, there have been seven arson attempts on abortion clinics) and the harassment (including physical violence of patients entering clinics by right-to-life picketers.)

McRae v. Harris, the Supreme Court upheld the Congressional ban on Medicaid funding, reversing its liberal sentiments of 1973 and thus denying poor women the necessary means to exercise their constitutional rights. Moreover, by declaring the state's interest in fetal life, the Court opened the way for new legislation altogether illegalizing abortion.

WHO COMPRISES THE NEW RIGHT?

The New Right is a grassroots movement led and financed by a coalition of Catholic bishops and fundamentalist Protestant ministers and businessmen. Its formula for success is the fusion of religion and sexual politics - "pro-family" politics. Ideologically, theirs is a campaign against "secular humanism" which means most democratic reforms since the French Revolution - and for a return to a modified theocracy. Practically, their struggle is against

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MAY 3RD RALLY

Anne Lintner

On Sunday, May 3rd, 80 Bard students and one Bard Professor, made the long journey to Washington D.C. to participate in the march on the Pentagon protesting the U.S. involvement in El Salvador. This event was the culmination of months of organizing on the part of many, but for many more, this day marked the beginning of their work to end the U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Prior to May 3rd, El Salvador was just a news item for most people. It may have been an issue that irked their conscience, but the options available to voice their dissent were limited. Letters could be written to a generally unsympathetic group of government officials, but this is seemingly inadequate. This feeling lends itself to an attitude of helplessness, which is characteristic of this era. This helplessness was counteracted by being at the demonstration and having the reassurance that so many others were angry enough to take the time and effort to get to Washington for a show of solidarity in common opposition. For many, it was radicalizing to see the Washington Riot Control Squad protecting the Moonies who chanted in unison: "We love Ronald Reagan".

The feeling of unity was affirmed by several factors. First, there was a conscious effort on the part of the great majority to keep the march both peaceful and orderly. On three separate occasions the marchers were confronted with reactionary and extremist elements; --The Moonies who ridiculed our intentions; the Right-wing Cuban counter-demonstrators, who fervently insisted that "Cuba get out of El Salvador", and the Spartacus League, which broke away from the march (after trying to disrupt it by marching too quickly--and abruptly--

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sexual freedom cont.

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Godlessness and Selfishness, of which abortion is the symbol. Selfishness includes contraception, sex education, teenage sexuality, amniocentesis, feminism, the ERA and homosexuality. A recent "pro-family" conference, for instance, featured a condemnation of Divorce, Contraception, Euthanasia, Abortion and Humanism. Abortion and contraception mean "doing away with our children if we feel like it", divorce means "disposing of our spouses if we feel like it", euthanasia, getting rid of old people if we feel like it, and humanism - denying God.

The New Right's organizing vehicles are formidable - the Catholic Church on the parish level and the "electronic" church of the fundamentalists. Parish churches supply rooms for meetings, buses for rallies, telephones and duplicating equipment; clergy distribute "pro-life affirmation cards" at mass and collect hundreds of thousands of dollars each year at "Respect Life" Sunday. The "electronic" media church of the fundamentalists, heavily funded by Reaganite Southern and Sunbelt businessmen, comprises 13,000 radio stations and 36 television shows. Jerry Falwell, head of the Moral Majority, broadcasts daily over 300 TV stations and 280 radio stations in 31 states.

It is important to note here that the anti-abortion forces do not and never have represented the majority of Americans, who in poll after poll, continue to favor legal abortion and to view abortion as a matter of conscience. The fact that the "pro-family" politics have had so much success, then, should confirm that there are powerful economic and institutional forces underwriting them.

In sum, then, the New Right is an organized authoritarian movement which has taken the ending of sexual liberation and the restoration of Victorian morality and patriarchal control as the keystone for a domestic program of totalitarianism.

The Situation of the Moment

There are now sixteen anti-abortion bills pending in Congress. They can be roughly divided into two groups. The first, the more "humane", allow abortion in cases of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is endangered. The second group prohibit abortion in all cases: abortion is illegal even if a woman will die because of the pregnancy, even if it's a child that is pregnant, even if the fetus cannot survive, even if a woman has been raped, even if a child is the victim of incest.

On April 23, the Senate Subcommittee on the Constitution began hearings on the question of when human life begins. These hearings are to provide testimony pertaining to the Human Life Amendment and the various Human Life statutes, which define human life as beginning the moment an egg is fertilized in the uterus. Besides banning abortion, the various Human Life laws would ban the IUD and some kinds of birth control pills (since these contraceptives prevent a fertilized egg from implanting in the uterine wall, thus "killing" a "person"). If a Human Life law is passed, fetal life will be paramount, superseding a woman's life. Abor-

tion will be classed as a felony in all states and as premeditated murder in some; anyone aiding a woman in obtaining an abortion will be liable to prosecution; miscarriages will be investigated for evidence of possible "criminal" intent.

The other side of the coin of diminished access to abortion is sterilization abuse. Among poor women in their childbearing years, sterilization has steadily increased. In Puerto Rico, as of 1978, 36% of all women of childbearing age had been sterilized. Between 1972 and 1973, a 180% rise in sterilizations occurred in New York City hospitals, which primarily serve black and Hispanic patients. These figures may represent new choices poor women have been forced into making as well as sterilizations performed without their knowledge or consent; with no access to abortion as a back-up service, women in desperate economic situations may be choosing to have no children at all, ever, rather than to incur the risks of a pregnancy.

Finally, the Family Protection Act, the Magna Charta of the New Right, is pending before Congress at this moment. The Family Protection Act contains 35 provisions designed to "protect" the family's privacy. Provisions which assert traditional rights of control--of parents over children, of adults over teenagers, of men over women--are intertwined with provisions which affirm racism and union-busting. The Act prohibits federal programs to stop child abuse (for the protection of "family privacy") and programs to help battered wives, prohibits schools with federal funds from buying educational materials that "would tend to denigrate, diminish, or deny the role differences between the sexes" prohibits federal funds to schools which seek to teach "values or modes of behavior which contradict the demonstrated beliefs and values of the community", requires notification of the parents of all minors seeking information on contraception, venereal disease, and abortion, exempts homosexuals from the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and denies federal funding to any group considering homosexuality an "accepted lifestyle."

Prospects for the 1980's

The New Right's success will bear heaviest on young people and their ability to be sexual as they choose. Young people are the most vulnerable to authority, since they live with their parents or in colleges which continue to take a modified *in loco parentis* role. They also have less personal connections and less money to gain access to the sexual blackmarket in contraceptives and abortions which we can expect to develop in a period of prohibition. We will return to back-alley abortions, with their complications (including sterility) and deaths. Depending on one's connections, illegal abortions may cost as little as \$100 and as much as \$1000. Federal money will be withdrawn from schools and institutions advocating or tolerating sexual freedom--that is, sexuality outside the confines of marriage and hetero-

sexuality. Increasing numbers of poor women will be sterilized in their twenties. Gay people will be hounded out of jobs, especially in the public sector; gay life--such as gay bars--will be subject to severe repression and forced underground. Testing for fetal birth defects will be illegal, so that people who desire children may be forced to bear retarded and deformed babies. Birth control will only be available illegally. In general, sexually active people will live in a climate of fear and shame.

What To Do

The greatest danger is apathy and passivity. This generation of college students has come of age in a situation of sexual freedom that was a victory of the radical movements of the 60's. Your ability to be sexually active people-- to live in coed dorms, to procure birth control, to live in houses with members of the opposite sex to whom you are not married, to be gay or straight as you choose-- these are not givens. People fought for and won your ability to choose in these matters.

Practically, you can support the work of the Feminist Alliance, which has a table at lunchtime several days a week where you can inform yourself on what's happening and send cards indicating your support of the right to choose to your Congressman. More generally, in thinking and arguing with others we must offer a "counter-morality" to the Right. Too often, people assume that the Right talks of "morality" while feminists talk in a moral vacuum. Instead, we need to stand firm behind a moral vision of sexuality for men and women as a positive, life-affirming experience which shouldn't be limited to procreation and marriage. An essential element of the "humanism" so despised by the Right is the acknowledgement of the body and its legitimate claims, the passion for a world in which those claims-- for comfort, food, shelter, aesthetic and sensual pleasure-- are honored. Humanism-- in both its feminist and Marxist incarnations-- is indeed a kind of "hedonism" which denies that people are disembodied or asexual souls, whose bodies others can legitimately dominate in the name of a higher power-- God, the Church, Fetal Personhood, the Family.

As Ellen Willis has written, "Pro-family propaganda plays on deeply ingrained feelings of guilt and powerlessness to which few of us are immune. It reinforces the messages we received in early childhood-- that our sexual desires are bad, that freedom is immoral, that we're incompetent to run our own lives, that we need both protection and punishment from Big Daddy."

What is at stake is democracy. People who don't believe they have the right to manage their own intimate lives are not going to fight for economic self-determination, or the right of the Third World peoples to national self-determination, or the right to self-government in any form. ●

US '81 = GERMANY '32?

Jonathan Feldman

"Any American who glanced up from dinner of coffee at network news on an April evening last year might have glimpsed brief television coverage of a "Washington for Jesus" rally. The cameras that day scanned a crowd of 20,000 citizens who had gathered for prayers on the national capital mall. The 10-to-20 million people who also watch religious programming on the Ultra High Frequency channels were able to keep that crowd in focus for up to six extra hours that evening. The Electronic Church was having its finest hour displaying the Washington rally - even as its commentators sulked about the way the networks had slighted the occasion."

Martin E. Marty, "A Christian view of the Moral Majority," *Across the Board*, The Conference Board Magazine, Vol. xvii No. 4, April 1981

The growing interdependency of corporate and government connections on the surface suggests the basis for a fascist state in this country. The moral majority suggests the potentiality for a popular base for a new industrial State in which democratic rights have given way to direct capitalist initiatives. In addition to the government sanctioned attacks on blacks, Jews, and other minorities, the assault on reproductive rights implies that the New Right wants to deny all the sexual freedoms that have been won by individuals since the 1960's. Developing federal legislation suggests as well that the government will remove the controls that were placed on the FBI and CIA, legislation which would permit murder and extortion by federal agents. In a recent visit to Bard, Indian leader John Trudel expressed his concern that the corporate order was emerging as a new fourth reich, that the genocide of American Indians was the other side of growing fascism. However, what is most distressing to an observer of the social trends emerging in this country are the psychological bases for a new American fascism.

The changing relations in society and the development of capitalism have produced changes in the personality structure described by sociologist David Reisman. According to Reisman, an inner-directed, tradition based generation was giving way to an other-directed, media and fashion oriented generation. People's decisions were increasingly influenced by motivations with sources outside a stable religious tradition or influenced by the values embodied in the family. The predominance of mass culture, the growth of movie theatres, disco, and the conformity of non-conformity associated with the counter-culture further documents the trend towards a personality easily shaped by both media symbolism and the hype of corporations. Manning Marable, black political activist and social thinker, expressed the ways in which the political economy of the south since the Civil Rights movement effected the cultural impact of the decline of political movements of the 1960's in his book, *From the Grassroots*:

Clothing styles, mannerisms of speech and habits changed overnight. Afro-hair styles and dashikis are being rapidly abandoned for bleached hair, surreal clothing and high heels.

