

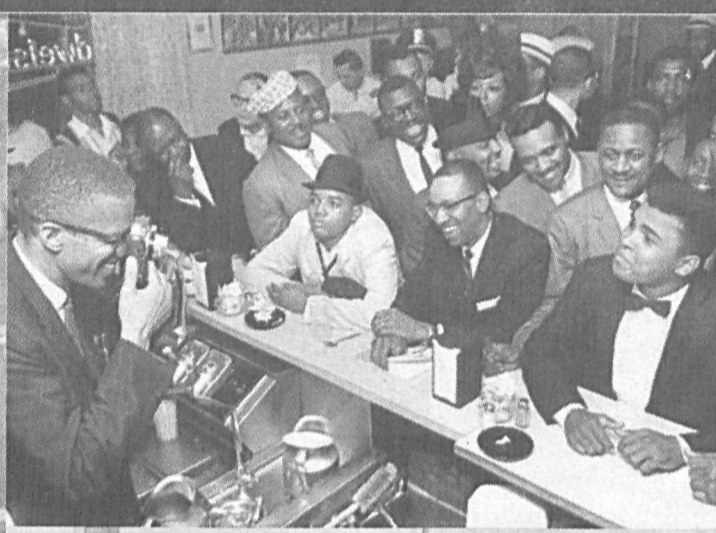
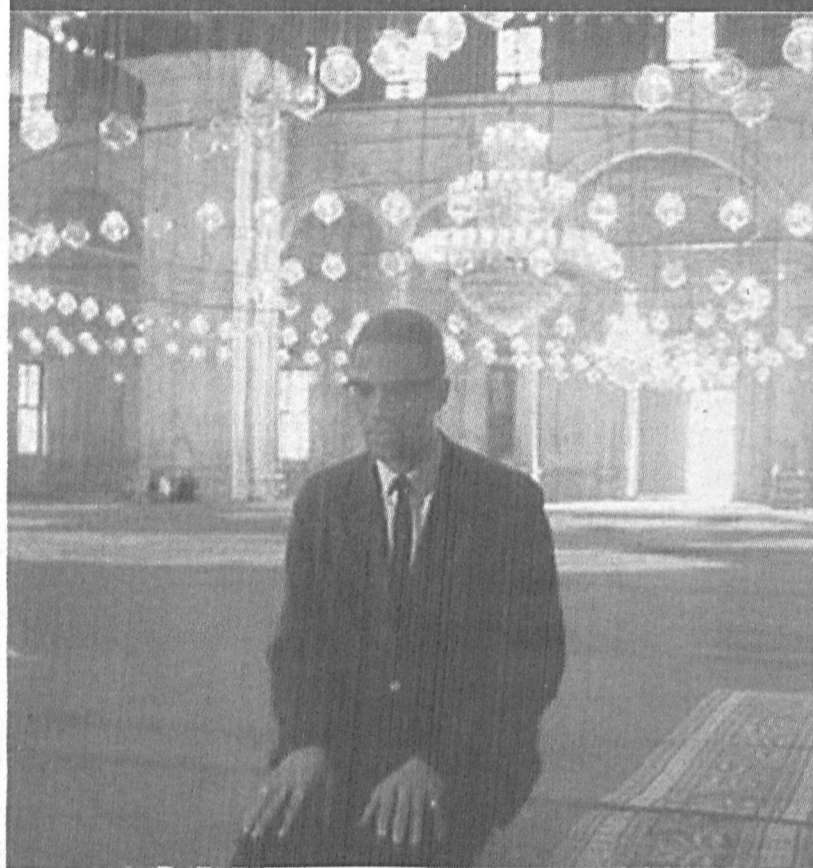
THE PAPER

MEDIUM FOR PEOPLE OF AFRICAN DESCENT

"So We Stand Here On The Edge Of Hell In Harlem And Look Out On The World And Wonder What We're Gonna Do In The Face Of What We Remember" - Langston Hughes

May 2010

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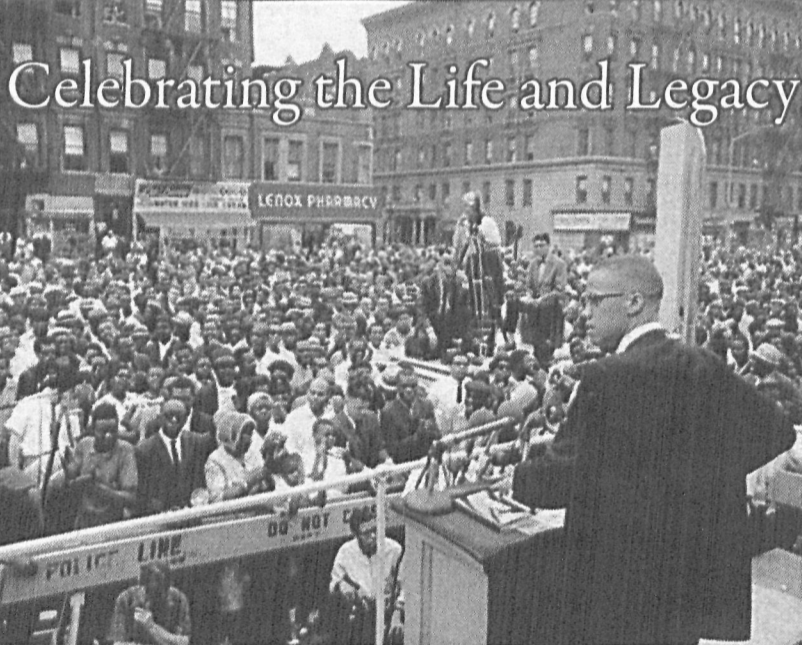
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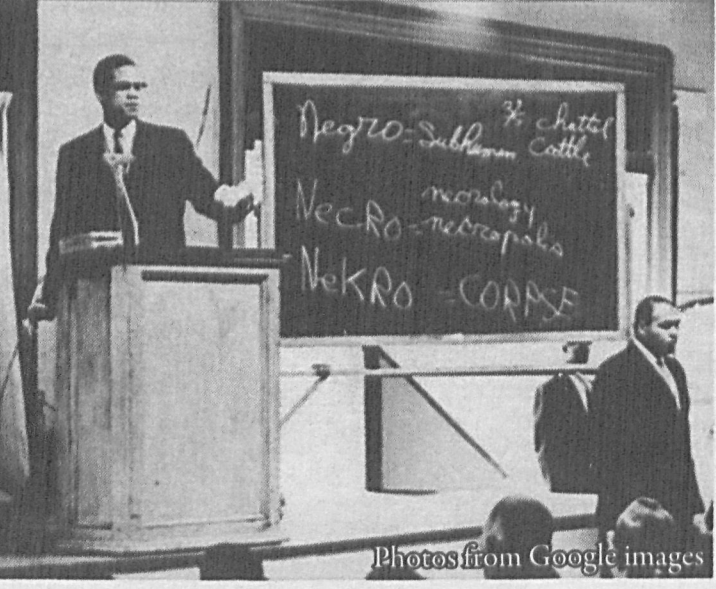
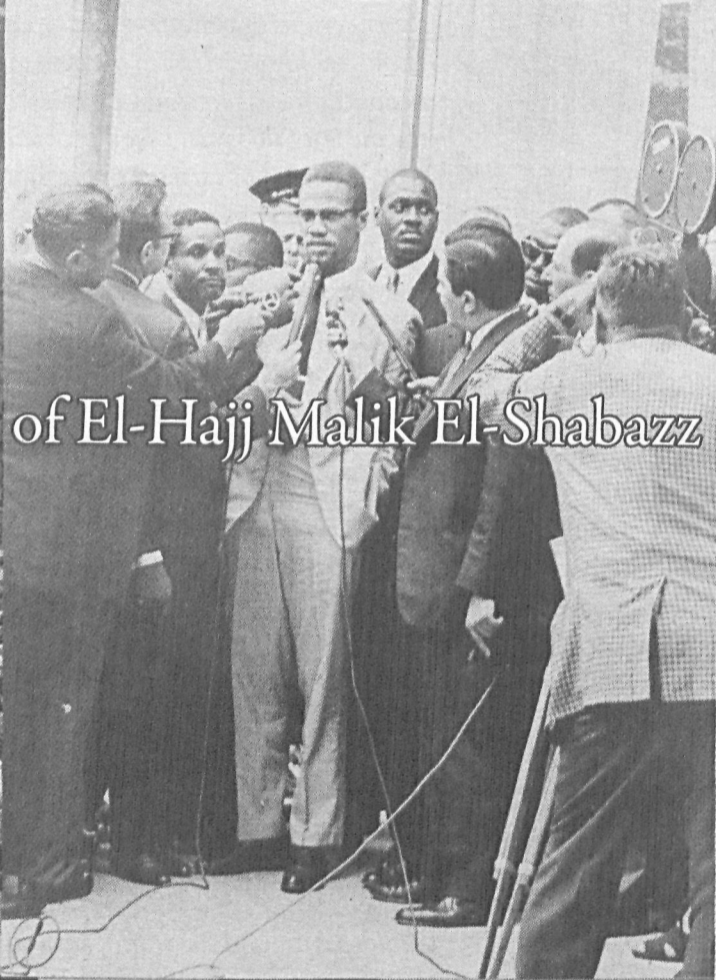
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Celebrating the Life and Legacy of El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz



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the
City College
of New York

Make *The Paper* YOUR paper!

We welcome new leaders
interested in social journalism at CCNY.

We want to hear from you!
Please submit articles, letters, and
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munity and surrounding area for a reasonable rate!

Letter to the Editors

In reading last month's issue of *The Paper*, I was pleasantly surprised to see my dear sistah, and trusted Black Students Union compatriot, going in on the "Natural Hair Theory." The story behind the theory is that there was a class where, according to the raw numbers, the students with natural hair received lower grades than those with chemically processed hair. The theory has little to do with the relationship between groups of Africans in the Diaspora, as described in the article. The Natural Hair Theory is something that I formulated after taking a certain professor's class. My theory is that students enrolled in the above mentioned course were subject to the grading biases of the professor. The bottom line is that all the students I spoke to in that specific course felt victim to this professor's biases. I want to make it clear that I do not believe that having natural hair makes you more "Black," that would be ignorant.

I believe much of what was written in the article is true; many African centered folk tend to prejudge the family out there with cosmetic Eurocentric features. For instance, when we see perms, blue eyes, nose jobs, blond/red/brunette hair dye, we may turn off and not listen to what they have to say. I have fallen into judging a book by its cover. In my defense, I view the above physical changes as a very serious impediment to the development and recovery of our people the African of the Americas. When I see my people imitating the same people who have oppressed them for the last 500 years, I see a problem. Imagine an abused slave or victim of extreme oppression imitating his/her oppressor, preposterous! As I see it, we should devote our whole existence to destroying that oppressor, and indeed the whole system that stifles us.

In the article the writer seemed to have brushed the theory away without fully analyzing it. I want to advise her to take another look at it, and the intellectual rebels that exist in this institution who are forced to deal with various manifestations of the Natural Hair Theory during their academic careers. Think about those of us who do what we can to change the attitudes and minds of our peers, indeed the very professors that control our grades and our futures in these institutions. If our permed and contact wearing sistas and brothas are being discriminated against, imagine the extent to which we, the "Intellectual Maroons" are discriminated against due to the way that we express our thoughts. I ask this question to *The Paper* and its readers out there. Is it at all possible that we, the intellectual rebels of campuses around the world, are also suffering? Is it possible that just as we turn away from you, that you turn away from a brother or sista because they may seem too radical, look too Afrocentric, or talk too "Black?" Don't front, we are talking about family. This is a large subject and will need more articles written to help heal wounds that exist in the relationships of our people. We look forward to seeing more from *The Paper* and will build more on the ideas expressed here.

Hotep!
Your Brothers in the Struggle
~Kofi & Kwame

Editor's Parting Words

By Conor Tomás Reed

The first time I stepped foot on the City College campus in March of 2005, I walked right into a protest. Three students had been assaulted by the campus security on March 9th for performing a peaceful demonstration against military recruiters at the Spring Career Fair. One of them had his face slammed against a concrete wall. Then-President Gregory Williams publicly denounced these students—not the security guards' actions or the U.S. military's occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan—as violent. This shaped my first impression of City College. If one speaks out about the college's political connections to society, and the role of students in defending themselves from a situation where they must kill abroad to afford school at home, this school's administration responds with physical force, lies, and suspensions.

I wanted to help overturn this troubling dynamic. When I began my studies here in Spring 2006, I consciously sought to develop a more socially engaged student body with each individual action and collaboration with other people. I soon learned that the history of this school is, in fact, one of the greatest stories of campus radicalism. In 1935, anti-fascist students prevented a delegation of Italian aviators—who the campus president at the time invited to come speak here—from delivering a pro-Mussolini address. 60 CCNY'ers would volunteer to fight fascism in Spain a little over a year later (see

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The Paper

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OUR MISSION

In 1969 there were four newspapers at City College, yet none reflected the issues facing the growing population. Our student newspaper was born as an insert within the pages of *Tech News*, which changed its name to *The Paper* by 1970. We stand on the journalistic shoulders of giants! Two student leaders, Louis Reyes Rivera and Paul Simms started *The Paper* as a radical social voice of people of African descent. Our mission is to carry on this legacy with increased membership of current student leaders. *The Paper* will continue to serve CCNY and the surrounding Harlem community.

The Flash Black

Because we strive to connect past lessons with today's struggles, we are thrilled to announce a new feature in our publications—the FLASHBACK! For each issue, we will reprint articles and photographs from the *Tech News* and *The Paper* archives which are housed in our own Cohen Library. We encourage our readers to respond to these blasts from the past, build on their legacies, and spread the word about our college's amazing political history.



In many ways, the history and the historical context from which Black people have attempted to survive and struggle was overlooked at the National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Indiana.

Gary's Mayor Hatcher pointed to the other times in history when our people, "in search for political impact," have met before.

In 1853, eight years before the Emancipation Proclamation was issued and slaves were allegedly set free, Frederick Douglas, disgusted with the then radical Republican Party, helped to organize and establish a short-lived New York State Suffrage Association to push the issue of slavery.

During the era of reconstruction, Black political conventions were held in 1871 and 1872 in Columbia, South Carolina, and New Orleans, Louisiana.

In 1883, Pennsylvania Blacks, not satisfied with the policies of Republicans, broke away to form another short-lived Colored Independent Party.

In 1964 the Democratic Party began to feel Black political pressures. First came the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and then, in 1966, the National Democratic Party of Alabama, both of which were Black controlled while remaining within the framework of the national party structure, which also held the purse strings.

In each of these cases political strength was sought in an arena controlled and dictated by economic interests, and, as a result, no real concessions were made.

For over a hundred years, the issues of land distribution, adequate school systems, recognition of political entities, a sharing in the wealth proportionate to the work input of Black people, have been issues raised time after time after time, to no significant avail.

