



observation post

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1969



Beginning next week, approximately 100 people arrested at last term's Sanctuary will appear in Manhattan Criminal Court in a second series of arraignments.

A minority, expected to plead guilty as charged, will probably receive suspended sentences and a record of being arrested. Those pleading not guilty will be arraigned by the judge, who will also set the dates for individual trials to be held.

The sentence of Peter Behr, a Columbia student who pleaded guilty and was sentenced to \$50 or 5 days in jail, was reduced to 1 day.

CU In September? Maybe Not

The State fiscal crisis will not only threaten fall admissions to the College, but it will also curtail administrative operations and the creation of a black and Hispanic studies program this term.

President Buell G. Gallagher claimed at a student press conference Wednesday that the College may not have enough money to run its affairs in April. If Governor Nelson Rockefeller's proposed 18 per cent cut in the City University's budget goes through, the President said he may not open the College in September, but he would keep the College open for the rest of this term. "I'll just continue to send the payroll down," he said.

Contrary to reports in the New York Post and the College's undergraduate newspaper since 1907, The Campus, one fifth of

the student body will not be forced to drop out next year because of the cut.

On the President's suggestion, the College's Faculty Council of the School of Engineering passed a resolution urging the Governor and the State Legislature of the "dire consequences that would result from the proposed cut of the City University Budget . . . and urges that the full City University budget be restored and widened to meet urgent educational needs."

The Faculties of the School of School of Education will meet next Tuesday to determine upon

similar resolutions to be sent to the Governor and the Legislature.

The budget cut-back will result in:

- The SEEK program not admitting anymore students. The program will have to subsist on a \$5 million City-wide budget.

- 375 entering freshman out of a usual 1,800 being denied entrance next fall. In addition, freshman will not be notified of admittance until July 1 instead of the usual time, April 15.

- 25 new instructors not being hired.

- All new programs being "frozen up." The black and hispanic program will be abandoned along with several other proposed programs — oceanography, sixth year of architecture, school of nursing, computer science.

and military recruiting, favoring departmental student caucuses and the Course and Teacher Evaluation program, and accepting the five demands of the Black and Puerto Rican Student Community.

Citing frustration with the lack of help he received from supporters during his term and campaign he said, "I don't want to be part of this anymore." Brown also said that, "absurd election practices," including electioneering by several candidates at polling places, had influenced his decision. Those who helped elect him last May, the Vice-President complained, are "basically good and wanted a lot of things done but weren't willing to risk anything."

"The most intelligent thing I could do now is to support Henry Arce, who has a huge amount of support and who has the potential to mobilize a large amount of the student body. He could most effectively formulate the new Student Senate as a moving force," he declared.

"The one thing that I admire most about the blacks and Puerto Ricans is the fact that they're really willing to put their asses on the line. If they support something, they go out and do it."

Votes cast for Brown yesterday and Wednesday will be tallied,

See editorial, Page 2

Brown Quits Race for Presidency; Citing Determination, He Backs Arce

The first Student Senate election take on a new dimension and lose a face today.

Syd Brown, Executive President of Student Government and one of the first to announce his candidacy for Senate, withdrew from the race last night in support of Henry Arce, candidate of the New World Coalition.

The election entered its third day today with voting reported as being extremely heavy on both North and South Campus.

The election results will not be made public until Wednesday night after Evening Session balloting ends.

Brown led both the Peace and the Moderate Students for Progress slate, running on a student power platform, opposed to the Reserve Officers Training Corps

but he said he would be "shocked" if he won. "The main reason I have stayed in this far is to give some support to Jim Landy," who he described as doing a "fantastic job" in his current Community Affairs post.

Brown at the same time reaffirmed his support for the candidacy of Bernie Weichsel as Campus Affairs Vice President and for the proposal to raise the Bursars Fee by \$1.

Unsure of how his withdrawal would effect his running mates, he said, "I cannot speak for them."



—Photo by H. Edward Webberman

Prof. Bard Aids Police in Quieting Ghetto Residents

Ron Tabor is a member of the Revolutionary Socialist Caucus of the College's chapter of Students for a Democratic Society. The following essay, written by Tabor, is a chapter policy statement.

According to the New York Times magazine of November 24, 1969, the College's Psychological Center is conducting a program directed by Dr. Morton Bard, designed to train police to intervene in family fights in Harlem. The project involves advising the Family Crisis Intervention Unit of the 30th Precinct. Part of the motivation behind the project is stated succinctly in the Times article:

"In fact, the New York City Police Department estimates that 40% of its men injured in the line of duty were hurt while responding to family disturbances . . . Yet the capacity of the police to deal effectively with such a highly personal matter as conjugal disharmony is, to say the least, limited." (Subquote from the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Criminal Justice).

The individual policeman is given instruction in certain aspects of psychology, new methods for handling probable situations, practice in applying these methods, visits to social welfare agencies, and sessions in human-relations workshops "where they were prompted to examine in group sensitivity discussions their individual prejudices and preconceptions of disrupted family life in the ghetto." (All quotes from the Times article.)

At first glance, this appears to be an idealistically motivated attempt to cut down police brutality, train police to be more sensitive, lessen prejudice in the Police Department, etc., etc. Dr. Bard himself says "All we're trying to do is give the ordinary policeman a new skill, one that help him do better what he now does most — and that is help people in trouble." Sounds good!

But Dr. Bard is wrong. The job of the police is not to help people

in trouble, it is to help only some people in trouble. This is true in general about our society, and it is particularly true in regard to the black community. If the job of the police is to preserve "law and order" in a society based on private property, in reality this means protecting the property of those who have it from those who do not. Outside the black community this means breaking strikes. In the black community where the vast majority of the inhabitants own nothing at all and are cheated and robbed continuously by both merchants and slumlords, the function of the police is to keep the blacks "in their place."

This necessarily dictates systematic police brutality; black people are clubbed and beaten in precinct houses, railroaded into prison for crimes they did not commit, mothers are jailed for stealing meat to feed their kids. The police themselves foster the drug traffic, and generally augment their income with graft of all kinds. To this add the clubbing of demonstrators and the ruthless crushing of urban insurrections, the legitimate outbursts against the systematic oppression of Black people.

So long as the stated function of "law enforcement" remains what it is, the protection of property and profits of the few against the feared and real threat of the many, the personality of the individual policeman is irrelevant. The cop with diminished prejudices will perform his job that much more efficiently; he will be able to react more effectively against those who really threaten the status quo. The entire scheme is somewhat analogous to that of raising the skill level of soldiers in an army; the enemy does not cease to be the enemy, the war merely is escalated as the tactics become more precise.

In fact, the analogy extends further. The spread of guerrilla wars

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OP

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*Candidates: Lenny Sackler and Ira Terman.
Guardian of the Holy Grail: Professor Leo Hamalian (English)
Room 336 Finley FO 8-7438*

Power Politics

Syd Brown's candidacy served as the liberal alternative to the radicalism of Henry Arce, the conservatism of Albert Vazquez, and the derelict politics of Richie Fox. His withdrawal and statement of support makes it all conclusive — Arce is the only candidate in the Student Senate elections.

His program is the most important and impressive one to be presented in any recent student election. And the formation of the New World Coalition, a vehicle for fighting racism through the electoral process, is even more significant.

Giving power to the powerless is a goal not to be denied. Yet Arce's election matters to all students. As the first Student Senate president, he will clearly challenge the College's bureaucracy and establish precedents for his successors to follow.

The elimination of the liberal alternative leaves the voter with one choice. His first name is Henry.

Polling places opposite Knittle Lounge in Shepard Hall and in Finley Center's Trophy Lounge open at 10 AM and close at 4 PM today.

Ex Prex Selects Next Execs

To the Editor:

Based on my knowledge of the candidates and their platforms, I feel that Mr. Arce is the only presidential candidate with concrete ideas and the commitment to carry them through. His view of the College as a center for the education of the poor citizens of the city is well in the tradition that made city the proletarian Harvard of the 30's; his commitment to the creation of a Black Studies Program insures that that conception of the university will fill the real needs of the ghetto population. Mr. Arce's intolerance of administrative delay tactics is the result of insight many of us in Student Government are only just beginning to acquire.

The need for an active Student Senate cannot be over emphasized. The Senate will be creating precedents that will guide future student programs; a long range view of the university upon which to build is imperative.

