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

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

In 1855, eight years before the Emancipation Proclamation was issued and slaves were allegedly set free, Frederick Douglas, disgusted with the then radical Republican Party, helped to organize and establish a short-lived New York State Suffrage Association to push the issue of slavery.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

analysis provided by Bill Robinson and Louis R. Rivera

U.N. Conference:

Documents Inhumane Prisoner Treatment

By ANN DORIS and ANGELITA REYES

A conference usually implies a lot of concrete structure with a few "conference personalities" to attract a crowd.

Black conferences have taken on a different type of entertainment: eloquent rhetoric and the general "Cultural Black" atmosphere. Political conferences give lay people and experts a field within to rap. Sometimes they have only an abstract idea as to what solid conclusion should clinch the particular weekend meeting.

The International Conference on the Condition of Prisoners and the Treatment of Prisoners was held at the United Nations on the weekend of February 26-27, 1972. The purpose of the conference was to prepare a document requesting an investigation of Soledad Brother George Jackson's death and to investigate the inhumane treatment of political prisoners. The document was to be presented to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

Irv Joyner, who heads the Commission on Racial Justice, was the coordinator of the Conference. Mrs. Georgia Jackson was chairwoman. Other organizations involved in the structure of the meeting were the Congress of African People; the George Jackson Prison Movement; the National Youth Congress; the National Conference of Black Lawyers; Third World Media News; and the National Council of Churches.

The first session of the conference began February 26. Fred Meely, director of the National Youth Congress, was chairman of the morning panel session. The session dealt with the powers of the Commission on Human Rights.

Adam Muhammed represented the UN Commission. The Commission concerns itself with almost every aspect of human rights. The Commission was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948. It upholds the universal ideal that everyone has the right to life and liberty, with slavery and degrading and cruel treatment being forbidden. The Commission

also asserts that individuals have a right to a nationality and participation in the government of their country.

"The Commission," said Muhammed, "established an Ad Hoc committee of experts to investigate the prison conditions in South Africa. The difficulty is you can't have such an Ad Hoc committee to investigate political prisoners in the United States because you have to gain sufficient support from enough countries.

"As you know, the United States is a western bloc. As you know, the United States is a powerful bloc. Therefore you won't find support."

Any organization presenting a case to the UN commission must have the status of NGO — non-governmental organization. A group that has NGO standing may observe closed sessions at the United Nations. However, they do not have voting power.

When the case is presented, action is not immediately taken. The presenting body concerns itself primarily with convincing the members of the Commission how important the issue is.

During the question and answer period, Muhammed stressed the point that individuals do not have direct access to the Commission on Human Rights. He also emphasized that even after grievances have reached the Security Council of the UN, it is mainly the political and economic issues that result in international action — not the social.

Despite the desire for unity among the Blacks at the meeting, and despite the supposedly international theme of the meeting, the political thrust was towards domestic problems. The flichotomy should have been more international.

For instance, the Blacks could only relate to political prison situations in America, at a conference put forth as an "international briefing." There was only one speaker who could deal empirically from the international prison scene.

Joel Carlson, a former defense lawyer for Blacks in South Africa, after waiting to be introduced, spoke to the assembly. The white South African's talk was limited, although he had been invited by the sponsoring organizations to speak.

Agreeing with general beliefs of the Blacks at the meeting, Joel Carlson also stressed the need for Black American and African unity.

"I would like to see the advocacy of purpose in treating the problems of discrimination. If you have stinking prison environments and lousy prison conditions, it's because the society is lousy. You can't have improved prisons in isolation.

"You have to improve the society in which you live. People administer the minimum standards for treatment of prisoners. I would like to see coming out of this conference, pressure groups designed to unite and form a channel of pressure coming down on the powers: the UN, the United States."

As an attorney, Carlson has acted for African National Congress (ANC), the Pan African Congress (PAC), and individuals who have been accused of political offenses under the arbitrary apartheid laws in South Africa.

"A country where," as he puts it, "punishment without trial is a regular feature of Black life." In 1969 the South African government withdrew Carlson's passport. In the spring of 1971 he clandestinely left the country.

The Saturday afternoon segment of the Prison Conference consisted of the work sessions to prepare the document for the Commission. The workshops composed areas in:

- political prisoners
- bail, probation, parole procedure
- living conditions in the prisons
- medical care
- education and rehabilitation programs
- administration of penal institutions
- denial of civil and human rights
- legal confrontation

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Community Moves On Drugs

The H. Rap Brown Anti-Dope Movement is a coalition of high school, college, religious, and community organizations and individuals concerned about the drug problem in our communities. We're constantly seeking out [other] concerned people to work with us on the drug problem.

The youth, our future generation, are the most afflicted by the drug epidemic. They are the main ones we seek to help combat this enemy of Black people.

Of course we don't see the drug problem as being totally isolated from the other forms of oppression and repression that Blacks struggle against in this country. Dope travels through an international network. Those who are in actual control of the dope traffic are not the carrier, or pusher you might see on the block. Opium and its derivatives have a two-fold purpose in the Third World (African, Asian, and Latin American) communities throughout the world.

Profit

Approximately \$3 billion dollars is made from the sale of various forms of opium throughout the world. A kilo (2.2 lbs.) of opium, from which Heroin is made, costs about \$6,000 to the purchaser. When cut for street sale it will be worth about \$2-300,000. So you can see that the dope supplier, pusher, and car-

rier are really not in total control of an operation of this magnitude.

The C.I.A., F.B.I., and local police departments are all part of the same conspiracy, for their own financial benefit. Check out how much dope seized in raids is actually left or destroyed at the end of a year. Check out how seizures and busts are made! Is it because the customs department of the U.S. is concerned about drugs getting to the Black community, or is it because some individual businessman is getting too big, or didn't go through the proper channels?

Pacification

The U.S. government realizes that its position is threatened. All over the world, in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and North America the ruling class maintains some military control; but it is constantly losing political battles to liberation forces. Drugs are an attempt to capture the minds of a people who in

the summer of 1967 had this country scared that those it oppressed would rise up, with such force as to destroy the oppressor, free themselves, and never be enslaved again.

The U.S. government doesn't mean for the drug programs it sets up to be effective. They're talking about giving pure heroin away in Washington, D.C. You can't work towards freedom when you're constantly looking for that next fix. The ruling class realizes that dope will keep niggers quiet!

We don't see ourselves working on the international level. Our concern is our community, this is where our effort will be spent.

(Continued on Page 11)

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Notables PUSH For Jackson

By CYNTHIA VALENTIN

Approximately 8,000 Blacks gathered at the 369th armory in Harlem last March 26th for the purpose of commemorating Black heroes. The gathering was sponsored by People United to Save Humanity (PUSH), and for ten or twenty dollars one was able to sit in the huge hall of the armory at a picnic table, eat a bologna sandwich or All-Pro fried chicken, and drink Kool-aid.

The event seemed to be a joyous one for those who were able to attend, and in keeping with the purpose of the event, many "famous Blacks" appeared and were highly commended for excellence in their particular fields.

Although all were labeled as Black heroes and leaders, all were not willing to accept this claim to fame. Furthermore, it was not the general feeling of all the Blacks at the picnic that all the labels were fitting.

Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson incidentally observed, when asked what major changes have taken place in Newark since his reign, that "no major changes have occurred. Only small changes have taken place, such as sanita-

tion and health changes."

He stated also that he doubted whether Blacks would progress much further politically for the year of '72.

Sister Aretha Franklin who is known to be politically aware and — even more importantly — politically active, was present.

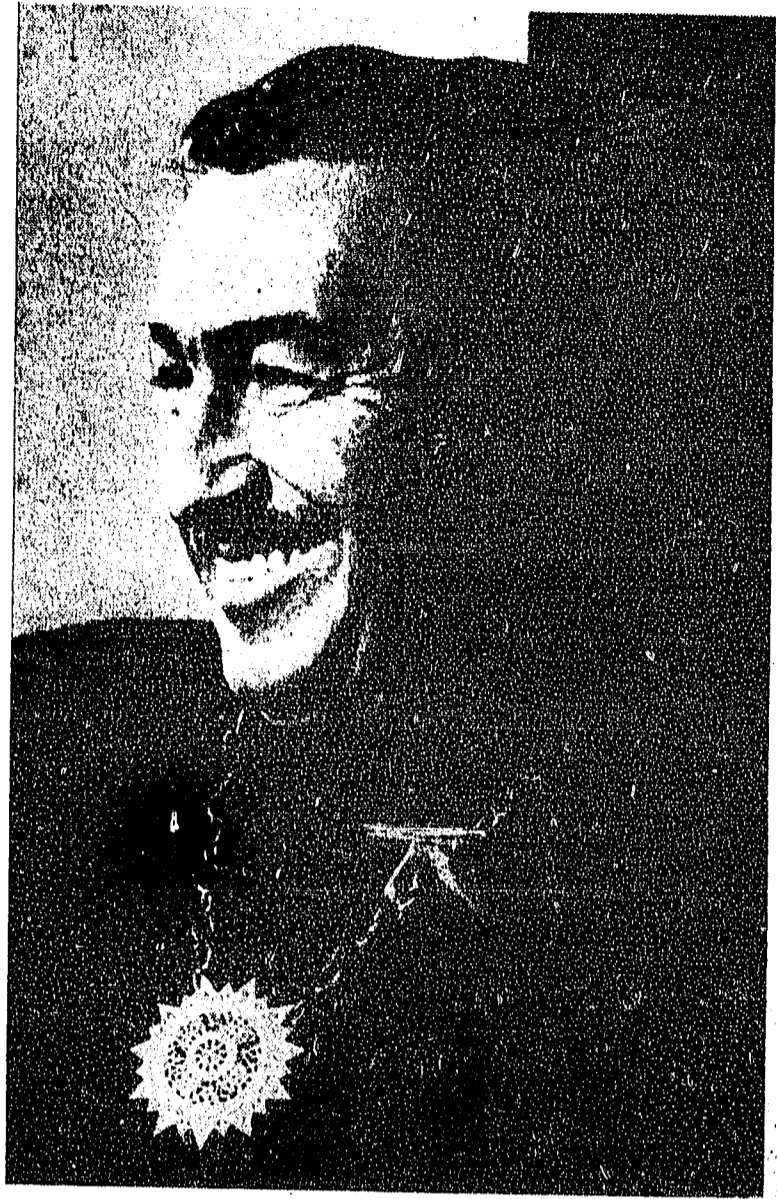
Also present was Imanu Baraka who humbly stated that if it was the general feeling of Blacks to endorse Shirley Chisholm, that he would also embrace her as presidential candidate.