We are now living through a so-called Black Reconstruction era whereby we develop our expertise under the illusion of having a power base from which to grow.

We see ourselves as partners in a wrestling match in combat with competition of equal strength.

It is possible that we have yet to grasp the political limitations of conventions, public elected officials, the electoral process, and buying power.

Power comes through true economic independence based on land and expressed through the control of industries and markets. And in order to understand how to develop power on this level we must learn to collate and analyze information relevant to systems and economic strength so that actions may be implemented on the analysis and within the historical experience.

domestic policy. He said, "we have dealt with the social issue of racism. Now we have to deal with the economic issues."

American foreign policy has supported the economy (\$50 million per year) of Portugal while that country's military expeditions in Africa has forced the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique, into a perpetual state of war for liberation.

South Africa continues its policy of Apartheid. The United States is consistent in condemnation on the one hand, and trading for diamonds and



The Algerians won their political revolution, but failed to control the production of Algerian oil.

The war taking place in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, as indicated in printed documentation, will continue to be escalated as long as the Rice Cup states (California, Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee) are overpowering the rice market of the Rice Bowl countries (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma); and as long as it is necessary for this country to remain the largest importer of heroin.

Opportunism is placing the so-called Black Bourgeois in the position of smoke screens for changing American foreign and domestic policies, which are reinforcing corporate control over Third World natural resources and markets.

Martin Luther King, during his last days, began to question the American foreign policy as he related it to

gold, on the other. And in Rhodesia, the U.S. openly violates a United Nations Embargo Treaty against the export of Rhodesian chrome.

The grasping of these and other issues will require each of us to hold our so-called leaders responsible for their actions and inactions with regards to struggling Third World communities. And those leaders who evolve from and are sanctioned by true grass-root people, must be helped in maintaining their integrity and sovereignty.

Individuality and growth of personality and Nationalism, each have their respective places, but not as ends in themselves; not when individuality turns into individualism; not when growth of personality becomes confused with ego-centricity; and not when Nationalism becomes ethnocentric.

analysis provided by Bill Robinson and Louis R. Rivera

the
paper

How Malcolm Inspired Us



"My alma mater was books, a good library.... I could spend the rest of my life reading, just satisfying my curiosity." Malcolm X

This is one of the many quotes left for us to learn what it takes to achieve greatness. Humanity has many paths to different forms of "success." When I think of success I don't think of those who died leaving behind billions of dollars and estates to be divided among family. I think of those that were true humanitarians and left their mark on human kind. El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz left society changed and continues to influence people, even those born decades after his untimely death. His success was also one of self transformation through constant learning. The University may offer us the chance to "succeed" in economic terms one day but what is certain is we can succeed every day we spend learning and satisfying while reinforcing our curiosities.

- Taqiyya Haden

The present release of Thomas Hagan— the only convicted murderer of Malcolm X—has raised a lot of furrowed eye brows in Black and Latino communities. I have to wonder what the public reaction would be if John Hinckley, Jr. (the man who attempted to assassinate Ronald Reagan in 1981) was released from St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington D.C. today? Although some may see this as a crude comparison being that El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz was neither the Commander in Chief of the U.S.

nor a leader of one of the most powerful countries in the world. Still, I have to wonder how the only shooter to admit to being part of the gang-style killing of Malcolm is allowed to walk free.

The contributions and legacy of Malcolm X on Black and Latinos, especially the Muslim community cannot be put into words. He was our "Black Prince" and beloved by all, even his enemies (the man you love to hate). How the likes of Mumia Abu-Jamal is still on death row and Thomas Hagan is walking free, is quite the conundrum. Peace is war, left is right, no means yes and up is down.

- Malik Abdul Rasheed

"...Early in life, I had learned that if you want something, you had better make some noise." Malcolm X.

Now that's a quote I go by till this very day! Malcolm X, an inspiration to all who thrive to be successful in their communities, lived a brutal but wondrous life! Turning lost faith into hope, he lifted the heads of defeated young black people across the nation and still his words never fail to push me forward! So in honor of his dreams and principles, I keep his morals close to my heart. We all do, in many ways; even if we don't know it therefore I celebrating another year of his teaching.

- Courtney J

For me, El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz is a Pan African Symbol and International Hero. As a young Latina in Queens reading The Autobiography of Malcolm X put in context my experiences as the daughter of Puerto Rican and Colombian immigrants to the US. The book increased my understanding of why people of color build friendships, communities and movements together. The greatness of Malcolm X was his ability to analyze history of where people came from, their journey to where they were and what needed to get done. When speaking from this analytical place, his words were always deliberate and direct. Malcolm X personified discipline, purpose and self respect. Those who knew him said they felt they were in the presence of a Holy man because he was so clear in his principle and was a loving and kind brother. Reading his words and listening to his voice in recordings move me to my core.

- Olga Sanjujo

I feel honored to share the same birth month as the formidable Malcolm X. As a minister, public speaker, human rights activist, father, husband, brother and leader he advocated for the fair treatment and equal rights of African-Americans, spoke out against economic disparities and called for America to live up to the principles and ideology she so proudly preached from public platforms, in printed pages, and through microphones. We Americans owe much of our liberties to the struggles and triumphs of the liberation movement to Malcolm X's tireless fight. He challenged America and forced her to take a hard look at herself. So as we all go about our business this month of May, I call on all of us to take a moment, reflect and be humbled by the love and responsibility Malcolm X felt to people of African descent and the human race in total. Happy Birthday El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, we honor you!

- Oronde Tennant

Malcolm X is more important to this country than all of the Founding Fathers combined. Indeed, his ideas and strategies are perhaps even more important today with people speaking about a "post-racial" society, an economic system that is the best we can produce, and there being no more need for Black people to demand reparations for enduring centuries of enslavement. He would call these people out for what they were: hoodwinked, bamboozled, and led astray. For the rest of us who still see the horrors of oppression and exploitation around the world perpetuating, we would all do well to go back to his writings and speeches. Malcolm galvanized, inspired, angered, and floored those who encountered his unmatched force of being. We at *The Paper* are thrilled to commemorate his life and influences in this issue, and we overall seek to emulate his strengths with our mission as a politically driven student newspaper.

- Conor Tomás Reed

Missing Malcolm

By R. L'Heureux Lewis

45 years. 45 years ago, Malcolm X, also known as El Hajj Malik El Shabazz, was taken from the earth. While I never knew Malcolm, I came of age believing that Malcolm X was the prototype for Black leadership. I wonder will our children believe Barack Obama is what Black leadership means? In 2008, we organized, ran to the polls and chose the ballot over the bullet and elected Barack Obama. A year later, many of us are looking at Barack Obama wondering what has happened, but maybe we should be asking, "Where are the Malcolm X's of today?" During the presidential campaign, many in our community embraced Obama as the continuation of a grassroots legacy. Well, if Obama is the continuation of that legacy, what remains is buried in politics. It's now, more so than ever before, that we need a strong grassroots to push forward a truly progressive agenda for Black Americans.

The assumption that the legacy of political power among African-Americans transferred from Martin and Malcolm to Obama has a number of issues. First, if we assume that Malcolm and Martin were the last great leaders, we need to seriously ask, "then what have we been doing for the past 40 years?" Too often, the assumption that Obama carries on a grassroots tradition overlooks the fact that grassroots activism is what has maintained what political ground we won in the 1950s, 1960s, and the 1970s. While the US government was rolling back Affirmative Action, launching a War on Drugs, and pathologizing young Black and Brown folks, grassroots activists were the voices that challenged Reagan, Clinton and Bush on the moves that were "tough on crime" but were really war on poor folks and Black and Brown folks.

