

# THE PAPER

So we stand here  
on the edge of hell  
in Harlem  
and look out  
on the world  
and wonder  
what we're gonna do  
in the face of  
what we remember.

—Langston Hughes

Vol. 46 No. 3

1977 Published at City College, New York, N.Y. 10031



Thursday, October 20, 1977

## CCNY Makes Debut At College Fair

by P. Lee Lang

CCNY made its debut as a participant in the New York City College Fair held at the New York Coliseum last Friday. The fair is a massive college information center for prospective high school graduates.

Although the NYC College Fair, which is sponsored by the National Association of College Counselors, has been an annual event in the city since 1973, this was the first year CCNY had its own exclusive booth.

In recent years, a CUNY umbrella booth was representative of most senior colleges under its auspices; only the community colleges represented independently.

The primary decision for

CCNY to have their own booth this year was because of the success the fair has had in attracting prospective college students, according to Ms. Jane Margulis, executive administrator in the Office of Admission Services here.

Representative of well over 400 community and senior colleges nationwide, the fair in New York is organized and managed by local high school counselors and postsecondary admission officers.

The two day fair is usually a major information source for high school seniors and transferees. Aside from general information about colleges and careers, the fair offers information on financial aid, scholarships, continuing education and admissions testing.

by Sheila James

Was Monday October 3 a holiday at City College? Well, it was either that or student apathy has reached an all time high on this campus. These could be two of the reasons why there were virtually no students present at President Robert Marshak's first press conference. Or possibly, the term, "press conference," is too literal for students and many thought **only** the press was invited.

Just a little note to those students who make that daily run on Convent Avenue past the administration building: you helped create one hour of wasted time for President Marshak, Vice-President Carroll and ten students from various campus publications.

The conference, which was more like a briefing, touched upon several topics: The City College Recruitment Program, the Scholar Award Program, the completion of campus construction, the Aaron Davis Center for the Performing Arts, the Urban Legal Studies Center, the Hillel-Africa Houses controversy. President Marshak also commented on the Bakke case.

The Recruitment Program, aimed at high school students in the metropolitan area, encourages course offerings to remain stable and available for as long as possible. Marshak said, "We want a good academic mix." Another incentive for students is the newly instituted Scholar Award Program, which began at the beginning of this semester. Under this program, 12 students are awarded \$500 each semester based on their scholastic performance. By next September, the goal of the City College administration is to double the number of students eligible for this award.

beyond simple descriptions" and gives visions of cultures in process. Film does have its drawbacks, one, that it "kills the imagination," but these are offset by its "tremendous communicative powers" which includes the presentation of "an enormous amount of truth," Dr. Mead said.

### SUCCESSFUL EVENT

Anthropologists, as demonstrated by the seventy-five year old doctor, are reaching for new ways to document world cultures. Films play an important role. Dr. Mead's lecture, the culmination of the Anthropology Department's film symposium, can only be called a very successful event.

## Press Conference? An Analysis



The Paper: Robert Moore

V.P. Robert Carroll (L.) and Pres. Robert Marshak (R.) at press conference.

If you are frazzled after many attempts to get financial aid, an alternative may be the National Alumni Award. City's aim is a \$2½ million endowment. There will be 75 new awards given each year. All students, with the exception of bio-medical students, are eligible.

The conference ended when reporters asked President Marshak and Vice-President Carroll to explain in detail, the allocation of funds to Africa and Hillel Houses. The "Campus" representatives were angered because Hillel House received \$25,000 as opposed to Africa House which received \$31,000 for renovation. Mr. Carroll stated that the "Campus" "distorted the facts" in a previous issue of that newspaper. He emphatically reminded the reporters of the nature of the African Art collection (originally planned for display in Africa House) which mandated the need for special showcases, temperature control and lighting among other items.

In the September 30 and October 7 issues of the "Campus," part of the story had been presented. The

"Campus" failed to inform the College that the architect renovating Hillel House performed such mediocre work that it was necessary for Vice-President Carroll to withhold money owed the architect until the deficiencies were corrected.

The "Campus" also failed to state that as a result of a severe rainstorm, the roof on Africa House collapsed. This repair has yet to be completed. An incident like this was not included in the original budget. Also, any special equipment for the maintenance of the art collection will increase the cost of renovation. These are quite basic explanations for the difference in the total money allocated to each cultural house.