Mr. Arce's demonstrated abil-

ities and shrewdness in dealing with the created obstacles of the Administration as well as his clear vision regarding the College's present and future make him by far the most desirable of those candidates running.

The contributions of those not on Mr. Arce's slate, however, must not be overlooked. The performance of Mr. Landy in the post of Community Affairs Vice President merits his re-election. Mr. Weichsel's imagination and enthusiasm coupled with his knowledge of campus organizations make him the ideal Campus Affairs Vice President. The work of these two has been of great help to the College this past year and their services should be retained.

I urge all those who have not yet voted to cast their ballots for the candidates that will be most productive, regardless of party affiliation.

Sincerely,
Student Government President
Paul Bermanzohn

Ombudsman Elected

Professor Samuel Hendel (Political Science) has been elected the faculty's Ombudsman, defeating Professor J. Bailey Harvey (Speech).

The new position was approved by the administration, faculty, and students in the campus governance referendum last term. It is the first such office in the City University system.

The essential responsibility of the Ombudsman, is to help assure that justice and equity prevail in the College's bureaucracy and recommend procedural changes.

The Ombudsman will be assisted by a student who will be selected under procedures to be established by the new Student Senate.

Commenting on his role, Prof. Hendel said that "the modern multi-university has tended to become overly bureaucratic, impersonal, and insensitive. It should be made more responsible to the academic community and more humane." Broadly speaking, he added, "the university fills an invaluable role in our society when it functions as a center of free, independent, and rational thought and experience. The Ombudsman should contribute in every possible way to the realization of that purpose."

Dr. Hendel is the chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union's academic freedom committee, and a former president of the College's chapter of Phi Beta Kappa.

Police Get Psychological Training

(Continued from Page 1)

for national independence has rendered the old techniques of warfare obsolete. New methods are needed to maintain the hegemony of the world's great powers. Political scientists, sociologists and psychologists have received much money, Federal aid, private, to gather the necessary information, do the necessary thinking. The purpose is to devise new techniques for controlling and manipulating people. Present research into the effects of "modernization" upon Thai peasant culture in an era in which guerrilla warfare and U.S. intervention in Thailand is a distinct possibility is an obvious example of this kind of work. The Green Berets are just one unit especially trained in techniques which are the direct results of such "research." It is no exaggeration to compare what happens in Vietnam to what is happening here; both involve the control and suppression of movements for social change.

And it is the very occurrence of these insurrections that is the motivation behind Dr. Bard's project. The following quote from the Times article indicates the thinking of those in the power structure most concerned with this situation:

"Its (the project's) importance was pointed up by the Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorders in New Jersey. After investigating the causes of the Negro rioting in Newark in July, 1967, the commission reported that most complaints of police brutality originated from incidents that began as family-disturbance calls — and that these complaints had been increasing before the rioting broke out."

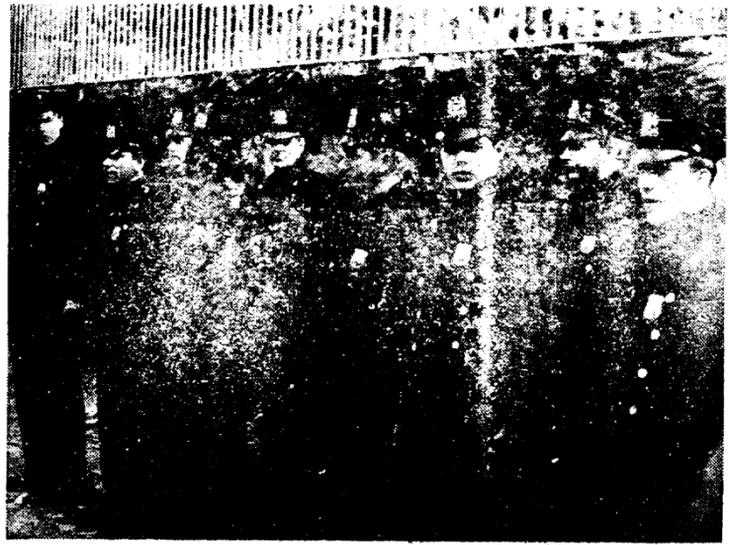
This would indicate that what concerns so-called law enforcement agencies is not the general role of the police, the graft, and the violence perpetrated against the Black Community daily, but rather the reactions to this violence.

In the attempt to prevent these insurrections without essentially altering the structure of exploitation and oppression of Black people, the ruling class must have people believe that things are changing when, in fact, they have not. Accordingly, this project is just one of a whole series of programs designed to fool people into believing that the ruling class no longer profits from the division of the people along racial lines, that it no longer profits from low wage levels that a divided working class cannot combat, and that it no longer profits from the rent of slum properties and the sale of rotten food. If people can be made to believe that the police are the good guys, then "law and order" can be maintained.

This year's report by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has recommended Dr. Bard's program as a 'model for other departments.' The Times report said:

"The Commission believes the police cannot and should not resist becoming involved in community service matters . . . Such work can gain the police the respect and support of the community." (Emphasis added.)

Another aspect of the program is its persuasion function in convincing people that their community problems are chiefly personal and not societal. A vital part of the policeman's training in the program is instruction in present-



day psychological concepts. But these concepts themselves do not explore in any meaningful way, the structure of our society, why it exists the way it does, and its effects on the individual's personality. A psychology that could deal truthfully and adequately with this question would not survive one day in this country. Both the government and those private institutions which finance research have too much to hide about what actually exists. Rather than the policeman's misconception of "disrupted family life in the ghetto," it is the liberal's outlook which will now determine the police response to the Black people.

In the case of Dr. Bard's project, the "scientific" approach is the guiding force, and the writer of the Times article seemed to recognize this. He writes:

"At the same time, the university is given a chance to break out from its pedagogical shell by turning the surrounding community into a teeming psychological laboratory, rather than a hostile environment."

The claim is that this type of research is value-free science, designed to help everybody. The reason why there are no projects to study "marital breakdown, aggression, sado-masochism, and the effects of violence on early childhood development" in the ruling elite of the country becomes obvious.

It is no accident, then, that a training project for policemen receives \$95,000 of Federal money and the resources of the City College, while the same government and college respond so evasively to the minimal demands of the Black movement. This only begins to indicate to whom the American university is responsible.

Some will say, "O.K. But even if the project saves one life, it will be worth it." There are a couple of responses to this: 1) we do not know if any lives of

Black people will be saved. The police are concerned with injuries to their men; they care little for the life of a Black person, and 2) Oppressors rule through repression and cooptation. These cannot be separate and both must be fought. Such a project could not be conceived of if it were not for the oppression to which the rulers of our society subject Black people. All agencies of this oppression must be seen for what they are, whether the methods be of new or old vintage.

Look up! The men who are running your lives, limiting your choices, drafting you into their army, threatening the world with destruction are glad that most white people are afraid of the Black movement which they do not understand. But while we are looking at the ground, the "movers and shakers" are stealing the bacon, getting rich plundering the resources of the world and making money off the deterioration of our cities. What they fear most is the possibility of an alliance of the Black movement and the growing white movement to change this society. But don't look to the Blacks to make the first moves towards this alliance. They understand their oppression and are in motion. Few white people are in motion and fewer understand their oppression. Our enemy is the same as that of the Blacks; City College is just one of their tools. Dr. Bard's project is one of their answers.

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Strikers At State Hurt By Faculty Cop-Out

By R. GIUSEPPI SLATER

SAN FRANCISCO (LNS) — The student strike at San Francisco State College has fallen into a state of confused enervation, recently. Many people have strong personal reasons to resume classes, and others suspect that the rug is about to be pulled out from under their feet by a faculty cop-out. Classes have been fairly well attended this week, and the picket lines have correspondingly shrivelled.

Many people embroiled in the long San Francisco State College strike felt completely befuddled when a Trustee-Administration group and the AFT announced Tuesday a settlement that was not at all a settlement. Countless Machiavellian theories evolved to explain the unexpected development.

Meanwhile, strike leaders are attempting to rekindle the militant determination of last semester. On Monday, March 3, an enormous picket line is planned (despite court injunction) and on-campus demonstrations may be staged. Community groups and a large contingent of striking oil

workers have pledged participation.