Ossie Davis and wife Ruby Dee, who are very active in the Black community, and now involved in fund raising for Angela Davis, appeared.

Others at the picnic were Lerone Bennett Jr.; Poetess Nikki Giovanni, who stated that "a gathering together of Black folk has always been good;" Richard Roundtree; Miriam Makeba Carmichael; Quincy Jones; Diana Sands; Jackie Robinson; and unforgettably — Brother Flip Wilson.

Flip made, of course, a stupendous entrance as news reporters

(Continued on Page 4)



—courtesy of Amsterdam News

IN MEMORIAM TO ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR.

— 1908 - 1972 —

Media Conference:

Black Communications Analyzed

By ALBERT V. DE LEON

Communications, be it verbal exchanges between two or more parties, in print, or the visual presentation of thoughts and ideas, is an essential and integral part of everyone's life.

Because the communications medium is so influential in the lives of people, a Black Communications Conference was held recently in Washington, D.C.

The conference, sponsored by the National Black Communications Society of Howard University in conjunction with the Congressional Black Caucus and Black Prospectives (professional journalists), attempted to analyze the status of Blacks in mass communications, and why Blacks are excluded in many areas of communications.

Tony Brown, Dean of the Howard School of Communications and also producer of Black Journal, opened the conference with a talk on "The Role of the Black Communicator in the Liberation Struggle." He urged Blacks to play the role of activists in their respective fields.

Since white-controlled media promotes negative images of Blacks, the alternative is, once access is gained, for Blacks to control their input and roles.

"Our primary concern should not be the sensibilities of boards, commissions, committees and so forth of whites, but the educa-

tion of Black children and adults," said Brown.

"Black people have spent most of their lives fighting the struggle of self-hate that every white institution in America teaches Blacks. By promoting Black pride through the use of Black journalism, we can provide an antidote to his psychological self-destruction."

John Woodford, editor of *Muhammed Speaks*, spoke on "The Relationship of the Black Press to American Political and Economic Structure."

Advertising and the revenue gained from it is a major factor in the existence of all publications — Black or white. However, advertisers can influence the content or policy of a publication, to an extent which may not entirely agree with the considered objective of the publishers.

This conflicts with the principle that media reflects the interests of those who own it. Black publications depend heavily upon advertisements for their existence and are thus very susceptible to pressures exerted by advertisers.

At this juncture *Muhammed Speaks* was used as an example of a publication totally independent of corporate or standard ad types as a revenue source.

Regarding the whole situation, Woodford believes that "different positions held by people over the world are to be analyzed to

the extent that the one most appropriate to your cause or aim to be used as a yardstick in handling world news."

"Nationalism," he continued, "for the oppressed is good for the way it unites people, but they must see how it affects them in the world."

"Nationalism is used to whip up people against each other; it becomes twisted and people should be aware of the different species."

Samuel Yette, a former correspondent for *Newsweek* magazine, spoke on "The Crisis of Black Communicators in the General Media."

Yette, author of "The Choice," a well-documented book on how Blacks are obsolete in today's white America, emphasized that Black journalists must strive toward an "unswerving and unrelentless search for identity."

"There must be an understanding of the possibilities of communications, but also its limitations. At best, effective communications serves (the people)."

Yette traces the identity problem back to the importation of slaves and the different languages they spoke.

Communications are limited because "white media has always determined the course of action of the Black press." Therefore, nothing has changed in the opposite roles of the Black press and the white press.

"The oppressors' vested interest is that of maintaining Blacks as slaves to whites; such is the position of the Black press. White media assumes that the Black media is stupid and corruptible."

Referring to information gathered by Black media workers, Yette contends that "all knowledge is ultimately political and must be controlled such that it won't be used against you."

"It is not enough to create; control should precede creation. All codified knowledge is political . . . when it is thrown into the public domain there may be no control over it."

"Unless you have control over and understand your material, you're not a reporter, but a spy!"

One case in point is the controversy involving Earl Caldwell, a Black reporter for the *New York Times*. Caldwell was subpoenaed in 1970, to testify before a federal grand jury about Black Panther leaders David Hilliard and Raymond 'Masai' Hewitt. He was instructed to bring all tape recordings and notes of his interviews with them.

He refused to do so, and in the process exhibited the type of sophistication and awareness that Black journalists must possess. Caldwell refused to divulge information which would adversely affect his people, and hence be viewed as a spy.

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N.J. Convention:

'72 Strategies

By TYLIE S. WATERS

Black leadership across the country in November '71 made a call for a National Black Political Convention (NBPC), to be held in Gary, Indiana on March 10, 11, and 12. The purpose of this nation-wide convention was to attempt to develop a unified Black political strategy for '72 and beyond.

It was the duty of each state caucus to hold one or more state-wide meetings before March 1 to solidify a state-wide Black political agenda, to nominate candidates for state-wide offices, and to select delegates to the NBPC.

The New Jersey State-Wide Black Political Convention was held February 26 and 27 at Rutgers University Campus in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

New Jersey representatives included Imam Baraka, the genius who according to Percy Sutton, first suggested a National Black Convention; Howard Woodson, Jr., Assemblyman and Chairman of the New Jersey Convention; William Hart Sr., Mayor of East

Orange; Sharpe James and Earl Harris of Essex County.

Delegates to the New Jersey Convention were selected according to the "Baraka Formula." Each Congressional District was represented by a delegation made up of a proportionate number of Black elected officials, organizational representatives, Nationalists, and political activists.

"The Black community has been completely overlooked in the past. Blacks have to create a national Black political unity to deal with the Democratic and Republican conventions," said Mayor Hart, "and Blacks have to initiate a national Black structure for the years to come."

Baraka pointed out that 20% of the Democratic votes comes from the Black population. "This 20% needs to be focused in one direction. Delegates at the NPBC will determine which priorities elected officials should concern themselves with in view of the 20% Black vote — whether it will be health, welfare, education, housing, narcotics, etc."



The Paper/Jeff Morgan
Imamu Baraka heading discussions at New Jersey Convention prior to National Political parley in Gary.

It was the overall view of the New Jersey representatives that it is impossible for a Black to be nominated in the Presidential campaign this year.

"We have to concern ourselves with the more important issues rather than with having a Presidential candidate. We're concerned about Black people in America," said Assemblyman Woodson.

Guest speaker Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton stated that "the very fact that

Presidential candidate Shirley Chisholm is running is making many people interested."

Mrs. Chisholm, however, was not present at the NBPC. At the time, she was blazing her trail to Florida.

The New Jersey State-Wide Convention, strategically planned and well ordered, proved to be a healthy preparation for the NBPC. As a result, the New Jersey caucus probably was one of the most organized delegations in Gary.

Notables PUSH For Jackson

(Continued from Page 3)

and photographers surrounded him, throwing millions of questions at him simultaneously.

When questioned about his political stance he stated that he was "strictly an entertainer" and that his program was "strictly entertainment."

For many other questions of this nature he had no comment, and his message to Blacks of Harlem was none other than his presence. Mr. Wilson explicitly stated the nature of his presence at the picnic by saying "I came here to get into the food and I believe it's that way."

The main events at the picnic consisted of singing by a gospel group, an address to the audience by Jesse Jackson (founder of P.U.S.H.), acknowledgement of the guests, and presentation of awards.

The affair lasted some five hours and was filled with suspense and excitement as everyone wondered who would be called to the podium next. The event provided the perfect chance for those present to see in person, and, if they were lucky, to meet some of their favorite personalities.

The event also provided the perfect chance for whites who were starved for the company of Blacks to volunteer to be P.U.S.H. helpers, push P.U.S.H. buttons, and be amidst some 8,000 of those mistreated, misunderstood and mysterious specimens.

Jesse Jackson

Reverend Jackson, founder and national president of P.U.S.H., is

thirty years of age, holds a Bachelor of Science degree, and has completed two years, at Chicago Theological Seminary.

Jackson, who has been known to call himself "the country preacher," should not be written off as unimportant or ineffective, for he is unmistakably shrewd, and undoubtedly effective.

Reverend Jackson came to P.U.S.H. from Chicago as the former National Director of Operation Breadbasket (economic department of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference), after his resignation late last year.

His resignation was due to what he described as an "unimaginative and halting performance of S.C.L.C."

There were others, however, who had their interpretations of the performance of S.C.L.C. and the ever rising amount of conflicts between Jesse and S.C.L.C.

There was a certain amount of controversy concerning Jesse's alleged involvement in activities not considered conducive to a good reputation as a political activist. Among these activities were misappropriation of funds, and what the conference calls "repeated violations of organizational policy and discipline."

Since Jesse was filled with fresh, productive ideas, it was difficult for him to let them lie inert within him — and this is the story of the beginning of P.U.S.H. Now Mr. Jackson is doing his "very own thing."

P.U.S.H. — An Analysis

P.U.S.H. as previously stated, is a group of people "united to

save humanity." The organization has drawn up a program which is called the "Push Platform." It consists of fifteen major points with which the organization is concerned.

Some of these are labor rights, rights for children, rights concerning economics, political rights, rights for human penal systems, and rights for good education and health.

