



Students march through south campus prior to BPR3C takeover of Spring, '69. One of a series of upsets between Black and Puerto Rican Students and educational institutions. (See pages 6-7.)

# THE PAPER

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*So here we stand,  
on the edge of Hell,  
in Harlem, and wonder  
what we will do, in  
the face of all that  
we remember.*

—Langston Hughes

## Black Panther Party; Conflicts With NY-21

By CHARLES POWELL

On the morning of April 2, 1969, New York City Detectives and Plainclothes specialists, all wearing bullet-proof vests and carrying shotguns, burst into the homes of 21 members of the Black Panther Party. The Panthers, many of whom held key positions in the local and state Panther hierarchy, were arrested and charged with conspiracy to dynamite a number of Department Stores, railroad tracks and police precincts. They were also charged with conspiracy to shoot the policemen running out of the dynamited precincts. Those who were not found in their homes during that fateful spring morning, soon became objects of a nationwide manhunt. All total, 19 of the 21 alleged conspirators have been apprehended with the other two reportedly residing in Algeria.

Bail for the conspirators was set at \$100,000 but has been lowered for several of the defendants. Of the 19 apprehended, only 13 have actually come to trial to date. The cases of the other 6 have been separated for medical reasons (Leo Berry is an epileptic and is presently under special care); and because of age jurisdiction which says that youthful offenders must be tried separately.

After nearly a year of legal debate and supportive rallies filled with chants of "Free the Panther 21," two of the defendants (Afeni Shakur and Jamal Baltimore) were released on bail. Richard "Dharuba" Moore, Michael "Cotowayo" Tabor and Joan Bird were also later released on bonds totaling \$250,000. After their release, the five defendants set about the task of rebuilding the Harlem Branch of the party which had been decimated by the sudden "rip-off" of the leadership and by the machinations of George Sams, alleged police informer, who was in charge of the Harlem Branch for several months.

The trial itself, which is now over a year old, began with the disruptions, rallies, and general chaos characteristic of the "Chicago 8" trial. After a few months

there was a voluntary moratorium on court disruptions and the trial began to proceed "normally."

### Agents' Testimony

The prosecution's case has been highlighted by the dramatic appearance of two undercover agents who had been members of the Party in New York for over two years. Gene Roberts, one of those who rose through the ranks of the Harlem Branch to become a member of its elite security force, told of how he carried transmitters into Panther meetings and recorded the defendants speaking of blowing up buildings and shooting "pigs." The tapes, initially labeled inadmissible by Judge Murtagh, were admitted after earphones were used by the judge and the members of the jury.

Since the tapes were so hard to understand, Assistant District Attorney Phillips handed out to the jury a script of what was being said on the tape. The tapes, along with other testimony by Roberts, has been considered essential to the prosecution and would have gravely endangered its chances of conviction if considered inadmissible.

Ralph White, an undercover agent who became a Section Leader in the Bronx, told how he replaced a briefcase of dynamite to be used to blow up buildings with a non-explosive substance. White also testified that he heard several of the Panther defendants speak of shooting "pigs" while they walked down the street as a means to obtain weapons.

### Defendants Disappear

On Monday, February 8th, Michael Tabor and Richard Moore failed to appear in court. Their bail and the bail for Joan Bird and Afeni Shakur, was revoked; and all bail hearings were cancelled. Fugitive warrants were issued for Moore and Tabor by Judge Murtagh. That afternoon, Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Party, issued a statement to the press denouncing "the counter-revolutionary actions of the jacknapes Michael Tabor and Richard Moore." The statement accused the two, along with Connie Matthews Tabor, Newton's personal secretary, of endangering the lives of Brother Newton, Chief of Staff David Hilliard and of "jeopardizing the chances of the other brothers

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Richard "Dharuba" Moore speaking outside Long Island City courthouse; presently sought as a fugitive in NY 21 conspiracy trial.

## Newark Strike In Second Week

By JEROME MONDESIRE

The fourth Newark teachers' strike in six years began Monday, February 1, 1970 following the expiration of their contract on January 31. Presently the strike has resulted in the arrests of three union officials and an alleged beating of picketing teachers.

Primary issues of the strike include binding arbitration by a third party, non-professional duties, and a teacher welfare fund. Negotiations between the Board of Education and the Newark Teachers Union (NTU), began on January 11. The union asserts that it wanted to begin settlement talks on September 25th. These preliminary talks convened for several weeks but failed to produce a contract settlement.

The Newark Teachers Union, Local 481 of the AFL-CIO, insists that it is primarily concerned with upgrading student education facilities and safe guarding work rights of Newark teachers. Union officials blame the Board of Education

with using delaying tactics to "bust up" the union.

A NTU representative told THE PAPER, "Our . . . demands show our intention to help the children. While the Board of Education has made no statement of intent that they even care about the kids."

Direct negotiations between  
(Continued on Page 9)

# Revolutionary Nationalism

By BILL ROBINSON

Now that we have found out there is no moral substance to this country and have tried out all of the offshoots of Christianity and universal brotherhood, let's talk about reality and survival. This is a nation of nationalities; a nation of group power. But there is one nationality that has had a little bit of trouble understanding itself as a nation, or as a group. It is one of the most colorful, dispersed, diversified group, tribe, class, or race (whatever your preference) in the world. A mixture of African, American Indian, Caucasian, and since World War II, Asians.

This nation of colored folks spreads all over the globe; from Africa (including the Sahara and the Middle East), to Europe, South America, Asia, and North America.

That's a lot of people in a lot of strategic locations. The Afro-American tribe has evolved in slavery and dependence on its industrial masters, into a very talented and creative group of workers.

The key word here is "dependence"; dependence on all other groups, tribes, or races in America for basic survival materials such as food, clothing, shelter, medicine, and education. Even though it's impossible to be totally independent of everybody, everywhere, for everything; Damn! At least be independent when it comes to a self-sufficient "life support system."

What happens when a group of human beings cannot feed, cloth, house, medicate, and educate its group-members or nation's citizens independently? Well, in order to get these necessities, this group or class of human beings, like a group of animals in a circus, is made to perform tricks for morsals of non-nutritious, chemically preserved food.

Imagine the animal tamer say-

ing: "Stand up nigger, sit down nigger, roll over nigger, give me five nigger, now dance nigger, sing nigger, speak nigger, shut up nigger, sleep nigger, now wake up at seven o'clock and get to work on time."

"That's a good boy; now, go somewhere and don't bother me until I call you. By the way, if you growl at me, or bite the hand that feeds you and therefore enslaves you, I'll have you put to sleep."

When dogs and cats are not well fed, well groomed, or housed in heated and air-conditioned cages to perform tricks, ride in the family's car, and lick feet, they are used as laboratory animals. Thanks to heart transplants from South Africa, eye banks, blood banks invented by a brother who died because he wasn't allowed a transfusion, and automation making unskilled niggers obsolete, there emerges the space age slave; the "laboratory guinea nigger."

In an automated society in which unemployment among

Blacks in this country is the highest in proportion to other nationalities while unemployment in general is rising, what happens to the Afro-American? How many millions of Blacks will be enslaved in the welfare — food stamp — medicare — SEEK stipend — bread line degrading system? It is conceivable that a whole Black nation's slavery can be reinforced through welfare?

On a television program called the "Advocates" (channel 13), there was a debate on South Africa's Apartheid Policy. It was affirmed by the Pro-South African debaters, that if there was an economic blockade on South Africa, the Blacks would be the first to get hurt. What does this mean? As in this country, when money is tight or the economy is being destroyed through monopoly and conglomeration, who is the first to get hurt?

The Afro-American gets hurt first and foremost. Why? Be-

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## Six More Courses In UES; Four Rejects Cause Static

By JAIME RIVERA

It was learned today that the department of Urban and Ethnic Studies has instituted six new courses recently approved by the curriculum committee of the School of Liberal Arts. The courses were approved by the committee out of a list of ten course proposals submitted to them last semester. The new courses are:

Research Seminar on 20th Century Puerto Rican Social, Economical and Political Development; The Harlem Community; Caribbean Societies; Urban and Ethnic Dialogue; Ethnic Dance; and Practicum in Community Work.

The courses rejected were:

Slavery; Puerto Rican Literature in English; A Historical Approach to Puerto Rican Culture; and a workshop course.

The new courses have apparently helped to increase course enrollments this semester in the department. The records of Mr. Prehn, the college registrar, show an increase from 865 course enrollments last semester to 1033 for the present one. The number of course enrollments in the School of General Studies at the same time remained almost constant at approximately 148. These figures, nevertheless, reflect only the number of students enrolled in all U.E.S. courses and therefore, a student enrolled for more than one class is counted more than once.

The department is nonetheless confident that the number of students enrolled for their courses will remain on the rise

as the ethnic ratio of City betters itself. It is "the strategy" of the UES department to bring forth as varied a curriculum as possible. And towards that end, the department is in the late stages of formulating new courses and rewriting those rejected last semester by the Curriculum Committee with the hopes of having them approved by the fall.

As a result of the course rejections, considerable controversy has developed as to the future of other soon to be proposed courses. Many questions have also risen as to why the four were rejected.