The AFT can boast two major gains from its agreement with the administration. For the first time, the Trustees have entered into a written contract with teachers. AFT officials claim that establishing this precedent opens a vital line of communication between the faculty and the Trustees and also extends official recognition to the Union. Furthermore, the settlement provides a grievance procedure to handle faculty dissatisfaction, a provision heavily stressed by the AFT.

Other terms included a statement that staffing and budgeting of the Black Studies Department at the School of Ethnic Studies "shall be made independent of other departments; departments may cut teaching loads from 12 to 9 hours per week without reducing pay; given approval of the Academic Senate, teachers may examine their own files; striking professors shall be rehired and may seek reinstatement of rights to tenure and other benefits; no reprisal to be made against a returning teacher "simply because he participated in or supported the strike."

The AFT haggled for hours over this rather unspectacular solution, finally accepting it by a vote of 144 to 12. But they added one crucial provision: teachers would not return to work until "a peaceful and free academic atmosphere prevails on the campus." Virtually all members attending the meeting agreed that this meant the AFT would hold firm until student demands were resolved and implemented.

The proviso is probably the most significant part of the agreement, because any close scrutiny reveals that the settlement itself is mostly fluff. The Trustees may have admitted the existence of the AFT, but nowhere do they speak of allowing collective bargaining. The long and awkward grievance procedure still allots an important role to the administration in deciding faculty problems. Teachers "simply" involved in the strike itself are guaranteed safe return, but no mention is made of those suspended for arrest [black professors Nathan Hare and Melvin Steward], or for disapproved statements [George Murray], or of those fired by refusal of tenure during the strike [William Stanton, Lucille Birnbaum].

Furthermore, none of the big issues which first inflamed the strike is soothed. The Third World Liberation Front demands remain unanswered, despite the fact that the AFT emphasized the necessity to deal with them as an important justification for their own walkout.

The leaders of the strike are not worried, however, and they are determined to stick to their demands. The TWLF set three preconditions for the Trustees group before they would agree to meet with them. The Trustee Committee must be empowered to act for the entire board, demonstrating that it could implement any decision that resulted; no disciplinary hearings are to be

held for strikers; and George Murray, the black instructor now jailed for parole violation stemming from previous incidents, must be released to join the talks. So far, the Trustee Committee has met the first precondition, fudged around the second, and declared the third to be beyond its power. The TWLF expects to open discussions with the committee in the near future.

Why the AFL Settled

The labor establishment — headed by George Johns, Chairman of the San Francisco Labor Council, (AFL-CIO) — which first supported the AFT strike, clearly wishes to bring the strike to an end. Many sources have indicated that the Labor Council is eager to withdraw strike sanction, support that the AFT is anxious to retain. This means that any proposal endorsed by the labor council, no matter how weak, must command respectful consideration from the Union.

Many AFT members find themselves exhausted by the long dispute. There are mortgages to pay and mouths to feed. Representing only a third of the faculty, how much could they hope to gain against the intransigent opposition of the administration and the Trustees? Any settlement promising gains would appear attractive.

Then again, AFT strategy throughout the strike has been a charade, pretending that their walkout was based only on specific labor issues (to gain Labor Council strike sanction) when in reality they went out to support the students and cool down the situation. Signing a non-agreement fits right in with this tactic, as long as teachers stick to their appended resolution not to return until peace and tranquility reign on campus, (read: until the student strike is settled.)

Teachers thus hope to con the labor Council into continuing its backing. Critics of their method claim that the Labor Council is very hip in its own way, and that the benefit of slightly prolonged official sanction may not be worth the demoralizing effect the settlement could have on student strikers. Much more would have been gained, the critics say, if the teachers had based their strike on forthright support of the TWLF demands in their own right — and to hell with official labor recognition.

It is conceivable that the unprecedentedly powerful strike at San Francisco State may at last be on the wane — Hayakawa for one, is so convinced and has been for months. More probably, the present lull is just the trough before the breaking of the next and biggest wave. The answer must soon be evident: the strike's force can only quickly increase or decrease from this point.

Film . . .

The last opportunity to join a course in aesthetic and technical aspects of film-making led by Ed Chirico of the Film Production Society will be at its session Monday at 4 PM in Room 350 Finley.

Chairman of Discipline Committee Resigns

By STEVE MARCUS

Professor Herbert Nechin (Psychology) abruptly resigned from his position as Chairman of the College's Disciplinary Committee, earlier this week.

Citing the decision of Administration officials not to press charges against participants in the recent take-over of the Administration building as the precipitous action, Prof. Nechin accused officials of having violated a pact existing between Dean of Students Nicholas Paster and the Committee. He decried actions of the Administration in repeatedly bypassing the Committee and "taking into their own hands and assuming the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government."

He pointed to President Gallagher's on-the-spot decision not to press charges against Third World demonstrators, whose actions he called a "clear violation of College rules and regulations."

"If there is a breach of College rules — no matter what they are, no matter who performs them — the Disciplinary Committee should be involved.

"[The Committee] is presumably the judicial arm, and the Administration, which admittedly is hamstrung, has no right to take our powers into its own hands."

The limited extent of those powers gave Professor Nechin his second reason for resigning. The Disciplinary Committee may suspend students for any period of time. According to Prof. Nechin, however, meting out such punishment is often ineffective because of "the inability to get those responsible to carry out the disciplinary measures."

The Professor pointed a finger at both the Administration, which he said often neglected to bring a guilty student before the Committee and also would refuse to take the measures necessary to insure that a suspended student was kept off campus. He added that Faculty members would ignore the fact that a student was not supposed to be on campus, either because the teacher himself believed that suspension was not a just method of punishment, or because he agreed with the suspended students' political views.

A third barrier the former Chairman feels is obstructing the Committee's work is the difficulty inherent in determining exactly who the culprits involved in an

illicit action are. He decried the fact that a large population of students were being allowed to escape from disruptive acts because of their clean-cut appearance, and called for mass arrests when laws are blatantly violated—"out of fairness to students and to give them the feeling that they are being dealt with fairly."

Professor Nechin, Chairman of the Committee since October, has sat in on numerous cases he feels are notable for their demonstration of inequities in the arresting procedure. Members of the Commune brought to the Committee for spraying paint on the walls of Lewisohn stadium pointed to the practices of such committees as House Plan in using adhesive tape on College walls — "in effect marring College property." Students should have been charged not only when they disrupted ROTC classes, but when they picketed the teacher who had allegedly voiced slurs against the SEEK program. And inexperienced student guards at a recent closed meeting of a Club Professor Nechin feels should have been investigated.

The reaction of the students who were brought before the

Committee was something akin to a mockery, according to Professor Nechin. "In every conceivable way they tried to provoke us. They showed complete contempt for what we were attempting to do, and the coterie that often accompanied them made our efforts even more difficult."

One of the conclusions arrived at by the Professor is that the students desire a Disciplinary Committee of a much more repressive nature.

"When they called me a pig, I was able to take it: I knew I would do the best possible job. I am not an Administration man, and in fact am always willing to give the student the benefit of a doubt. I am always ready to listen to hear, to find out where the soft spots of the College are. I could let the name-calling slide as long as I knew what I was doing, and as long as I knew the college would try to bring to us all those violating College rules.

"When I was informed the next day of Gallagher's action in bypassing us I felt I could not go back into the Committee room. If a student were to call me a pig, I would not be able to live with myself because he would be partially right."

Dow Arraignments

Nine students arrested for sitting in at Steinman Hall to protest recruitment by the Dow Chemical Company during the Sanctuary last term, were arraigned yesterday in Criminal Court.

Sentencing was delayed until April 17. The students were placed on parole and informed that the court will authorize investigations of their private lives.

Eight of the nine, Sandy Derevnuk, Cliff Elgarten, Nurith Eston, Ronald McGuire, Fran Swidler, Ann Wald, Robert Zanger and Charles Zerzan, pled guilty to Criminal Trespassing in the third degree, a violation. The ninth, Elyse Shapiro, did not appear because of German Measles.

The charge carries a maximum sentence of \$250 fine and 15 days in jail. However, cases similar

to the Steinman arrests led the students, who appeared without counsel, to expect a \$20 fine and five days suspended sentence. Instead Criminal Court Judge Thomas Rohan authorized the paroles and investigations.