These points of major concern seem to be quite excellent ones, and the program is backed by some of the biggest names in American society.

But what the picnic seemed to be was a heyday financially for Jesse Jackson, a publicity party for the big stars, and a publicity push for those who needed it, a gathering together for the bourgeoisie, and for those who barely afforded it — something to talk about for the rest of their lives. Some have even considered the picnic "one of the biggest take-offs Harlem has ever housed."

Jackson's movement, to say the least, has had a momentous start in New York and is enjoying a very successful financial stay here. The movement consists of Black elitists and intelligentsia. P.U.S.H.'s goals and stances are not explicitly defined in the program although its points are good.

Who is supporting the movement, who are the participants, and who is benefiting from the program are questions often asked of the movement.

It is understood that "power recognizes naught but power," and to have a successful organiza-

tion it must be economically independent, but the vehicles by which this independence is achieved is a very important factor.

Other programs (such as that of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad) are enjoying economic independence which is owned solely to Blacks, and exists directly for the enjoyment of Blacks.

Imamu Baraka states very clearly that his program is for the elevation of Blacks. When P.U.S.H. refers to liberation and economic development, who is it for, and who will be responsible for this achievement?

While P.U.S.H. is presently involved in implementing an economic bill of rights, the organization plans eventually to involve itself in every Black liberation movement.

One does hope that P.U.S.H. realizes that at ten and twenty dollars a ticket, the mainstream of Blacks were on the outside of the armory.

When a function is given to commemorate Black heroes, the commemoration should be by Black people, all Black people.

But the masses of Black people are poor, and I guarantee that from March 26 to March 27, not many Black people realized there were any more Black heroes in the world than they had known of to begin with.

Being a new-born organization, it will take a while for P.U.S.H.'s "purposes and productions" to emerge fully clarified. As they do, however, it is sincerely hoped to see P.U.S.H. pushing in the right direction.

Going Back To Indiana

By TYLIE WATERS

Setting: Wednesday following the National Black Political Convention (NBPC).

Scene: City College, Finley-Snack Bar, 12 o'clock.

Ty steps off the long lunch line — large-size coffee in one hand and BLT sandwich in the other. After getting napkins and the other necessities, she's just about to sit at an available table when someone yells out:

"Hey, Ty, over here." (Ty turns around and finds that it's Brother.)

Ty: Okay, be right over.

Brother: Heard you went to Gary — the Convention.

Ty: Yeah, and I'm still tired. Can't wait til it's time to go home.

Brother: Man, we ain't never gonna get ourselves together. I started to try and go, but after digging it on TV...

Ty: TV! You should know that the media is only going to show the negative aspects of it. It really burns me. It seems nobody wants to talk about the positive points of the Convention.

Brother: Don't get excited. I'm just goin' by TV and the newspapers.

Ty: Well, you know that's a half-

Brother (smiling). Watch your language, girl.

Ty: But I tell you, it really burns me. First, think of the fact that over 10,000 Black people went just to observe and participate in the making of — whatcha call it — the Black Agenda. I think of it as our own Constitution. It kinda reminds you of the putting together of the Constitution of the United States. Only this is the Constitution of Black America.

Brother: Never thought of that. When you think of it like that, no wonder the media came down like they did. After all, none of THEM were involved, so they had to find some way to knock it.

Ty: In Gary, I had the feeling of solidarity, unification. It made me feel that we're really getting it together. And no bull-

Brother: Told you, Ty. Better watch your language. (They laugh heartily.)

Ty: Did you know that 20 to 25 per cent of our votes is needed in order for those candidates to win office?

Brother: 20 to 25 per cent, huh? All the more reason why we should be demanding our priorities, huh?

Ty: Right!

Brother: Ty, what about the chaos the media is talking about — some delegation walked out during the general assembly or something. Any validity in it?

Ty: Oh yeah. Well, the Michigan delegation walked out, which was unsound judgment on their part, if you ask me. People have to realize that this is our first national convention, and things can't be expected to go perfect.

As a matter of fact, I betcha, at any convention, whether it's the first or the 50th, everything doesn't go smoothly. The objective of a convention — I always thought — is to debate, to iron out the obstacles, and then to reach some kinda solution.

Brother: True, and wasn't the Agenda drawn up?

Ty: Yes, but it is being worked on more. You know amendments and all. But on May 19th our National Black Agenda will be made public.

Brother: Isn't that Malcolm X day?

Ty: Yep!

Brother: After the Agenda is made public, what happens then?

Ty: Well, it's my understanding that with this Agenda, we will be represented at the Democratic and Republican Conventions.

Brother: To be able to come down on them cats heavy, huh?

Ty: I think Baraka did a beautiful job chairing the general meeting.

Brother: B a r a k a ? ? ?

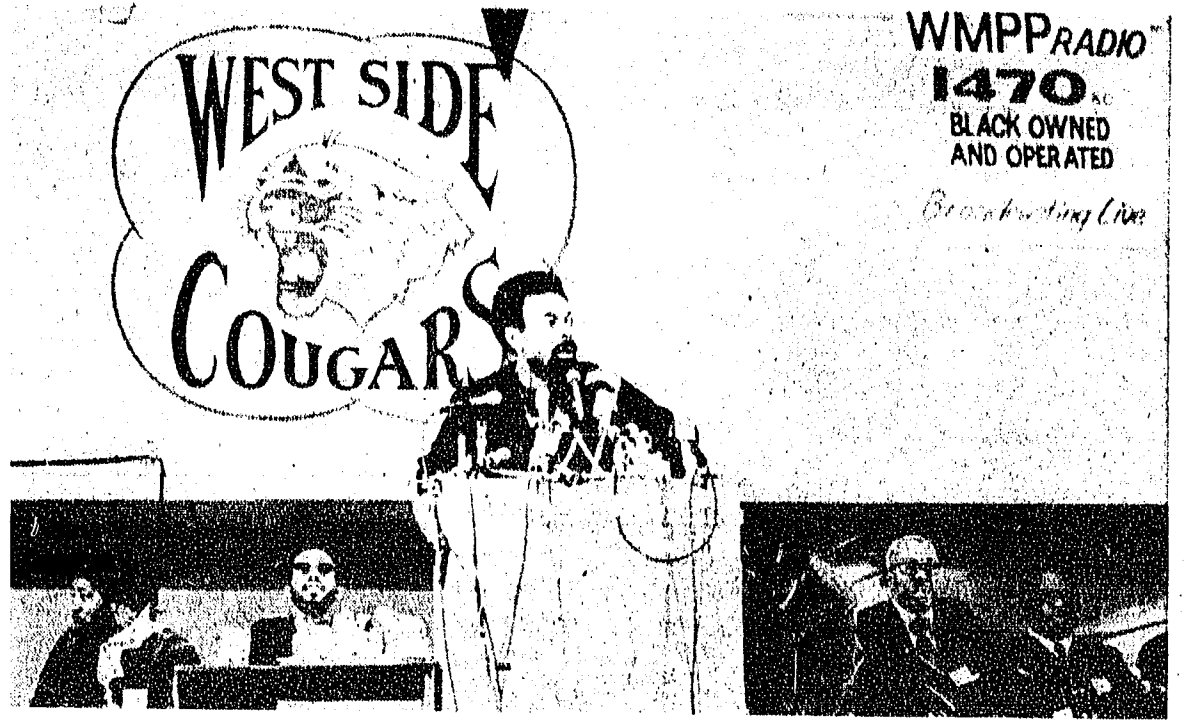
Ty: Yeah, Imamu Baraka of Newark, New Jersey, formerly known as Leroi Jones. You know Percy Sutton said that Baraka is the genius of the NBPC, that it was originally his idea.

Brother: That's a heavy brother. I read some of his work.

Ty (looking at her watch): It's almost ten to 1.

Brother: Ty, tell me something. How did you manage to get a D in Political Science?

(Continued on Page 9)



Imamu Amiri Baraka, floor chairman at Gary convention The Paper/Jeff Morgan

The Black Convention

- a view from the floor -

The hotels of Gary, Indiana, and nearby Chicago, Illinois began to fill up with conventioners early Friday, March 10. Hotel accommodations were limited in Gary, people had to resort to Chicago. However, at one Holiday Inn it seemed as if the delegates were even using the halls and lobby as "accommodations."

If a mere observer had walked into the lobby at 4 a.m. in the morning, he would have seen people sleeping in the lounge chairs or even on the carpeted floor.

As Donald Smith put it, "I was too tired to drive back to Chicago. I spent the night in the lobby." Smith was covering the convention as a photographer for **Muhammed Speaks**.

There were, as usual, crowds milling about watching for outstanding personalities to ogle over. Finally, Richard Roundtree obliged them. He made his usual walk through. There was a certain California delegate in the crowd who had brought his stereo, along with a stack of LP's.

"Why not, it's Friday night and the convention has not even started yet," he said as someone bumped into him with a glass of wine.

A brother was going into the elevator with some Kentucky Fried Chicken. I had a taste for chicken and waffles. "Excuse me, brother, where did your chicken come from?" I asked. He tossed his curly wigged natural, flipped his long ringed

fingers, batted his lashes and then told me in a clipped voice: "Honey, just turn to your left when you go out and walk five more blocks up. You won't miss it."

"Thanks," I said, still wondering how I could have mistaken him for a brother, and wondering if "he" had heard me call him so.

We spotted John Cashin in the lobby. Cashin is a politician from Alabama. Said Cashin: "I think this convention is great. I'd just like to see more organization."

"What's going on in Alabama?"

"Well, Wallace isn't running down there. He's out running

around the country. That's good: it keeps him busy out of Alabama. Let him run for God."

Within those crowds, the spirit of brotherhood and outgoing warmth reigned in Gary. Garyites who were not able to be involved in the politics of the convention were still affected by it.