Slavery, prominent among those rejected, was to have been "an institutional appraisal of slavery and other forms of bondage" according to the proposal. It was also to "trace forms of slavery as an instrument of world-wide imperialism." But, according to Prof. Arthur Waldhorn (Eng.), chairman of the curriculum committee, the course was rejected because "there are other courses in the history department that deal with the same subject matter" and accepting the proposal in its present form would constitute a "duplication without justification."

The chairman of U.E.S., Prof. Osborne E. Scott, feels that on the contrary, "history courses that deal in a small way with slavery do not take into account the psychological and sociological impact of slavery." To this chairman Waldhorn retorts, "can one ever teach a course without taking into account any socio-

logical or psychological effects?" Presently, the course is being "re-formulated" and will be presented to the committee for their scrutiny this semester.

Other course proposals met with the same fate. The Puerto Rican Literature course was rejected because it was "not adequately formulated." According to Prof. Waldhorn, there were not enough English translations of Puerto Rican works in the bibliography to merit approval. He added that "until a list of proper English translations is submitted, the course would not be ready for presentation."

The department of Romance Languages has also submitted a proposal for a course titled Puerto Rican Literature of the 19th and 20th Century, to be given in Spanish. Nevertheless, all parties agree both are needed.

A Historical Approach to Puerto Rican Culture was rejected because "it was an obvious duplication of History 85." Adding that it was not the task of the committee to ascertain if a course was being administered properly, Prof. Waldhorn added that the committee simply "looks at a course proposal, sees if it is adequately developed, ascertains if the course overlaps with another validly existing course, and if it does, are there grounds for duplication?" Although he feels strongly about errors in existing duplicate courses such as "statistics" and the ill presentation of many other courses, he feels that these are inter-departmental problems.



Afeni Shakur, defendant in conspiracy case, addresses crowd outside Long Island City courthouse.

## Panther Feud Causes Split

(Continued from Page 1)

getting bail and of propping up the dying case against the Panther 21."

The party newspaper reports Richard Moore was suspected of making a statement that he "intended to kill the Supreme Commander." Pending investigation of his statement, Moore was put on suspension.

Connie Matthews Tabor was accused by the Central Committee of having an "adverse influence" on Tabor. Tabor allegedly married her in the fall of 1970. Court officials and spectators were shocked upon hearing the news of Tabor's marriage to Connie Matthews, since Tabor had frequently referred to Myra Bennet (she was in the apartment with him when he was arrested) during the trial as his wife.

### 19 Expelled

The Central Committee also announced that the party has expelled 19 of the 21 for an article which appeared in the "East Village Other," entitled, "An Open Letter to the Wea-

therman Underground from the Panther 21." The letter was supposedly very critical of the Party and specifically Huey P. Newton. Police officials, commenting on the whereabouts of the two fugitives, said that the two may be dead as a result of the interorganizational feud which took place between them (the 21) and the Central Committee.

This, however, is mere speculation. To add to this confusion, the lawyers of the ex-Panther 21 states that the legal fund for the trial has been depleted and if it (the trial) lasts much longer they will not be able to continue to represent the brothers and sisters.

The case of the Panther 21 looks dim, but more importantly the nationwide reputation of the Party will be seriously affected by the recent scandals in New York. The party has been dealt, what may be, a fatal blow, and it may be necessary for Black people to begin to seek out other alternatives for liberation.

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# Dr. Wilfred Cartey

## A Moving Force

By CHARLES POWELL

*Two years ago the entire Black world was going through a process of cultural reaffirmation and spiritual reawakening, the Black students here at the college were also beginning to experience the forces of spirits known and unknown. This newfounded cultural identity was being manifested both in form and in theory. The very complexion of the campus turned from one of overt disunity among Black students to a type of covert or natural pact of allegiance based on principles of honesty, humility, concern and responsibility. One of the primary forces on the campus which was responsible for the rebirth of the Black spirit was Wilfred Cartey.*



Dr. Cartey was first invited to the school as a guest lecturer by Al Ballard, then a professor in Social Sciences. These lectures were attended by large numbers of Black and Puerto Rican students who were, for the most part, one of the few situations other than social functions where large groups of students would gather in unison. Anne Cook, counselor in the SEEK program, and Brother Ballard influenced Dr. Cartey to take a position here at the college in the English Department. The Gallagher administration was also looking for some advice on its proposed Black and Puerto Rican studies program, so Cartey was hired to develop this program with his base of operation a professorship in the English Department.

In explaining why he left Columbia, where he had a professorship, to come to City College, Brother Cartey spoke of his commitment to Black people and especially to the Black youth. He explains that it was simply a matter of numbers. City had more Black and Puerto Rican students in attendance, so he felt that he would have his most impact at City. Another reason was the fact the City College was right in the middle of Harlem and Cartey felt that it was an opportunity for him to make City more responsive to the needs of Black people in Harlem. To Cartey, the history of City and the history of Harlem represented the type of conflict which could be resolved by a strong and sincere effort on the part of Black students and professors.

The conflict of the spring of 1969 between Black and Puerto Rican Students and the Gallagher administration coincided with the presentation of the Cartey report to that administration. Dr. Cartey was to find that he was not at City as much to develop a usable program of Black and Puerto Rican Studies as he was to be as Cartey himself put it "a buffer between Black and

Puerto Rican Students and the administration." Cartey refused to be used as a pawn of the administration and as a result his proposal was erroneously labelled as a non-negotiable demand. It was obvious to Dr. Cartey that the contents of his proposal were too profound to be implemented by a college which was so reactionary in purpose and so violently unreceptive to change.

As Cartey describes it, the proposal for the School of Black and Hispanic Studies would have meant a socialization of education here at City. His concept of education is not all books and theories but, in essence, a way of life. Cartey makes it clear that he was not talking about creating stamped replicas or robots but relevant life-styles based on new concepts and methods of education. The classroom experience would only be a starting point, the jumpboard, by which students would then catapult to new horizons in education. The design of the program was based on an awareness that the only relevant courses were those in which field work is involved. Cartey feels that a major reason for many students dropping out of school is that education is not relevant to them or to their communities.

Dr. Cartey's program would have begun as a department but would have eventually evolved into a school. At one point or another it would have actually represented a

comparative alternative to City College; "thereby exposing certain corrupt features of the university and the society which supports that type of university." The students in the proposed school would have had an interdisciplinary program and according to Cartey "this in itself would have been a lesson in developing new lifestyles." It is a feature of western education which tells a student that he should study in one specified discipline. Progressive education, according to Cartey, develops a strong educational foundation based on many things. Cartey himself is an example of this phenomenon. He regards himself as a writer, historian and professor of African Literature.

Cartey was not disillusioned after the spring of 1969. "I came to City College for the students here, not for a department or a program." He feels that the trend of the nation has been shifting from people to things. For instance the government is concerned with the subjects of pollution and reforming state budgets or the moon, while people in this country are starving and there are some real human needs to be dealt with. Cartey feels that his greatest personal loss was the death of Betty Rawls and his greatest gain has been the beautiful relationships he has been able to develop with the students on campus. One need not mention that Cartey is a sensitive person

whose spirituality is manifested in his sincere commitment to the Black and Puerto Rican youth of the City College. His concern for Black people is professed in the fact that he attends up to ten meetings a week.

Cartey has much to say about the present situation here at the college. The thing that seemed to trouble him most is the drug situation. On drugs, Cartey says that "City is just a microcosm of the city-wide and nation-wide situation." He believes that the drug situation constitutes a conspiracy on the part of the powers to be. He makes an interesting analogy to the use of liquor (fire-water) as a starting point in the historical, cultural and economical genocide of the American Indian. According to Dr. Cartey, Black people need a spiritual bond which will, in effect, bring about a lasting unity. He feels this bond could very well be the ideology of Pan-Africanism. To Cartey, Pan-Africanism is not a political, social or economic process but encompasses all of these things. Pan-Africanism is a state of mind. The modus operandi by which Black people can naturally develop a type of interdependency and self-sufficiency that will enable them to survive any and all atrocities. Individualism and elitism must be destroyed and replaced with knowledge of self and people. As Cartey says, "Black people all over the world must know each other, feel each other, be each other, where if something happens in South Africa it is felt here in America and if someone loses his life in fighting for freedom here in America the loss is felt throughout the Black world."

Cartey has been teaching for a total of 14 years now. He has truly proven his dedication to progressive education and to the struggle of Black people the world over. For those who don't know him — meet him; and for those who have met him — get to know him even more; for it is time for Black people to identify and relate to their heroes and warriors before the man happens to rip them off or they just fade away.

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Oscar Lumpkin — Faculty Advisor

aka TECH NEWS

# The Few We Have

By GREG HOLDER

Some fool once said that there were about fifteen hundred Black students on this campus. Yeah, some ignorant, ass, fool tried to put that lie out. He must think that we're all just as foolish as he is for trying to tell us that shit. But there is a bit of truth to that statement. There are about fifteen hundred of us on this campus, but the us that I'm talking about ain't Black or anything like that. Some of us may think that we're Black, some of us talk, walk, dress, and act as if we might be Black, but we ain't about that, now; are we?

Go ahead, walk into the snack bar, the card room, or anyplace on this campus and say, "hey brother," or, "hey blood" and some dude with a dark face will turn around, thinking that you might mean him. But you don't anyway you don't if you are calling for a Black man. A whole lot of heads will turn but very few of them will be the ones that you want if what you're looking for is some Black folk 'cause there ain't but a handful of them on this campus; or any other for that matter.