Ron McGuire then asked the Judge if he might change his plea. After a recess McGuire again changed his mind, and Judge Rohan yelled at him, "You're wasting the court's time!"

One of the arrested students commented "The whole scene was totally absurd."

Military recruiting on campus resumes in Steinman Tuesday with the visit of the Naval Research Laboratory. Members of the Commune have said they will be present at Steinman but they did not specify whether they would attempt to obstruct.

Berkeley & SF State; Like Father, Like Son

By JEFF GERTH

BERKELEY (LNS) — The strike at San Francisco State College, led by the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) has given birth to the strike at Berkeley, led by their own TWLF. But the child bears little resemblance to the parents.

SF State is a commuter school — a fairly radical faculty teaches a primarily working class student body. On the other hand, at Berkeley, a research-oriented faculty provides a training ground for middle class kids who are assured niches in the professional world. It is the jewel of the state university system, while SF belongs to the less prestigious state college system.

The State strike has developed a political framework in which the diverse groups can struggle. But with its history of civil liberties activities, Berkeley has failed to find such solid political footing for its first strike against racism. There has been no clear articulation of a set of demands.

But now, the Berkeley strike, which began as a symbolic boycott of classes, has been transformed by the Chicago style police battle on February 20.

Although the Berkeley student body of about 28,000 students is more left-leaning than most, and easily enflamed, it has generally been apathetic or cynical about struggle.

As a result, the strength of the present-strike has been erratic. For example: picket lines of 50 on one day, 1,500 on another; 500 snake-dancing demonstrators one day, 400 another; mass meetings of 50 one day, 500 another.

The press coverage of the strike in the Bay Area has been equally erratic. The liberal campus newspaper, whose editorial position reflects the views of many students, has shifted position innumerable times.

A few examples: On Feb. 5, it denounced "mob action" that "leads to nowhere;" on Feb. 14, it headlined, "Stay Away" after the first large arrest; on Feb. 18, it condemned "vandalism," and said, "Now that Chancellor Heyns has returned . . . serious discussions are again proceeding in an orderly way." And finally, after the battles of Feb. 19 and 20, in which the editor of the Daily Californian got maced and arrested for inciting to riot, the paper returned to the side of the strikers.

At Berkeley, as at State, the man in charge has been Governor Ronald Reagan. At State it was merely a matter of installing the unpredictable puppet S. I. Hayakawa. But at Berkeley, Reagan had to whip up a "state of extreme emergency."

Both the trustees who rule the state college system and the Regents who control the university system, including Berkeley, represent economic interests more related to local than national politics. They are aligned with some of the most reactionary forces in the state.

Chancellor Roger Heyns of Berkeley, a corporate liberal, is somewhat at odds with Reagan. However, the governor has been able to push Heyns out of the picture and put the campus under the control of the police.

The first step was a leak to the press of a letter written by a local police official calling for less University interference with the "legal processes" of the police. It led directly to Reagan's "state of emergency" and a shift of campus control from Heyns to the police official who wrote the letter.

As a result of the police control of the Berkeley campus, a

peaceful AFT picket line was busted, AFT teaching assistants struck, many students were severely beaten, and civil liberties were curtailed. Still more support for the strike has been thereby aroused.

The police state which exists at Berkeley differs in some ways from the one at State, where some 400 to 600 San Francisco police reign, under the direction of Mayor Alioto, a Humphrey-type liberal.

The Berkeley campus, much larger than State, is controlled by 150 California Highway Patrolmen, answering directly to Reagan, who apparently believes the strike may be his opportunity to make good his promise to keep the university campuses open at "bayonet point if neces-

sary." Wisconsin Governor Warren Knowles has already set the precedent.

In what has become a Berkeley tradition, a real strike is avoided because teachers hold classes off campus or students enter through one of the many gates. At State, the strike itself is the central focus — whether to attend class is crucial. At Cal, going to class has been a way to pass time until the battle develops. But as the battle grows, the possibilities of going back to class may diminish considerably.

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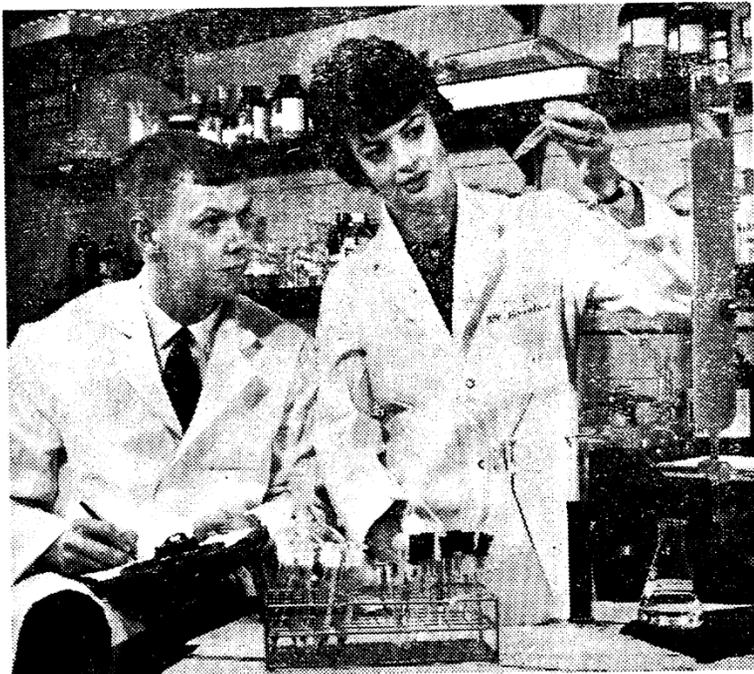
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Battle Report: Berkeley Erupts Once Again

By LEE DAVIDSON

BERKELEY (LNS) — The University of California campus here became a battlefield last week, as students fought back against repeated tear gas attacks by club-swinging policemen. Some 3,000 strikers abandoned the usual tactics of picketing and running, to remobilize when the cops attacked. Then the students counterattacked — hurling rocks, bricks, bottles and cherry bombs — the police often retreated in terror.

As a result of Thursday's battle, the University reported 12 students injured, and the Alameda County Sheriff's Office reported 13 cops hurt, including Division Chief Tom Hutchins, who was struck on the shoulder by a rock. 15 students were arrested that day, bringing the total number arrested to 133 in the five-week strike.

The strike, activated by the campus Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) and its demand for an autonomous Third World College, appeared to be faltering until two weeks ago, when two students and a newsman were the victims of brutal, unprovoked beatings by the police. On that day, 36 persons were arrested, including 17 pickets from the Teaching Assistants' Union (AFT).

On Tuesday of last week, a blood-thirsty horde of police cornered black leader Jim Nabors, viciously beat him, and hauled him away to jail. Picket lines swelled to about 1,000, and strikers began sporadically throwing rocks at police. That evening, the AFT voted 190-41 to strike, demanding the removal of police from campus, the resolution and implementation to TWLF demands, and union organizing rights on campus.

On Wednesday, in a front-page editorial entitled "The Horror," the liberal campus newspaper, the Daily Californian, called upon students to "join the strike for the Third World demands and an end to police on campus. We urge you to support the right of peaceful picketing and the right to walk across campus and emerge alive. The reign of terror cannot longer be endured."

The University was increasingly crippled on Wednesday, when many non-academic employees honored the AFT picket line and significant numbers of students boycotted classes, especially in humanities courses. In some fields, as many as half the professors held classes off campus. At the picket lines, after police were unsuccessful in an attempt to arrest the blacks, they started swinging their clubs wildly, and students retaliated with rocks and cherry bombs. Police countered with their first use of Mace on strikers.

Thus the stage was set for Thursday's battle, which many persons described as similar to last summer's confrontation in Chicago. The day started peacefully as a line of about 1,200 strikers marched to University Hall and threw a scare into the Regents, who were meeting there under heavy guard. Twenty minutes later the strikers returned to campus and continued picketing in front of the administration building (Sproul Hall); students were in a quandry, seeing the masses of angry strikers, yet remembering Governor Ronald Reagan's "state of emergency" orders to keep the campus opened.

turned to pelt the cops with a barrage of rocks, bricks and cherry bombs.