The blues and jazz, once an integral part of the political struggle of the sixties, is replaced by blatantly sexist disco.

While such cultural trends have been influenced by the political-economy of the South, the decline of the rural-based farming population which provided a political base for the black movement of the 1960's, Marable indicated that an indigenous and authentic black culture was supported by the culture of political movements. That is, in contrast to those cultural forces producing an other-directed corporatist culture, the Civil Rights Movement and Black Power and cultural nationalism of the 1960's combatted the manipulation of the personality towards the culture of the corporate world. Therefore, in an era where the nuclear family and religion are declining as social influences which can combat the cultural hegemony of the state, political movements have an important role in either aiding or combatting a culture autonomous from the State. The moral majority serves to project a corporate based attack on women since the abolition of reproductive rights reinforces a stable social order (or repressed one which 'domesticates' women) necessary for accumulation and profits.

The political movements of the 1960's on the other hand, provided people with a more autonomous culture, less controlled by the corporations. The New Left, Black Nationalist Movement and Women's Movement all were at odds with the cor-

porate vision and the cultural attitudes prevalent in the Moral Majority. Even though these movements were manipulated by the media in a variety of ways they still were able to publicize their vision of political freedom for women and blacks, the importance of personal expression and sexual freedom, the need to oppose militaristic nationalism, and intervention in the Third World, and the importance of creating collective institutions based on democratic participation which placed human rights over property rights. Since such attitudes helped mold a culture independent from corporate ideology and the social attitudes which support it, the New Left's collective vision and anti-militarism were important forces for building a new society free from the corporate-State axis. Yet, in tracing the collapse of this vision we find the power of the state. The narcissistic attitudes of the counter-culture, opposed to collectivism, were promulgated by the media and in popular culture. The anti-intervention in Vietnam politics of liberals and their allies in the media.

The danger of the 1980's is that the forces of the right will fill the cultural vacuum by accelerating the process of other-directed media manipulation and corporate values through social movements and trends that could support facism. The cultural vacuum is precisely the lack of values which are anti anti-corporate, pro-democratic, and help

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MAY 3 RALLY CONT'D

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ly pushing a Bard student who asked that they slow down) to hold their own "Anti-Imperialist" demonstration in an attempt to label the larger protest "too liberal." Another factor was the great diversity of the participants; representatives from a wide range of special interest groups, ranging from The Grey Panthers to the Gay Rights movement. This integration was an indication that there is a growing understanding of the inter-linking nature of the issues that trouble our society. People are beginning to see the manner in which intervention in El Salvador effects our country's domestic policy. There is a growing concern in America about the double-edged sword of the New Right on one hand, and U.S. Global Intervention on the other.

When the Bard contingent returned, anxious to read the review of the March we were disturbed by the misrepresentation we encountered. First, three major New York papers all ran photos of the Spartacus League. This was a misrepresentation

in the sense that it gave the impression that the general theme of the march advocated the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government. Clearly, this was not the case. Secondly, the *New York Times* reported that "official" estimates placed the number of marchers at 20,000. This they mention three times in the article, while making brief reference to the estimate announced by one of the organizers, placing the number of marchers at 100,000. In reality, it was announced at the rally that the official estimate was 100,000 people, but experience has taught us to double that. The *New York Times* is guilty on two counts; 1), they played up the extremist elements of the march by focusing on the Spartacus League and their counter-demonstration, and 2), the size and thus the strength and solidarity of the group was played down. It is this very form of biased reporting that allows groups like the New Right to flourish, while the Left suffers from bad press coverage. But we know better... ●



U.S. 1981 = GERMANY 1932 ?

cont'd from pg. 3

develop an autonomous personality motivated by tradition and values independent from fads, fashions and manipulative symbolism. The basis for American fascism can be seen precisely in social trends found within Bard itself, or at least we can argue that social attitudes speak of 'repressive tolerance' permissiveness towards fascism. These trends are precisely those which defy an autonomous personality structure: conformity, nihilist "punk" and meaningless rock music, disco disco, political apathy and the disintegration of the positive aspects of the 1960's counter-culture movement, as well as the incorporation of the political values of the New Left into scholasticism. We also see a "new breed" of Bard student, an academic automaton whose social mores, dress code and intellectual aspirations reproduce the professionalism and careerism the integrate one into the corporate order. The dangers that such trends could give rise to symbolic manipulation and pseudo-populistic appeals which lead to fascism have been described by Todd Gitlin in *The Whole World is Watching*:

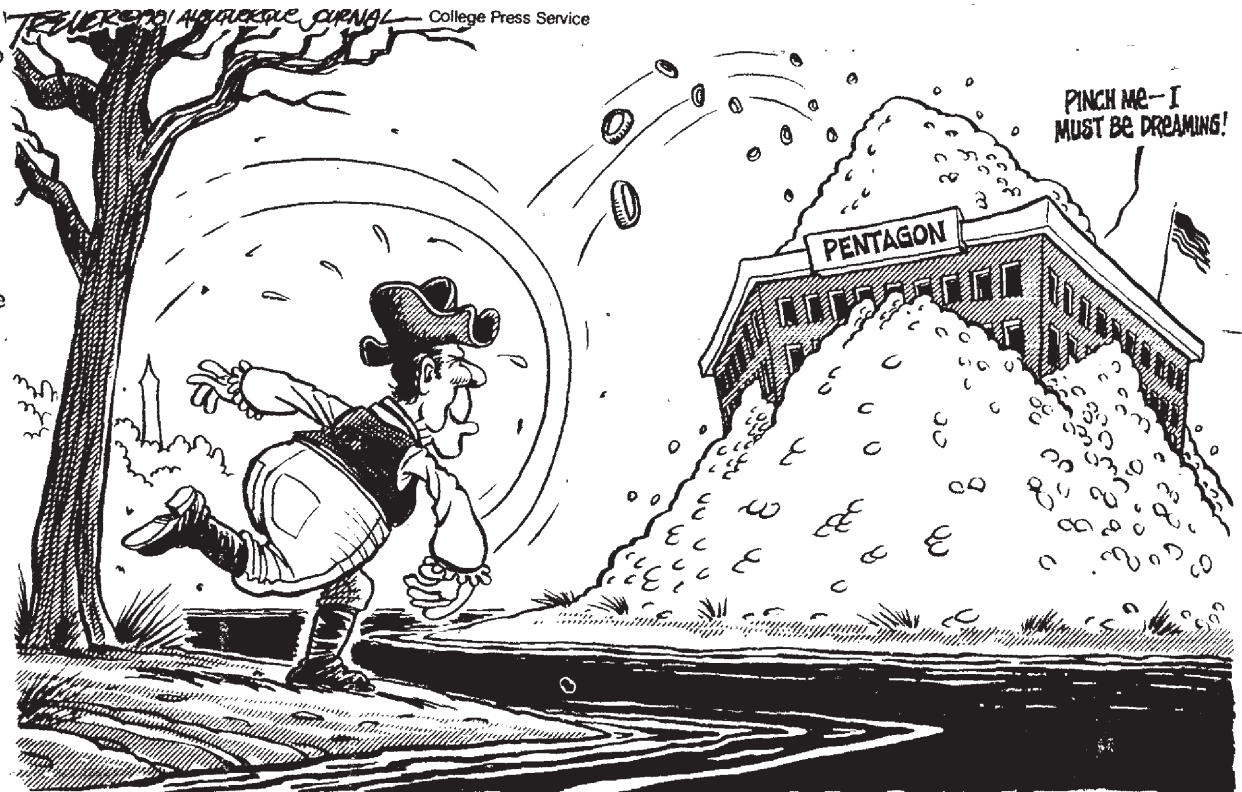
In a society of great social inequality, of impersonal, commodified relationships and mass manipulation, it becomes possible for celebrities to arise who stand for little more than their own celebrity. Their relation to mass audiences is not charismatic in the sense Max Weber intended; celebrities do not incarnate consistent new values. Instead of leadership, there is popularity. As William Kornhauser writes: 'The decline of authoritative standards and leadership creates anxiety and insecurity; feelings of aimlessness and lack of social direction become widespread. Such a state of anomie generates the quest for new authority and heightens receptivity to pseudo-authority'. Charisma can now be fabricated as a mysterious aura, as "star quality", in the relation between celebrities and audiences that is incarnated through the mass media.

The moral majority directly responds to these trends with its electronic projections of missionary superstars. However, the pressing question is the relationship between our community and these social trends. On the one hand the liberal arts curriculum is at odds with the demands of the corporate order since the former still upholds the values of democracy, freedom, creativity and autonomous intellectual work. Thus, President Botstein has upheld the liberal arts institution as the correct antidote to the other-directed characteristics of modern capitalism (see: "Children of a Lonely Crowd," *Change Magazine*.) However, in the process of replicating liberal arts traditions this college also reproduces the careerist mentality through specialization in majors, the Senior Project, and the Moderation process. We still uphold the grading system and while Bard is not noted for its competitiveness it does produce trainees for professionalistic occupations complete with the social mores necessary to function in the middle class world. Since most of our future lives will be in the system as the system is middle class this seems only natural.

The problem is that the liberal arts education does not raise directly the

social questions which define the potentialities for a friendly American Facism and corporate dominance over the whole of society. Such questions can only be fully understood within an anti-corporate, feminist and radically different cultural critique. Such a critique can only grow and develop in an autonomous culture free of corporate control such as can be found in political organizing in the left, women's and minority movements. Finally, the university system and this college fail to produce a culture which is fully autonomous from

the needs of corporations and can expose daily the genocide and terror on which society is based. Liberal ethics and scholastic dialique stand as one-dimensional symbols when compared to the psychological trends of conformity to both curriculum, careerism and reactionary culture. The intellectual or artistic journey through Bard is at best an individual trajectory free from tyranny, but not responsible for its transcendence: Bard makes better lawyers, doctors, art dealers, engineers, managers, and professionals for the State. ●



AMERICAN FOLKLORE: RONALD REAGAN THROWS 222 BILLION DOLLARS ACROSS THE POTOMAC.

sexual harassment on campus

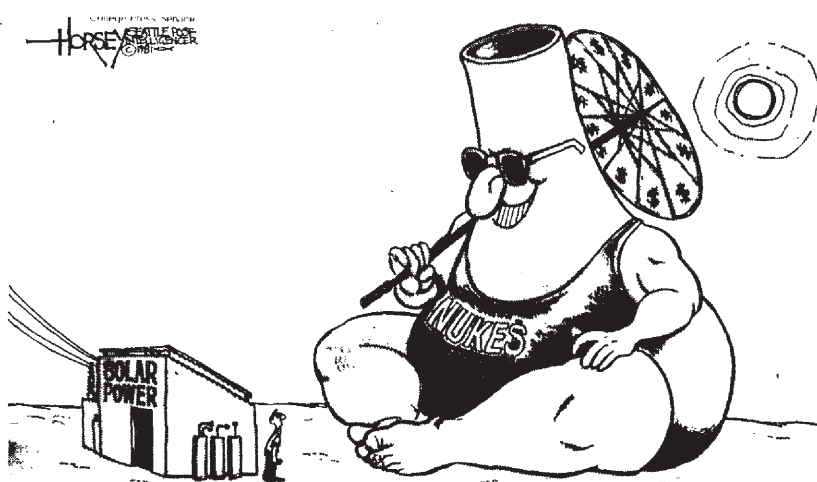
It has been called to the attention of the Feminist Alliance that a female student was sexually harassed by a male professor this semester at Bard. The professor misused his position of authority to place this student in a situation where she was emotionally manipulated and sexually threatened. His abstract and evasive manner of speaking, his powerful position as a professor, his twisting a close, creative, educational relationship into a sexual one, placed this student in an intimidated and vulnerable position in which he sexually exploited her.