There're a hell of a lot of fakers, actors, bullshitters, rhetoricians, and Afro-Americans dressed up like they think they should, if they gonna be Black. But, there only a handful of Black folk on this campus. If anything at all, there are a hell of a lot of NIGGERS. Yeah, you know who you are. Just like NIGGER Wilson said, "Ugly people know how they are. Come

on now don't try and hide behind that deck of cards 'cause you're too ugly for that to help."

Yeah, you all know who you are, and if you're interested in finding out who else is in your group, just look around you in the card room, the snack bar, the north campus cafeteria, the Lounges. Everywhere that you niggers hang-out your brothers are with you. Everywhere that there is some bullshitting going on you can be sure that you're in good company 'cause there are enough of you.

Oh excuse me, I didn't mean to leave out you brothers on the nod-squad. After all, you just might be the mose useful of them all, maybe you have an answer. Yeah, maybe if more niggers; maybe if all the niggers would join, we can solve the nigger problem through the process of elimination. If the man don't solve the problem then that bitch whore that you assholes call a white lady will.

I didn't mean to come down so hard, but what can I say after seeing a program like the tutorial development suffer. Some of them BLACK, "white niggers" who say that white kids can't really relate to a Black kid, but can you blame them for trying when you niggers won't. Maybe the Harambe House Players ain't that good, but how the hell will you ever now if you don't show?

Oh that's right, you didn't have any money. You did have a couple of bucks but that was smoke money, and dope money, and wine money, and juke-box-in-the-snack-bar money, and styling money, and go-to-the-

dance money, and money that you needed for all them really important things that you need money for.

What else can you say about the type of niggers that can only come into an organizational office on those important occasions like when it's my man's birthday so you can get some of his liquor, even though you ain't supposed to dig him that much? What else can you say about the type of niggers who only have time for SEEK on checkday but can never cut themselves loose from the snack bar long enough for anything else; or the brothers who are usually too high to relate to anything? And then there are of course the studious dudes who are too busy getting themselves together to waste any time, maybe just an hour or two in the week to tutor a younger brother or sister — Yeah go ahead and get yourself together so that you can relate to the people when you graduate. Maybe by that time you can be a sociologist and you might even get to rehabilitate that brother who you didn't have time for when you were a student getting yourself together.

Well, I might as well end this here 'cause you niggers are going to read this and forget about it, and go back to the card game, or rapping to that sister, or go get high, and I don't know why the hell I bothered, or the beautiful people in the tutorial development program, or the Hasambe House Players, or why the hell God even gave our people life. They're too damn busy fucking it up!

## Remember

Yes.

*We remember Malcolm. We remember what he did, and what he tried to do. What he said, and tried to say. How could we forget when there is much to remind us of what we lost?*

*We recall the profile of a man. A real man. Harsh but gentle. Proud, yet humble.*

Yes.

*Malcolm learned humility of the way few men are capable. He publicly admitted his faults, testified to misfortune, and asked the world to judge him as he was. Within the scope of a year, he rose from the most decrepid of conditioning and accepted the challenge entwined.*

*He spoke defiantly on the things that are; on the perversions and degrees of corruption to which each of us face daily. Malcolm said what he had to and did so with meaning. He spoke with integrity, and did so openly.*

*Seldom will the man expose his true self to the nameless and faceless beings surrounding and crowding his existence. Scarce are the moments when the man dares speak with blunt honesty to people who are close, but for some reason care not to hear the meaning of words. For when the man offers himself to be seen as he is, glimpses of the absolute are exposed. And those who do not catch sight of what is before them, die in the losing. Revealing the true self is dangerous and hazardous, for in so doing, the man becomes, as in the case of Malcolm, unrecognizable.*

Yes.

*We remember Malcolm. But we also remember more.*

*We recall a man who told of the conniving hypocrisy prevalent within our own. And we continue to praise and give improper acknowledgement to thieves and cutters of our own throats.*

*The man warns us of the peril in not listening to one another; of how we must take our differences, personality conflicts, contrary ideologies, to the proper place: the closet. And we continue to bicker, and dicker, and ridicule our own.*

*That man declares emphatically that he knew he was about to be killed. And we did nothing. He was killed. We still did nothing.*

*But we honor the memory of him. Every February 21st, and every May 19th, we honor the memory of him. We parade, and mourn, and listen to old records, and curse the day he died. But every February 22nd, and every May 20th, we go back to what we were. Nothing. Meaningless imageries reflecting the beast we are about.*

*How many more expendables will it take before we recognize that which we claim to seek is within us? Has been there all the time. How many more . . . hypocrites, how many more . . .*

## Note To My Uncle

By TOM McDONALD

Feb. 10, 1984

Dear Uncle Festus:

It's hard to believe that it has been 15 years since you go so fed up with this country that you just gave up and went to Sweden to live. Things have really changed around here since then. I was thinking about that today when I got off the train at 125th St. All those white people just standing on the corners all day, and drinking wine, you wouldn't even know where you were if you came home now.

In your last letter you said that you were very confused about what was going on over here so I'll try and fill you in on all the details.

As you know, the economy got very bad in the early 70's. The first thing they did was to lay off all the Blacks and Puerto Ricans. The only trouble was that it wasn't enough, and they started laying off white people left and right. Those Blacks and PR's they laid off were so desperate for money that they started running the numbers, and pushing reefer, or whatever they could get their hands on.

A lot of the white cats that they laid off had never been in a situation like this before and they got desperate. Some of them tried playing horses and the numbers, hoping for the big score. A lot more of them were so depressed that they tried

reefer and all kinds of other stuff.

Well the shit got out of hand, and very soon all these hustlers were making a fortune. In no time half the guys in Harlem were millionaires. Then the Blacks started renting these fancy pads downtown near Central Park, and the white folks started moving into the cheapest apartments they could find. About four years ago Harlem and Bed-Sty were just overrun with all these white families from Long Island.

Really Uncle Festus, this place is a mess. All these fat old white chicks just sit on the fenders of their Caddy's down on 125th St., listening to the Glen Campbell sides playing in the record store.

You also asked me about the president. Well Iceberg Slim finally did beat out LeRoi Jones. I think that Jones' stand on civil rights and equal opportunity for whites hurt him among the Puerto Ricans in the suburbs. Also the people really related to Iceberg's rags to riches story. He started out by selling two bags of smack to some guy from Forrest Hills and he was on his way to his first million.

You also wanted to know about your old alma mater, City College. I remember that you were very big on the ROTC on campus issue when you went here. There is only one ROTC

student now, and he'll probably be the last.

Back in '72 Nixon was in trouble with the economy so as an election move he abolished the draft and instituted an all volunteer army. The only trouble was that nobody volunteered. There are only 60 people left in the army now, 22 of them are five star generals, and the rest are majors. Everybody thought that the president would abolish the whole thing, but Iceberg was a Wackenhut once and he understands how some people really dig wearing uniforms. Anyway, most of them teach at this exclusive boarding school that they have for rich Black kids up at West Point.

I almost forgot to tell you that I have a part time job now. As you know, they have legalized drugs over here. They sell them in vending machines in the subway and all other public places. Well, a lot of people try to put slugs in the heroin machines and it jams the hell out of them. My job is to try and fix the machines.

I should be studying now but I doubt that there will be any school tomorrow. The white kids are going on strike because they want courses in white history and open admissions. I just don't understand what they want.

I have to close now. I'm supposed to go next door to a rent party, and I don't want to miss any of the action.

# Black, No Sugar

By MAXINE ALEXANDER

Sometime in 1966, an Austrian woman remarked to me that she was beginning to fear the political direction of this country. The cause of her anxiety was the refusal of the New York voters to establish a police review board which would insure citizens of protection from the excessive use of force that had finally come to the attention of the general public. This woman recognized the similarity between the political climate of contemporary America and that of pre-war Germany.

Since her observation, many more indications of increased reactionary government thinking have cropped up and have become accepted as inevitable and immutable. We have seen a president carelessly proclaim the guilt of a murder defendant who was still on trial. We've been informed by a popular internationally distributed magazine of the presence of a half dozen concentration camps kept in readiness to house potential political prisoners. We have seen the police, on all levels initiate "conspiracies" and arrest those who consent to go along with them. We have seen citizens jailed for expressing unpopular political sentiments and subsequently denied all of the rights granted to them by the Constitution. We have seen the Executive branch of "our" government systematically and progressively destroy the people and resources of Indo-China against the will, or at least, without the consent of the people. We have seen armored tanks in the streets of Newark and innocent residents of "ghettos" terrorized in their own homes and their property destroyed by the upholders of law and order. And of all these injustices, there's no end in sight.

In this age of political absurdity, as we face the myriad of contradictions in our present political system, it is easy to become paralyzed by the knowledge that any move we make is liable to be, at best a bad one, or worse, a wasted one. As students we are in an especially paradoxical position. Unless we are prepared to accept the status quo, and few generations of youth have been, then we are obligated to initiate change. Yet, by our presence in the colleges and universities, we are, in a sense, authenticating the methods of the establishment. This precarious position hampers us considerably, and our reaction to this embarrassment is, or should be, according to group consensus, to become involved in some relevant activity, preferably of an iconoclastic nature. But aside from our proficiency in expressing this position verbally, we are confused about what's relevant and how to convert our words into action.