Second, if Obama carries on the legacy of Malcolm and Martin, where are Obama's steadfast politics or political positions on which we can count? Malcolm went to the grave a Black Nationalist, even after his conversion to Sunni Islam. He unapologetically

took on a perspective of Pan-Africanist unity which was about the collective necessity to self-determine among people of African descent. What this meant was his primary concern was the livelihood and human rights of people of African descent. He fought hard to make it clear his calling was for Black people. That is not Obama.

We likely would all agree, it would be fool-hearted for Obama to take such a stand if his politics were even in this position. It's become commonplace to hear, "Barack Obama is the President of the United States, not the President of Black America." I could not agree more, we need the Black community to advocate and agitate so that the President of the United States is forced to respond to Black America. We cannot deny that Black people are a central part of the United States and our interests need to be spoken to in policy and discourse. The fact that the President is Black guarantees us no additional support, so let's dispense with that assumption! While some are beating the drum for Obama to "up" his "race talk" I have come to terms that he will not and/or cannot and still remain politically afloat if he does so. Instead, I'm brought back to the grassroots activism that pushed Presidents of past to address the needs of the poor and disenfranchised in "the land of opportunity."

While we will never know, I'm pretty sure that Malcolm himself would not have looked to Barack Obama to push an agenda that benefits Black folks. Instead, he would have advocated for the organizing of our communities to do for self and pressure the government to address our needs, not ask for them to meet them. Given the recent dust-up between Al Sharpton and Tavis Smiley, the question of who is "promoting" a Black agenda has been resurrected. (I'd rather not get into who is right - Tavis or Al - because I can't see it benefiting the movement to improve Black lives much if we picked sides). This is an optimal moment for Black America to take account of what has been happening since

Obama has been in office for a year.

Looking for the modern day Malcolm's means finding those among us who are willing to work outside of the government to get what we need for our community. That means working for better schools that prepare our children. That means working to break down the schoolhouse to jailhouse continuum that

ensnares so many of our girls and boys. That means working to create jobs in and outside of our communities that can cut into the staggering unemployment. That means building an infrastructure for employment that is sustainable. It may have been 45 years since Malcolm X left this planet, but his goals and community aspirations still ring true and remain unmet. That's why I'm still missing Malcolm.

Originally published for Atlanta Post



Google Images

FIDEL CASTRO

"They talk about the failure of socialism but where is the success of capitalism in Africa, Asia and Latin America?"

"If there ever was in the history of humanity an enemy who was truly universal, an enemy whose acts and moves trouble the entire world, threaten the entire world, attack the entire world in any way or another, that real and really universal enemy is precisely Yankee imperialism."

"I find capitalism repugnant. It is filthy, it is gross, it is alienating... because it causes war, hypocrisy and competition."

"The first victims of whatever military actions are undertaken will be the billions of people living in the poor and underdeveloped world with their unbelievable economic and social problems."

MALCOLM X

"It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, the capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely."

"Let me tell you a little story. It's like being in a wolf's den. The wolf sees someone on the outside who is interested in freeing me from the den. The wolf doesn't like that person on the outside. But I don't care who opens the door and lets me out."

Queens of the Congo

Sarah Al Motairi

Another twenty-four hours pass; it's that time again!

Shadows in the village creepily emerge.

God's greater canvas; pitch black,

Ugliness materializes as beauty twinkles.

Is tonight a safe night?

Or do we fall victim to the wrath of man?

So invincible yet vulnerable are the Queens of the Congo.

Abandoned homes are targets of rape,

In the midst of the night, nothing but hate.

Our shelter; God's nature,

Bushes, dirt, insects and frequent stature,

Camouflage us! Keep us safe from a man in heat.

Our prayers will keep us safe tonight!

Sleep my sweet daughters, sisters and friends,

My eye watches for the beast,

As my hand strokes you to sleep.

The sky still threatening,

The devil still prowls,

On innocent lives they feed.

LAY LOW! Hush, not a sound,

Khaki and brown,

Black boots shake the ground,

They missed us for now.

In our smiles we quiver,

Aware of their vow.

Ahhh...sweet, Yellow Angel,

Rise to the sky,

Darkness becomes light as light becomes time.

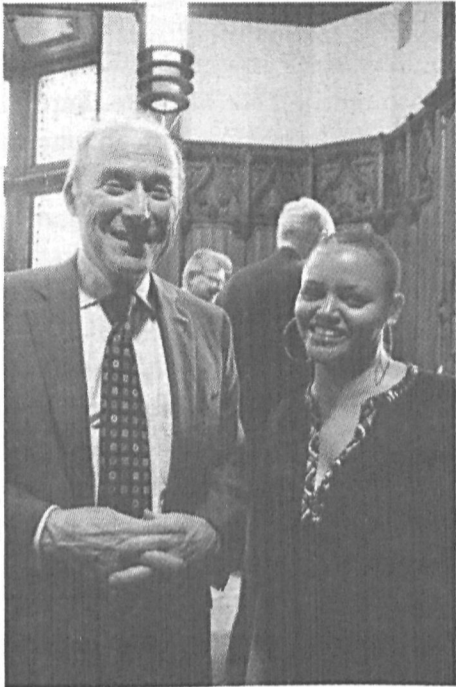
Yellow Angel, you rescue us once again.

Thankful we are for the Day in the Congo ! Until...

Time! Our enemy 'til God's higher canvas is ripe.

In 2007 filmmaker Lisa F. Jackson presented "The Greatest Silence: Rape in the Congo", the inspiration for this poem. Sarah found out the brutal reality facing women and girls that are victims of gang rape and violence every night. She wrote this piece as a woman living continents away yet connected by love and concern.

Meet the Presidents



By Taqiyya Haden

President Paaswell called the office of *The Paper* last semester and everyone here was surprised. The Interim President of City College actually knew who we were and reached out to us, inviting the Editors to lunch. We met again the day before our incoming President held her Press Conference.

He had only been in office for a short time but set a new precedent by sitting down with student leaders and having real conversations with us. By doing that the diversity of our existing student body was made obvious to him and he mentioned the opportunity to learn from this social environment. City College arguably has many problems to contend with but Dr. Robert E. Paaswell – affectionately known as Buzz— kept his ear to the ground and heard students concerns from our own mouths. Dr. Paaswell is well aware that the education offered must keep up with the changing needs of young people so we can keep up with the changing society. He admits openly that the education he received will not meet the needs of today's students.

We as students have the responsibility of speaking up to have our needs met when unable to meet them ourselves. In his opinion, a major contribution he

has made is beginning to bridge Administration and Faculty for the betterment of the student body. The Board of Trustees is currently seeking to have control over tuition increases. This would mean they implement annual increase without having to appeal to the state. President Paaswell is in favor of the Board of Trustees taking over budgetary decisions from the state which is an unpopular decision among some students. However, as a cabinet member asked "Do you trust the state?"

Passwell is also the Director of the University Transportation Research Center, but was not informed about a discussion regarding new buses. An anonymous source told us the school has plans to buy new expensive buses with no air conditioning and less capacity. There are better equipped and more cost effective buses available. When I brought up the shuttle buses, President Passwell agreed to investigate that and jokingly added he wants to put an escalator on the hill up 138th street before he leaves.

We wish Dr. Paaswell the best as he leaves his office and we look forward to seeing him continue teaching as a Distinguished Professor of Civil Engineering. *The Paper* is grateful for the support and openness he extended to us as individuals and as an organization.