Hundreds of strikers attacked the cops. No longer was the fear of being caught or beaten holding them back. The cops were picking up rocks and wildly throwing them back as well (one rock went through a Student Union window). Often the cops retreated in panic to the safe confines of the Sproul Hall basement.

At one point, the strikers spotted two police paddy wagons. They quickly overturned the first one and drove back two policemen who tried to rescue the other



Striker hurls teargas back at police.

Then at 3 PM, a tear gas canister exploded next to some cops on the steps of Sproul Hall. Police claim a student threw it, but students and newsmen on the scene gave a different account: someone threw a flower at a cop who freaked and threw the canister before his cohorts could don their masks.

Anyway, police answered with a barrage of tear gas, and the three-hour campus guerrilla war began, involving about 300 students and 300 policemen.

The strikers were repeatedly bombed with tear gas canisters, many of which were immediately thrown back at the cops. The strikers backed off slightly, cleared their eyes, and quickly re-

wagon which was then upended. Hundreds of onlookers cheered and raised their hands in the clenched fist salute.

It was estimated that hundreds of tear gas canisters were used by police in a vain effort to rout the strikers. Proud and weary, the people left the battlefield about 6:00 PM.

Truffaut...

Francois Truffaut's third film, Jules and Jim (1961), a post World War I tragedy starring Jeanne Moreau, Oskar Werner, and Henri Serle, will be shown twice today in the Grand Ballroom at 3 PM and 8 PM.

Tonight also marks the return to Cafe Finley of Mario Sprouse and the Lords, a ten-member jazz-soul group. Tickets at \$1 each, are on sale in Room 152 Finley, and at the door, which opens at 7:30 PM.

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Janis at the Fillmore

'I'm Gonna Knock Ya, Rock Ya'

By Gil Friend

Probably the most inexcusable thing a performer, especially a performer of stature — can do is under-achieve. We can somehow accept inferiority from inferiors; the greats we expect to be great consistently, and when they aren't, we never let them forget it.

I'm letting Janis Joplin get off easy, though — her new group's opening concert at the Fillmore East on Lincoln's Birthday left a lot of people very disappointed, but even when Janis underachieves she's fantastic; even when she's disappointing, she's tremendously exciting. Up on stage is this incredible freaky chick belting her lungs out and moving everything all around and when you see her live you understand the cat who said that many people can't get into Big Brother's albums, but that there is nobody (nobody) who sees Janis and doesn't love her.

But beyond that, there was something wrong this time around, attributable, I suppose, to the newness of the group. This was the official opening concert of the as yet unnamed group Janis set up on leaving Big Brother and the Holding Company, the only prior performance having been the December Stax — Volt Revue in Memphis. It was a rather disappointing preview by all reports. Janis had been working with the new band for months, helped by Nick Gravenites and Mike Bloomfield and others, trying to make a bunch of musicians into a group. Guitarist Sam Andrew had come with her from Big Brother, but the others were all new and they had to be integrated, new arrangements had to be made for old songs, a brass section and an organ had to be worked in.

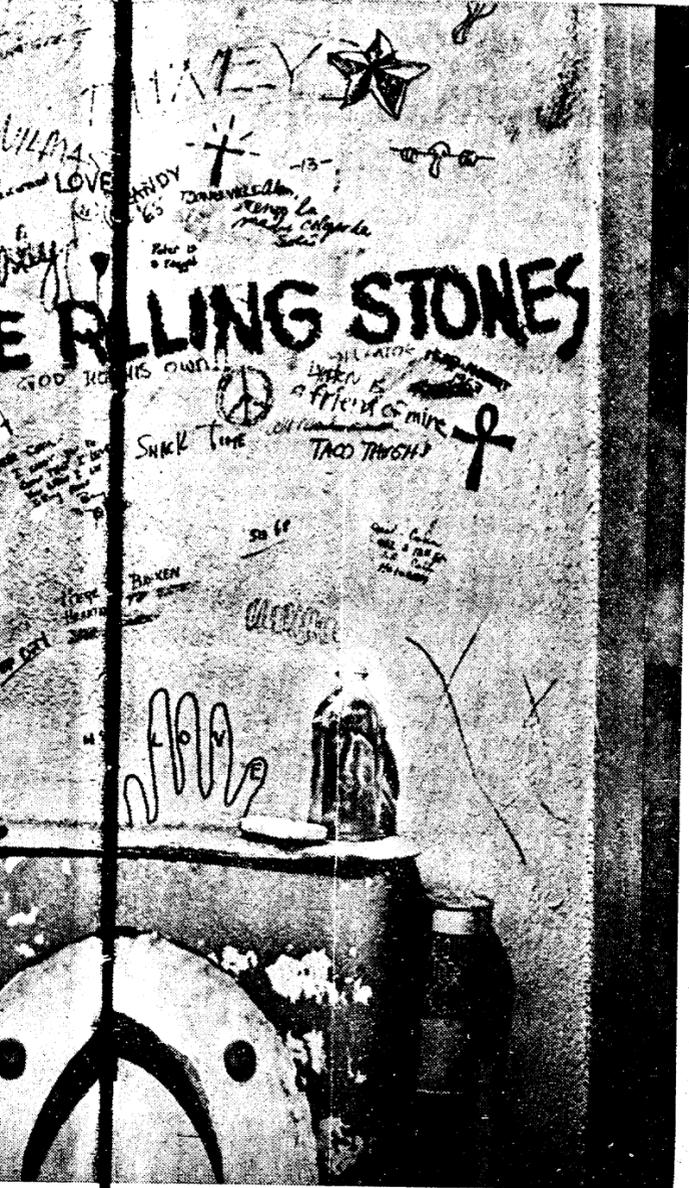
Instrumentally, the band is relatively tight. The musicians are skilled and know their material. The arrangements are for the most part good, except that the songs Janis has brought with her from Big Brother (Piece of My Heart, Summertime, Ball and Chain) sound too much like they did then; I was looking forward to a bit of newness in approach. The presence of brass in the band is welcome; the trumpet and alto sax were sometimes a fine complement to Janis' voice. One occasionally got the feeling, however, that they were added without enough consideration given to the very special function brass can be made to serve in a "progressive-rock-blue" band. (Note, for example, Blood Sweat & Tears, Chicago, or the Mothers.)

The real problem with the group goes beyond unoriginal arrangements and uninspiring use of brass. It's something much more basic than that and it's very hard to pinpoint. There was a certain excitement missing; the penetrating raunch that was so much a part of Big Brother just wasn't there. By way of example, rather than explanation: at Big Brother's last New

York concert, nobody could sit still; dozens of dancing freaks bounced around the Fillmore lobby till the end of the set. This time, however, people kept their seats, and the ushers had even less trouble than usual preserving the law 'n' order that the Fillmore demands.

This is not to say that only music which jars you out of your seat is of any value, but the fact is that Janis' vitality is a very large part of her appeal. The reality of her singing is carried across to the audience by her overwhelming energy. Janis feels her music deeply, and expresses those feelings with all the power she is able to muster, even at the expense of her voice. (The choice, she explains, is between singing halfheartedly for a long time or belting out her soul right now while it counts.) But what I'm afraid happened this time around was that Janis wasn't giving it everything she had; she wasn't pushing herself to the limit. The easiest reason to give would be the uneasiness, the uncertainty about the new group; she could never be sure exactly which way a song would go, couldn't push too far out because the group might not be able to follow her. More likely, there was no conscious reason for it on her part, but she did hold back.

And it doesn't matter how good musicians are, if they're not completely into what they're doing, and it doesn't matter how talented a singer is, if she doesn't give every audience, everything she's got. Janis and her men have the ability; there's no debating that. All we can do though, is to wait for them to get themselves together and let themselves go. Once they do that, they might just be one of the greatest things flying.



Original "Beggars' Banquet" album cover, rejected by London Records as "tasteless." Courtesy Allen Klein Agency.

Jagger experiences his stray girls with his voice, laughing, scorning the groupie girl, but always involved, totally comfortable in the muck he creates. He is a great fighting man making love, or, more explicitly, calling; the dirt is street dirt. After six years and 30 million dollars, the Stones are still a gang, and Jagger their leader. His effect is more than masculinity — it's a universal sexuality, at home with its feminine and masculine sides. Jagger is a tiger. He is also a pussy, not just roaring, but whining.