So there are rallies. Rallies which allow for a maximum of emotional release and comradeship and a minimum of work and effectiveness. Since former president Johnson's announcement that his decisions about the war in Vietnam would continue to be made irrespective of public opinion, it should have become apparent to all of us that attempts to appeal to the consciences of "our" leaders is a waste of time. President Johnson also warned his darky population that we after all "only constitute ten percent of this nation" and that he would not be intimidated by violence, this statement made at a time when Black people were being murdered in the streets. These two jewels of humanitarian thought have carried over into the Nixon-Agnew regime in spite of the Republican tradition of "lesser government control." In other words, the price of serious political involvement has become imprisonment or death.

It's embarrassing to watch some of our fellow students delude themselves into believing that they are true crusaders; pass out a few leaflets, write hip graffiti, memorize slogans and call every man or woman who's got a job making over \$5000 a year an Uncle Tom or an oreo; and never ask themselves what they're doing here. If they are truly at odds with the system

why are they only using the facilities of this college to prepare themselves for employment in areas which are essentially superfluous. Why not prepare themselves for some occupation in a post colonial society if changes are so certain?

Living in America, the majority of citizens have been deprived of productivity. We reap the luxuries and the neuroses of a system which survives on international exploitation. Once that system becomes obsolete, so will a majority of the popular current areas of employment. Think about it. What are you going to do when you graduate? Are you using your degree for an insurance policy? "Just in case there's no revolution."

Those who constantly talk about "the revolution" should realize that the talking stage is over. Anybody who can read a newspaper and still not see what all of it has to do with him can't have his consciousness raised, at least, not in time to be useful.

And if any of you out there are still holding out for integration, I suggest you read the sport's section of any New York paper for February 10th. Baseball's fathers, in an attempt to change their image as racist, ungrateful, insensitive, greedy exploiters, has just reserved a special section of the Hall of Fame for African American ball players who never made it to the big (white) leagues. Satchel Paige (who did make it to the big leagues but didn't play for the required 10 years) was the first to be honored. He's probably still trying to figure out whether he should be insulted or grateful, not an unusual position for African Americans to be pushed into.

## Poetry Corner

### THE KENT AMENDMENT

The poem "The Kent Amendment" was written by James Clavell, the director of "The Last Valley." This work has never been published before anywhere, and was given to THE PAPER as the result of a meeting between one of our film critics and Mr. Clavell in a discussion about his latest film.

*Face it America — guns are made to kill  
Not to self-protect or target,  
But to kill. That is the truth.  
You must face the truth.*

*In our land each year, there are more  
Gun killings, gun robberies, gun threatenings  
Than everywhere else on earth together.  
That, too, is the truth.*

*Let us give up this indiscriminate  
Right of owning guns  
For a trial period, a five year period,  
A moratorium on having private guns  
Without just cause.*

*(Let us do this freely, we are free.  
We, the people, can pass this law, if we wish.  
Then we will live in greater peace  
One with another,  
In greater safety, in greater  
Freedom to solve our revolution,  
Like men, not lemmings.)*

*Begin Christmas 1971, turn in all guns  
And thence for five years:  
No ownership or sale of guns  
Without a very special fitness,  
And twenty penal years without parole  
For having one unauthorized.*

*Call this the Kent amendment  
And thus let not that shame  
Be useless.*

## Letters To The Editor

### Forming A Collective

To the Editor:

The Political Science Collective was formed in the Fall of 1970 in reaction to the dismissal of highly respected and well-liked professors. Since then the situation has become a question of the nature and extent of student rights and power within the department. The focus has been placed upon six Basic Positions.

1. Student voice in determining all tenure decisions.
2. Full disclosure of criteria and procedures used in granting or denying tenure.

3. Equal representation on the appointments committee.

4. The rehiring of Norma De Candido as an assistant professor. The rehiring of Charles Doyle at his original three class status, and full pay.

5. Publication of the Course and Teacher Evaluation conducted by the Political Science Department.

6. A departmental commitment to build up the undergraduate department, as opposed to the Graduate Center.

Our call for wide base campus support stems from the recognition that these six positions are not unique to the Political Science department, but are applicable to all departments, and therefore common to the Campus as a whole.

We hope for the creation of inter-dependent departmental cooperation for the resolution of these basic questions, as well as other common issues, such as the present "activities" of the Wackenhut guards.

We hope for the creation of a Common Awareness.

The Political Science Collective

### Mating Ad Abrogated

February 15, 1971

To the Editor:

Several weeks ago I attempted to place an ad on the bulletin board for a female roommate. The ad contained no monosyllabic Anglo-Saxon expressions and was merely a replication of an earlier ad I had placed. It was qualitatively no worse than many others that had received official sanction. Mrs. Shirley Debel, head of the Information Office, refused to put up the ad. Mr. Harry Meisel and Mr. Edmond Sarfaty (Student Personnel) took it upon themselves to abrogate my right of free expression and corollary

rights as a student to communicate via the bulletin board by sustaining this abuse of administrative power.

At this juncture, I wrote a letter to Bob Marshak stating that my sexual proclivities were no concern of the college and that my ad did not even go beyond the customary limits of contemporary college community standards with respect to taste. In response to my letter, a committee, head by Mr. Bernard Sohmer, informed me that the college would not run the ad on the ground that it might make the college liable under section 230 of the Penal Law. This section, according to the

local constabulary, covers prostitution.

It is indeed sad and regrettable that such learned men 1) fail to understand the elementary distinction between mutual cohabitation among unmarried consenting adults and commercialized sex for hire and 2) feel that in their respective positions of authority they have the right to impose their own personal standards of morality upon a defenseless majority over whom they happen to exercise control. An abbreviated version of my ad appears in today's classified.

Sincerely,  
Daniel Jean Lipsman

## Classified

Female roommate wanted: 25 yr. old male Grad student seeks female roommate to share all. If interested call: 796-1054 after 6 p.m. Ask for Dan.

Ed Leiberman: After we drove you all the way out to Pelham Bay, you didn't even invite us in to the party. I wonder why?

### SKIERS

Great skier? Short on bread?? Earn while you ski!! Beginner novice??? Bruised and confused? Learn fast, save money!! Private instruction: PL 2-8919.

Draft Counselors needed for evening counseling program at the City College "Y" — Will train — 1632 Amsterdam Avenue, or call 526-0290.

Wanted to buy: A pair of good speaker systems. Prefer AR 2x or anything that sounds like them. Call Mike (evenings) FO 7-2699.

Apt. to share: 5 1/2 rooms in Wash. Hgts., 15 minutes from CCNY, move in by April 1, no later. \$61 security, \$61 monthly rent. Call Mike or Robert: 705-5018 (7-12 p.m.)

Want to buy a piano? Call Glenn: 663-5286.

Classified advertising is 25 cents per line. All classifieds must be in the Friday before the week they are to appear.

## Notices

This year the Musical Comedy Society is both happy and proud to present the long-running Broadway musical, "Guys and Dolls." We are giving the performances at the Bronx H.S. of Science on the weekends of March 5, 6 and 12, 13 at 8:30 P.M. The ticket prices range from \$2.00 on Fridays to \$3.50 on Saturdays but there is a discount available for large groups. Further information is available during the day at our ticket booth opposite 152 Finley or in the evening by contacting Mark Lazarin OL 2-2372. We are looking to your support and encouragement. We promise all who attend a thoroughly enjoyable evening.

## Contemporary Black Collegians

# Polemical Indictment

Contemporary Black university students now attend every conceivable academic institution from Bishop Teachers' College in Houston, Texas to M.I.T. in Boston, Massachusetts. The numerical total of these educational hopefuls now approaches the one quarter million figure. They are reportedly studying everything from women's beauty culture to quantum physics. American educational institutions are hosting numerous "special admissions programs" to darken the complexion of their student bodies since the present recruits have not alleviated their supply/demand crisis.

Contemporary Black university students have dynamited the pacivity of several traditional ivy league campuses with vociferous demands and flamboyant survival/liberation tactics. Over 200 campuses have either been seized or partially 'liberated' in the last five years. Black student unions are almost prolific today as A.M.E. Zion. This active appearance points to a new and dynamic political and social consciousness, which is now the spiritual hope of many decaying social welfare and civil rightist organizations.

On a cool damp autumn evening at the 1968 Onyx Cultural Conference, New York, SNCC Chairman, H. Rap Brown stated emphatically, "Only when niggers smell the black boot polish on their breath will they know that the man has kicked them up their ass!" But a close examination of the Black university student population points to an entirely different conclusion.

Black collegians have persisted in an intellectual stupor with such historical consistency that they appear to enjoy America's heavy shaft in their bent anatomies. Furthermore, the more 'boot polish smell' the more secure they feel knowing they won't have to walk alone.

There is not a Black student on an American campus who does not understand that American education is one of the most brutal forms of mental cruelty ever unleashed against mankind. Their low-level demands for 'community control' and 'Black studies' attempt to humanize this institutionalized depravity. Yet, with a frightening rigidity Black university students continue to attend classes that support and defend their subjugation, their exploitation and their murder. And this they do without the slightest outcry or whimper.