Photos by Beverly Meneses

President Designate Lisa Stainiano-Coico has already made a strong impression on members of the student body. *The Paper* first met her when she was a finalist among four for the position at City. She was applauded for the inspiring words she gave to the interviewees. I noted that she was one of the few finalists that admitted to having read the bios of the others. This honesty was refreshing. She also would not decide on agreeing to bring ROTC without finding out what the student and faculty opinion was on it.

At the press conference on May 6, she stated a top priority is to follow President Paaswell in developing and keeping open lines of communication. Her appointment will officially begin in August but she plans to spend a week a month visiting the campus, effective immediately. President-Designate will look to make the most of the budget but

did not mention her position on whether the Board should take that responsibility from the State. Students at City have expressed frustration when looking to graduate yet not having open sections for core classes. Dr. Stainiano-Coico aims to chart what is called an 8 semester matrix to ensure timely the majors. Her passion for students is described by her in 3 words "Leadership, Discovery and Impact." She told us her passion is providing opportunities for students that she was given, and she has a history of bringing real success to at-risk students.

She is a super sports fan and supporter of arts and student activities at large as a major part of college life. When *The Paper* mentioned the "clean-up" and disappearance of signs advertising events around campus, she seemed surprised. After her response, Chancellor Goldstein asked her "so leave the posters up?" to which she answered "Yes, leave the posters up." Dr. Stainiano-Coico graciously allows herself to be called Dr. Lisa, but we should learn to pronounce her name. After all, isn't that what truly embracing diversity is about?

The Paper wishes both Dr. Passwell and incoming President Stainiano-Coico well, and we hope to assist in continuing open dialogues between students, faculty and administration.

Every Open Seat

By Sophia Vilceus

One morning on the hectic commute from Long Island to Harlem, I was on a cramped bus in the early rush hours of the morning. As I swiped my metro card, I came to the annoying realization that there was barely any standing room on the bus. I placed my headphones in my ears and stood directly in front of an African American man who was seated in the “elderly/handicapped” section of the bus (both things he was not). Just as everyone else who was standing on that bus ride, I was desperately grazing my eyes around to see if there was one empty seat to snatch up. Next to the young man (who was at least 26 years of age) was his duffle bag that he strategically and selfishly placed on the next available handicapped/elderly seat beside him. This clearly wouldn't be a problem if it wasn't such a cramped bus; the fact that the bus was so immensely packed and he still felt the need to leave his bag there was disrespectful and self-serving.

I thought about possibly asking him to move his gigantic duffle bag to let me sit, but I am well aware of how cranky and rude New Yorkers could potentially get on the

public transportation system, so I decided I wasn't going to go there with him and in turn chose to stand. To my left was an elderly Hispanic woman, to my right was a young Black woman standing next to her mother—all four of us women were standing directly in front of this Black man who chose to not move his duffle bag to enable at least one of us to sit. I thought: “Wow, Chivalry is truly dead, especially amongst our people.”

A minute or two later, the Hispanic woman said: “Could you please move your bag, sir, so I may please have that seat?”

He hastily responded: “And where am I going to put my bag if I let you sit?” I was so appalled; I had to pause my iPod to see where this conversation was heading. The sweet older woman pointed to the sign behind his seat and gently said: “These seats are for the elderly and handicapped. I just had back surgery. May I please sit?”

This grown Black man rolled his eyes, moved the duffle bag, and finally let the older woman sit. I was so embarrassed by him and for him; I wanted to have some choice words with him, but I chose to stay out of this one because I figured if he didn't

have regard for this older woman, he certainly wouldn't have much regard for me. The older woman opened up her bible and totally disregarded this occurrence.

The young Black woman standing next to me surely had some words for this Black man—and I'm glad she did, because I almost felt like I was doing as big of an injustice as the Black man did, by me not standing up and speaking out for something that was so blatantly disrespectful. She didn't use the most articulate words, nor was she trying to be kind in any way—but she certainly got the message across to this sorry excuse for a Black man.

Fast-forwarding to the end of the conversation, this grown Black man called this young African American woman AND her mother “trash” and “idiots,” and told them that women only want to be women when it is convenient for them. In other words, he was telling her that she was less than a woman in his eyes and that is why he didn't offer them his seat. He threw out every degrading word he could to both her and her mother to the point where I earnestly believed they would all start fighting.

I finally got onto my train and couldn't steer away from what had transpired on that bus ride. Surely, I will not let that one incompetent Black man represent the larger community of Black men out there; however truth needs to be told that some males—African American ones especially—have lost touch with what it means to respect, uplift, and merely regard a Black woman. This notion portrays itself from things as mundane as a bus ride to things as specific as the way they handle themselves in committed relationships. Somehow these African American males have managed to gear away from the essence of us as a people.

The incident that morning was surely a discouraging sight to see. As I sat down on the F train and placed my iPod back on, fed up with the entire male species, my eyes fell upon another Black man, alone, feeding his infant daughter, all the while being so gentle towards her. I thought: “...Thank God there are better ones out there...I hope that baby girl grows up into a woman who is assured that she deserves and is entitled to every open seat out there.”

Three new chapters will be added to Malcolm X Autobiography

By Marc W. Polite

On what would have been the 85th birthday of Malcolm X, the world will find out more about his life and legacy. Three chapters that Alex Haley left out of the original Autobiography of Malcolm X will be added to a new version scheduled to debut on May 19th. Ilyasah Shabazz is writing the foreword to the three chapters. They were obtained from Gregory Reed, who purchased them from the Alex Haley estate at an auction in 1992.

The autobiography was originally released in 1965, roughly six months after Malcolm's assassination. It chronicles his life from his upbringing in Omaha to his transformation from criminal to Black leader over the course of more than 400 pages. This and much more is spoken about in this classic text, and we all stand to learn a great deal more about Malcolm.

Forty-five years after the loss of arguably the greatest Black leader

of the twentieth century, there is a rekindled public consciousness in the Black community. One of Malcolm's assassins, Thomas Hagan was released from prison in late April, after more than 40 years. A life sentence would have been more fitting, but now he is free and it is an affront to the memory of Malcolm. Even if Mr. Hagan is remorseful, there are things in this that life once committed, cannot be forgiven. Perhaps someone should ask Hagan, how high in the NOI chain of command did the order to end Malcolm's life go. For investigative purposes, it would be useful to know how wide the conspiracy against Malcolm was from within. This might still be an uncomfortable question, but in the interest of discovering the truth, it is one that should be asked.

All this, is an old but open wound, one the African-American community has not recovered from. Justice was not served with this decision. While not every wrong can

be righted, we all will be discussing the additional info on Malcolm and this most recent decision for decades to come. At a time that we are losing many of our civil rights veterans, it is important to carry forth the memory of Malcolm and his deeds so that future generations will recognize the necessity of remembering our history.

What will be revealed? How much more will be discovered about his effect on the Nation of Islam and the Black Power movement in general? Whatever comes to light, it will bare much conversation and add to the vast body of work around understanding this great Black leader.



Photo from whomedia.com/malcolm-and-haley

Editor's Parting Words

Continued from pg 2

the plaque in the NAC Rotunda). In 1969, Black and Puerto-Rican students led an Open Admissions Strike that confronted racism and won educational access for every single person of color we now see in our classrooms. The solidarity this struggle achieved within the larger community generated a new name for the school—Harlem University. In 1989, students successfully halted tuition increases and created the Guillermo Morales/Assata Shakur Community and Student Center in NAC room 3/201.