The song opens with a throbbing bass rhythm that demands the loudest possible volume. Jagger releases a long, high "Ahhhh . . ." and then moves into some incredibly raunchy lyrics, telling dirty boy-girl tales at his best. The chorus: "Bet your mama don't know you could bite like that / bet she never saw you scratch my back . . ."

"Salt of the Earth" comes on like an English drinking song, pouring out lyrical toasts to the proletariat left behind, the common soldiers and hard-working men and women, the "salt of the earth."

The album contains, further, Jagger for the first time on acoustic guitar playing and singing straight tunes ("Prodigal Son"), as well as two good songs about women: "Factory Girl," where the deliberately unpolished effect perfectly compliments the lyrics; and "Parachute Woman," a good mating call.

"No Expectations," an adequate ballad, "Dear Doctor," a country music song done well, and "Jig-Saw Puzzle," a bit too poetic to be natural for the Stones, complete the album. Even these last few songs, not great, are good enough for repeated listenings.

The lukewarm thematic unity of "The Beatles" found in the parodies, the drug allusions, the melodic similarity is overwhelmed in "Beggars Banquet."

The unity of the Stones is a driving, relentless power. It's heavier and more rhythmic than any of their previous albums. All the songs seem tied into a single current at different points.

The Beatles plan and arrange music better than anyone else. They are intellectuals. They are not a band, they are the first living Rock Brain Trust.

The Stones are a live group. They are best in person, mesmeric, constantly projecting auras of desperation and anger into a crowd. They create a Living Theater atmosphere. They rabble-rouse, their audience riots. The Chambers Brothers did it at Newport once, a while back. Janis Joplin and Big Brother used to do it now and then. But the Stones are the best of all.

Face it, Richie, the Beatles just ain't in that class.

sympathy for the devil

*Please allow me to introduce myself,
I'm a man of wealth and taste.
I've been around for many a long, long year,
I've stolen many a man's soul and faith.
I was around when Jesus Christ had his moment
of doubt and pain;
I made damn sure that Pilate washed his hands
and sealed his fate.*

CHORUS

*Pleased to meet you,
Hope you guess my name.
But what's puzzling you
Is the nature of my game.*

*I stuck around St. Petersburg,
When I saw it was time for a change.
I killed the Tzar and his ministers —
Anastasia screamed in vain.
I rode a tank, held a general's rank,
When the blitzkrieg raged and the bodies stank.*

CHORUS

*I watched with glee while your kings and queens
Fought for ten decades for the gods they made.
I shouted out, "Who killed the Kennedys?"
When after all it was you and me.*

*So let me introduce myself,
I am a man of wealth and taste,
And I lay traps for troubadours
Who get killed before they reach Bombay.*

REPEAT CHORUS TWICE

*Just as every cop is a criminal,
And all the sinners, saints.
As heads is tails, just call me Lucifer
Cos, I'm in need of some restraint.
So if you meet me, have some courtesy,
Have some sympathy and some taste.
Use all your well learned politesse,
Or I'll lay your soul to waste.*

CHORUS



—Photo by Gil Friend and Fred Miller
With Big Brother last year at the Fillmore.

together heroes by sj green

"Famous Authors" Course Cut

By DAVID RUDNITSKY

Comparative Literature 188 (American and British Writers) — the course which each fall brings such eminent literary figures to the College as Allen Ginsberg, Ralph Ellison and Robert Lowell—stands a fair chance of losing much of its potency, as well as a chance to lure Senator Eugene McCarthy into reading his poetry here.

Described as the "biggest thing on campus . . . in the sense of an audience" by Professor Leo Hamalian (English), one of the course's two teachers, it strives to coordinate works of literature with special lectures and readings by the authors. However, funds for the course will be cut by Dean of Liberal Arts Sherbourne Barber, who has almost exclusive control over the \$250 thousand alumni fund from which the course has previously drawn its \$2,00 allotment. If the course is cut, Prof. Hamalian will not be able to pay McCarthy's honorarium.

Dean Barber has said the course's budget decrease will amount to about 21% and has suggested "A little more modest use of the funds." Prof. Hamalian feels that the "other departments have found out" and "want their cut."

"No, no," retorted Barber. The course, which has consistently had overcrowded classes and has attracted more than three hundred students to some of its lectures, was supported in a petition by about four hundred students, who asked that the course's original budget be maintained.

But Dean Barber refused saying, "It's difficult to turn down small worthy projects . . . because they don't attract that much attention." Barber went on to imply the Comp. Lit. 188 course in the "lavish" English department had been overbudgeted and it was time to devote money to other "worthy" projects.

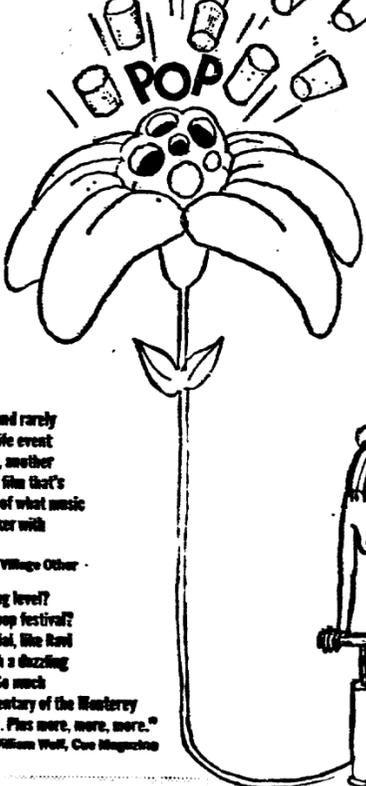
"I'm afraid the impression got around that the course would be eliminated," said Barber, referring to the petition.

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—Abe Elenco, East Village Other

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—William Wolf, Cue Magazine

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The Repertoire Society's production of *The Homecoming* was neither a smashing success nor a crashing failure, contrary to reviews appearing in two other campus newspapers. More humane and more humorous than the Broadway production, this version softens some of Pinter's sardonic bitterness and nearly obscures the pathos at the core of his jests.

Raymond Kostulis, a theatre major now completing his fourth year with the Repertoire Society, made his debut as a director with this production. His work seemed to suffer only from a subtle lack of togetherness; individual performances were excellent, but there was not enough internal cohesion to keep everyone moving in the same direction. He created an atmosphere of confusion and uncertainty that should have led to the macabre conclusion indicated by the script, but fell just short of that objective.

The mechanical details, little things that can destroy a production or raise it from the mundane to the sublime, were handled rather erratically. The make-up was terrible on opening night, a flaw somewhat corrected by the second night. Blocking was functional, circumventing the difficulties of working on such a small stage with some grace and only

the homecoming was good drama

By Alan Milner

a few awkward moments. The English accents employed by most of the cast were not dropped or changed during the course of the play's two acts.

More than anything else, *The Homecoming* served as a showcase for the talents of several young performers, and among the better performances, Jack Firestone's was the most outstanding. Vastly improved since he appeared in *Fortune and Men's Eyes*, Firestone plays the crotchety, vulgar patriarch of a rather strange North London household with hoary excellence. His role is difficult, demanding great self-control and constant total awareness; these qualities were evident in Firestone's work. His performance was thoroughly entrancing, nearly faultless.

His movement suggested arthritis, hardened arteries, stiffened joints, weakened muscles and brittle bones, and never the limberness of youth. Firestone is a broad shouldered, straight backed young man. On stage he appeared stooped, half crippled and

bound forever to his walking cane. Moreover, Firestone's appearance on stage suggested a man once physically powerful and now rapidly losing strength to age.

Susan Macbeth made her acting debut last year, playing Madame in Jean Genet's *The Maids*. Her performance in *The Homecoming* was superior to her first role last term. She portrayed Ruth, an Americanized English girl returning to England to cold, rather distant woman. Miss Macbeth, in talking about her interpretation of the role, indicated that she was attempting to portray Ruth as placid, and withdrawn while not without feeling. On stage, however, Ruth appeared cold and distant, and rather smug. Miss Macbeth is an able actress, but her control over her body and face does not yet match her voice control. When she has lines to work with she is very good; when the action has moved away from her, and she is caught on stage without anything to do, she freezes to ice, drawing attention to her immobility. Her role was

demanding in this way, since she was the only woman in the cast and bound to receive more than her share of attention as a consequence.