This is not a unique situation. There are multiple instances not only of overt sexual harassment, but also of more subtle insinuations and sexual expectations on the part of several male faculty members. We wish to stress that this extends further than an isolated incident; a great number of women have been denied full and equal access to purely intellectual relationships with their professors. Our society teaches us that this ex-

ploitation is somehow natural, probably invited by the women consciously or not, and in a sexually "liberated" environment such as Bard College, perfectly acceptable. Because of these attitudes women are made to feel foolish and immature about making a public complaint about their harassment, and are treated as if they are over-reacting or prudish.

Sexual harassment is any type of gender-based discrimination or sexual overture—verbal or physical—that makes you feel uncomfortable or vulnerable. We, the members of the Feminist Alliance, are available to provide advice, information, support, and action for members of the Bard community. We're in the process of setting up a formal procedure for dealing with such incidents, regardless of how minor they seem. We encourage correspondence and testimonies pertaining to experiences of harassment on the Bard campus. All such correspondence will be held in the strictest confidence, but we must ask that they be signed so as to prevent abuse of a system designed to protect people.

—Bard Feminist Alliance



next issue:
**Hudson
river
valley
pollution**

(PLEASE CONTRIBUTE)

'MCDONALD'S WINDFALL PROFIT ACT'

by Helen Cordes

CONGRESS PONDERES DROPPING STUDENTS FROM MINIMUM WAGE LAWS BUSINESS: CUTTING FULL-TIME STUDENT WAGES WILL CREATE MORE JOBS OPPONENTS: MORE STUDENTS WILL BE PART-TIMERS;

WASHINGTON, D.C. (CPS)--

Don White knows what kind of worker is best in retail businesses. He prefers someone who "has an 80 I.Q. or higher, takes a few showers a week, and is a student."

White, who is vice-president of the American Retail Federation, also would prefer people who fit the profile to work for less. In response to White's and other trade groups' desires, Congress is now thinking of making it easier for businesses to pay students less than the legal minimum wage.

The minimum wage, of course, was raised from \$3.10 an hour to \$3.35 an hour only last January 1st, when students on College Work-Study programs became eligible for minimum wage for the first time. Most off-campus businesses employing students have always had to pay their workers the minimum wage.

But all that could change if one of three bills now in Congress passes. The bills allow employers to pay teenagers and full-time students of any age just 85% (or lower) of the \$3.35 minimum.

About 500,000 student workers already get sub-minimum wages under special government exemptions. Colleges and businesses can win the right to pay student workers sub-minimum wages if they get exemptions from the departments of Education and Labor. But both employers complain that government regulations and departmental sloth make applying for exemptions from the law not worth the effort.

Current legislation now would let employers hire an unlimited number of students at \$2.85 or less per hour, and would restrict them only from letting students work more than 20 hours per week.

"Every time a restriction on the student (wage) program was loosened," observes Conrad Fritsch of the Minimum Wage Study Commission, a government authorized consulting group, "there has been a dramatic increase in the number of bus-

inesses applying for exemptions." In 1977, when businesses were allowed to employ six instead of four students at sub-minimum wages, the number of firms applying for exemptions leapt from 963 to 5,600, Fritsch says.

Fritsch concedes that, "There is something to what businesses say. It does take time for the department of Labor to process their applications. There are not enough application reviewers, and there's a lot of paperwork."

A new student exemption, however, would mean "a lot more students" would work for sub-minimum wages, Fritsch claims.

Union poiticking, though, has probably stopped enactment of any of the three bills so far. The Reagan administration is backing off the idea, while representatives of fast-food chains and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce declined to testify at recent congressional hearings.

Their reluctance, some unionists say, derives from their fear that a student exemption would mean amending the Fair Labor Standards Act. "Businesses know the unions will push for an increase in the minimum wage", if the amendment process starts, says Michael Tiner of the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union.

"The administration doesn't want to touch the act," agrees Charles Brown of the Minimum Wage Study Commission. "They'd rather try and hold the line on minimum (wage), and let inflation do the dirty work."

Still, exemption opponents, who deride the legislation as the "McDonald's Winfall Profits Act," expect renewed lobbying for the exemption soon, and certain victory for it if the Republicans gain control of the House of Representatives in 1984.

They'll be lobbying for three bills in particular. Sen. Orrin Hatch's (R-Ut) version allows businesses to pay teenage or full-time student workers 75% or less of the legal minimum wage. Two others -- by Sen. Charles Percy (R-Il) and Rep. Carroll Campbell (R-SC) -- call for 85% of minimum wage levels.

The student bills, Tiner contends, will "put full-time students in competition with every other teenager."

They'll do worse than that, says Frank Viggiano of the U.S. Student Association.

"The bills would encourage students to hide their full-time

status or even reduce their status to part-time," in order to make more money, Viggiano predicts.

Deceit become almost mandatory for older students, adds Viggiano. "The fastest growing sector of students is now women over 35, many of whom have dependents and who can ill-afford to have a large cut in pay. Many of these people are heads of households, and would be forced to drastically reduce their course loads."

Fritsch, on the other hand, feels student sub-minimum wages "probably wouldn't have such adverse effects. Many students are just working to buy books and stuff, and generally aren't impoverished."

"In college, students may not mind slinging hamburgers for a while, theorizes Steve Hychka of the National Association of Colleges and University Business Officers, "because they are studying to be doctors or something where they'll be earning a lot more. Or sometimes they're just working to supplement scholarships."

Hychka feels that many students "prefer getting a job at sub-minimum than no job at all."

Robert Bradford, of the National Restaurant Association, told a congressional meeting that the recent raise in the minimum wage may have abolished 500,000 full-time jobs.

Though most research indicates the minimum wage increase eliminated more non-student than student jobs, more than 25% of the nation's colleges and universities were already exempted from paying students minimum wage for work-study jobs.

Nevertheless,, students at campuses from Stephens College in Missouri to Old Dominion in Virginia to Western State in Colorado who got the minimum wage as of January 1st found their hours were cut back to compensate for the higher cost to their schools.

Yet no one outside of Congress is willing to predict that giving students sub-minimum wages will create new jobs.

"Frankly, we do not know" how many jobs would be created by tampering with the minimum wage, says Bradford of the NRA, whose members are, he says, the largest employers of young people. "So little is known about the extent of potential job creation effects," he testified. ●



Editor, THE OBSERVER:

A new Socialist Labor Party fact sheet confirms it is the original party of Socialism in America. Organized as the work ingmen's party in 1876, the party was renamed in 1877.

As the only nationally organized party of Socialism in America until 1900, the SLP attracted Socialists of all tendencies to its ranks. However, the Marxist element became dominant by 1899, when SLP was reorganized on a Marxist basis.

The SLP has played a prominent role in the economic and political life of the country. It ran the first Socialist presidential campaign in 1892 and fielded national tickets in every presidential campaign through 1976.

During the early 1890's, the SLP attempted, without success, to convert the American Federation of Labor and other unions into militant working-class organizations.

In 1896, the SLP endorsed the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, the first attempt in this country to build a revolutionary union movement. The

SLP supported the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance until it merged into the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in 1905.

When the original IWW, based in Chicago, was captured by anarchosyndicalists in 1908, the SLP participated in the formation of a new IWW based in Detroit. The Detroit IWW, later renamed The Workers International Industrial Union (WIIU), was disbanded in 1924.

The above may be of some use to students doing papers as well as others interested in socialism and the labor movement in this country.

Thank You,
Nathan Pressman
Organizer
Hudson Valley SLP
12 Catherine St.
Ellenville, NY

12428

Phone: 914-647-6696 ●



AN OPEN LETTER TO THE BARD COMMUNITY By Steve Bennish

Having read the last issue of The Bard Reporter, I am appalled by the gullibility demonstrated by the student(s) who write its editorials. But first, before I further condemn these so-called journalists, I must sincerely praise them. The Bard Reporter has accomplished something which no newspaper at Bard has been able to accomplish, and that is currency. I have attended Bard for two and a half years. I have seen the staff of The Observer befuddled every year by the same problem: the time lag between an event and getting a description of it in print. Since The Observer is published roughly four or six times a semester, it loses credibility as the events it reports are often times old news. But now a newspaper has appeared that publishes frequently enough so that it has the potential to clarify various relevant issues before they become twisted by the local rumour mill and over-zealous graffiti artists. The editors of the Bard Reporter should be highly commended on their industrious attention to matters of current interest.

The fact that their editorials are in some cases encapsulated re-workings of opinions expressed by certain members of the administration does not really bother me. However, I, perhaps naively, have always been of the opinion that a newspaper, if it could be called a newspaper, must maintain a certain level of integrity and so distinguish opinion from fact and fact from fantasy.

The two editorials I call to question are, "A Disturbing Pattern" and "An Acceptable Level of Violence." These editorials portray opinions as facts and

fictions as truths. The latter editorial states that a faculty member was maced last year by TWO students. This is a slanderous lie. If the writer had taken the time to review the charges brought against the two students he would find that only one student was accused of macing the professor. The other was accused of simply using abusive language. The author of this article did indeed use abusive language in the incident and firmly believes that one should not use abusive language to faculty members under any circumstances. I have since apologized. The author of the editorial remains nevertheless a transparent liar whose talents are better put to use writing slanderous graffiti instead of committing his/her hearsays and lies to print, a more honorable and unforgiving medium.