For example, staffers in the Holiday Inn were working twelve hour shifts. At one point I could not get into the dining room because it was filled to capacity. Starving, I decided to "use the back door to the kitchen." (I had my press pass to do this with.)

There, I found the waiters

(Continued on Page 8)



Corridor outside convention floor is scene of sellers of many wares. The Paper/Ray Frost

Do You Want To Work For Shirley?

Contact Tony Spencer
Student Senate Office — Finley
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National Black Political Convention

Gary, Indiana, March, 1972

Summary of Statements

By GWENDOLYN DIXON

"We are through believing. We are through hoping. We are through trusting in the two white American Political Parties. This convention signals the end of bip-pocket politics and a political system which is not irrevocably committed to our principles: the liberation of Black people at home and the end of exploitation abroad."

These are the profound and positive words of Mayor Richard Gordon Hatcher, the first Black mayor of Gary, Indiana, who went on to say that, "Hereafter we shall rely on the powers of our own unity to serve a decadent society."

The mayor's speech was a retrospective



all fotos by J. Morgan & R. Frost
Imamu Baraka

view of the roads Black people have trodden, to the avenues they must make. It is time now for Blacks to take a firm position in the governing processes to maintain a balance of power.

Hatcher's main theme emphasized that Blacks "can no longer look to the Republican or Democrat parties to end genocide in Southeast Asia, exploitation in South Africa, or tokenism in America.

"Since Blacks are continuously ignored, deceived and swept under the rug, we are forced to use brute force and violence to demand human dignity. We may now be forced to form our own political party.

"Too long have Blacks hidden behind the myth that the white man means well, that Lincoln freed the slaves, that John F. Kennedy and Franklin D. Roosevelt implemented civil rights. Lincoln did not free the slaves; his goal was to save the South from seceding from the Union. Roosevelt and Kennedy didn't make a move without pressure from civil rights leaders."

It is time to face the truth about white Americans, because their only concern is to keep America white. They are not thinking in terms that Blacks are human beings.

Speaking on the differences between the two parties, Hatcher illustrated how the two-party system has not made much of a difference to Blacks.

"In 1924, W. E. B. DuBois told us straight out — 'Any Black man who votes for the present Republican party out of gratitude or with any hope that it will do a single thing for the Negro is a born fool!'"

What a timely message, directly analogous to the upcoming 1972 election: President Nixon, who doesn't give a shit about Black people. In his 1968 campaign all he wanted was one token Black face, representing nothing, in actuality.

Hatcher stated a willingness to give the two main parties another chance to work for and with Black people. He listed main objectives which were submitted to National Black Political Agenda:

- That our sharing of power take place on all levels from precinct to Presidential cabinet.

- That we must name our own candidates for public office and our own party and governmental committee members.

- That we vote in every decision which affects each of the two parties, Black people and this country.

- That political parties with which Blacks identify must work from the bottom up; not the top down.

It is now time for this generation of Blacks [who are ready] to continue the pursuit of complete freedom and eliminate the chains of individual and collective slavery. Then, collectively Blacks will gain control over their destiny, their means of productivity, and their means of survival.

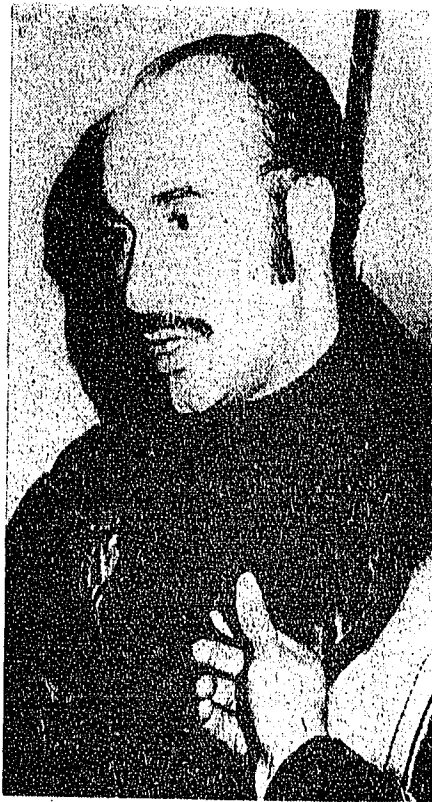
It is not the time to keep organizing committees and groups, having functions and benefits dealing with discrimination.

In order to end racism Blacks must build, build. The building of banks, manufacturing plants and corporations is the only answer. There is no more time in the history of Blacks to party, and continue to pacify their conditions, while the man plans and plots to relocate and commit genocide against Blacks.

It is time to be the carriage and not the pusher; the organ and not the grinder. The song is no longer "We Shall Overcome," but "Lift Every Voice and Sing."

Hatcher's conclusion demanded that "we get better housing which doesn't offend the nostrils and affront the eyes."

He demanded the eradication of drugs from



Basil Patterson
member of N.Y. Delegation

the Black community, employment with ample compensation.

A demand, too, for a healthy public school system where children can grow and flower, followed by a college education with adequate stipends.

Those human demands should be met in the South, the East, the West and in the North where they don't exist. Every human being has that right to demand his human dignity, the right to be human, to live peacefully, to seek knowledge.

"Too long have Blacks been enslaved. Too long have we been boys instead of men. Too long have we served as lackeys at the banquet of political spoils divided each year among white politicians whose singular credential has been the absence of skin color," exclaimed the Reverend Jesse Jackson.

Jackson, who presently heads the organization People United to Save Humanity (PUSH), is also a former member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and directed the Chicago based "Operation Bread Basket." His theme, "It's nation time," gave reference to the need to take political control over politics



Jesse Jackson
at press interview

in the Black community, and possibly establish a Black Political Party.

It's nation time for an exploited nation of people whose political impotence and enslaved mentality has handcuffed us. It's nation time to liberate ourselves, and control our communities. It's nation time for 7,500,000 registered Black voters and 6,000,000 unregistered Black voters.

He explained that the only differences between the established political parties as being the "ferocity of their oppression and the velocity of their regression.

"With the Democrats, we have been segregated in wall-to-wall, air-conditioned out-houses for our political fidelity. With the Republicans, our votes have brought us CARE packages tied with gold ribbons and 'Postage Due'."

The words of Jesse Jackson were fiery and true. His ideology seems to incorporate Muslim objectives.

Jackson proposed a separate political party, advocated more control over businessmen, bankers and labor unions by Blacks in their communities. The essential factor is to obtain an economic base along with political independence based on the assumption that one cannot function without the other when liberation is sought from an oppressor.

The first National Black Political Convention proved that the level of conscienceness within the Black community is rising. The conventioners attempted to consolidate their differing ideas in order to find a unity of purpose. Realizing that passivity will not expedite liberation,



Left to right: Mayor Richard Hatcher and Michigan Congressman Diggs sharing press conference after convention adjourned.



Delegates from New Jersey and Indiana enjoying sessions during floor debates.

a collective effort is essential to awaken the Black masses to drop the aprons of servitude.

The significance of Black political powerlessness was exemplified when Jackson drew the parallel of Black populations.

"If the 22 million Black Americans constituted a separate nation, that country would be the 26th largest country in the world and the third largest Black country (after Nigeria and Ethiopia). It's estimated wealth of 35 billion dollars would make it the 15th richest nation on the globe."

The estimated wealth is only a wealth of buying power. However, Blacks are consumers rather than producers; they consume 100% of everything they earn. Therefore "Buying power" can be a definite instrument, used in ways such as boycotts. Blacks have to hone the weapon of their buying power in order to wage a battle in the political arena.

Jesse Jackson's proposals aren't new and unless Blacks take literal control over their destiny, many more Blacks will become political prisoners. It is no longer about proposals, but taking the necessary steps for the implementation of:

- The formation of a Political Party.
 - The implementation of Black parity in all elective and appointive offices: Whatever we are in the population, that is the minimum percentage of jobs Black people must control. This means that in Congress there should be 52 Black congressmen.
 - Developing an African foreign policy that compels this country to have absolutely no trade or diplomatic relations with any African countries where Blacks are not the rulers.
- As explained by Jackson, the National Policy Council must seek the exclusion of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal from the U.N., as well as initiate a worldwide economic boycott of these countries until Black Africans are in military and political control of their own countries.
- To legislate a comprehensive National Land Reform Act that will redistribute a minimum of 40 acres per person to Black families.
 - A National Black Commission for Penal Reform, and Anti-Narcotics Agency directed by Blacks.
 - The formation of a National Black Commission for law and justice to oversee the administration of justice in all Black communities.

Summary of Issues

By LOUIS R. RIVERA

They came to Gary wearing masks of diverse interests. From the South came those who either coveted or despised separatist doctrines; from the North, a confusing onslaught of **Nationale Indocctrinares**; and from the West, an admixture of those who held upright the banner of gradualism, with those who've borne witness to exposed levels of co-option. Before the convention was over the masks were shorn.

The conveners, representing the multi-faceted ideologies and working principles of our Black communities, came to the smog-ridden city in Indiana to have grass-root input into a forthcoming National Black Agenda. But the roots were pulled from out of the grass.

Of the 3,376 delegates attending, more than

half were elected officials. The remaining delegates represented a range of community groups, local political parties, and national or state-wide organizations.

The word, "first," was abused several times within the context of its use. To play-down criticism of the convention proceedings, people would be reminded that this was the first National Black Political Convention, and so should keep criticism in that perspective.

To avoid conflict of interests while perpetuating the underlying theme of "unity with-



Coretta Scott King during press interview

out uniformity," as projected by Imamu Baraka, the floor chairman, delegates were reminded of the significance of this first convention in more than 50 years.

Many of these delegates came to reflect their Democratic and Republican party interests. Some came prepared to combat conflicting platforms from other areas of the country.

The Kansas City chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the largest contingent of youth delegates in any one national organization, was expected to strongly oppose Nationalist proposals set forth by the New Jersey/New York delegation.