Emanuel Lieberman, as Ruth's husband, Teddy, was cast in the role of the prodigal son returning to his birthplace after spending six successful years as a professor of philosophy at an American university. He tries to re-establish some sort of relationship with his brothers, his father and his elderly uncle. The net effect of the return, however, is the destruction of his relationships with everyone in the household and his wife.

plains the discrepancy between his work here and the work he has done in the past. By the time the show closed, his performance was vastly improved.

Nayvin Gordon, as Max's brother Sam, played an old, sexless cab driver. He is a repressed, frightened little man forever, the butt of his brother's cruel jests. Gordon played his role with more shadow than substance. His work was excellent throughout the performance, until his final line. But the failure of his final line was as much the fault of an insensitive audience as it was the result of poor delivery.

Gordon portrayed Sam as one of those sad men who consider themselves too fragile, too delicate, and too sensitive to engage in normal human activities. His movements were not those of an active man suffering from the ravages of age, but those of a



—Photo by H. E. Weberman
Jack Firestone as Max

Lieberman's performance on opening night was more mechanical than it was artistic and seemed to be lacking the depth of the other characterizations. Teddy is a repressed, distraught man, the host of a plethora of fears and phobias. This was not readily apparent from Lieberman's portrayal. By the end of the play, Teddy was obviously the least developed of the characters.

However, Lieberman joined the cast of the show as an emergency replacement, which ex-

man who has never raised his hands in anger or self defense. Gordon's ability to project an image so different from his own reality is an indication of his potential to be an excellent actor.

Ihor Wolosenko, as Joey, was caught in a largely visual role. Joey, the youngest of Max's three sons, is a massive, hulking young man, a demolition worker by day and an apprentice boxer by night. Inept in the ring and slow with words outside it, Joey gets lost among Pinter's verbal pyrotechnics. His role is an integral part of the play, but there is little joy in it for anyone who likes to talk, as most actors do. Wolosenko was able to be on stage without disturbing the flow of action and without drawing undue attention to himself or fading too far into the scenery.

Kostulis, himself played Lenny, a proper bitch of a small time pimp. His bitchiness was practiced last year when he appeared as Queenie in *Fortune and Men's Eyes*. The lines call for such a characterization, and Kostulis provided it with a technical excellence that was nearly faultless. He used bitter edged sarcasm like an alley mugger uses a knife, slashing out at the defenseless, attacking with stealth from concealment. Kostulis is capable of far more than this sort of role, but had to choose this role over others, more challenging to him.

This version of Pinter's play was not perfect, but it does compare favorably with last year's Broadway production. It was, in fact, an excellent opportunity to view a professional production of an important playwright's work without sneaking in to the theatre after the first act, or paying Broadway's outrageous prices.

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To The Editor:

I am very pleased that you opened the columns of your February 14 issue to Miss Toni Cade's views. I am sympathetic to many of her views, opposed to others. The issue she raises deserves wide discussion on this campus. I am directing this letter, however, to one point in her article; her attack on Professor Theodore Gross, presently teaching in France, whom she unfairly, I think, singles out in a general broadside against her department.

I do not know whether Professor Gross ever declared that Richard Wright was not a great American writer. Miss Cade provides no source for her direct quotation, and it is not possible to know whether it is first hand, second hand, third hand information she is using. Professor Gross has not made the statement, so far as I know, in any of his publications. But that is not the main point. Miss Cade's cavalier assumption that a literary judgment is an indication of racial bias strikes me as totally irresponsible. Miss Cade may consider Wright a great writer, but she cannot rationally conclude that anyone who disagrees with such a literary judgment is guilty of racial bias. To argue — as she does not — that Richard Wright should be included in an historical survey of American literature makes sense; to argue — as she does — that a major authors course must include Richard Wright is a different matter. I've enjoyed some good arguments about Ernest Hemingway's stature!

No other white American literature scholar in this department has devoted as much of his scholarly career to the history of Negro literature as has Professor Gross. A book that he edited (with scholarly introductions to Negro writers and Negro literature history) in collaboration with Professor James Emanuel, a black scholar and poet in this department, has recently been published and is being widely acclaimed. I do not know if Miss Cade knew of Professor Gross's scholarly work, but I think it ironic that it was he she attacked. Professor Gross could handle the Negro Poetry course, but he has not handled it "on occasion" as Miss Cade claims. I have always assigned it to Professor Emanuel.

Sincerely yours,
Edmond L. Volpe
Chairman, English

Dear Sir:

Miss Toni Cade, in her essay "Realizing The Dream of a Black University" (OP, February 14, 1969), has made certain erroneous accusations against me which I know she would want corrected in public. Her statement reads as follows:

"The infusion of one or two Black literature courses in their curricula does nothing at all to the deeply entrenched notion that Anglo-Saxon literature is The Literature — especially if those courses are taught by people like Ted Gross who handles the Negro Poetry courses on occasion and who will always be remembered for this remark he made in answer to a question on why Richard Wright wasn't included in his great American authors course: 'Well it's not as if Wright were a major writer.'"

1. I have never taught a course in Negro poetry.

2. I do not know who informed Miss Cade that I feel Richard Wright is not a major writer, but that is a literary judgment which ought to be put into a critical context — when both of us are at the City College. For the present, I suggest that Miss Cade read my introduction to Wright which is in *Dark Symphony: Negro Literature in America*; Wright appears in a section entitled "Major Authors." Thus Miss Cade will have a first-hand and, as it were, accurate account of my estimate of Richard Wright. I know she would not want to publish hearsay, particularly when I am across the ocean on a sabbatical leave.

I hesitated a long time before writing this letter — my five-year involvement with the writing of *Dark Symphony* might suggest why. But if recent issues of *Observation Post* are a reflection of what is happening to The City College, something far more profound than defamation of character is at stake. My freedom to write this letter — to call attention to Miss Cade's professional irresponsibility — is at stake; and that is an issue which affects all of us in a college of liberal arts and sciences. Totalitarianism of the mind knows no color, and no one should be intimidated by it.

I signed one loyalty oath when I took my job The City College, an oath which my former chairman and I both regarded with dismay. I won't sign another.

Sincerely,
Theodore L. Gross
Professor, English

To the Editor:

Your article on "Henry Arce: Third World Students Awakening" was most illuminating. I had not known that James Abbott McNeil Whistler (1834-1903), whose portrait of his mother hangs in the Louvre, was a Puerto Rican and I am pleased that Mr. Arce has enlightened me. (My mother often speaks of how important she, too, feels that a son could hang his mother in the Louvre).

Mr. Whistler, who lived abroad much of his life, championed the concept that divorces art from social, literary or anecdotal significance. Such concept would no doubt lead the "third world" to shriek with alarm today.

But I am pleased that Mr. Arce has decided to educate me and to liberate me from my racist chains. I cannot, however, quite go along with his claims to territorial integrity ("You're in my place, my country.") since I don't hyphenate easily and somehow retain the romanticist's "New York's my home, I love it so" aura. I promise not to help Mr. Arce if he will merely explain how I can get myself together more rapidly than I presently do using an old fashioned girdle scented with Chanel #5.

I breathlessly await the next chapter of "Off to the Racists" and eagerly look forward to the erudite replies to my liberalis formalis.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Sylvia Rackow
Speech Department

Black Panthers at Columbia Claim Police Seek Party's End

By JONATHAN PENZNER

The Black Panther Party, the first nationally organized group of blacks to retaliate against police attack, came to Columbia University last Saturday to lead an educational forum for both white and black students.

In an atmosphere of relaxed familiarity, a security force of both blacks and whites lined the walls, yet white and black students in the audience were equally at ease as an area captain from the Southern California Black Panther Party spoke. About 25 Black Panthers were present at the meeting wearing the panther "uniforms" — leather jackets, black berets, large bullets hung around the necks, and buttons featuring an upraised rifle.

Minister of Education George Murray, the scheduled speaker, was unable to address the meeting, having left for the West Coast the day before because of complications with his probation. The area captain, Masai, spoke to an audience of about 150 about the controversial black revolutionary party instead.

Murray is the English instructor from San Francisco State College who urged black students at that college to bring their guns. He is responsible in large part for the success of the San Francisco State strike, which is in its 108th day today.