Contemporary Black collegians have a debt to their heritage, which if not paid in full will directly strengthen the repression of the African Diaspora. To begin to comprehend the disturbing peculiarities of these Black students a cogent understanding of certain pervasive factors shaping American education is necessary. These particular factors do not fully cover American education but they do expose some of its more blatant results.

In human civilization, education serves to inculcate and share with the young the Cultural values and technological expertise accumulated through history. Each sub-civilization maintains its own basic definition and priorities that form its Cultural texture. Education serves as the vehicle giving the young their knowledge of the past and present settings, which ultimately creates the environment of their perspectives of the future. Education transcends the present. It is the instrument that human civilization employs to utilize the stored knowledge of history to explore the unexplored.

This is a universal function employed by all peoples. But what is essential to our purpose is to discover how American education is inculcating White students to be more efficient oppres-ORS and Black students to be less hostile while being opres-ED both in college and in the street.

An educational system of a modern technocratic nation such as the United States is undeniably a complex network of interlocking elements. It is a chain of elementary, secondary, university, post-graduate and research institutions linked in a step-by-step system of development. The early institutions prepare the young with the basic inappropriate factual groundwork and the university and postgraduate institutions finalize the process with the theoretical and normative explanations underlying earlier knowledge.

Yet the development of American students resembles an awesome but mono-level trek through a maze on a plateau. The education of American students does not prepare them to gradually ascend to rising levels of scientific understanding. At the end of the maze these students are on the same immature intellectual level from whence they originated as evidenced by the necessity to import European intellectuals and scientists en masse to staff the lavish laboratories and research center of American universities.

As a capitalistic nation America subscribes an *unnatural* value to competition. This religious confidence in the sanctity of competition is deeply instilled early in the educational lives of American children. They are conscientiously taught to regard knowledge from the standpoint of what is useful in examinations rather than in the perspective of its inherent importance; it places an extraordinary premium upon the sort of ability displayed precociously in glib answers to set questions rather than upon the kind that embraces difficult obstacles to search for clearer understanding.

But even worse is the results that this unnatural competition creates in American adolescents and adults. Memorization contests have a tendency to create overwork in youth, leading to a dearth of vitality and interest upon reaching maturity. In this shameless process many fine young minds have been blunted and their keenness brutalized beyond rehabilitation.

A second and very crucial factor of American education is the inordinate emphasis given to failure. Fear of failure becomes such a fanatical preoccupation with American students that they devise special strategies to cope with it. The strategies of most students have been consistently self-centered, self-protective, aimed at avoiding trouble, embarrassment, punishment, disapproval, or loss of status. Failure is raised to a supernatural summit and fear of failure matures with the child into an engrained panic.

Like professionally trained soldiers, American students control their fears, live with them and adjust accordingly. But the adjustments are totally destructive of their intelligence and capacities. The scared soldier may be the most efficient soldier but the scared student is always the mediocre student. Moreover, under American educational policy Black students train under the racist oriented concept that we were preordained to failure and servitude. Failure — Subhuman become synonymous with Black under American

tutelage. American arrogance does not conceal these facts any longer. There is deluge of published data on the educational dehumanization of Black children. This civilization is thoroughly convinced that we have accepted their definitions and confines and thus must submit to their plans.

Instead of presenting the students with the opportunity to develop comprehensive Models on how to organize their studies, American educators coerce students to memorize factual data. These fragments are not scientifically incorporated into a discernible framework. If students were able to mold their studies along the guidelines of comprehensive Models they could discipline any deluge of facts into streams of workable knowledge. The Models would include: theoretical conceptualizations — research techniques — applications of logic — methods of experimentation and verification. With such inclusive tools students could investigate new problems with the definitive skills of scientific analysis.

Black liberal arts students and junkies are perhaps the most stark examples of how Blackfolks can internalize America's demeaning evaluation of their potential. Black liberal arts students plan their curriculums according to the fears engendered by this debilitating evaluation. They eschew mathematics and the natural sciences because they *believe* America's appraisal, which declares that Blackfolks cannot digest theoretical and abstract material.

Black studies programs have been described as the solution to our educational needs. But if Black studies is to be an effective liberation tool, why would the enslaver promulgate it within his own institutions?

Additionally, under acceptance of American definitions Black studies are intrinsically 'cultural.' However, Culture includes science and technology since every human civilization subscribes different human values to these social activities. Typical Anglo-American attitudes describe culture in terms of classics, humanities,



aesthetics, a priori philosophy, and the social sciences. Black studies programs align themselves with this pattern as evidenced by their lack of theoretical and applied sciences.

Merritt College, Oakland, California, is an extreme example useful of the circumscribed liberation potential of Black studies. It is completely administered by Blacks with a predominantly Black student body. The recent election of Ron Dellums was to a considerable degree made possible in cooperation with the Merritt College resources.

Presently Merritt College is scheduled to be relocated from the heart of Oakland to one of the farthest outlying suburbs. This devious handiwork has been activated by Oakland's city planners under the familiar guise of Urban Renewal.

If Black studies was instigated by Blacks to humanize American education, then we are only serving to comfortize our oppression and make it less visible. The push for Black studies was useful in its limited possibilities as an organizing vehicle for certain nationalist conceptions. The disheartening condition arises when Black students become comfortable within its narrow intellectual and political confines.

If it is correct to say that America is economically and racially oppressing Blackfolks, then it is logically inconsistent to think that America will educate Blackfolks to be free. America will neither yield to us her scientific tools since they are the very same instruments enslaving us. Although we are a Spiritual people we have not yet come to perfectly worship pure metaphysics. SEEK's failure should make clear America's intentions to every Black university and college student. But a great many of us persistently shout hollow 'demands' for its resurrection while strutting from class to class. We are petitioning the American enslaver to allow us to be victims of educational attrition. We are competing against one another to be the one with the most crushed mentality for we are too fearful to pioneer our own educational institutions of scientific, academic learning.

Young Blacks are permitted to attend colleges and universities because they are not required in the factories or the armies. America is a nation of economic abundance that has been successful in channeling its work force into tightly organized units of mechanization. Automation and the rapid proliferation of cybernetic techniques are swiftly pushing economic scarcity out of the Anglo-American lifestyle. Despite the wasteful deployment of some laborers and the wanton destruction of useful environmental resources, American abundance succeeds in supplying enough of the basic essentials to satisfy the major bulk of its White inhabitants. American

capitalism provides enough of the alleged luxuries of the 'American good life' to maintain the public's belief in a sound and growing economy.

Black liberal arts students constitute the overriding majority of our contemporary Black collegians. Their curriculums are thoroughly injected with heavy doses of the humanities and the social sciences, but there is no disciplined direction available to these students for them to organize their educational development. Their records generally reflect a clumsy hodge-podge of related and non-related disciplines. Black liberal arts students lack direction in the classrooms and they foster their directionless minds in the non-campus world when they complete their tours through the academic museums. Yet, because Black liberal arts students do not yield a productive service while in school does not imply that they will not serve a particular purpose upon graduation.

These graduates do not possess the knowledge to build houses, develop agriculture, cure the sick and maimed, construct bridges, build heating and plumbing systems or perform any of the basic technical skills necessary in physical Nationbuilding. But the greater calamity lies in that they are not equipped to mobilize their acquired knowledge into any cogent new philosophy or conceptualization on how Blackfolks can struggle toward Liberation and develop in Freedom. These students are amateur spokesmen of literature, music, sociology, art, history, political



science, and education. Their rhetoric is prolific but the realities supporting their rap is completely fluid. This is the ultimate reward of forced competition as opposed to diligent study. In the field of economics the condition is made more alarming by the serious dearth of Black amateurs existant. This critical absence of economic competency among our population will create many problems when we are faced with the awesome obstacle of building alternative systems of work and manufacturing.

Once set loose, these Black liberal arts graduates who do not manage to secure any of the minority fellowships, seek jobs within the established economic structure. It is essential to any capitalist based labor force that each man sell his assets for an agreed price, called wages. These Black liberal arts graduates possess scant assets in trade in the marketplace. Thus, they settle for anything that supplies a living wage as do all hungry people.

Due to this precarious position these graduates become extremely dangerous elements within our population. The established American authorities clearly comprehend their untenable condition. They purposely create equally untenable organizations and institutions to place them

outside the actual decision-making process. Amalgamations such as the Anti-poverty networks, The National Urban League, The Urban Coalition, and MARC are only a few instances of the collective impotence of directionless Black college graduates. These elaborate social cliques parallel the politico-economic configuration in America which develop and distribute the resources of that same nation.

The controlling elites within America have learned an important lesson from nineteenth century European imperialism. Namely, that it is less hazardous to subjugate a people when you position individuals of their own kind directly in the forefront of control. The pervasive security off the actual oppressor is that he is invisible.

The inner logic of a polemic, as defined, is supplied by personal motivation, when intensified to crystallization, which searches to employ the polemic as its textural realization. Polemics can never replace the scientific discipline of dialectics and cannot be expected to perform their complex and extensive functions.