Out of the 50 state delegations and ten national organizations participating, a small but representative caucus was formed to push for the nomination of Shirley Chisholm for President.

The citizens of Gary, mostly Black, were paradoxically warmer than the steel mills they depend on for employment and market cycle.

The people, faced with the gradual shut-down of those mills, rising unemployment, inadequate housing, welcomed their visitors with opened hearts, opened arms, and opened homes.

A courtesy car-pool, comprising over 200 cars and drivers, was placed round-the-clock, at the disposal of conventioners. Those who lacked hotel accommodations were guests of local families.

The arrival of ten thousand visitors did not affect the prices of confectioneries, local eating establishments, hotels, et al., but were remarkably low.

And the city offered their best, a high school gym, to house the convention floor.

The issue of busing children to schools more commensurate to equitable education was, in light of regular party throes, to be the focal point for contention.

While each delegation was allowed to submit proposals for floor consideration, the pre-arranged platform agenda was used as the yardstick from which to measure finalization of all other points.

The conflict between Nationalists and NAACP'ers never did take place, nor did a move to endorse Shirley Chisholm. While some observers noted that Chisholm's absence seriously hindered the supportive drive for her endorsement, others noted why she could not afford to personally seek endorsement.

Accordingly, since her campaign was initially an independent drive, and since the seriousness of her bid for the presidency came under question, the possibility of being denied endorsement from her own people acted as a catalyst in her decision not to run the risk of attending the convention.

The convention itself was marked by several significant features.

The first was the motivating feeling of togetherness and unity expressed by observers and delegates alike. The coming together of people from diverging interests and outlooks was a significant venture in and of itself. Illustrating a need to exchange political and ideological notes was recognizably vital to ongoing involvement.

The second was the treatment given coverage of the convention by white controlled media. Observers at the convention succinctly expressed reaction to "inept coverage." Said one: "They (major dailies) treated the convention as if it were another demonstration.

"They waited for something to happen, some disruption, so they could use it as their lead. Since no disruption occurred they focused on petty squabbles to show how disunited we are. But we fooled them. We were together."

Said another: "If this were a white convention, television, radio, and the dailies would treat this like the event it was. Since it wasn't, they didn't."

The third was the outcome of the convention itself. Resolutions passed, were based on the premise that "all things would work out in due time."

All resolutions from every delegation were accepted without question. These included:

A resolution not to endorse any presidential candidate for office with another resolution to support Shirley Chisholm's bid;

an anti-busing resolution with one for busing.

In addition, a National Black Assembly, comprised of the chairmen of each delegation, would meet to both revise and refine the points accepted by the floor for a National Black Agenda to be released May 19th, the birthday of Malcolm X.

Also, this body would be charged with carrying out all resolutions coming from the convention, including the possibility of forming an independent political party.



View of convention floor after adjournment on Sunday, March 12, 1972.

Conference On Prisoners

(Continued from Page 2)

The people participating in the workshops were chiefly laymen. In reality how could they prepare a basic document on penal institutions within less than two days?

People are generally aware of the poor conditions in U.S. prisons. The state of the prisons has been amplified many times as prisoners have attempted to call attention of the nation that something has to be done. And in order for those pressure groups to make an impact on improvement, the generalities have to be geared towards legal specifics. Two days

of "rappin'" is not enough.

The abuses of the penal institutions affect Third World peoples more than anyone else. Not only must the Third World prisoners "do their time" but they are the direct subjects of racism.

The active workshops continued on the second day of the conference. Georgia Jackson was present. However, she would not make any statements. The physical life of George Jackson is gone. But her efforts for justice reminds living Blacks that relief must be brought to those who are still incarcerated.

Ed Bell is Georgia Jackson's attorney. He will, along with Haywood Burns (director of National Conference of Black Lawyers), plan to edit and prepare the complete document for presentation to the United Nations.

The workshops did not yield any prepared papers. The exchange of information concerning institutions was valid and important to the layman. Now strategy tactics are needed for action. Did the input of the conference workers fulfill its purpose? That is — has the proposed document been presented to the Commission in March as scheduled? According to Irv Joyner of the Commission on Racial Justice, the proceedings have not yet come to a final stage.

Hopefully, the final stage will emerge. Then the conference will have fulfilled its purpose.

Floor View Of Convention

(Continued from Page 5)

and waitresses and cooks tired but excited about the influx of out-of-towners. "I've been working for ten hours already," said one petite waitress. "I feel that this weekend will really be a memorable one for everybody."

Another group of Garyites caught up in convention activity was the merchants of Gary. The merchants of Gary rented space in the corridors of the West Side High School for their exhibits. The rental fee was one hundred dollars. One dealer, who ran the only Black owned bookstore in Gary, had Black literature and paintings for sale. He was "totally enthusiastic about all the goings-on here!"

The excitement of the cultural exhibitors selling and displaying their art work was at a constant peak. The colorful array of sculpture posters, African paintings added to the positive attitude of the people.

The halls of the school were decidedly crowded with wide-eyed observers, press representatives, photographers and plain-clothesmen. However, as an exhibitor from Harlem stated, "The people don't seem to mind the physical closeness at all. Even the cops here are on our side!"



THE PAPER/Jeff Morgan
Common sight throughout Gary's business district is mannequin holding convention banner.

No static at all. These towners are beautiful and friendly.

"You would normally expect people to take advantage and exploit out-of-towners at a convention. Not so in Gary."

Specifically concerning the cordialness, Garyites opened up their homes for people involved in the convention. Many aided in transporting delegates from various hotels to the sites by offering private cars as courtesy cars.

As for the law officers, it seemed that the predominantly Black group of lawmen were encompassed by the spirit of the convention — the policemen were helpful and friendly.

According to Charles Boone,

Black Gary police chief, "All 382 members of the force were on duty to protect and serve. We had the normal things happening that you would expect to happen at a gathering of this sort. But the people generally seemed to be together — to want to be friendly."

The police were confronted with a bomb threat on the last day of the national meeting. The convention hall was emptied of all the delegates, however no bomb was found. Again showing a united fortitude after the threat, Blacks returned to the hall to resume work. In fact they re-entered the building before it had been officially declared as safe.

The many people who convened at Gary sensed the crisis and the importance of the occasion. If some of them had only an abstract idea as to what the significance was — that does not matter. They came, and they were interested in gaining concrete information concerning the political plight of Black America.

The profound crisis of Blacks is evident throughout the nation. But Gary symbolized the basis for an economic-political remedy.

Dick Gregory said at the convention, "People been talking about the arguing on here and the so-called splits. Let me say this: if everybody coming to a convention had one trend of thought, there wouldn't be any need for a convention."



YOU KNOW YOUR OWN STYLE

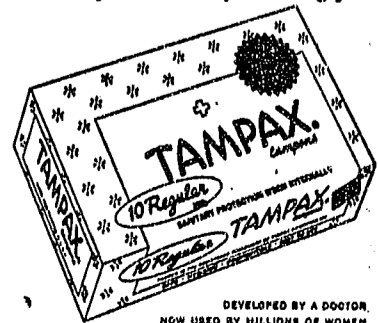


"They" can't tell you what to wear anymore. The day they stopped making minis was the day you started making them. Because no one knows better than you what's best for you. There are fads and fashions in monthly protection, too. And they'll try to tell you the old-fashioned ways are wiser. Or the new gimmicks are the answer. But you know best.

You know you can rely best on Tampax tampons. For comfortable, dependable, invisible protection. And you know you'll get the absorbency-size that's right for you. Because only Tampax tampons offer three sizes: Regular, Super and Junior.

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Sports Review

By BOB NICHOLSON

Over the Easter Holiday the City College Baseball Team started its season last Wednesday in Florida. The only victory was a three-hit performance by Beaver ace Frank Campisi, a 9-4 win against Florida A&M at Tallahassee.

The losses were to the Detroit Tigers farm club (twice), Florida A&M and to Harvard University. One game scheduled with Western Michigan University was rained out.

The Beavers played Queens College at Macomb Park on April 10, losing by the same score that they had won by, 7-4, in an abbreviated game, called after eight innings due to darkness.

The Knights scored four runs

in the second inning with the help of three singles that were turned into doubles by the brilliant speed of three Knight runners who are now 4-1.

Their only loss to the conference champs, 3-2. C.C.N.Y. is now 1-4.

They meet Wagner College at Macomb Park starting at 3:15.

The Lacrosse Team lost to Maritime College, 26-12, last Friday.

Announcements

Election '72 Project — "The Young Electorate" — Speakers: Former Congressman Al Lowenstein, Frontlash Chairman Penn Kemble. Thursday, April 13, 12:30-2:00 P.M., 106 Steiglitz. All invited.

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Back To Indiana

(Continued from Page 5)

(They both laugh. Ty, louder and louder.)

Ty: Okay smart guy. There's a big difference between being in the classroom and being actively involved. I still don't know half of it, but Gary gave me an incentive to find out more. For me, the Convention was a good introduction to politics.

Brother: Hey, how was the Convention socially?

Ty: Socially? — a gas!

Brother: You must have met a lot of people. I know you ain't tired just from listening . . .

(The bell rings.)