In the past, City College was known as the "Little Red Schoolhouse" for its anti-capitalist activism, the "Poor People's Harvard" for its talented working-class student body. The list of past CCNY students and teachers is mesmerizing: Audre Lorde, Upton Sinclair, Susan Sontag, Chinua Achebe, Kurt Vonnegut, Toni Cade Bambara, Woody Allen, Henry Miller, Walter Mosley, Faith Ringgold, Stanley Kubrick, Paul Goodman, June Jordan, Kenneth Clark, Bertrand Russell, and so many more.... CCNY's Langston Hughes Festival has welcomed such luminaries onto this campus as James Baldwin, Toni Morrison, Ralph Ellison, Alice Walker, August Wilson, and Nikki Giovanni. And yet, we see almost none of these names and stories memorialized anywhere on campus.

I saw the tendency for these radical histories to be hidden again and again, which to my frustration became translated into student activities and certain departments

being pushed into the shadows. Remember the colorful club banners by the NAC Rotunda escalators? Gone. Remember Baskerville Hall's energetic club spaces? Gone. The Black Studies and Women's Studies Departments? Now whittled down into small embattled programs. This former Free Academy has undergone tuition increases and/or budget cuts every semester since I started studying here. Recently, a prominently respected Spanish professor, who created two highly successful study abroad programs in Spain and Argentina, was temporarily removed from leading these programs, despite a student defense campaign to immediately reinstate her. Last semester, a student was roughly detained and interrogated by campus security for the simple act of writing with chalk on campus grounds to publicize a rally to defend our education.

Nevertheless, students have renewed efforts to create a more socially responsible, affordable, and culturally vibrant City College, building on the legacies of those who came here before us. Over the last several years, we've collaborated on so much: leading walk-outs and rallies against educational cuts and fee hikes; continuing protests against military recruiters at our Career Fairs; hosting anti-racist campus events like "Live from Death Row" and "Lynching Then, Lynching Now," coordinating an 80+ group of students traveling on CCNY-sponsored free buses to the National Equality March in Washington, D.C. for full LGBT rights; and sending dozens of anti-war students representing CCNY to

conferences in Madison, Chicago, and elsewhere. These are only a handful of the accomplishments that students and faculty have achieved through being consistently organized with both short-term and long-term visions for City College.

And surprisingly, in the last two years, the school has given me—an unabashed revolutionary socialist—several awards for student leadership and academic efforts! Many other social justice student activists are being similarly recognized as well. Now, does all of this mean that a new era of CCNY radicalism is flourishing? In short, yes and no. Students' memories of these activities, coupled with our own experiences of struggling to afford college and life in general in this increasingly tumultuous time period, without a doubt make us more politically conscious day by day, semester by semester. However, a mass left-wing movement at City College is not at all inevitable. Politics, history, theory, and organization must occur with patience in slower times, as well as with confident action when things begin to pick up speed. If and when sparks finally do become broadly ignited, if the histories of City College and Harlem can be any guide, they will usher in what can potentially become the most profound series of social transformations by the people, for the people.

I look forward to seeing students continue and expand these struggles in the future. City College's relationship with the Harlem community must be respectfully deepened. Students shouldn't be

forced to fight for scholarships and club funds while CCNY and CUNY administration officials perpetually enjoy huge salary raises.

We are worth a college experience and general social existence that is free of deprivation, hypocrisy, and inequalities. My participation with a variety of communities here—The Paper, International Socialist Organization, Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship, Campus Anti-war Network, Straight and Gay Alliance, and more—have enlightened and inspired me in countless spectacular ways. I am endlessly honored and proud to say that I am a more socially committed person than when I arrived here in very soon becoming a 2010 graduate of Harlem University.



Staff Photo

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Blame us or U.S?

By Herb Boyd

One wonders what prompted Professor Henry Louis Gates, Jr. of Harvard University to fire off a recent op-ed to the New York Times "Ending the Blame-Game" as if the Atlantic slave trade and reparations were a burning issue. Gates's energy might have been better served had he weighed in on the continuing crisis in Haiti or at least the brouhaha surrounding "The Black Agenda."

It's probably a good bet the piece is but a harbinger, a pre-publication broadside to announce his forthcoming book *Tradition and the Black Atlantic* or perhaps some other affair the public will know more of in the coming days.

In any event, his op-ed article misses a critical point. While it's certainly true that African monarchs were complicit in the nefarious slave trade, the concern of most advocates for reparations has less to do with the

mechanism that delivered the African captives to the so-called New World but what happened to them after being brutalized and forced to work without compensation for hundreds of years.

But let's not dwell on this point because we must assume that the good professor is well aware of this and was mainly interested in relieving the Europeans of their participation in slave trafficking and putting most of the blame on African chiefs. And to make this point he cites the research of John Thornton and Linda Heywood of Boston University.

What is immediately questionable about their conclusions is the report that Africans supplied an estimated 90 percent of the Africans transported to the West. How they arrive at this number is baffling since there was no paper trail, no manifests between the European traders and their African counterparts. Gates does not go into detail about this fact but he has apparently accepted their report on

the face of it.

To bolster his contention, Gates summons comments made by the great Frederick Douglass on the slave trade and the role of the African chiefs. But Douglass was just as unsparing in his denouncement of domestic traders. "It is, however, a notable fact that, while so much execration is poured out by Americans upon those engaged in the foreign slave-trade, the men engaged in the slave-trade between the states pass without condemnation, and their business is deemed honorable." And Douglass further notes the extensive profitability of these arrangements and this speaks directly to the assertions leveled by the proponents of reparations.

In citing the European nations who profited from the Atlantic slave trade, Gates could have stated that most of the consolidated nations of Europe benefited from the slave trade, and not to mention Germany and Belgium, particularly after the

Berlin Conference of 1884-85 and the arbitrary carving up of Africa is a grievous oversight.

Yes, there is plenty of blame to go around when dealing with the slave trade, but the U.S. and its corporations were the biggest beneficiaries and that profit, to a great extent, continues today. Even after the slave trade was officially over, it continued, and the long night of slavery under the draconian days of Jim Crow was merely another way Africans in America were further economically disadvantaged.

Dr. Gates has raised a compelling argument, and while it may not have been his intention to reignite the reparations cause—which for several years has gained little traction in the nation's courtrooms—it may be just the moment needed to renew the challenge, and to put the onus of this crime against humanity on the culprits who have profited the most.

Originally published in the AmNews

Our Recently Departed Heroes



Dorothy Irene Height

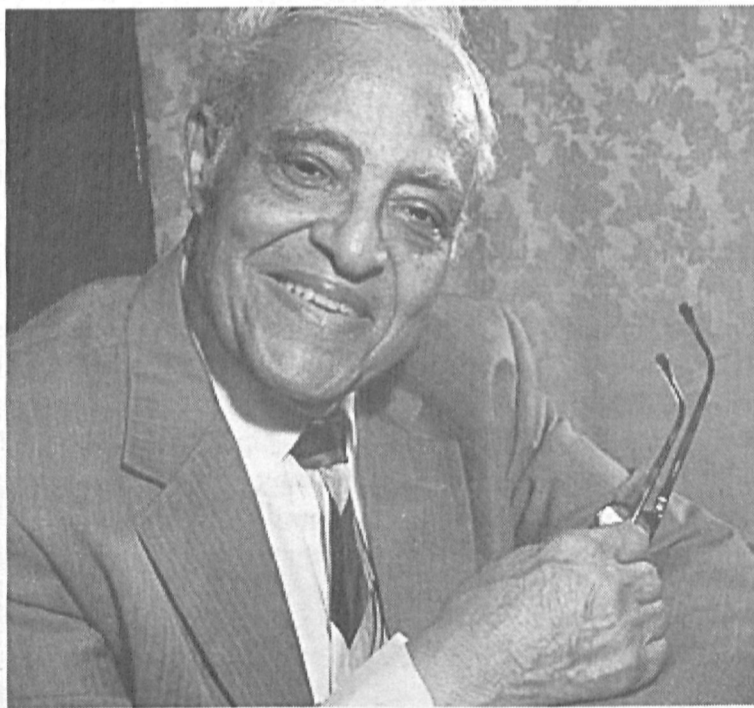
March 24, 1912-April 20, 2010

"I want to be remembered as someone who used herself and anything she could touch to work for justice and freedom.... I want to be remembered as one who tried."