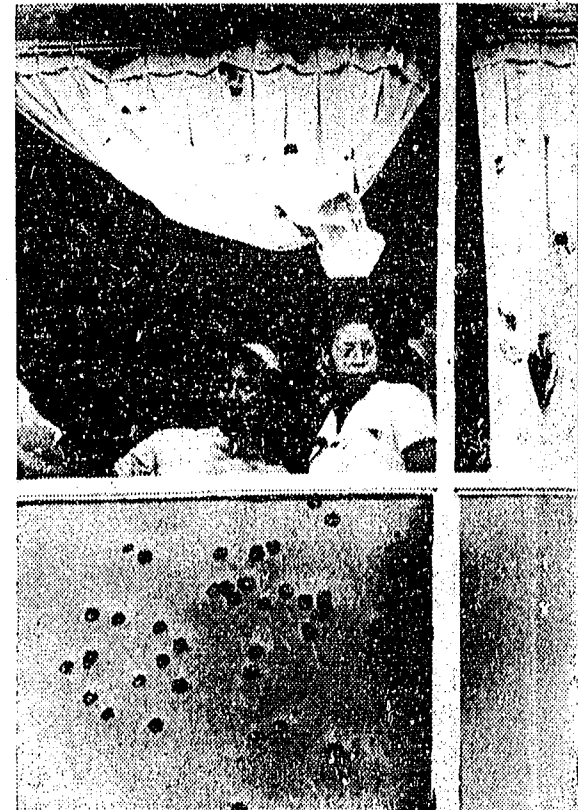
It was my personal motivation, pioneering for un-cooptable alternatives with my brother-students, which conceived this polemical indictment. I am one Black man, thrown into the wretched torment of utter disparagement from witnessing the human potential of my younger brotherstudents violated by the identical mental crucifixion that was condemned upon their predecessors. The torment singses more of my soul/flesh as I witness their floundering under the identical blunders, having been denied a legacy of effectual resistance. Witnessing the compound nature of this castrating repetition is the earth/root of my pain.

I do not clamor sympathy however. For none of us can substantially ease another brother's pain until each of us has resolved his own enslavement. But in polemics it is important to understand the motive as well as the message. Whereas the latter can be exceptionally articulate and convincing the former can utilize persuasive rhetoric to disguise its perversion and treachery.

My college experience was designed to be the final over-kill thrust in their educational attrition. Throughout my secondary school career I "sensed" their deceit, but I was too immature to fully comprehend its scope and purpose. It was my off-campus civil rights activities that transformed these obscure suspicions into concrete conclusions. A 2-in-the-morning phone call from a SNCC friend, in the spring of 1967, notifying me of the Orangeburg Massacre nullified my naive fantasies about the pious sanctity of the value-free campus. As I tried to read my books in the following days and weeks and months I saw only blood spattered pages. I closed the books to escape but my memory was relentless and without regard for my cowardice.

My meager resistance began to sharpen and

(Continued on Page 12)



## Theatre of Black Experience Being For Real

*"Love people, sun people, if you be for real then I'll be for real 'cuz being for real is being loving."*

The theatre of the Black Experience is a group of Brothers and Sisters who love theatre and much more important, they love their people: Niggers, Negroes, militants, nationalists, revolutionaries, Black People. The consequence of this love is the kind of theatre they have chosen to do — theatre addressed to and created for Black People. Theatre bearing in mind and in heart the spiritual, emotional and psychological needs of Black People: Black Theatre.

T.O.B.E. is the outgrowth of the original Pre-Bac Theatre Workshop born in Sept. 1967. Growing political controversies between the members and their faculty advisors arose shortly thereafter resulting in what many felt to be a lack of artistic freedom. The members felt that they had to do their thing another way. They are now producing, directing and writing their entire productions from the talents of "the people." T.O.B.E. is dedicated to being totally representative to the needs and aspirations of the grass roots. Because any theatre that is relevant to the growing Black nation should address itself to the total spectrum of its people. Although it employs some aspects of the western theatrical tradition, it considers itself no training ground for the Broadway market. The form of theatre used by the company is "Revival." This form encompasses in one ensemble piece, the actors and the members of the audience. There is no formal distinction made between them. Because too often when we have viewed theatre we simply came and watched a production. This company has a radically different approach. They say that their function is to teach and inform rather than to just be entertaining, or just art for art's sake.

Last semester's contribution to the college and surrounding community was "A Ritual of Awareness and Love." The ritual consisted primarily of works done by members of the company. In order to expand, it needs new material. Hopefully this new material will come from Brothers and Sisters in and around this community. Therefore the company, in its efforts of reaching more people, asks that anyone who wishes to contribute time or talent — anything else related to the total Black experience in sight and sound is urged to contact them. Their weekday meetings are held Tues. and Thurs., room 440 Finley, 5:00 p.m.

*"All praises due . . . to the godliness within us all!"*

### THEATRE OF BLACK EXPERIENCE

presents

A Ritual of

AWARENESS

AND

LOVE

Friday, February 19, 1971

8:30 P.M.

Salem Community Center

211 West 129th Street

Given Freely By Those Who Care

Inspired Contributions

Will Be Accepted

## Revolutionary Nationalism

(Continued from Page 2)

cause the Afro-American does not control enough land to make any difference, or means of production to have any effect on price in a sellers market. And if you think that the American economy is omnipotent and invincible forever and ever, under God, then ask yourself about the depression. Ask yourself how something finite can inflate continuously without exploding.

Can a finite economic system inflate beyond its aggressive Peace Corps and foreign military investments? Not as long as there are Third World people like the Vietnamese. Even if this country manages to burn the whole Third World to the ground for its raw materials and to expand the market, the earth is still a finite sphere.

Colonizing and mining the moon economically is not immediately feasible. So, getting back down to earth:

What does a military-industrial government do with millions of unemployed, unskilled, starving, rioting, potentially revolutionary niggers, in a totally automated mechanized society? These human beings become raw material like cattle, cotton and oil, to be processed and chemically preserved.

All experiments that needed

human guinea pigs would be performed in the Black Laboratory cages, presently known as the Black community. Some of the untamed ones would be gased, and their hearts, eyes, blood, and other vital organs would be stored in banks to be used in non-Black hospitals with profits for everyone else. If you don't believe man can do this to his so-called fellow man, just check out history.

This is not an exercise in horror movie images, but a realization of what man has done, and will do to his so-called fellow man in the name of progress. This is not an anti-anything attitude but an encounter with the cold facts of reality, history, and survival.

What is needed for a people to have an independent self-sufficient life support system? The answer is, enough land and certain means of production. Not saying that the Afro-American people be isolated in some obscure barren wasteland somewhere, but that when our children go out to play with children of other tribes, nations, or classes, they won't have an inferiority complex because the other children say things like, "If it wasn't for my people, your people wouldn't have a job or supplies for those petty pork chop businesses."

The only Ph.D. for a Black

man in this country is to build his people a nation with roots firmly planted in the land with integrity, security, and territorial sovereignty. Then and only then can the Black man sit at the collective bargaining table as a fellow worker. Then and only then can the Black man sit at the table of universal brotherhood.

There are certain dangers. There is a danger when nationalism is abused by reactionary counter-productive elements. When this happens, nationalism becomes an excuse for self-destructive behavior, Blacker-than-thou emotionalism, greediness, fascism, racism, and eventually imperialism. But when understood scientifically in the overall scheme of all living things and non-living intelligence, nationalism becomes a revolutionary movement.

Real success for any Black creative intellectual or Black creative scientist depends on the building of an independent revolutionary nation. Any other pretense of success is an illusion. What is a handful of commercial non-manufacturing nigger-rich Negro consumers compared to the massive of poor unskilled Black people? We can't fake it. Let's stop building nations and fighting wars for everyone else except for ourselves.

## Basketball

### Apathy On The Bench

By GORDON OLIVER

The City College Basketball team is a classic clinical case of schizophrenic reaction. The symptoms of a team not being able to play together, the lack of coaching, coupled with the desire to achieve personal recognition on the part of the players has led to the incredibly poor 4-9 over-all record.

From the first game they showed promise. At that time I had the opportunity to talk to Columbia's coach about the City College players. With a Columbia team that was minus the super stars Haywood Dotson, and Jim McMillan, Coach Rohan praised the individual effort of Otis Lloyd, saying "I wish we had a guard of Lloyd's calibre playing for us." City College's shooting percentage from the floor was terrible. In short, City College beat itself.

But at one point, City closed the gap to 10 points. Then Columbia started to increase its lead again. City's forces were tired, and struggling to maintain the pace. Unorganized and without leadership they gave up easy baskets. Seeing this, the coach should have stopped play. In that crucial third quarter the Columbia coach called two time outs breaking the momentum of City's resurgence. Coach Polansky failed to do so, when Columbia began to pull away. Later, in the dressing room I took the opportunity to ask Coach Polansky why Columbia called three time outs in the second half, while City called none? Polansky said, "City had

the momentum." But, Columbia won the game. The City "Christians" faced the Columbian Lions. But like David in the lion's den, they came away a little dirty but unharmed. They showed promise for the future.

That promise never developed because the indifference, indecision and pessimism of the coach and his players came to the forefront, far below the standards of a college coach. The players claim Polansky was a poor coach. Polansky says the players were ordinary, lacking the ability of his previous City teams. Both positions have a certain amount of truth to them.

The enmity between coach and players was apparent from the bench. Polansky always had one chair separating him from his players.

When a man came out of the game Polansky looked in the other direction. Players took their seats without criticism or praise for their performances.

The lack of respect between the players and coach was exemplified when one of his players refused to go into a game (out of City's reach) with only

two minutes remaining in the contest.