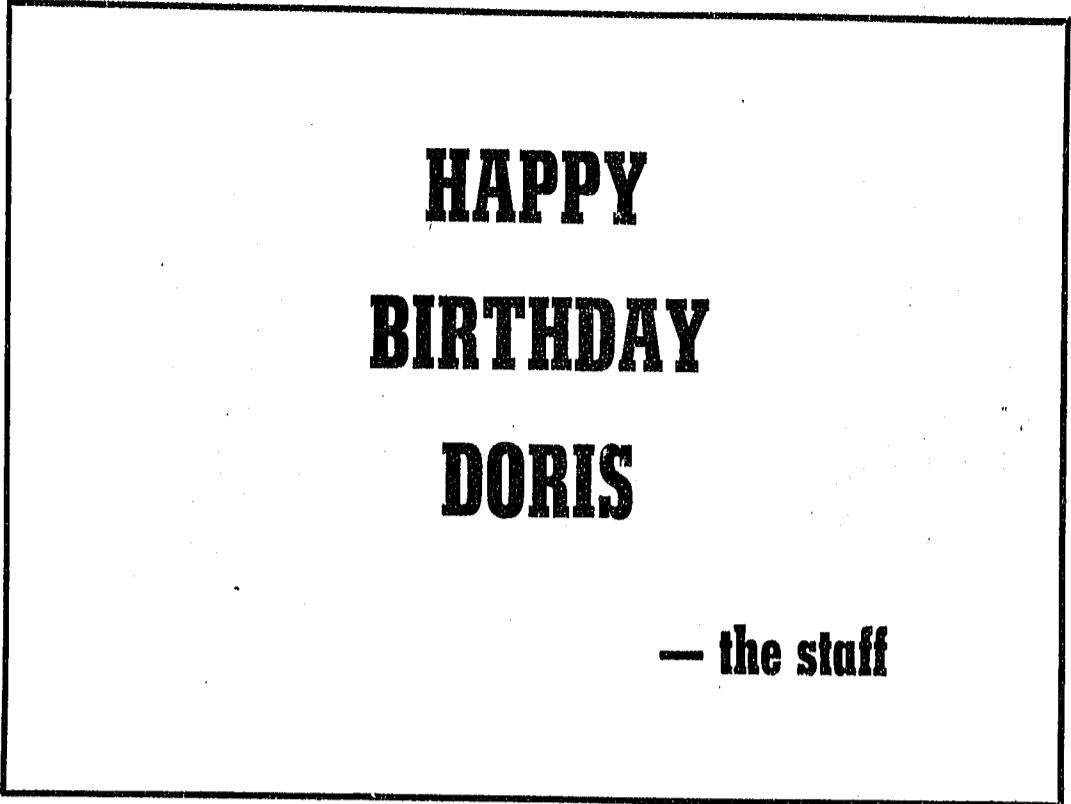
Ty (laughing): I'll have to tell you 'bout that some other time. Right now, I got a class on North Campus.

Brother: Ohhhhh. Too bad, just when I was getting interested.

(Ty picks up her books. She leaves half a cup of coffee and half of her BLT.)

Ty (still chuckling): See you 'round. Take Care —

(After Ty walks away, Brother thinks to himself, half smiling: I got to check it out for myself next time.)



Media Conf.

(Continued from Page 3)

According to Yette, white America is currently in a pacification stage. In this stage the oppressor "seeks to gain credibility with the oppressed; seeks profits at the expense of the oppressed and; tightens his control over the oppressed."

Pacification programs such as the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), Yette feels are "such that monies from these programs, unless they can be corrupted, and the extent to which they can be corrupted, is the extent to which they can be sought."

A panel, composed of Robert De Leon, Managing Editor of Jet magazine; Lu Palmer, a columnist for the Chicago Daily News; Lonnie Yashif, a correspondent for Muhammed Speaks; Louis Oglesby of the Christian Science Monitor; and Yette, discussed "Blacks in Black Media" and "Blacks in the White Media."

This particular panel discussion was notable because it involved active discussion and debate among the panel members, along with audience input into the proceedings.

All agreed on the need to upgrade Black publications and for all Blacks to assert themselves in all forms of media.

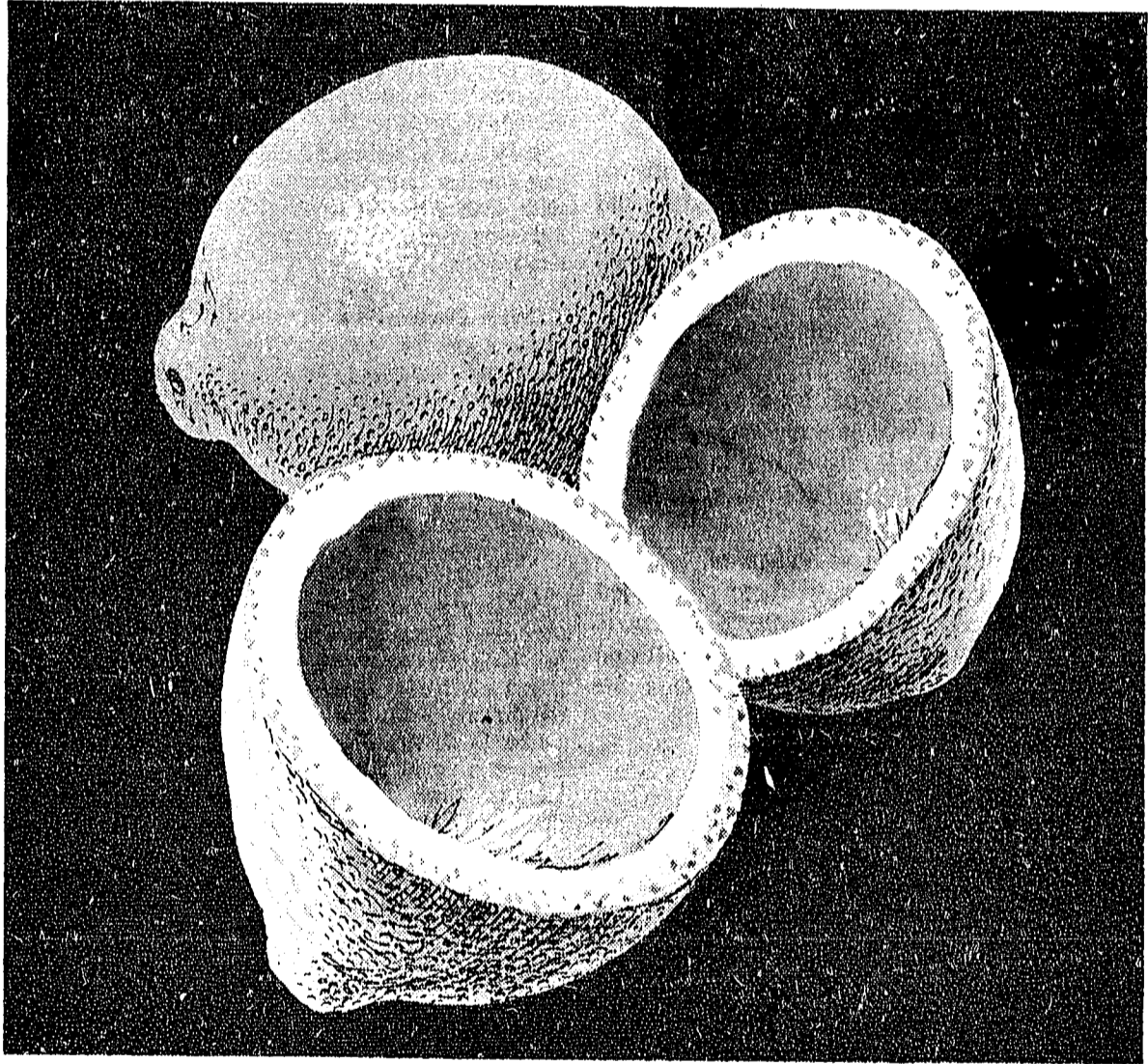
"It is very easy," said De Leon, "for Blacks to be critical of the Black press. Black journalists should work for Black publications and try to change them, instead of outwardly criticizing them."

Says Palmer, "If a Black journalist is to be true to himself, he himself must be accountable to his people."

He must be certain that his story is from a Black perspective and not a story that is controlled by whites (through editors) who are not in a position to interpret the Black experience, hence the article becomes merely one written by a Black in a white perspective.

With this, the identity crisis is easily solved: "A Black man (woman) first — a journalist second."

Empty promises.
That's what you get when
other beauty products talk about lemon.



Only Lemon Up has the natural juice of one whole lemon... controls oily skin and hair naturally.

Most lemon beauty products just give you lemon perfume. Or a dab of lemon extract.

Only Lemon Up gives you the natural juice of one whole lemon in every bottle. And lemon juice is nature's own grease-cutter.

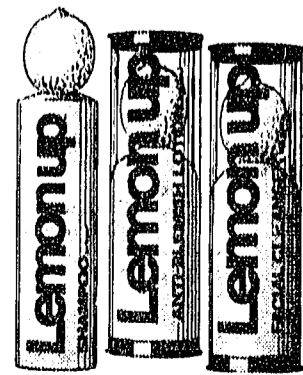
So Lemon Up Shampoo cleans cleaner and rinses fresher, for brighter, longer-lasting shine.

Lemon Up Facial Cleanser whisks away dirt and oil and leaves your skin naturally fresh and glowing.

And there's Lemon Up Anti-Blemish Lotion, a special cleanser for complexion problems.

It cleans pores and kills bacteria on skin with its anti-bacterial formula. Lemon Up, the only lemon beauty

products in the world with the natural juice of one whole lemon. And that's a promise we keep.



Lemon Up

THE PAPER

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News In Brief

By AYAD MOHAMED

Methadone Babies: According to scientific research, if a mother is "hooked" to Methadone treatment, the results of the of the treatment can be passed on to the baby, creating the situation known as "Methadone Babies."

Methadone effects the central nervous system of the human body. Part of the system is in the brain. The drug in turn, causes some drastic results on the brain.

What this does to the developing child, however, is not yet known.

* * *

Thursday, March 23, 1972: The Asian students of C.C.N.Y. took over the Asian Studies Department office located in Goethals Hall.

It was at 12:30 noon when, according to an Asian observer, a group of Asian students peacefully told everyone in the office to leave because "We are taking over."

Later that day they took over the rest of Goethals and camped there until Saturday morning, when the administration threatened to serve a court injunction.

One main gripe they had was that they felt the Asian Studies Department wasn't relevant enough to Asian needs.