Lena Horne

June 30, 1917- May 10, 2010

"Malcolm X made me very strong at a time I needed to understand what I was angry about. He had peace in his heart. He exerted a big influence on me."



Attorney Benjamin L. Hooks

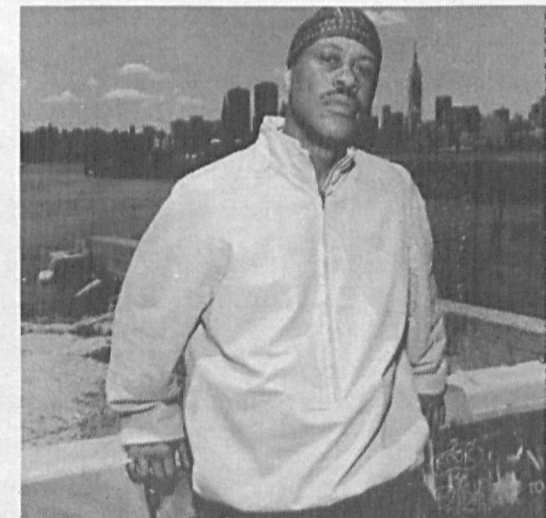
January 31, 1925-April 15, 2010

"The most enduring contributions made to civilization have not been made by brawn, they have been made by brain."

GURU Gifted Unlimited Rhymes Universal

July 17, 1961- April 19, 2010

"One of the meanest and the cleanest And still I'm kind of feindish when I'm at this Been doin this for eons peons best to catch this vision of excellence precise rappin ability"



Photos done by Google Images

Dear Mr. President,

I too cried your name that night, on 125th and Lenox,
in that crowd of hundreds of thousands shouting and laughing
as if our throats had just been born.

The cops were out, but that night was our festival.

We didn't even notice
their crisp blues and flashing black metal,
the grind of their singular jaw.

And so, the next day, our bodies newly upright, teeth beaming,
moods expectant,

we waited.

Our humming hands folded, watching your movements,
holding our breath as you spoke to us with the
careful distance of a terse father.

Mr. President, we waited.

You had spoken to us of change as both a noun and a verb,
as a tidal wave coming.

But now, we wrestled with this new vocabulary of patience
that came from you, one of our own.

My mind flashed to Martin,
scribbling in that Birmingham jail:

wait

almost always means never.

I grew worried.

The wave has not come. We remain parched.

We had thought the slave masters had finally been beaten.

A Black President living in a white house built by slaves.

But we didn't know that you would be locked inside it.

We didn't know that you would help turn the key.

Mr. President, what does it mean that the same noose that
stretched our parents' bodies from limb to earth
is now upheld by you? Why are our men and women
still crowded in jails, waiting for the day when they will feel
that coarse rope on their soft throats?

Why do you continue to send more boys and girls across the world
into violence unjustified?

What does it mean that you are now the colonizer-in-chief?

Muhammad Ali would surely agree that
no Iraqi ever called us nigger.

Why are we still in need of breakfast programs?

When did we reverse Brown vs. Board?

How can police brutality ever be reconciled over
foamy beers and white lawn chairs?

Fred Hampton, our beautiful organic intellectual,
killed asleep

in his bed by the authorities you now command.

He wanted change too.

Mumia Abu Jamal, enclosed by glass and guards,
his voice to us a telephone crackle,
he wanting change too.

Why are the best minds of my generation still
starving, hysterical, naked?

Your promises have begun to fester unattended
in this relentless, disgraceful sunlight.

But perhaps I am too critical.

I did see you years ago at those South Side events
against the death penalty, for a Free Palestine.

You may still be a radical, but stuck in a tight-fitting suit and
surrounded by an army of advisors who blunt your buoyancy.

Perhaps I am too impatient.

After all, it takes time for water to become a wave,

for morning bread to rise before it reaches a child's mouth.

It takes time for reasonable goals to be achieved...

for the hospitals and schools to be closed,

for the bank executives to be given their raises,

for an army to run out of ammunition.

Is this the change you promised? Had we just not heard what kind?

Perhaps it was this word that deceived us after all.

Change does not have to mean improvement.

Within the promise of change we are told to hang, to wait.

We are told to write these letters, but not anticipate a response.

Mr. President, I know now that this letter to you is really
a letter to myself,

a letter to those who I joined in celebration that night in Harlem.

We must still shout and laugh, but this time
with each other for each other.

We who are not invited to your home,

who are stopped before we even reach your front lawn,

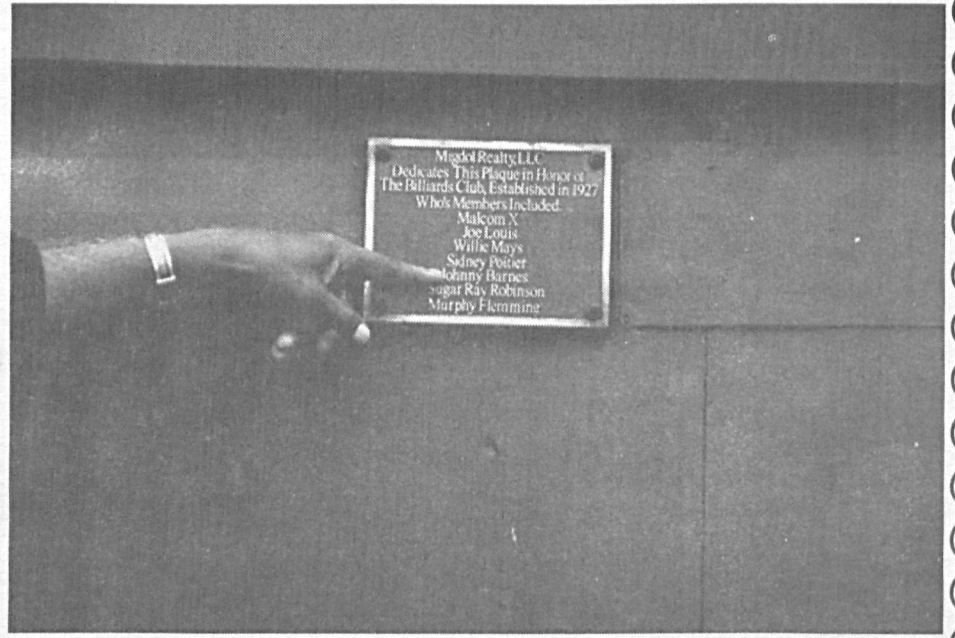
we must leave our own doors open and unlocked for
when the community comes to visit.

We must knead the dough and bury the bullets and teach the young
and save the sick and build the levees and boycott the banks and
evict the evictors and unlasso love and harness this hope and make
the wave ourselves.