Polansky motioned for a substitute to enter the game. The player refused to go in. The coach didn't even bother to reprimand the player, he just put someone else into the game.

In most of the games this season the players just went for themselves. The apathy on the bench was apparent in the lack of respect and support given to the players on the court.

In their group therapy session the players decided that unity could only be restored if certain conditions were eliminated. Coach Polansky, who was one of these conditions, resigned. However, Polansky was not the only, or even the most significant reason for City's poor record.

The apathy of the players remains. The season is almost over and the only thing left for the team to shoot for is the C.U.N.Y. tournament in March. The task of picking up the pieces now falls to former Junior Varsity Coach Jack Kaminer. The word from the freshmen squad is the "the new coach don't play." Maybe City will start.

(212) 774-9531

commercial art

nance

1114 prospect place

brooklyn, n.y. 11213



# Parents Fight NTU To Open Schools

(Continued from Page 1)

the NTU and the Board of Education halted last Thursday due to arrest orders for Mrs. Carole Graves, union president, Frank Florito, executive vice president, and Donald Nicholas, union vice president. The warrants were issued by Superior Court Judge Ward J. Herbert on Thursday.

The criminal charges against the three union officials stem from a permanent injunction signed by Judge Herbert last February, following an illegal 16-day teachers' strike in which over 150 teachers and union personnel were arrested.

Mrs. Graves and the other two court fugitives surrendered to the Essex County sheriff early Friday morning. They were immediately released on \$1,000 bail each. Negotiations were

scheduled to resume at noon on Saturday.

As a lever for getting the union officials to surrender, the sheriff threatened to ask for indictments on the three and issue a 13-state All-Points-Bulletin.

The current strike was intensified by a union report that Blacks attacked picketing teachers Tuesday morning. The incident reportedly occurred in front of union headquarters at 804 Clinton Avenue. Neither the Newark newspapers nor union officials reported any non-union witnesses to the incident.

It was reported by NTU that about 25 Black men attacked its men and women teachers with clubs and fire extinguishers. According to one NTU representative, "We were attacked by men carrying sticks with nails in them. They beat the White teachers and only sprayed the Black teachers with the fire extinguishers while cursing at them."

The union representative further stated, "Six of our personnel were badly beaten and two are still hospitalized."

When asked how this incident was precipitated, THE PAPER was told, "LeRoi Jones and the Board of Education chairman, Jesse Jacobs, helped to create an atmosphere of conflict."

The NTU has instituted strict security measures. A uniformed guard patrols the street entrance. The windows are heavily sandbagged. Access to the office is preceded by probing questions on the intentions of any visitor.

The exact circumstances of the alleged incident have been muddled under the heated emotions of Newark's citizenry. Black Board of Education members made themselves unavailable for comment on the strike and the alleged incident.

The American Federation of Teachers, NTU national affiliate, has offered \$5,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the alleged assailants. The union emphatically claims the anti-strike activities of LeRoi Jones must share a good portion of the responsibility. Many Black community leaders in the central ward are opposed to this accusation.

David Barret, representing the Committee for Unified Newark, countered the union's charges stating, "We are not even sure the incident even occurred. Why should we trust their press? It gains sympathy for the strikers while we are helping to keep the schools open."

Brother Barrett then cited specific incidents of violence against non-striking Black and White teachers, "not covered by white press."

#1 Anne St. School (East Ward): Black teachers attacked on Thursday by White strike sympathizers. William Brown, member Bd. of Ed., threatened with "severe beating" if he returned.

#2 First Ave. School (North Ward): Car windows of Black teachers smashed while they were in school on Wednesday.

#3 Abington Ave. School (North Ward): White teachers' car tires were slashed Thursday morning preventing them from traveling to their schools.

These incidents were not reported by the White press according to brother Barrett because he says, "They know it will hurt the striking teachers. He added, "For them to blame Imamu Baraka and Spirit House is predictable."

Spirit House and several other local community organizations along with scores of Black parents are working in connection with The Committee for Unified

Newark to keep Newark schools open and functioning. They are compiling lists of substitute teachers available for work on a day-to-day basis. These substitutes are assigned to the most sorely needed schools. About 25 parents picketed City Hall in protest of the strike in the midst of a drenching downpour last Friday afternoon.

Newark suffers the highest percentage of slum housing, the severest incidence of venereal disease and infant mortality in the nation. Newark is additionally plagued by the highest population density, the second highest birth rate and the seventh highest number of confirmed narcotic addicts.

According to HEW statistics for 1969-70, New Jersey teachers are among the highest paid, but the least qualified teachers in the nation. Newark teachers' starting salary is eight thousand dollars.

HEW reported that ten percent of the state's teachers are not fully certified, compared to the four percent national average. The loss to Newark's school children was further substantiated by HEW figures on the state's pupil expenditures. New Jersey spent an average of \$897 per pupil last year. The New Jersey State Board of Education reported \$729 was spent per pupil in Newark during 1968-69. This \$168 difference means a significant lack of qualified instructors and learning materials for Newark school children, eighty percent of whom are Black.

The NTU is demanding better educational facilities along very general guidelines, calling for the enlargement of the More Effective Schools Program, general review of curriculum, high school draft counselors, and psychological and sickle cell testing. However, NTU demands for

teachers are stated quite specifically. They include a salary system based on seniority, teachers' physical exams, and parking costs and property damage being compensated by the Board of Education. The NTU is additionally demanding that the Board subsidize their Teachers Pension and Annuity Fund. This fund would provide, among other provisions, "In the event an educational employee dies while serving in the Newark school system, his sick days are redeemed, one-for-one, on the basis of his last year's salary, shall be paid to his estate." The NTU published 128 demands with less than thirty of them pertaining to the improvement of the students or schools.

Brother Barrett says, "The Black community feels the union is pushing an inequitable contract that we can't accept. It is teacher oriented and designed specifically to raise their standard of living at the community's expense. If they were paid according to how they produced they would owe us money."

The Board of Education reports that 2,000 of the city's 3,800 teachers and about half of the 79,000 enrolled students attended school during the past week. Community leaders present a higher estimate, stating that 60% of the students and 65% of the teachers were in school during the first week of the strike.

A Black substitute teacher at West Side High (West Ward), studying law at Rutgers University, told THE PAPER, "The entire school system needs to be restructured. It is only a manifestation of a totally decaying political system of Newark. It is not guaranteed that the teachers' return will help the children. Many of the students do not care whether the teachers return or not."

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## Laos Invasion Triggers Demos

By DAVID FRIEDLANDER

Demonstrations here in New York and around the country responded to the latest stage of the war in Southeast Asia: the invasion of Laos. Demonstrations were reported in Boston, Mass., Washington, D.C., Madison, Wisc., Palo Alto and Berkeley, Cal., Chicago, Ill., Albany, N.Y., Ann Arbor Mich., and Cleveland, Ohio.

The one in New York City started at Times Square, and proceeded on a long march up and down 6th Ave., ending in the Time-Life Plaza. At its peak, the demonstration included four to five thousand people. Huge masses of riot police marching in formation, riding horses, and in plain clothes, followed the procession. They divided the marchers at street corners and forced them into a line of march that took them far from the visible midtown area, through many small side streets. When the demonstration ended at the Time-Life building it was fragmented and much reduced in size. Riot police in blue helmets surrounded the demonstrators while police on horses lined up

across the street, seemingly prepared for a charge. The threat was sufficient, and the crowd broke up.

In the face of widespread opposition, Government spokesmen continued to insist that the invasion, carried out without the permission of the Laotian Government, is part of a policy of "de-escalation." "We have not widened the war," said Laird recently, "to the contrary (sic) we have shortened it."

A New York Times report on Thursday, February 11 says that the main reason for the invasion is "the setting of a precedent... under which South Vietnamese forces would be free to open ground attacks anywhere along the Ho Chi Minh Trail." Since the Ho Chi Minh trail is alleged to run through every country bordering on South Vietnam, this would give South Vietnamese troops license to invade any country adjacent to it.

Pathet Lao sources say that ten U.S. battalions are involved in Laos. The White House says that "there are no United States combat forces or advisors committed" in Laos. Reporters have

seen American soldiers in Laos, some in South Vietnamese uniform. It is not clear whether the uniforms are really intended as a disguise.

In any case, American troops are heavily engaged in air attacks and fly helicopters over the border into Laos.

Prince Souphanouvong of the Pathet Lao accuses the invaders of having "massacred the civilian population in an utterly savage manner throughout their journey," and the South Vietnamese military command reports seizing livestock and rice from the sections passed through.

The official American explanation for the invasion is that the forces plan to cut off the so-called "Ho Chi Minh Trail." Reference has been made to an alleged petroleum pipeline that they hope to destroy. It is unclear exactly what use such a pipeline would be to mobile guerillas who do not extensively use mechanized equipment.

In fact, studies have shown that the NLF captures most of its supplies from the United States, rather than receiving

them by supply lines from the North.

North Vietnam charges that, in conjunction with the invasion of Laos, the United States has shelled and bombed sections of North Vietnam and sent American ships into North Vietnamese territorial waters. At the same time, Nguyen Cao Ky of South Vietnam has made allusion to an attack on North Vietnam.