The former editorial, entitled "A Disturbing Pattern", is, incredibly enough, loaded with more distortions and lies than the first. This editorial states that "both Smith and Bennish in effect got off on a technicality". This technicality being the fact that the Grievance Committee did not make a transcript of the meeting and, furthermore met too soon to ensure that the stipulations of "Due Process" were followed. The right of "Due Process" is outlined in the Joint Statement of Student Rights that is contained in the Bard College Student Handbook. This statement is filed with the Commissioner of Education of the State of New York under Mandate 6045 of the New York State Education law. The statement "got off on a technicality" is ludicrous, as the Grievance committee allowed both Smith and Bennish to remain in

school and legal action was taken only when the President of the College saw fit to abrogate this decision. Furthermore, the editorial states that Leon reversed his decision to expell Smith and suspend Bennish because their rights were not followed by the Grievance Committee. Apparently Mr. Botstein recognizes these procedural rights in the Joint Statement. However, it also states in the Joint Statement that the Committee's decision is final. The President of the College has no right, implied or otherwise, to reverse a decision made by the G.C. The President violated the very rights of students he is so adamant about preserving. Frankly I have no argument with the G.C.'s original decision, "Due Process" violations aside. But putting the blame on the Grievance Committee as the editorial does is much like putting sole blame on a cow for destroying Chicago in the Great Fire. The President may be said to have made his decisions by custom, but custom is in no way a legal, valid, or honorable way in which to exercise power. Although the President asserts that the Joint Statement is not legally binding, why was it filed by Bard College with the Commissioner of Education?

Personally I am disgusted by The Bard Reporter's libelous use of my name in order to support banal and idiotic editorial homilies. The irresponsibility and stupidity of the editors only aggravates these hideous creatures that they imagine lie in wait for Freshmen stumbling home after a night at Adolph's. Despite the compliments they deserve for their efforts, their gross misrepresentations should be condemned as, to use another word, reprehensible. ●

TESTOSTERONE POISONING AT BARD

"Boys will be boys", yes we've all heard that tired line before. But how has this become a convenient cliché excusing our poor counterparts in their futile efforts to overcome their biological drives? We've sympathetically listened to many sad male friends who simply "can't help themselves". Is this an irreversible biological condition that only affects a chosen few, leaving others unaffected? Or is it a learned behavioral process resulting from social pressures unfairly placed on men? Before drawing any conclusions it might prove helpful to observe the different manifestations of this disease. What better place than Bard could offer such grand specimens?

The first example that comes to most minds is that of the beer guzzling, macho man, for whom one chick just ain't enough. This sad creature comes in all shapes, forms and colors. His adopted habitat at Bard is Adolph's. In the interest of fair reporting, and in the name of science, we took a trip down the road, to examine this creature in "action".

Dressed incognito, we slithered around Adolph's trying to draw as little attention as possible toward our purpose. After a few water-downed gin and tonics and a couple of short dances to the static-ridden jukebox, our first specimen stumbled into us. Literally. With an appalling stench of alcohol he slurred out the following: "Do either of you chicks got a butt?" The quick surveillance of our breasts revealed a moderately high level of testosterone at large in his

system. After producing the requested cigarette, we clearly engaged him in conversation about the attributes of casual sex, without arousing his suspicion. Upon noticing what was aroused, however, we quickly realized that his testosterone level was far higher than we had first estimated. On this basis he would be a prime sample of extreme testosterone poisoning (T.P.).

The ensuing conversation with whom we shall call "specimen A" proved extremely revealing as to the causes of the dread disease. "A" began an explicit account of the animal magnetism that unleashed itself within him during his nightly stay at Adolph's. When we asked him if he thought this drive was socially or biologically induced, he replied quite definitely: "After a couple of rounds, the girls dancing suggestively in tight clothes become physically impossible to ignore. The mere presence of the female form brings out a drive that I can not mentally suppress. I become a victim of my natural impulses." It was quite obvious that this extreme case of testosterone poisoning was purely physical and this specimen would be forever a prisoner of his own physique.

Shaking our heads sorrowfully we began the difficult search for a more moderate case of T.P. Unfortunately it seemed that every male we encountered was yet another victim of the extreme stage. At our wit's end we gave up and opted for the Whaleback, determined to find a moderate case. Our perseverance did not go unrewarded. No sooner

had we seated ourselves at the bar when we were summoned to join the four men at a nearby table. "Can we buy you girls a drink?" asked a bright-eyed blond. Two pitchers of kimikazes and two packs of cigarettes later we were asked by bright-eyes and a friend to accompany them back to their respective rooms. After an unpleasant scene consisting of our explanation of "just wanting to have a friendly conversation over a couple of drinks" and their accusation that we were "two teases taking their money under false pretences" we departed (alone). From this ordeal we concluded that the moderate case is a social manifestation of T.P. quite possibly resulting from the capitalistic doctrine that "you get what you pay for".

After devoting much of the article to T.P. victims or males with over high testosterone levels, we decided to investigate the other extreme; males with a low degree. This disorder, known as Testosterone Deficiency (T.D.) is also a minor epidemic at Bard. Victims often

submerge themselves in political activities. This civic involvement serves as an escape from the social scene. This became apparent when we attempted to question some of the more obvious cases, and were told "...I'm too busy to answer your questions, I have to stop government intervention in El Salvador.!! One T.D. victim, after giving us a similar excuse, surprised us by adding "maybe later, why don't you come up to my room?!"

ENTARY



Nuclear Power Is Safe
Dear Sirs:

At least the man at Indian Point told us; one big chest X-ray, a little color T.V....Hey, everyone glows in the dark, a little, you know (winking and patting us all on the back).

Oh yes, we know!
Thanks,
Al Oof ●

TO THE EDITOR:

Well, spring is here, the buds are flowering, and more than a few people feel slightly nauseous. Not with the over-powering perfume of the new-born garden, but from the thought of having to sit through yet another meal and watch all the newly-mated pairs in full heat. Add to this the homosexual fantasy-fights of Mark Charles Ebner and his various love-boys, and you have a situation that can only degenerate.

It's not little hugs, kisses, and other pretty shows of affection that are particularly irritating. These are the domain of the newly-in-love, and given the life-span of most Bard relationships, it's just about all they've got, so I won't begrudge it to them. But breast fondling, hands in jeans, and all those amorous noises! Give me a break, already! Sex is a great, beautiful, wonderful thing, I could do it for weeks on end, but, confronted with Saga food, hangovers, and my own sundry problems, an un-impassioned meal would be a pleasurable change. If you feel you have to tell everyone that you, Jane/John Doe, is actually managing to get laid on a regular basis, then I suggest posters, announcements, perhaps a special broadcast on WABC -- or how about painting it on the face of Stone Row?

But seriously folks, let's face it. Bard men aren't Jack Nicholson, and Bard women aren't Jessica Lange, so let us be done with poor imitations. Take your hand off my thigh, and please pass the pepper.

-- In the pursuit of gracious living

Letter to the Editor:

The United States, despite its shortfalls, provides an unequalled arena of opportunities and freedom. The cornerstone of this free, democratic society is its public education system. In recent weeks and months that free public education system has come under severe attack, in the name of economy and the need to fight inflation.

The proposed cuts in federal spending in education across the country, and in particular in New York State, will have a devastating impact. Every single school district in New York State will feel its impact; and in speaking about school districts, we are speaking of our most precious commodity, our children, who will be the leaders of our future democratic society.

Congressmen and women need to hear from citizens who are concerned about the loss of programs and opportunities for our youngsters. While the proposed federal budget would reduce school spending by nearly 30% federal budget reduces other areas of government by roughly 7%, the proposed federal budget would reduce school spending by nearly 30%. For New York alone

the cuts to schools represent over \$657 million. The burden of replacing programs will be picked up by local and state taxes or the needs of children will simply go unmet.

It is one thing to bring federal spending under control; it is quite another thing to turn away from the needs of millions of children. It is also false economics to reduce federal spending on schools by 30% and shift the replacement

burden to local homeowners who pay school taxes.

Sincerely,
Edwin J. Robisch
NYEA, President

The Mark Charles Ebner Column

Apologies are extended for the absence of my column in the last issue. However, I would like to thank Per "Aristophanes" Sundgren for mentioning my name fourteen times in his letter. As an object of praise, or one of scorn, it makes no difference - give me press attention or give me an obituary!

* * * * *

Highlights From The Incident At Simon's Rock

The music was really dece. (Thanks boys. Twist up a doobie and crack open a few brewskies on me!)...I congratulate Wayne Robinson for making great strides on his Senior Project in Film..."Four-Star" (****) reviews go to the cast from the re-enactment of the Reagan assassination attempt. Marvellous performances were cranked out by myself as a grimacing Reagan; John Zuill as the repressed ex-nazi, John W. Hinkley; and David Simonds, Doug Gray, and Karen Saxe in their portrayals of Secret Service men.... "SNAFU of the night" award goes to the disrespectful Bard student who mistook the Rock's Dean of Students for a janitor, and (in response to complaints of beer on the carpet) tossed a little brew on him.

* * * * *

Gonzo Goes Bonzo

Now that our President is on the road to complete recovery, it is time for all concerned Americans to ask some basic, soul-searching questions. What a sick nation we've become -- how rotten our moral fiber is -- how terrible and twisted the American psyche has become -- when every American, no matter how poor his birth or how low his station in life, can no longer aspire to shoot the President. Is our greatest national pasttime about to become yet another preserve for well-heeled scions of the idle rich?

At this point I'll confess that the above paragraph does not express any opinion I actually hold. It was written so that Hambleton would think this was some Marxist propaganda with a leavening of pinko sick humor, and automatically print it. I now invite my loyal American leaders to join me in prayers for our chief executive. OK? Let's examine some of the issues raised last week.

I saw where a lot of these pansy Communists were attempting to utilize a few inadvertent slips by our Secretary of State to launch another attack on him. Of course their accusations

Similarly, I don't like the abuse heaped on the Secret Service and FBI for not finding out what Hinckley was up to before the President was shot. Shit, are they supposed to keep track of every rich weirdo that gets it into his head to kill the President? We must have several dozen people at Bard alone who've harbored the thought at one time or another. But -- let's face it -- at least Hinckley supports every American's right to bear arms as specified in the Constitution. And that's something these rich kids at Bard don't support. I think I'd sooner invite John Hinckley to shoot some venison for Sunday dinner with me than invite a Bard student. After all, the only drugs he uses are Valiums, none of this illegal junk.

Which brings us to the most irritating thing of all -- the way in which pseudonymously signed letter, attacking my old friend Mark Ebner, has been published by the spineless Editor. The letter implies that Mark is untrustworthy, among other things. Well, truth be told, I trust Mark so much that I've loaned him my own handgun since December. I trust that, once we figure out who this pointy-headed pseudo-intellectual "Aristopha-

chance -- and blew it -- back in 1973. If he'd played his cards right, he could have graduated from Texas Tech in 1977, or sooner, then gotten his MBA in '79 or so. He could have joined Texas Instruments (which has headquarters in Dallas and a big Lubbock operation) and made \$30,000 a week. He could then have driven a big Mercedes up to New Haven, wearing a ten-gallon hat, well-oiled Levi boots, and a suit that would have made Neiman-Marcus crumble into dust. He could have strode into Jodie Foster's dormitory, knocked all those Eastern sissies off the threshold with the flat of his hand, and, with the other, handed Jodie a \$2500 bouquet, saying, in the most genial of Panhandle accents, "How do y'all do, Miz Jodie." The Hunt brothers would have hopped learjets to the Bahamas for the wedding.