They held a series of rallies and marches and tried to negotiate with Pres. Marshak the following week, with no positive results.

* * *

Senate Election Results. Tony Spencer won the presidency for the Senate, defeating Bill Robinson, 709-571 votes.

The other elected officials are: Executive Vice President, Sam Pitkowski; University Affairs V.J., Jose Perez; Campus Affairs V.P., Debbie Kaplan; Educational Affairs V.P., Peter Grad; Treasurer, David Wu; Community Affairs V.P., Baln. Ombudsman Robert Grant was re-elected.

The Senatorial seats were won as follows:

Nursing: Santana; Education: Ayad Mohamed; Architecture: Vincent Lee; Engineering: Feldman, Friedman, Kapels and Knapp; SEEK: Smith, Williams and Gomez.

Evening Session: Babin, Gunther, Koch, Loyd, Platt, Poland, and Ward.

Science: Commorato, Gelnick, Grunwald and Rosen; Social Science: Quadri Abdul-Wahab, Frankel, Walter Hunter, Jacobs, Lopez and Maldonado.

Humanities: Asencio, Al Camp, Reyes.

The Humanities was supposed to have six elected officials, while they only had three.

Social Science was supposed to have only three elected officials. However, they had six.

Finley Board of Advisors: Ocipoff and Reyes; Discipline Committee: Fuld, Bennett, Glickstein, Grunwald, Ocipoff, Schoenberg, and Lee.

SEEK Advisory Council Demands State Support in Overall CUNY Budget

March 9, 1972: An emergency press conference was held at John Jay College by the SEEK Advisory Council.

"We speak for increased state support of the CUNY budget,

which means increased state support for programs designed to educate the poor; particularly Black and Puerto Rican people.

"The SEEK, College Discovery, and Open Admissions programs must not be jeopardized by the dollar shortfall budget imposed by the state. The necessary funds must be restored and the necessary additional funds allocated," said Helen Harris, Vice-Chairman of the Steering Committee of the SEEK Council.

They feel that such minority programs should never be eliminated because of the widespread need for minority groups to attend college but, cannot afford to.

* * *

An Unjust Act Committed

The first New York festival of Cuban films opened on Friday, March 24, 1972. However, it was forced to close the following Saturday, March 25, because of a sudden, unexpected raid on the theatre by the United States Treasury Department with a search and seizure warrant.

The warrant showed that the film violated the Trading with the Enemy Act.

On the following Monday, March 28, the American Documentary Films and Cuban Film Festival Committee went to court.

The Cuban film festival will celebrate the Anniversary of the Bay of Pigs on Monday, April 17, 1972. It will be held at the Treasury Department, Federal Plaza, from 4-6 P.M.

For further information, call 924-1161 or 791-7466.

Tribute To Adam

Never in all known history has a man, who has been the recipient of slanderous accusations, and the actor of irreputable behavior, been loved so dearly or respected by so many.

Adam Clayton Powell was undoubtedly one of the greatest figures in Black political history. He was among the most productive and effective of all politicians, Black or white.

It is true that he was not awarded a reputation held in the "best" light of what we interpret honesty and integrity to be. But he never claimed to be any of the things many people said he should have been.

"I," Adam said, "do not intend to do any more than any other member of Congress, and by the grace of God, not one bit less."

This is a more profound form of honesty than many of us have the capacity to realize.

It is ironic, however, that Adam was not quite so honest in his statement, for by the grace of God he did not do any less, but much more.

Adam Clayton Powell Jr. was an "iron" vehicle by which many Blacks have attained much of their quest for progress in many areas most take for granted (such as employment, education and housing).

If, as it is said, "A man is judged by the fruit of his work," Adam Clayton Powell has done no worldly wrong, for his fruits are plentiful. Only a man strong in character and perseverance could equal his achievements, with the odds so unmistakably against him.

His "stinging" arrogance and certainty of ultimate goals has in the past, and will always force admiration and respect of all for him. For he never really let us down. And now as he is at rest, we say from our hearts with an honesty as sincere as his, that by the grace of God, we will do no less.

Classified

Greg: Here comes one-half of the dynamic duo, Super-Sister — got her cape and all.

Doris has some bad socks boy. She wears them with some orange sneakers. Those socks are so bad they'd make a junkie straighten-up.

Ayad, They rent rooms down at the "y".

And here's the other half — She's got a capo, too — The Girl Wonder.

Louie: Well I got my books y'all. Yah, Louie.

Louie: When are you going to start putting my name down in the photo credits?

Sheryl: Sheryl has been feeding her face again. "Now, I'm ready for some coast duck."

Ayad: You've been caught rappin'. You've been sneaking your address to Diane, while she gives Frost and staff her's. You did a "Ballinger Movement."

Louie: That's bad public relations.

Bill: You've been caught on TV rappin' again.

Cynthia: You take five (5) hours to get dressed in the morning.

Virgo: Virgos are human too.

Ayad: "Everybody knows about my good thing."

Non Third World Member: "Where is Jeff Morgan?"

Bob Feaster: "Look in the file under 'M' for Morgan."

Pat: Oh, my stomach hurts!!!!

F: Well, maybe you're pregnant.

Pat: Well, I don't know how that could have happened!!!!!!

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Eh Al: What I want to know, is that girl who was down here this morning from Brooklyn?

Boro Printers

Boro: Yeah. Why? Al

Al: She was wearing her bullets, and I want to wear mine. Boro

Knock, knock. Female voice: Is Louie there? Printer: no, he's not.

SAM, You've got to control yourself. Frost

I'm glad Greg didn't see me today. Doris

Cartey Gets King Award

An expert on African and Caribbean literature and history has been recommended to the Board of Higher Education as the first recipient of the Martin Luther King Jr. Distinguished Professorship at Brooklyn College, it was announced by President John W. Kneller.

Dr. Wilfred Cartey, professor of comparative literature at the City College of New York since 1969, holds the Chair through the spring semester. The Chair is in the Department of Afro-American Studies at Brooklyn College.

Dr. Cartey's appointment ends the lecture series held under the professorship's name since 1968 when the Chair was first established. These lectures, which brought some of the nation's foremost scholars on Afro-American affairs to the college, were an interim program while a suitable candidate was being sought to assume the full functions of the professorship.

Born in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, Prof. Cartey received his B.A. from the University College of the West Indies in Jamaica and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Columbia University. Prior to his appointment at CCNY in 1969, he served in various capacities at Columbia from 1957-69, as an instructor in Spanish, a member of the African Studies Institute and a professor of English and com-

parative literature. He has been a visiting professor at the Universities of Ghana, West Indies, Puerto Rico and Vermont.

Dr. Cartey lectures and writes widely on African and Black literature and contributes to numerous journals and magazines here and abroad. He is the author of several books, including *The West Indies: Islands in the Sun*, *Whispers From a Continent* and a book of original poems, *House of Blue Lightning*. Dr. Cartey has also edited anthologies of African literature and been literary editor of *African Forum* magazine, contributing editor to *SAVACOU* magazine in Jamaica and on the executive board of *Pan-African Journal*, among others.

Elected to membership in the Black Academy of Arts and Letters last year, he has also served as a consultant to numerous colleges and organizations, such as Spelman College, Benedict College, Columbia, Head Start and Upward Bound. Among his many scholarships and grants was a Fulbright Travel Grant, from 1955-59, to study Afro-Antillean and Latin American literatures.

Dr. Cartey's many memberships include the African American Heritage Assn., the African Studies Assn., the Hispanic Institute of the U.S., the Institute of Caribbean Studies and the Modern Language

Assn.

In his new position at Brooklyn, Dr. Cartey will offer courses on Caribbean and African literature and on Caribbean culture and will advise the Department of Afro-American Studies on the development of a comprehensive curriculum in Caribbean Studies.

The Distinguished Professorship is aided through a grant from the Brooklyn College Fund.

Notices

Social Security beneficiaries who earned over \$1680 last year and received one or more social security checks must file a report of their earnings with Social Security by April 17 this year. An income tax report to Internal Revenue does not fulfill this requirement. Failure to report income to Social Security on time can result in the loss of an additional check.

James E. Haldane, District Manager of Social Security, reminds beneficiaries they can get help in filing the report by telephoning 923-2510 and asking for "Teleservice." The caller should have all withholding slips available when he calls. If he is self-employed he should have his 1971 federal income tax return available.

Vets And Drugs

By JAIME H. RIVERA

One of the harshest side effects of the war in Vietnam, aside from wrecking the economy, causing casualties to both sides and forcing some young men to leave this country rather than serve in what they consider to be an unjust war, is drug addiction among returning veterans.

It is estimated that as of September of last year, there may be as many as 10,000 addicted or drug-abusing veterans residing in New York City. Estimates also show that but 3,500 of these are being treated in programs, most civilian in nature.

The Veterans Administration, whose primary responsibility is to treat these veterans is, at present, totally wanting in efforts to restore stricken veterans to a normal life. Facilities in V.A. hospitals number but twenty beds in Manhattan with 15 under development in Brooklyn. There is a waiting list of 200 for Manhattan alone.

Civilian treatment centers for drug addicts have limited resources for treating incoming veterans although some like S.E.R.A. and Project Return have set up separate units for dealing with returning servicemen. Nevertheless, their number is increasing because of the approximately 2,000 servicemen returning each month, about 5% are addicts or drug-abusers.

The Veteran's Referral Center, 71 Worth Street, in conjunction with the City, is sponsoring a proposal that will call for the centralization of services for the veteran. If the proposal is accepted by V.A. officials in Washington, the new program will offer services to an additional 6,500 returning veterans within the next year.

The plan is to increase VA-sponsored services and along with the City's methadone Maintenance Program, establish a 500 man methadone holding unit molded upon tested programs developed locally. Also,

the proposal calls for reimbursing civilian treatment programs for their costs in treating addicted veterans. Therefore, these civilian programs can expand their services and facilities to meet the large volume of veterans already in the City.