The Nixon Administration says that its strategy is part of de-escalation, designed to bring an end to the war. The North Vietnamese expect an American invasion, and claim that Nixon is talking peace to make war. American peace demonstrators say that the expansion of a war does not help to end it. In the last analysis, the American people will have to decide who to believe, and take action on the basis of their decision.

**VECTOR?**  
**Roast Beef**  
(337 FINLEY, TOO)

Red Light District

# War and Survival

By E. A. YOWELL

Do you remember El Cid? One of the last truly big movies; long, with beautiful scenery, battles that dwarfed the Normandy invasion and heroes that make George C. Scott's Patton look like a boy scout. Ah, you remember! Well, James Clavell's *The Last Valley* is reminiscent of those films. Fortunately, it is only reminiscent of them, it is not one of them. It has all the prerequisites including a big war (The Thirty Years War to be exact), beautiful scenery in the form of a picture postcard valley in the Austrian Alps, and as the final touch such heroic material as Omar Sharif and Michael Caine.

Even with all the ingredients there Mr. Clavell did not allow himself to make one of those epochs (an over-long epic). Instead he has come forth with a perceptive film about basic survival in the time of war, a la *Mother Courage*.

In his role of director, writer, and producer Mr. Clavell avoids a somewhat overused anti-war theme and instead concentrates on the weaknesses and strengths of his characters as they are exposed by the war surrounding them.

The film opens in the bleakest possible manner with Omar Sharif actually appearing needing a shave and without his usually flashing eyes. He is a

fugitive from the war passing through raped villages full of raped women and masses of bloated bodies. After these successfully horrific establishing shots Omar comes upon the last (and lost) valley, which has been protected from the conflagration, because it is virtually inaccessible.

The valley's anonymity is again disturbed, when Michael Caine invades with a small group of mercenaries whose wartime loyalties are entirely dependent upon who happens to be winning, at any given moment. Fortunately for the village, Omar, the esoteric of the movie, manages to persuade Michael, the super pragmatist, into sparing the valley and using it for a winter camp. At this

(Continued on Page 12)



Omar Sharif and Michael Caine in scene from 'The Last Valley.'

# ZACHARIAH

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## Bright Spots Off-Broadway

By TED FLEMING

Two revivals have appeared off-Broadway recently, and I am pleased to report both are welcome additions.

The first, Samuel Beckett's "Waiting For Godot," opened last week at the Sheridan Square Playhouse, and it would be difficult to imagine a better conceived production. Superior direction by Alan Schneider together with fine acting gives the viewer a clear perspective from which the complexities of Beckett's play may be sorted out.

"Waiting For Godot" deals essentially with the passage of time and each man's responsibility to occupy his time from birth to inevitable demise. This idea is portrayed through the actions of Vladimir and Estragon, who are nick-named Didi and Gogo respectively. Both are bums who carry on like Mutt and Jeff. Didi is a pensive individual with a severe bladder disorder while Gogo, the comic equivalent of Mutt in stature and manner, has trouble remembering the events of any given day.

They are waiting for a Mr. Godot, who may possibly do something to change their lives; neither man can handle having to determine his own fate. While awaiting this fictitious character, they are momentarily joined by Pozzo and his grotesque looking slave, ironically named Lucky.

During the course of the play Didi relentlessly tries to make sense out of everything while Gogo fails to make heads or tails of anything. After one sequence of events Didi comments, "Well, that made the time pass," to which Gogo replies, "It would have passed anyway."

Didi quickly retorts, "Yes, but not as quickly." These lines concisely pinpoint the purpose of "Waiting For Godot."

It is virtually a faultless production in which the acting is par excellence; best is Henderson Forsythe's rendition of Didi. He displays both finesse and a finely tuned sense of the play's rhythm.

Beckett's "Godot" is expertly handled and is done with a sharp degree of humor. It is also an enervating experience, because one often feels lost with what's going on before him. Fortunately, just when it seems about to lose one altogether, something occurs which immediately revives his interest.

Another bright spot in the off-Broadway circuit is the presentation of "Hedda Gabler" at the Playhouse Theatre.

Henrik Ibsen characterizes in Hedda the plight of the modern woman who cannot be herself in an exclusively male society which judges her solely from the male standpoint.

It is evident that Hedda's world has collapsed (and her dreams of happiness with it) long before the play begins. We see her married to a dull stuff-shirt (George Tesman), and the play constitutes a downward progression leading to our heroine's eventual demise.

Unlike most heroines, Hedda is presented as a strong and willful personage, who has no illusions about herself or the world she inhabits. She is strong, but her very strength reveals her weakness. Being so aware of her circumstance as a woman has made her deathly afraid of life itself. Her existence is one of unrelenting frigidity.

Her attempt to poetically destroy her one-time lover Eilbert Lovborg is only partially successful, as his death is pathetically non-poetic. Thus, Hedda's wish to control a human destiny is foiled. Finally she blows her own brains out when she can no longer tolerate her existence. Hedda's tragedy is ours also, for she is the only figure in the play who commands our respect.

"Hedda Gabler" features Claire Bloom in the starring role. She deftly handles her lines with varying degrees of venom and wit. Her performance is so superior that it overshadows Donald Madden's Lovborg. Madden's acting never matches his physical eminence on stage, and his role becomes weaker and less introspective than Ibsen had intended.

Fortunately Miss Bloom's talents are further illuminated when she plays opposite Robert Geringer's Judge Brack. When they confront each other, one can sense the dimensions of the struggle between them. The menacing Brack seeks to enslave Hedda sexually, but we know she will never submit.

People who like theatre have some things they should see.

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Beverage bottles and aluminum cans only account for a small percentage of our solid waste. But there are millions of dollars worth of bottles and cans being thrown away each year in our area. If we make a start here, if we all cooperate in this, we will have taken a significant step in solving one of the most important ecological problems of our day. And the problem must be solved.

Charles E. F. Millard

President

The Coca-Cola Bottling Company of New York, Inc.

## Contemporary Black Collegians

# Polemical Indictment

(Continued from Page 7)

intensify. I concluded my decision to be successful in seizing Freedom and of necessity this endeavor would make me a failure in their designs. In this struggling embryonic consciousness, I saw American racial/economic enslavement as the anti-Human and for my work to be successful I must help to dismember the anti-Human who has repressed our civilization from Freedom, to nurture and develop our Humanity.

Up to this point in human history we, the enslaved have always managed to sustain a life/grip on a slice of our Humanity. It is in this sun lit corner of our twilight existence that has flourished the prayers and dreams of Freedom and the struggle for its realization. This crucial natural resource has always been a rudimentary factor in our survival efforts. It has likewise been the key target of the enslaver's most insanely vicious assaults; notably narcotics and education.

We began this polemical essay with a last but we must end it with a whispered question. Namely, "To what ends are contemporary Black collegians directing their Humanity?" The initial lash was only meant to sting the soles of the feet but this question must burrow deep into the mind.

Contemporary Black collegians possess three of the most strategic tools an enslaved people can have to win the Freedom/struggle. We know clearly of our heritage of slavery, we possess the sinews of youth and we still sustain that slice of our Humanity. These are three of the instruments the enslaver must destroy to solidify his network of total containment and machination. He destroys the first instrument with crude manipulations of history and the schools. He destroys the second with narcotics and the armed forces. He crushes the third by enforcing the absolute effectiveness of the first two.

Contemporary Black collegians possess these invaluable tools but are floundering as did their predecessors on how to employ them. However, there can exist not universal panacea for our Black university students until the African diaspora collectively moves to resolve how and when they will take their Freedom. Critical at this juncture, Black students must personally challenge themselves on the future of their isolated slices of Humanity.

*The Whispered Challenge: "Do i want to fulfill the objectives of my enslaver, the anti-Human, or do i want to walk in the company of all Free Humans?" Alone.*

The editorial board takes this opportunity and space to compliment our associate editor, J. W. Mondesire, for having authored the above.

## Valley...

(Continued from Page 10)

point the film gains the situation which sustains it more than adequately throughout these divergent interests; the villagers, Omar, the fugitive, and Michael, the tired soldier, become strange bedfellows, all living together out of necessity for survival's sake.

The film never quite finds its way into really dealing with characterizations and relationships, perhaps because Mr. Clavell was a bit too ambitious. Or perhaps because the characters are secondary to the subject of the survival of the valley which is paramount (sorry ABC). If this is so, I regret that the characters were secondary, however the film certainly makes it in the form in which it was released.

One of the greatest things about the film is the success it achieves in creating an entirely believable frame of reference. The sense of realism is powerful with the soldiers never appearing in the flamboyant colors we would imagine them to be in. They are dirty and poor, dressed including their skin, Michael. The village too is pictured in the semi-squalid conditions of the seventeenth century during a prolonged savage war.

The Thirty Years War ostensibly was over religion, however Mr. Clavell again uses basic human nature as motivation for his characters instead of religious ideals. There are several true religious fanatics, but generally the people involved are opportunists using the war as a way of making a living regardless of their religious beliefs or those who are merely concerned with maintaining their own existence.

The performances in *The Last Valley* are all commendable including that of Omar Sharif. Michael Caine is excellent as the Captain even though he sounds a bit too much like Oscar Werner.

I must mention Florinda Bolkan who plays the wife of the head villager and eventually the mistress of the Captain. She is quite lovely in a mystical way, which aids greatly in her role as a devil worshipping witch.

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