But then, of course, if Hinckley had played his cards right -- or even had a full deck -- back in '73, he wouldn't have bothered about a child star-turned Eli at all. He'd have these subversives are trying to sell us on the idea of a handgun ban. And they have the nerve to cite our President's recent misfortune as a prime example. Has the victim himself suggested that

COMMENTARY CONT...

are groundless. Haig actually stood between our system and anarchy when he gave his briefing. Suppose that, instead of quoting the 1886 act of succession, as he did, he'd cited the earlier law under which the President pro tempore of the Senate came after the President and VP. In other words, suppose he said that Strom Thurmond was "in control" until Bush got to Washington and Reagan got out of the operating room. No black American would have been inclined to accept it -- quite understandably. The nation would have been plunged into a state of fear far worse than that which prevailed briefly on March 30.



nes" is, Mark will use my firearm to show his anonymous adversary that he won't be pushed around. No shooting, you know. Just some heart-to-heart talk, with the .38 as a most expressive silent partner in the discussion.

Once these Reds get tired of baiting Haig they'll probably insist upon Hinckley being given a non-mandatory sentence for "humanitarian" reasons. I don't buy that. John had his

his shooting merited a handgun ban? No more than John Lennon suggested it. Until Ron recommends the law be changed, I'm inclined to support the NRA's all-American stand.

Guns don't kill people. People do. And, in this era in which the ideology that rules is the one that wins the most arguments, the ideology of the law-abiding American, when faced with a challenge from a criminal or undesirable element, finds a well-cared-for firearm an indispensable, and goldenly silent, debating tool. For example: elsewhere in this paper a scurrilous, married the SMU homecoming queen, or maybe catered to his perverse side with a Dallas Cowboy cheerleader. Bigger than Jodie, blonder, and a hell of a lot more pneumatic. That's the American dream. Ask Elvis Costello.

As Bobby Knight said only a few hours after the shooting, "Forget Hinckley. Forget the Haig controversy. In my gym, there are no words for dropouts or losers. Only for winners." ●

John Gonzo

I'm in the mood to be critical
Hyper-critical
Hypocritical
Analytical
Apolitical
An object of ridicule

ON SOME RECENT* SURROGATIONS

Survey in a landscape thruway,
Help-us-cope! Which way to Lyke?
Zeal them envelopes! Notices
outon chime!

how prurience awards
itself big prizes for big
o try a gain.

Bait youah own hooks master.
The fish won't wash in the pond.
Just can't cut this distance baas.
Hole-in-a-rut.

Take one out, 'nother
fallsin. 'T rained that day.

May some find solace at
Woodwink-im-Plausable,
post-office two bills
announcements of parade
at Fust & Chauncy.
But problems with his fund-
(a riddle. My sorted
rows and all, who-like-Him,
an assole at a keyole
at the Arid-L-Rancho.)

ing, our precedent
for this is winsickle and: thus, one

must take full responsibility for all the decisions which as-you-know fall within my leaves-me-no alternative in a situation where opinions are divided and credentials are at stake and *others* have expressed the view that

had damme well
betterhalf some of them
others on hand.

*A year or so ago.

MUSIC PHYSICS MATHEMATICS PHILOSOPHY HISTORY ANTHROPOLOGY POLITICAL STUDIES STUDIO ART LANGUAGES FILMS SOCIOLOGY RELIGION
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DEPTS

UNCLE VANYA

Michael Stiller

Anatol Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya*, a play set in late 18th century rural Russia, played to Bard audiences on April 11 through 13, under the direction of Eugene Kalish. The play concerns itself with the misplaced aristocracy of this pre-revolutionary era in Russia. Decadent and idle, the characters' main concerns are self-pity and boredom. Ho hum!

On a whole, *Uncle Vanya* was received well by the audience. Chekhov's realism is not entirely humorless in its intensity. Lines like Vanya's, "Missed him again!" and Astrov's, "...furry little beast of prey..." in act 3 ring with the hilarity that usually accompanies (or should) any "real life" tragedy. But, aside from these high points, and some notable performances, *Uncle Vanya* just didn't cut it. The play lacked in directorial interpretation, (a problem Mr. Kalish has exhibited in the past), and while some characters were played well, others were inconsistent and yet others were deplorable.

Andrew Joffe played the title role of Ivan Petrovich Voynitsky (Vanya) and did so with a consistency and concentration unusual to Bard actors. Andrew has long been type-cast as "the comic" at Bard and this was his first chance at a more serious role. He played the cynical and morbid Vanya with polish and spontaneity. Always in the moment, Joffe's performance was clear and without the usual hoax, fakery and pathetic melodrama seen in Bard productions. This is no easy trick. The character of Vanya does lend itself to cheap dramatics, especially in the third act, but Joffe fell prey to none of these. When the time came for it he ranted and raved but convincingly and with a pathetic vulnerability. He was the only actor in the play that really allowed me to forget the fact that I eat in Commons with him every day. On stage he was Vanya, not Andrew playing Vanya. Joffe was real and believable.

Susan Nicholson, in the role of Yelena Andreyevna Serebryakova, was better in this play than in anything else I've seen her in, but seemed generally forced in her portrayal of a young, beautiful woman who is bored in the country life she is being forced to endure and fed up with the self-indulgent whimpers of her post-menopausal husband. Bored with herself, bored with everyone else and altogether boring! She seemed tied to her lines and emotionless in her speaking of them. For the most part her voice assumed a monotone void of pitch and she seemed to be more bored on stage rather than trying to act bored in the play.

The part of Mikhail Lvovich Astrov,

the country doctor, was played well, if inconsistently, by William Swindler. After seeing *Uncle Vanya* Leon Botstein reportedly told Kalish that he couldn't understand why Swindler was even cast in the play. Sorry Bill. No fake graduate status for you. In the first act Swindler seemed to not always be in the moment and lacked a certain conviction as he drifted in and out of character. His overall performance improved, on the three nights I saw the play, in the later acts when he became very good and real. Swindler was almost believable as Astrov and might have succeeded in being so had he not been so polished in that "Hey, I've been in professional theatre since I was eleven!" style. Though he was at times a little too in control, his performance was not without its high points. In the third act he was especially good; distractedly talking about the weather after Vanya finds he and Yelena in each other's arms in the library of the Serebryakov Estate. This scene always brought laughter and response from the audience and seemed to be where Swindler struck his most comfortable balance between himself and the character he portrayed.

Eric Michael Schaeffer, in the role of Alexander Vladimirovich Serebryakov, performed well (but also inconsistently) in his portrayal of an old, dried-up, gout-ridden pedant of a retired university professor who is married to the twenty-seven year old Yelena. His character formation was good although it can be said that (aside from the Brandoesque voice used) all the pomposity and dogmaticism he employed are characteristics exhibited by Eric anyway. Schaeffer became somewhat hoaky in the second act during Serebryakov's long self-pitying tirade, and he seemed to be overdoing it a bit, but in the end it worked. If he played to the audience, then they seemed to respond well.

Katherine Hulbert played the part of Sophia Alexandrovna, Serebryakov's daughter by a previous marriage. Her acting of the role seemed to be precisely that—acting. Contrived and unbelievable, her performances mirrored themselves over three consecutive nights as she used the exact same physical and vocal manifestations time and again as if she had learned them all by rote. She seemed to be obviously trapped by the script instead of mastering it, and while her performances did receive response from the audiences, they seemed mechanical and shallow to me.

John Franklin Beuscher, as Ilya Ilyich Telegin, was not up to par. Beuscher's portrayal of an impoverished

cont'd on pg. 12

"PIECE OF SHIT"

Well Lizzie, you asked for it. What was that "piece of shit"? And while we're here, let's address its offspring, that self-indulgent, bunny-cute-and-fuzzy editorial on the student art show.

First, your mobile "Piece of Shit." (We assume that was the title of your piece from your reference to it in your article, even if it was a post-mortem baptism.) Having lost our notes on the show, we must rely on memory.

"Piece of Shit" was composed of five small candy bars, 1 1/2" X 1", wrapped in yellow, red and brown wrappers which advertized their scrumptious individualism. There was a Spécial Dark, a Krackle Bar, a Mr. Goodbar (and her memory farts to provide the rest of the candy bar titles) but the five (or perhaps it was seven) bars were suspended by thread from the ceiling and fell vertically, giving them an air of victimization.

Gravity decided their arrangement, a sense of decorative yet functional festive teasing (the piece seemed somewhat reminiscent of Christmas gum-drop trees¹) seemed to relate to its inception, and finally its victimization due to its sublime vulnerability before man's ravaging -- all-consuming lust (indeed, the piece was eaten).

As for the piece's place in the Avant-Garde, we quote Brian Gafe:

"Art should be eaten."

One of us watched its slow disappearance into the hands of innocent chocolate lovers with approval. "Ah, a performance piece. Ah, audience involvement." But while the one of us watched with approval thinking it a nice illustration of the Dadaist notion of merging life and art, the artist was also watching, horror-stricken.

"What then," thought the one of us watching, "is this piece doing?" We recalled Duchamp's ready-mades and the subsequent use of found objects in art, but so what? Pop art can be mentioned in connection to the piece, but again, so what?

Liz, what did you expect? We think the audience's response was appropriate and respectful; the eaters did replace the wrappers. We don't mean to belittle your piece; perhaps in the future your pieces should be made out of wood and painted, or a note should accompany the piece, specifying the audience's response. But since it was eaten, perhaps you should investigate the phenomenological meanderings of food in art.

Lastly, we found the lack of objectivity in your artical refreshingly whimsical in its naivete. ●

¹ See *Family Circle*, Dec. 1980, p. 135

THINK THE FACE O

Judgement day...Tribulation Outfitters, Inc., of Lawing, Utah, advertises (in Christianity Today) that its Deluxe Survival Kit includes "enough long-lasting freeze-dried food to supply a family of four for three months, fifty gallons of pasteurized water, a completely stocked medical case, and a .537 Magnum revolver in case your neighbors attempt to take advantage of your Christian foresight."

Nobody here but us servoproteins...Computer experts have coined the term "servoproteins" to refer to programmers, technicians, and other human beings whose function it is to serve computers.

Selective Scruples...Republican Representative Jim Ratcliff of Sun City, Arizona, says he would abandon his opposition to a abortion "in case of a colored man raping a young girl, and she becomes pregnant". But he would not support abortion if the rapist were white.

Frontiers of Free Enterprise...A Littleton, Colorado firm is selling "Genuine Western Boot Polish", made of "real Western dirt, horse manure, hay, straw," and other, unspecified ingredients. It costs 4.95 for a 4 ounce bottle.