In Murray's place, Masai — his only name — said that police departments across the country have been cracking down on Black Panthers. Huey Newton, who with Bobby Seale built the party on the West Coast several years ago, is in solitary confinement in a California jail now. Newton is supposed to have shot a policeman.

Eldridge Cleaver, author of the best-seller, *Soul on Ice*, chose to go into exile rather than return to jail on another frame-up. Two West Coast Panthers were assassinated at UCLA only a few weeks ago, allegedly by members of Ron Karenga's Ford Foundation-backed group, US. The Panthers charge that US works with the cops.

In New York, Joudan Ford, who was a student at the College, and Tyrone Smith are in jail awaiting their trails — Smith for alleged possession of narcotics and Ford for attempting to carry a gun across state lines. Bail for each man was set at an unusually high \$10,000. Whites were charged \$2.00 at the door of the meeting at Columbia to raise bail money.

At the meeting, sponsored by Columbia SDS, Masai said that since early 1968, 17 Panthers "have been put underground." He attributed the repressive measures against the Panthers to their ideology. "We went from narrow nationalism to nationalism with a socialist perspective," he said. He pointed to black nationalists, "militants," he called them with scorn, who gloss over, or pay no attention to capitalism, but talk a lot about the white man. "There was a black militant," Masai said, "bragging that he hadn't spoken to a white person in over a year . . . 'Capitalism sure is bad,' they say, 'but I want to talk to you about them honkies.'"

Panthers and Guns

Once blacks start talking to people in the ghetto about capitalism, "bad things happen to them," Masai said. He pointed to Malcolm X, who in the months before his assassination, grew more critical of the capitalist economy, and Huey Newton, who was harrassed until jailed on a frame.

The reason the Panthers cite capitalism as the problem is because, "It is impossible to strike out against racism unless you strike out against its basis — capitalism. Capitalism is the enemy because it is the economic foundation of racism," Masai said. "And we know what the man uses to protect his capitalism — guns."

However, Masai pointed out that one must fight racism, or socialism will be impossible to achieve.

The West Coast Panthers attained no-

tority in the spring of 1967 when gun-carrying members entered the State Capitol in Sacramento in what Eldridge Cleaver has called "a shrewd political and publicity gesture" aimed at using the news media to "spread the Panther message to black people that they should arm themselves against a racist country that is becoming increasingly repressive." Panthers took their guns into the ghettos, Watts particularly, and trailed cops on the beat. Police brutality reportedly fell off drastically. The Panthers' ten-point program stresses community self-determination and an end to police brutality.

During his talk, Masai, who spoke to his audience as if seated across a table with them at an intimate discussion, referred to the Panthers as the vanguard party of the black people. "That means we take our lead from the broad masses of the people . . . The masses move where they want to; we just go first and bear the brunt. We go one step further and intensify it."

But Masai reiterated, that "to be nationalist and revolutionary, you have to be socialist."

About San Francisco State, which has been a center of attraction and model of Black Student Unions and Third World groups across the country, Masai noted that the strike had "a revolutionary direction," which "many so-called campus revolts don't have." The strikers' demands

Black Panther Platform and Program

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end of POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of

black people.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

at State go beyond a school of black students, and open admissions for all blacks to community control of the entire school, Masai pointed out.

Socialism and Racism

To the whites in the audience, Masai said that to prepare white people for socialism, whites "must give up racism, first." To achieve that goal, Masai suggested that white "immerse themselves in the masses." "If the people here are not going to immerse themselves among the masses, then they can forget it." "Experience is the best teacher," he said.

Referring to Karenga, and the members of Karenga's group who, he said, shot the two Panthers as UCLA, Masai said that the "basis for the animosity [between Karenga and the Panthers] is the dif-

ference between bourgeois and proletariat." Masai said that his friends and enemies are not drawn along color distinctions, but class distinctions. "The distinctions we have to make," he said, "are class distinctions, not color distinctions." "The same oppressors who are oppressing us, are oppressing the people in this room. That doesn't mean we want to marry your sister or live next door to you. It just means we've got a common enemy."

"Masses make the revolution, not a [underground] movement. We know it's going to cost us by staying above ground, but we're going to reach the masses. The brothers that wear the uniform are not in a hurry to die, they're not suicidal, but they're not cowards, either."

Eldridge Cleaver meets the black panther

By MICHAEL MUSKAL

Eldridge Cleaver
Edited by Robert Sheer
Random House, \$5.95

There used to be a time when to redress one's grievances one could petition the good graces of the powers that are or one could make some dramatic but futile gesture such as the Christian martyrs did. Black Power resounding to Malcolm X's cry of "black liberation by any means necessary" changed that and in many ways Eldridge Cleaver represents the change.

" . . . Huey walked to within a few feet of the cop and said, 'What's the matter, you got an itchy finger?'"

"The cop made no reply."

"You want to draw your gun?"

Huey asked him.

"The cop made no move."

"Draw it, you cowardly dog!"

"Huey pumped a round into the chamber of the shotgun. 'I'm waiting,' he said, and stood there waiting for the cop to draw."

"The cop facing Huey gave it up. He heaved a heavy sigh and lowered his head. Huey literally laughed in his face and then went off up the street at a jaunty pace, disappearing in a blaze of sunlight."

"Eldridge Cleaver"

"It is in the nature of the American Negro, the same as all other men, to fight and try to destroy those things that block his path to a greater happiness."

—Robert Williams in
Negroes with Guns

Cleaver's latest book, *Eldridge Cleaver*, a collection of his post-prison writings edited by Robert Scheer, managing editor of *Ramparts*, shows a Cleaver radically different from the man of his first work, *Soul on Ice*.

In *Soul on Ice* the effects of racist society become clear. The disenchanting are moved from criminal acts such as rape of white women, which Cleaver rationalizes as a revolutionary act, to a recognition that revolution means more than individ-

ual freedom but rather freedom from an imperialist society.

Eldridge Cleaver is the perfect mirror to *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. Where Malcolm makes his journey from hoodlum to Black Muslim to black na-

and forms an alliance with the West Coast Peace and Freedom Party; and where Fannon deals with the psychology of the colonial, Cleaver jumps from the problem of land identification to one of power identification.

In his new book, Cleaver is less personalized than the tortured Cleaver who talked of his prison experiences. His writing is more polished; less confessional, more intellectual. He is involved now with the redemption of his people rather than just his personal freedom. He recognizes that he could have spent the rest of his life as a quiet, minor literary figure living in peace and his decision not to, speaks well for Malcolm's campaign of black consciousness. He compliments the polish of his *Ramparts* articles with the brusqueness of his speeches where profanity is the only way left to express his anger at "Babylon," or imperial America.

Between these two extremes lie his affidavits in which he writes about the night he and Bobby Hutton were attacked by Oakland police and eloquently explains his feelings over Hutton's assassination and his own wound. Also there is the beautifully moving letter, parts of which are quoted above, describing his first experiences with the Panthers.

Cleaver's beauty lies in the hope he extends to white as well as black people. For blacks, he is part of the leadership of the Panthers, which, Cleaver points out, has helped build freedom for the black through a counter-poise of power. For whites he draws the distinction between white faces and an imperialistic attitude:

" . . . you're either part of the solution or part of the problem. There's no middle ground . . . Because those in the middle, those who are standing on the side, watching these pigs brutalize people, they see the boot on a man's neck and they're going to stand there and try to decide who to help . . . all of you pigs who want to support the other side, just fuck you, pig, and I hope some nigger catches you on a dark street and kills you . . . All of those who are not going to choose that side, I love. And I recognize your humanity and I hope you can recognize mine."



Eldridge Cleaver

"There's no middle ground . . ."

tionist, we see in Cleaver's early writings the effects of Malcolm's odyssey on the masses and in Cleaver's new book, we see the effects of Malcolm's legacy — the Black Panthers.

Cleaver recognizes the problem that blacks face. He builds with the works of Malcolm, Carmichael and Fannon and explains why black America is the same as a black colony surrounded by a white mother country. Where Malcolm deals with a religious identity and starts the process of black consciousness and identity, Cleaver follows; where Carmichael talks of power as the only effective tool and the criteria for alliances, Cleaver follows Huey P. Newton in picking up the gun

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