It is hoped that this will eliminate the run-around returning veterans are given when they seek help. This is to be done through a central Diagnostic and Referral Center, located in New York City, where all servicemen being discharged to New York City and identified as drug-abusers or addicts would be assigned on orders before separation.

Besides employing the techniques now being used by the newly created Central Referral Unit of the Addiction Services Agency the program will aim at providing comprehensive life support services such as expansion of career and job development opportunities.

The plan recommends that the Federal Government assume the full financial responsibility of providing rehabilitation services to addicted and drug-abusing veterans. The plan then calls for the reimbursement for services provided to veterans regardless of age or the nature of discharge. This clause is important since those receiving less than honorable discharges are ineligible for any V.A. benefits.

We at The Paper believe this is a valuable proposal and ask our readers to offer their support by soliciting five signatures upon the petition appearing below and forwarding it to:

Richard Linder, Director
Veteran's Referral Center
71 Worth Street, 2nd Floor
New York, N. Y. 10003

We the undersigned believe addicted veterans of the Vietnam era have been wounded in the same way as our brothers who have been shot.

We demand, therefore, that each and every addicted veteran, regardless of discharge be offered a treatment program acceptable to him and paid for by the Federal Government through the Veterans Administration.

The V.A., which is limited in both capacity and kinds of treatment, must expand through the purchase of services from civilian programs that have a high percentage of Vietnam era veterans on staff.

Name: _____ Address: _____

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

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Brown Anti-Dope Movement

(Continued from Page 2)

Purpose of the Organization

The movement's purpose is the eradication of the dope problem, by dealing with the cause and suppliers on whatever level that is effective. Along with eradication is the education of our youth not only to the effects of drugs, but who sells them and for what reasons.

We hope to bring together as many concerned community groups, progressive organizations, student, national, worker's, and religious organizations, rehabilitation programs, military and veteran's organizations, and Third World individuals, as possible.

The movement sees that to be effective, the organization will have to be around as long as the problem persists.

What Does the Organization Do?

The organization has speakers who speak at rallies, community functions, assemblies, etc. We actively seek to arrange study groups around drug oriented problems. Putting out anti-drug information we feel is a primary task for the educational aspects of our program.

We work with rehabilitation programs who are sincere. Researching the old and new methods used to combat the overall drug problem in terms of rehabilitation methods, community resistance, legal drugs such as methadone and retalin, and the history of invasion of the Third World communities by the drug network is of great importance in understanding

the politics of drugs. Teachers work with us to set up seminars in their schools.

As a more long range effort we hope to produce and show video-tapes and films in the communities. All these goals are feasible and can be accomplished by anyone who is responsible and sincere.

Why Does the Movement Bear Rap's Name?

H. Rap Brown has always taken the position that Black people must assume responsibility for ridding our community of this plague, for it is we who have the most at stake. We cannot wait for those who are responsible for the problem of drugs in the Black community to solve the problem of drugs in the Black community. We cannot simply look to rehabilitation as being a solution to the problem. For every addict that is rehabilitated, there are four new ones created.

H. Rap Brown's family has informed us that from his bed at Riker's Island, his position remains that we must declare total war on the suppliers and pushers of dope in the name of

our community and in the name of our children.

On November 24th, 1971 the H. Rap Brown Anti-Dope Movement was born. In the 135th St. YMCA sat a panel that included Professor John Henrik Clarke, Georgia Ware of City-Wide Welfare Rights, Imamu Amiri Baraka, Julian Bond, to name but a few. Their purpose was to hold a press conference to launch the movement. Because of the nature of the conference it was squashed in most Black and white establishment press.

So our first beliefs have been proven true. If Black people are to get word of the movement, it is the organization itself that will assume the responsibility of reaching the people.

Who Can Join the Movement?

Anyone who is sincere and wants to do something about the drug problem contact —

The H. Rap Brown
 Anti-Dope Movement
 346 W. 20th St.
 New York, N.Y. 10011
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 SAVE OUR CHILDREN-**

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Sudan War Ending

The civil war in the South Sudan never got the headlines given to the wars in the Congo and Biafra, but it was just as bloody. Now, after 16 years, the fighting should be ending.

At least half a million persons died from wounds, disease or starvation in the war, according to UN figures. Hundreds of thousands more were driven from their homes.

The war began in 1955, just before Sudan achieved independence from Britain. The blacks of the south, mostly Christian but some pagan, were fighting the brown-skinned Moslem Arabs of the north, who domin-

ate the government in Khartoum.

The peace agreement paves the way for resettlement of thousands of southerners who took shelter in the bush or fled to neighboring African countries. Numairi has asked UN agencies, the Red Cross and other organizations to help with their return.

The accord calls for regional autonomy in the three provinces of South Sudan, with a legislative assembly and an executive council in Juba, the south's largest city. The government in Khartoum will control defense, foreign affairs, currency, communications and customs.

Students Inducted

They are drafting now — many students have already received induction orders for the month of April. These students were classified 1-A months ago and have never come for counseling. They have already had pre-induction physical examinations. They are face to face with induction.

It is imperative that anyone with a low lottery number and who is now 1-A or is soon to become 1-A come for counseling. The time to help yourself

is now, and not when you are unwillingly one step from becoming a member of the armed forces. Many students refuse to think about induction as reality! Others are confused as to their actual status with the draft.

Find out where you stand now!! Come up to room 412 Finley, anytime 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. Monday thru Friday, and Tuesday evenings from 6 P.M. to 8 P.M. We want to help, but we can only help if you come to us in time.

Thursday, April 20, 1972 — 12:30 P.M.

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Free Dope Or Genocide?

from the UHURU News Service

An Anti-Heroin Maintenance Conference was held this past weekend at the Afro-East on 116th St. and Madison Ave. The meeting was called by a number of community organizations to inform people of a bill before the State Legislature which calls for the institution of a heroin maintenance program, and to develop a program to fight against the bill.

The bill calls for a program which would maintain addicts on heroin so that there will be an end to "the human suffering and the rising cost of penal and judicial and medical measures due to the effects of drug addiction."

The program would operate much like the methadone maintenance program; just as methadone patients must show up each day to drink the medication, so must the people under this program come to a clinic each day for a shot of dope.

State Assemblyman Anthony Olivieri, a co-sponsor of the bill and a participant in the conference, was asked to give his reasons for supporting such a bill.

He replied, "There is no current method of drug treatment that really works. We need to

cut out the black market, and stop the spread of drugs. I believe that we already have a system of maintenance in this city, but it is controlled by organized crime."

William McClenon, one of the organizers of the conference, expressed his feelings and the position of the group of agencies which sponsored the meeting:

"Heroin maintenance is genocide. They say that this will cut crime, but this is a lie. They said this about methadone, but it didn't work. They claim to take the profit out, but they only transfer the profit to themselves."

He also stated that dope pushers "should be dealt with by their peers. Stop going to the man's court."

When Olivieri began to speak for a second time, a brother from the audience interrupted him to express his feelings on the larger implications of drug addiction and heroin maintenance.

"You must understand one thing: Heroin is the aftermath of a capitalist system. First we must identify the capitalists and their 'democrats'. When you talk about maintenance, you start talking about ownership. Ownership of me, my mother, my sister, everything

. . . about a system of enslavement.

"I used to be a hustler in the streets, a racketeer. I know that America is the Mafia. This here maintenance is only a way to return the Black man to the point to which we were brought here in the first place: slavery."

"This country was built upon the Law of Insubordination, which means that we cannot follow natural leadership. And the moment I start thinking about being free, then I am a conspirator."

The people from the community voiced their agreement, and collectively expressed that this was also their point of view.

As the meeting went on many people decided to stay after the scheduled time to map out a strategy to fight the proposal and to find ways to organize and educate the entire community.

The conference organizers have circulated a petition against the bill which can be found in the office of THE PAPER, Rm. 337 Finley.

Anyone who is interested in this controversy can contact Operation Helping Hand at 501 West 145th St., between Amsterdam and Broadway (phone 926-6048).

Critics Distress Israel

JERUSALEM — Some key Israeli officials are distressed over the seemingly anti-Israeli remarks made recently by four African leaders once considered friendly, or at least neutral, toward this country.

To those officials, the remarks smack of a slippage, if not a setback, in Israel's long and carefully nurtured campaign to establish good relations with the black nations of Africa.

Although Israel has said nothing publicly about the statements, it has dispatched a ranking foreign office adviser to remonstrate with some of the African leaders involved.

And a senior Israeli official acknowledged that "we are worried and concerned, about the Africans' remarks." He added, however, that Israel still has "good relations with, good friends in" the four countries and in 28 other black states with which this country has diplomatic and aid or trade relations.

The remarks causing the distress came from the Presidents

of Senegal, Uganda, Upper Volta and the Central African Republic.

The Senegalese and Upper Volta Presidents suggested that Israel was blocking any chance for a Middle East peace settlement by refusing to give back the Arab territories it captured in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

The Uganda and Central African Republic leaders, after meetings with their Arab counterparts in Libya and Iraq, said in effect they opposed "Zionist imperialism" — an Arab term interpreted here to mean Israel.

As appraised here, the Senegalese, Ugandan and other Presidents' statements seem to align them with those other African leaders given to taking repeated verbal shots at Israel.

While concerned about the Africans' remarks, some ranking Israeli officials are reluctant to accept them as evidence that their countries have become hostile to Israel.

Some officials here point out however, that a number of

African leaders apply a kind of double standard to Israel, under which they maintain friendly bilateral relations, but often join other African and Arab countries in assailing Israel in African and international forums.

"When we complain," one Israeli official said, "we get a variety of explanations, such as 'Don't pay any attention to those condemnations, they mean nothing,' or 'The minister who joined in the condemnations misinterpreted their instructions. It won't happen again!'"

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