Final solution...From an editorial in the New York Daily News: "Construction of more penitentiaries and detention centers is the only permanent solution to the prison population explosion, and the public must recognize that it is going to be an expensive proposition."

Keep cool in combat...News item in the Wall Street Journal: "The Air Force's premier fighter plane, McDonnell-Douglas Corporation's F15, is so dependent on sophisticated electronics that battlefield repairs require diagnostic computers; these computers have had reliability problems and must be kept air-conditioned."

Most people know of the Klan-Nazi murders in Grnsboro, shooting of five black women in Chattanooga, murders in Buffalo, Atlanta, Salt Lake City, police murder in Miami, the attack on Vernon Jordan, the 1981 Mobile lynching.

But incidents of racist violence and intimidation are occurring daily throughout our land. We have prepared a bill of particulars. The following is just a small sampling:

In Chicago, July 1980, a retired black man died after being beaten by three white policemen for smoking on a train.

In Stockton, Calif., December 1980, a black parking-meter coin collector was harrassed by three whites who threw rocks and bottles at him in the name of the KKK. And throughout California, crosses were burned and homes of black families were attacked by Klansmen.

In Santa Fe, Tex., February 1981, 400 Klansmen rallied to hear a Klan Grand Dragon attack immigrant fisherman and say, whites, "Must reclaim this country by blood".

In Jackson, Miss., October 1980, Klans Klansmen marched in support of a white policeman who killed a pregnant black mother. No charges have been brought against the policeman.

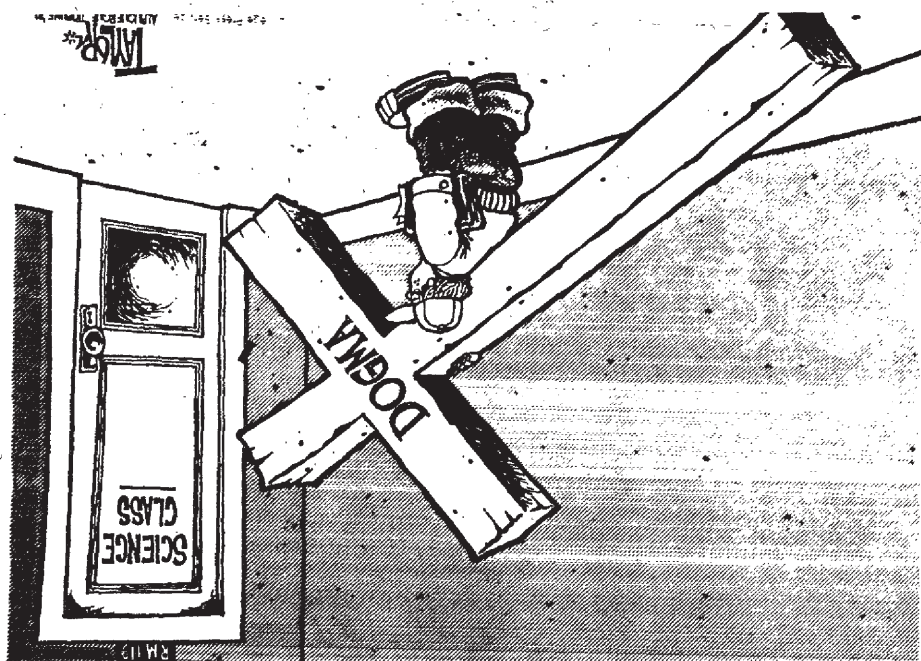
In West Virginia, November 1980, a white Methodist minister fled the state in terror after KKK threats on his life.

In New York City, December 1980, four men, three black and one latino were fatally stabbed by a knife-wielding white man.

In Wrightsville, Ga., April, 1980, a white sheriff led a white mob in attack on peaceful black marchers. There has been no prosecution.

In Decatur, Ala., no one has ever been arrested for attempting to assassinate leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership conference in May, 1979.

From New York to California, in 1981, 377 instances of anti-semitic assault and vandalism occurred. And in at least in seven states, the Klan was conducting paramilitary training camps to prepare for "race war".



Adolph Hitler, "My New Order" (Speech to Financiers and industrialists)

"You businessmen are leaders in the economic world. You have positions of great responsibility and power, far above the average man. You embody the principle of aristocracy as it expresses itself in economic relations. That is an entirely correct principle which is in accord with the underlying law of nature..."

However, you cannot simply sit back and expect that your arrangement will go on forever. Just look around you at what is happening in German political life. Democracy is on the march. Democracy: that means the rule of the majority, or numbers and masses rather than the exceptional individuals and the natural leaders. Do you think that that idea is not stopped it will spread from politics to economics. Then there

TWICE F VIOLENCE

will be economic democracy. What will happen to you. Your whole arrangement will be swept away...This thing has already happened in Russia...

What is the meaning of this in the present situation? It means this: either the democratic movement will spread from politics to economics, or the aristocratic idea will spread from economics to politics. If you want to retain the present system in economics, you must do battle with the democratic idea in politics." ●

(1932)

Woodrow Wilson: "The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States." ●

(1913)

Franklin D. Roosevelt;

"The first truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to the point where it becomes stronger than their democratic state itself. That, in its essence, is facism - ownership of government by any other controlling private power.

The second truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe if its business system does not provide employment and produce and distribute goods in such a way as to sustain an acceptable standard of living.

Among us today, a concentration of private power without equal in history is growing...The effect of this concentration is reflected in the distribution of national income...a little less than 1% of the nation's families recieved incomes which, in dollars and cents, reached the same total as the income of the 47% at the bottom."

(Message to Congress, 1938) ●

Heywood Hate Broun, President, Newspaper Guild;

"Facism is a dictatorship from the extreme right, or to put it a little more clearly into out local idiom, a government which is run by a small go group of large industrialists and financial lords. Of course, if you want to go back into history, this influence of big business has always been present in our federal government. But there have been some checks on its control... We might have facism even though we maintained our pretense of our democratic machinery. The mere presence of a Supreme Court, a House of Representatives, a Senate, and a President would not be sufficient protection against the utter centralization of power in the hands of a few men who might hold no office at all.

Even in the case of Hitler, many shrewd observers feel that his real power is derived from the large munitions and steel barons of Germany. Now one of the first steps which facism must take in any land in order to capture power is to disrupt and destroy the labor movements." ●

(1936)

Paper Tigers

President Reagan has translated his political views on excessive government regulation into budget-cutting orders for 16 federal regulatory agencies, reducing some agencies with once formidable power into paper tigers. Announcing the reductions in his "economic recovery" message to Congress, the president explained that "fewer regulators will necessarily result in fewer regulations and less harassment of the regulated".

The big losers were agencies charged with issuing and enforcing health, safety, environmental, and civil rights standards.

The agencies hit the hardest include: The Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC), charged with keeping dangerous products off the market. President Reagan ordered a 30 percent cut in CPSC's budget for fiscal year 1982 and cut its staff allotment by 26 percent.

In recent years the commission has issued rules on packaging poisons and drugs, developed standards on lawnmower safety, and banned products containing cancer-causing chemicals. Republican CPSC Chairman Stuart Statler predicts that Reagan's proposals would wipe out many of the commission's key consumer programs.

The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) which polices the marketplace to guard against unfair business practices, was initially slated for cuts which would have eliminated the independent commission's antitrust enforcement function. The administration finally backed off but nonetheless proposed a 25 percent staff reduction and a 10.5 percent budget cut for fiscal year 1982.

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is scheduled for a 20 percent budget cut for fiscal year 1982 and an 11 percent staff reduction. Sewage treatment grants were scaled down at a savings of \$1.7 billion.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) has newly increased responsibilities to enforce sex and age discrimination laws. Reagan has ordered a 12 percent cut in the agency's budget and a 10 percent staff reduction.

The Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA) was targeted for a relatively small 6 percent budget cut and a larger 11 percent staff reduction. The administration wants to shift the agency's mission from enforcing safety standards to "consulting" with industry to increase on-the-job safety.

The only big winner;

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, scheduled for an 11.5 percent increase in fiscal year 1982. ●

The Syntonic Software Company of Houston reports it has sold more than 10,000 copies of an x-rated program for small home computers. Called "Interlude," the program asks a series of personal questions. The replies are punched into the keyboard. "Interlude" then prints out detailed instructions describing what the people gathered around the computer should do -- which range, says the company, "from basic foreplay to light bondage." Syntonic president David Brown notes the computer can be very beneficial when "the man and woman are already feeling warmly toward each other, but do not have an exact format in mind for the evening." ●

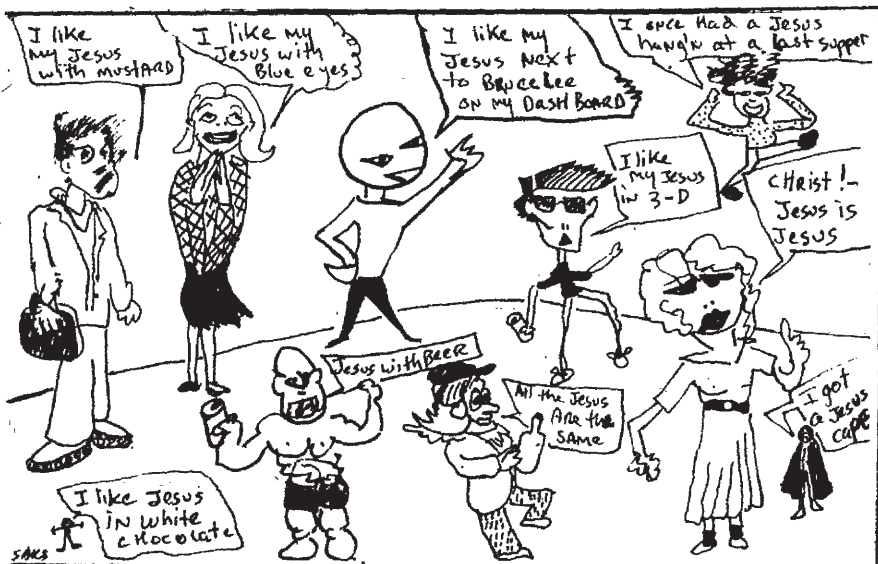
UNCLE VANYA cont'd from pg. 9

landowner was profound only in its lack of depth and uninspired lackluster. He certainly seemed to be comfortable with himself on stage, but what that had to do with the character is anyone's guess.

Kate McDowell was quite good in her performance of a secondary character as Maria Vassilyevna Voynitska. She was vivid and clear as the bitchy and accusing old mother of Vanya. Engrossed in the professor's pamphlets and oblivious to the world around her (which she looked up to view, through a surreal haze, at odd intervals) Kate was the epitome of complacent age-set in her ways and indomitable as a scared ammidilo.