Conor Tomás Reed

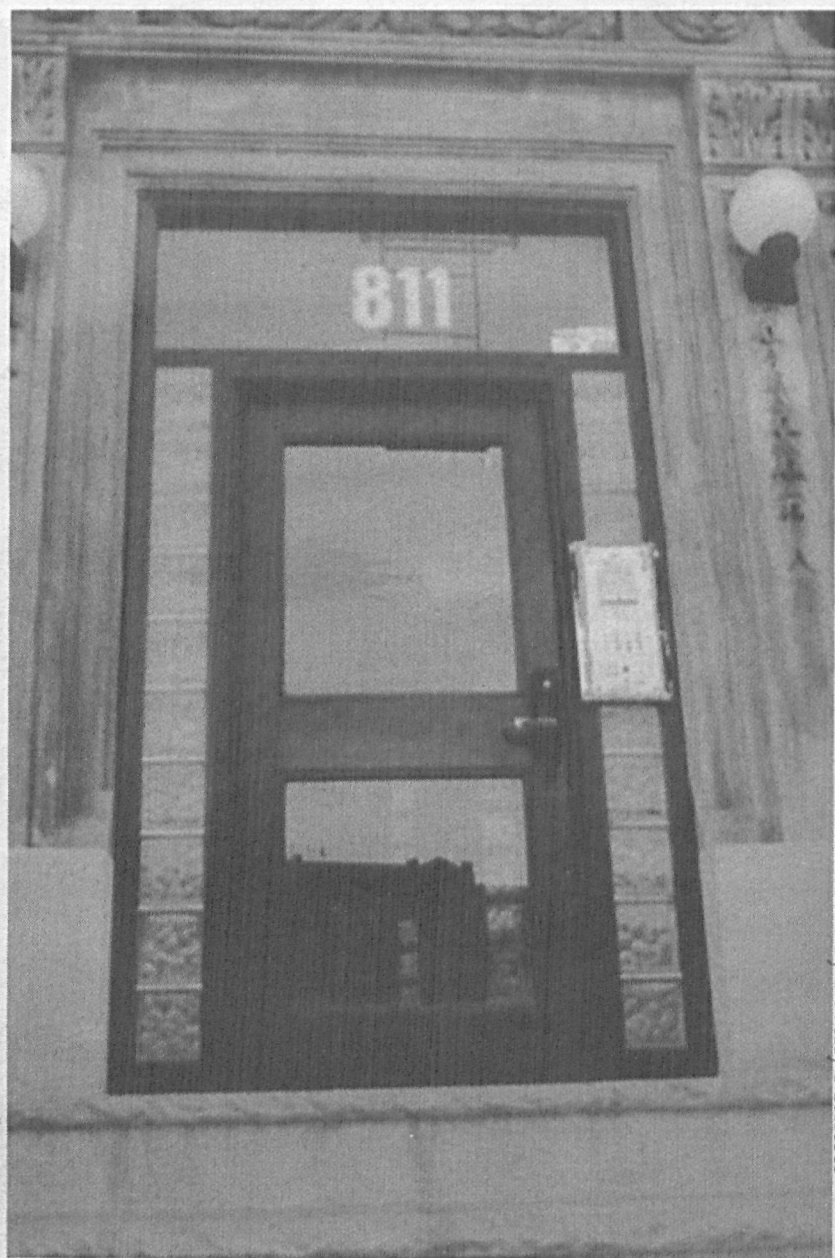
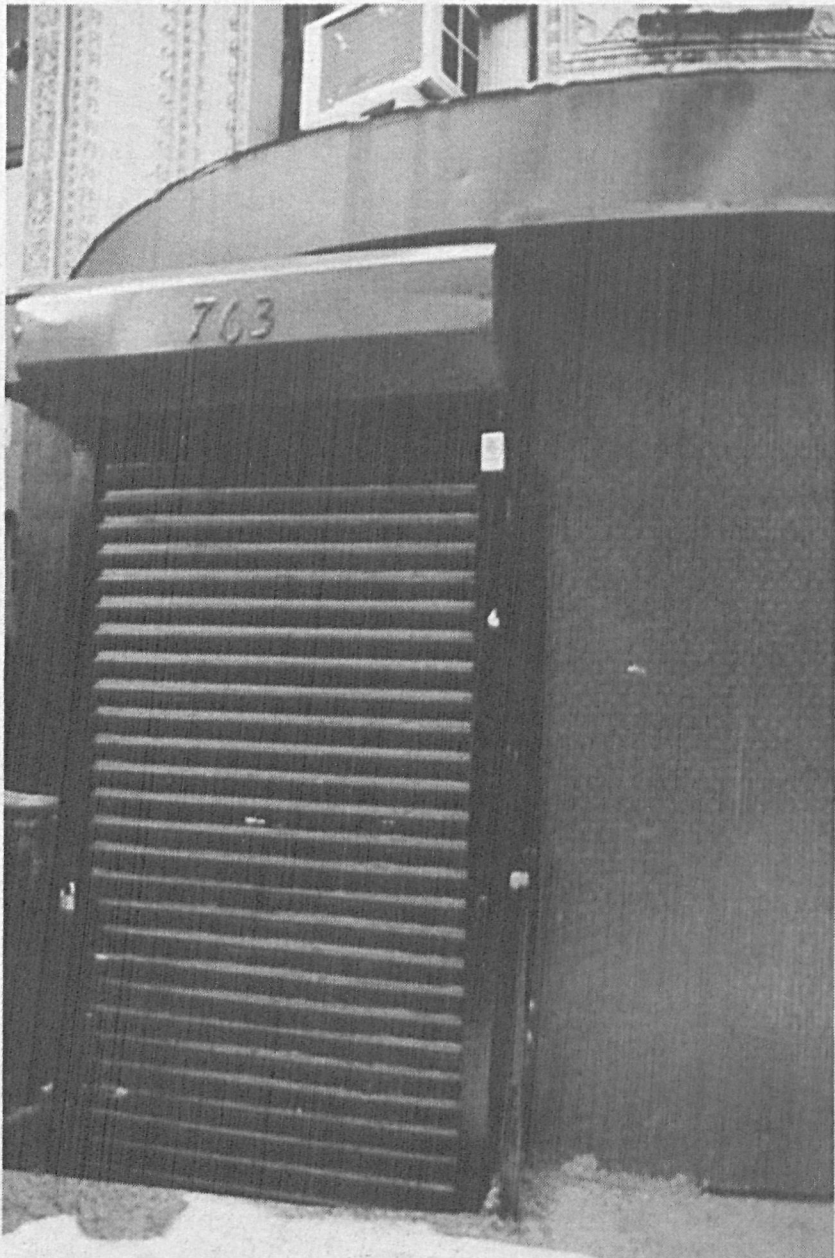
Malcolm X in Harlem

Professor Herb Boyd often takes his Harlem Community class on tours. It is a wonderful opportunity to learn the history and current activity of the community The City College is situated. *The Paper* was allowed to tag along on one of these recent tours. Our beloved Harlem historian, journalist and activist shared a few landmarks related to Malcolm X. Harlem is full of landmark locations where our heroes met, played music, lived and worked. Write the paper and send your images highlighting your favorite historical places. This is a way to reclaim our ongoing history and highlight the legacy Harlem, USA stores for us and the World.



A plaque outside of what was a Billiards club commemorates former members. This building and plaque are on 145th street between St. Nicholas Avenue and Edgecombe Avenue just a few steps from the ABCD subways.

Here Herb Boyd is pointing out the misspelling of Malcolm as Malcom. He told us the community says "The L with it."



763 St. Nicholas Avenue near 148th street is the former location of the Chicken Shack where Malcolm X once worked alongside Redd Fox.

811 St. Nicholas between 150 and 151st street is a location many say Malcolm once lived during his youthful years in Harlem.

Photos by Beverly Meneses