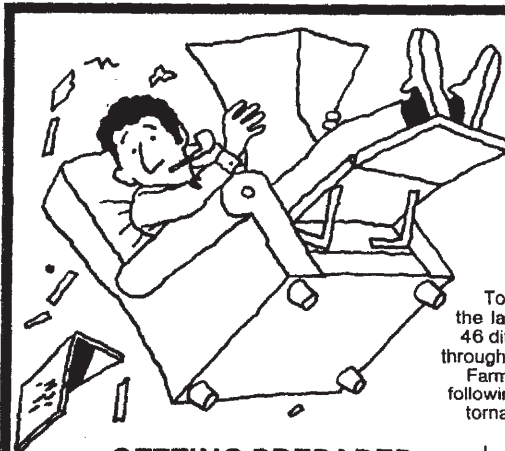
Another good performance in a minor role was that of Danette Forbes as Marina, an old peasant nurse on the Serebryakov Estate. Although sometimes forced, her portrayal of the solid rock peasantry (of which she is the only real example in the aristocratic turbulence of this play) was real and, at times, believable. Bill Abelson was also good as Yefim, a laborer. On one night he prompted spontaneous applause from the audience in a role that could only be called mundane. Aside from the obvious and aforementioned problems with some of the performers, Uncle Vanya also suffered at the hands of its director, Eugene Kalish. The play is about Russia on the eve of the revolution. The upper classes are displaced in their own country. Their estates are crumbling, the old aristocracy is already dead and the bourgeoisie aristocracy is about to go down the tubes. Hence the answer to the question: "Why is everyone in this play so fucked up?" Kalish seems to miss this main point in his immersion in the personal and subjective attributes of the characters. Why, for example, try to downplay Astrov's role as upperclass (which he certainly is in mind if not in fact) by costuming him as a peasant. Country doctor or not he is just as fucked as the rest of them. Alcoholic, self-pitying, and self indulgent Astrov tries to lose himself in his forestry "for the betterment of mankind" and yet he can't bear to look upon a peasant whom he sees as crude and uncivilized.

There is no point in me saying, "This is the best play Kalish has done at Bard", because if that's true then I'm afraid he just doesn't quite cut it as a director. Just like Uncle Vanya didn't quite cut it as a play. ●



the observer is an independent newspaper out of bard college. responsible comment's and suggestions concerning the observer or issues of importance are welcome. the observer is published bimonthly. subscriptions are \$4.00 per semester.

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TORNADOS

If one struck, would you know what to do?

Tornados respect no geographic boundaries. Over the last five years 4,245 tornados have touched down in 46 different states. While they can occur anytime, March through August are considered the "danger" months. State Farm Fire and Casualty, a major home insurer, offers the following suggestions to help you get ready for the coming tornado season:

GETTING PREPARED

- Know how to get emergency weather information in your community and know what it means.
 - A National Weather Service "tornado watch" means conditions are right for tornados to form.
 - A "tornado warning" means a tornado has been sighted, take cover.
 - Most communities use sirens or horns to warn of a tornado sighting; know what your system is and what it means.
- Plan and practice what your family will do in case of a tornado.
 - Have a prearranged place in your home (basement if you have one or in interior room or under stairway if you don't) to go for shelter.
 - If you're in a mobile home, get out. If a shelter is available, go to it. If not, lie in a ditch or other depression.
 - If you're in a car, get out. Lie in a ditch or other low area.
- Be sure you have the right kind of insurance and enough of it to cover all damage a tornado could do.
 - Make an inventory of everything in your house and keep it in a safe place away from home (like a safe deposit box). It will be a great help in speeding payment for your losses.

IF IT HAPPENS

- Cooperate fully with law enforcement and disaster service officials. Check your local news media for instructions and information on emergency services available.
- Notify your insurance agent of your loss as soon as possible. He can advise you what to do next.
- Stay with your property to guard against vandalism or looting until law enforcement agencies organize protection.
 - Protect against additional damage, board up broken windows or holes in the walls or roof; cover or otherwise protect furnishings from further damage by rain or wind. If necessary, have utilities turned off to prevent damage from explosion or fire.
- Don't be rushed into signing repair contracts. Fly-by-night repairmen often prey on tornado victims. Be sure you know with whom you're dealing. Your insurance agent or adjuster should be able to help; or ask your Better Business Bureau or friends or relatives to recommend someone.
- Keep receipts for all repairs and additional living expenses. Most homeowners insurance contracts will reimburse these costs; casualty losses exceeding \$100 that aren't reimbursed are generally tax deductible.

S.O.P.

To build a "gook stretcher," all you need is:
 Two helicopter
 Two long, strong ropes,
 And one elastic gook.

What Kind Of War?

Ask what kind of war it is where you can be pinned down all day in muddy rice paddy while your buddies are being shot and a close-support Phantom jet who has been napalming the energy wraps itself around a tree and explodes and you cheer inside?



Paula Hawkins

Let them eat cake. Florida's new Sen. Paula Hawkins (R) invited 90 state agricultural leaders to a \$20-a-plate Capitol Hill luncheon where she complained about food stamp cheaters. She wants mandatory sentences for cheaters, *Congressional Insight* reports. *CI* says she spilled the beans as she munched on strip steak, asparagus, baked potatoes with sour cream, tossed salad, and apple pie. ●



SOLIDARITY

From Polish shipworkers to Latin American peasants, the poor and oppressed are standing together in solidarity to build a new society. How are they doing this?

First, prophetic voices such as the late Archbishop Oscar Romero in El Salvador and Nobel Peace Prize winner, Adolfo Perez Esquivel of Argentina are denouncing idolatry to an evil system which divides, enslaves, and destroys people.

Second, they are proclaiming a vision of a new way to organize society in which the human person, not profit or power, is the central purpose and motivating factor.

Third, like-minded friends are gathering in small support groups to discuss and clarify their problems and share their struggles and hopes for a more decent life.

Our response to world poverty and oppression might follow this same strategy. We too, in the rich countries to the north are called to join them in solidarity. That means a relationship of equality: no superiority, no pity, no charity. It means identifying with their aspirations, seeing in them our own struggles and problems magnified many times over. It

means learning from them alternative ways to organize our society for the benefit of the common person.

We are similarly challenged to denounce the idols in our society. And probably none is greater than the idol of national security. We are told that power is strength and we must be strong to survive, no moral questions asked. We are told to trust in the bomb for our security, ignoring the fact that for the first time in history, we are in danger of destroying the whole human race. We are told to blame the victims themselves for the poverty and oppression in the world today. They are classified as leftists, guerrillas or some other enemies whom we are justified in hating and destroying.

We too should have a vision that peaceful resolution of conflict is possible and people can live together as sisters and brothers in a world community. We need to announce that for the first time in history, humanity has the technology and resources to provide a decent life, including food, water, shelter and freedom for every living person in the world today.

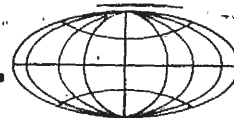
Finally, we too might form small support groups to sort out a confused world and determine concrete actions for justice in the world. The poor challenge us to live simply and sparingly, not hoarding, so that more food and energy resources can become available for all.

Our world is on a threshold. We will either blow it up or create the new structures and relationships necessary for a peaceful world community.

Paul Newpower.

MARYKNOLL WORLD

MARYKNOLL, N.Y. 10545



SOLUTIONS

The Humanist Response



Activism for the Eighties

The college student of today is often compared to the "involved," "active" generation of the sixties and found wanting. But things were simpler in the sixties. There was one big issue then. Vietnam. Now the problem is too many big issues, each of them urgent, most of them unglamorous, all of them overlapping, and some of them needing a technical knowledge to understand. The inventory of big issues today is so extensive that sometimes the world seems constituted of nothing but intransigent problems of drug addiction, human rights, inflation, crime, shortages, discrimination, poverty, environmental integrity, the breakdown of international diplomacy, and a swarm of other major crises.

The good chance exists that what appears to be indifference among today's generation of students may be simply the overload on their sympathies, at being asked to care about too many things all at once. The pattern appears to be frustration, followed by avoidance of the causes of the frustration, followed in many instances by a degree of guilt. Indifference is cultivated by many persons to deal with their feeling of guilt, or at least an appearance of indifference is cultivated.

Game playing and self-destructive behavior of various kinds offer escape for others who do not want to face up to their sense of failing to address issues. A few become cynics. Fewer still become righteous activists completely devoted to one cause. But the moral majority of college students who today feel the same call to duty that idealistic young men and women in other generations have felt, know that the condition of their world is not likely to be bettered by any one special interest group, however zealously served or right it may be.

Unless one wants to argue that today's college generation is morally and politically insensitive in comparison to those that preceded them, this generation's refrain "There's nothing one person can do that would help" probably should be read, "I wish I knew what I could do to help."

But is there any validity to the proposition that it is up to each generation to solve the problems of the world that previous generations left unsolved?

Probably older generations invented the idea that their younger successors were supposed to solve the problems which the older generation left unsolved, as a way of avoiding the fact that each generation while solving some problems creates new ones, and thus does not progress in any absolute sense.

For the past 300 years western nations have been increasingly obsessed with the idea that they were making progress in an absolute sense. Yet one sees at a glance today how erroneous that idea is and how often advances in science and technology contribute to the history of human misery and disorder. Perhaps the nineteenth-century American poet Walt Whitman was right when he wrote that there "will never be any more perfection than there is now" — and he was a strong believer in the good will of

mankind and the benefits of technology and science. Certainly it is not meaningful "progress" when the rain that now falls in some places in Europe and eastern North America is a destructive rather than a life-sustaining liquid. Nor can we, in today's world of volcanic social stresses that are being added to steadily by burgeoning world population, any longer consider the continuation of death-control, through better medical practices, in the best interest of mankind, unless accompanied by radical world-wide birth-control. Yet no one foresees how to institute such control of human birth without abrogating historically deep rooted human rights.

The responsibility of new generations to solve old problems is a fallacy: the true responsibility in each generation is to avoid creating new disorders and maladies. A great increase in cold, courageous, calculating, unsentimental reasoning and self-interest is needed today if human culture is to survive. And just as essential as this increase of enlightened self-interest must be an accompanying decrease in respect for analysis that has no better purpose than assignment of blame for today's problems. (History as an exercise in fault-finding is no longer useful.)

But what is enlightened self-interest? It is surely not selfishness or indifference. Rather it is knowing that to do what is right for the sake of the right is loving thy neighbor. It is also knowing that we can only have peace by abandoning the mentality of war, which conceives of other human beings as enemies and exploiters. Finally, the enlightened self-interest that is needed is a certain largeness of spirit, the largeness of knowing one's place in a universal moral order. Walt Whitman was speaking of these things in saying: "Little or big, learned or unlearned, white or black, legal or illegal, sick or well, from the first inspiration down the windpipe to the last expiration out of it, all that a male or female does that is vigorous and benevolent and clean is so much sure profit to him or her in the unshakeable order of the universe and through the whole scope of it forever." What is required of today's college students is a harder program than the demonstrations for peace of the sixties, which were sometimes little more than mass exercises in hate.

For a whole generation to avoid creating new problems would be truly "radical" behavior. It would be revolutionary if a whole generation upheld right for the sake of right, abandoned the mentality of "them" versus "us," and urged governments to think of universally valid moral laws as the primary motive for economic, social, and political decisions.

— John H. McElroy, Professor of English, The University of Arizona. Professor McElroy has performed research and published in the fields of American Literature and American Cultural History. He obtained his Ph.D. from Duke University.

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NOW IS THE TIME TO VISIT YOUR REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS! Although, after last November's election, our political influence is at a low point, and we are unlikely to win any substantial victories in the short run, the stakes are too high for us to draw back from efforts to influence the tone of the Congressional debate.

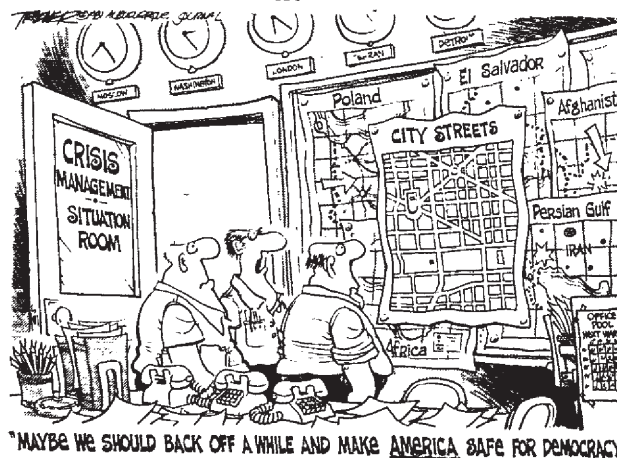
BOTH THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE SENATE WILL BE OUT OF SESSION FROM APRIL 10 to 26 (an extra week off is now planned by each House). Most Members of Congress will be in their home districts for those two weeks. Make an appointment now with your Representative or Senator, and visit him or her during that period. This is the best chance we have to influence the upcoming debate on the budget, a debate which is already far along in the Senate, and which will begin in the House as soon as the Representatives get back to Washington.

WHEN YOU VISIT YOUR REPRESENTATIVE, BE COURTEOUS AND SYMPATHETIC, BUT STAND FIRMLY BY YOUR CONVICTIONS. We have to acknowledge that the public now supports higher military spending, and that past votes against major weapons like the B-1 bomber were used by the Right to damage liberal candidates who cast such votes. But that doesn't make the B-1 any better an idea. It is a good idea to come as part of a delegation of people who can talk in detail about the negative impact of the proposed budget cuts on your own community. Above all, it is important to stress the long term impact of these and future budget cuts, and of the massive increases being built into the military budget by decisions being rushed through now. It is always useful to offer some new information. It is also useful early in any discussion to get the person you are visiting to respond to some of your probing questions.

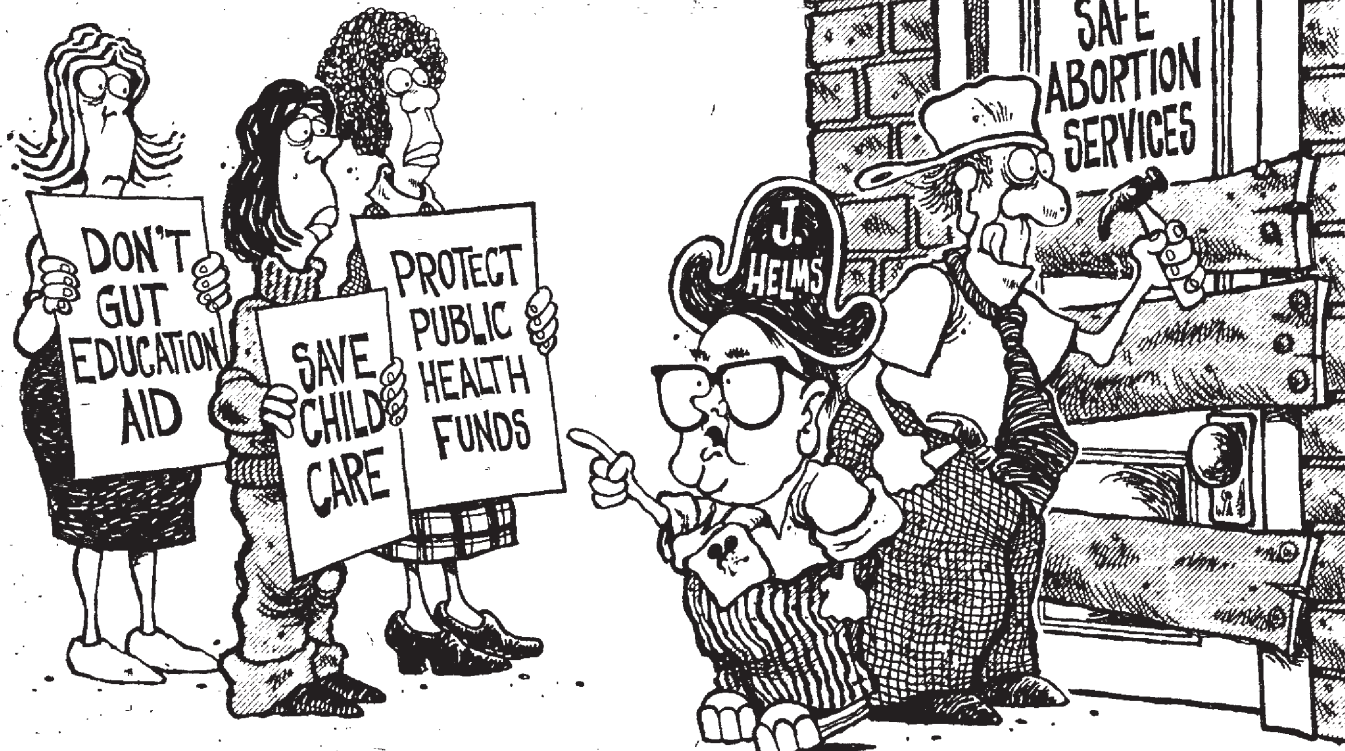
WE ALSO NEED TO WORK WITH THE MEDIA AND FORM LOCAL POLITICAL COALITIONS, in order to bring an early end to the "honeymoon" which the Reagan Administration has enjoyed. A number of national groups with local constituencies are joining in urging their members to visit their Representatives during the upcoming Congressional recess, and they are also urging local actions such as press conferences, church services and marches from now through the middle of May. May 9 has been chosen as a focus by several groups. For information on such activities, call toll-free (800) 424-7292.

VISIT THE EDITORIAL BOARD, of your local paper. Try to get the editors to write editorials on the the budget battle. Point out the damaging local effects of some of the budget cuts. Even if a newspaper will oppose only one or two of the specific program cuts, at least this helps to break the lock which the Reagan program has on public discussion. To the extent the editors do not agree with your position, ask them how they propose to air different views.

WRITE LETTERS TO THE EDITOR AND CALL IN TO RADIO TALK SHOWS. After the front page, the "letters to the editor" section of the newspaper is the most widely read public affairs portion of the newspaper. Make letters brief and to the point, and try to tie them to some recent story in the paper. Be sure to sign your name and any organizational affiliation.



TAMOR
ALBUQUERQUE TRIBUNE '81
College Press Service



"TOUGH COOKIES LADIES, BUT OUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR UNWANTED CHILDREN STOPS AT THE END OF THE BIRTH CANAL."

TRY IT ON. SEE IF IT STILL FITS.

The Peace Movement Didn't End with the War.

Because American Militarism didn't end with the war either. Around the world, U.S. armaments and money are still propping up dictatorships. And at home, the Pentagon squanders more of our tax dollars than ever on costly boondoggles like the M-X missile system. Military spending each year robs America of jobs and urgently needed social programs.

The Peace Movement, Continued.

Since the end of the war, the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy has played a leading role in the movement to take America's future out of the hands of generals and aerospace corporations and put it back in the hands of the people, where it belongs.

The Coalition coordinates the Capitol Hill lobbying of dozens of religious, peace, labor, and social justice organizations. We monitor key legislation and alert our nationwide activist network to the latest developments. We research the issues and distribute the results. And we help local activists tie their work into a coordinated national strategy.

Our Work's Paying Off.

We helped scuttle the B-1 Bomber. We cut back military aid to dictatorships in Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, and the Philippines. And now we're challenging the very foundation of militarism — distorted budget priorities that put the Pentagon ahead of our communities, our jobs, and our environment.

We're working to end the arms race, and to transfer federal spending from unnecessary military programs to



underfunded job and human needs programs. We're making sure that U.S. aid supports human rights, not oppression. We're working to pull American soldiers out of Korea, and other outposts of an outdated interventionist foreign policy. We're working for majority rule and authentic self-determination in South Africa. And we're working to help the people of Indochina with reconstruction aid.

Give Peace a Fighting Chance.

Ending the war in Indochina took the energy and commitment of millions of Americans. Building a new foreign policy will take the same commitment, and more.

That's where you fit in. If you're like us, you still want to put your energy and experience to work where they're needed. And where they'll be effective. The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. Try us on.

COALITION

For a New Foreign and Military Policy

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Name _____
Address _____ City _____
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The following organizations are members of the Coalition: American Friends Service Committee • Americans for Democratic Action • Argentine Commission for Human Rights • BEGIN • Business Executives Move for New National Priorities • Center for International Policy • Chile Legislative Center • Church of the Brethren, Washington Office • Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) Department of Church in Society • Clergy and Laity Concerned • Episcopal Peace Fellowship • Friends Committee on National Legislation • FRIENDSHIPMENT • Friends of the Filipino People • Inter-University Committee to Stop Funding War and Militarism • Mennonite Central Committee, Peace Section, USA • Movement for a Free Philippines • National Association of Social Workers • National Center to Slash Military Spending • National Council of Churches • National Federation of Priests' Councils, USA • The National Gray Panthers • National Office of Jesuit Social Ministries • Network • Northern Ohio Project on National Priorities • SANE • TAPOL • Union of American Hebrew Congregations • Unitarian Universalist Association • United Church of Christ, Board for Homeland Ministries • United Church of Christ, Office for Church in Society • United Methodist Church, Board of Church and Society, Division of World Peace • United Methodist Church, Board of Global Ministries, Women's Division • United Presbyterian Church, USA, Washington Office • Washington Office on Africa • Washington Office on Latin America • Women's International League for Peace and Freedom • Women Strike for Peace • World Federalists Association • World Peacemakers • Young Women's Christian Association of the USA



Photo: Anthony Abuzeide

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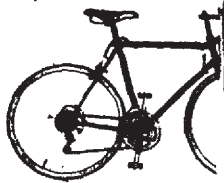
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NEGLECT AND
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yourself.



I believe that man will not merely endure, he will prevail.
He is immortal not because he alone among creatures
has an inexhaustible voice,
but because he has a soul, a spirit
capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance.

Words: William Faulkner
Photo: Ansel Adams



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