It is apparent the "Campus" is trying to discredit President Marshak, Vice-President Carroll, Professor Osborne Scott (Black Studies) and the African Academy of the Arts and Sciences. The Academy owns Africa House, Professor Scott is coordinating the renovation and City College supervises the payments to the contractor. Payments have ceased and renovation of Africa House has been indefinitely suspended.

continued on page 8

## Mead At City



The Paper: Christopher Quanta

Margaret Mead

By J. Sills Jhoji

Before an intent audience and beaming anthropology instructors, Margaret Mead discoursed on the advantages of film making in anthropological research. Dr. Mead, who has pioneered the use of film as "credible documentation of culture," expressed her belief that film is easier than verbal accounts to translate and comprehend.

### VERBAL ACCOUNTS

Prior to the use of films in the field of anthropology, a person's knowledge was limited to the very old method (dating from the Middle Ages) of verbal descriptions. Often these descriptions yielded peculiar accounts and always reflected the prejudices of the narrator. Later, paintings by Europeans of New World aborigines augmented missionaries' verbal descriptions. However, until

quite recently, American anthropology was still committed to verbal accounts. This ob- session was humorously characterized by Dr. Mead as a dubious search for old Indians and extinct buffalo.

### FILMING CULTURE

As we were told by Dr. Mead, due to the Hollywood stigma, "our culture doesn't like films." Money wasn't (and isn't) readily available for projects, making it a "precarious, frustrating occupation." Early films didn't focus on what Dr. Mead deemed as the "deeper cultural aspects of the way in which human behavior is communicated in gesture," but focused on exotic costumes and frivolity.

Today, anthropology films afford a way in which data may be retained in its raw form and scrutinized repeatedly. It "goes

**Special Report:**  
**The History**  
**Of The**  
**Black Student**  
**Movement**

The Heights  
by B.J. Ashanti

The sun  
gullotined  
with  
the  
heat of necessity  
draws poinciana  
blood  
from say on and ovary  
of the slag heap  
gesturing with  
genius

a  
zinc pasture of shantys  
to extend the horizons  
of conspiracy; tabernacle  
of speaking when  
spoken to  
dialogue of calm hammered  
by the  
indolent sweat of invisible  
servants whose tenement yards  
are  
dusted with a  
rhapsody of fire,  
cooking in a furnace of decision  
with coals of a  
barefoot ire/  
Wild with a recent madness-big shots with little hearts  
attempt to legislate reasons for inequity; the mobility  
of consciousness rabid  
with the tradition of push and pull as the  
heat of necessity haunts the  
prattle of upper Kirkland Heights—attacking the caul  
of a Kingston elite/  
Tucked in a crease of the slag heap of Gordon's Town,  
of Trench Town, of Sufferer's Heights  
society's child  
whose navel chord of  
glass and zinc lashes an air of flames with a breath of  
flint  
threshold of iron and a mountain of rubble where Ogun sits  
in the eye of the tamarind season waiting for truth  
for truth is the land and the heat of necessity that  
tempers action into change/  
Ogun waits in the hearth of the eyes  
of the yard boy  
Ogun waits with a spear of iron  
hammered by thunder in the heights  
that suffer  
with tears of poinciana petals  
and shake-shake  
looking like a crop of lynched victims

OGUN WAITS

Kirkland Heights—an exclusive petty bourgeois residential area  
Sufferer's Heights, Gordon's Town, Trench Town—urban slums of Jamaica  
Ogun—God of War, Iron, and Creativity in the Yoruba Religion  
Poinciana—a tree whose flowers are blood red  
Shake-Shake—long brown fruit which contains pods that rattle when shook

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**WELCOME TO THE UNDERWORLD, SURFACE DOGS! I AM MOG, KING OF THE MUTANOIDS!**

**YOU LOOK HEALTHY, THEREFORE YOU WILL BE MY SLAVES! LEAD THEM TO THE MINES!**

**WAIT A MINUTE, UGLY! WE'RE NOT DOGS OR SLAVES! FIGHT ULYSSA!**

**BUT NO SOONER DOES ULYSSA MOVE WHEN FROM NOWHERE...**

**THESE POWER GUNS WILL CALM THEIR SPIRIT! HAHHAH!**

**WELL DONE, MY SUBJECTS! NOW PUT THEM IN A CELL! THEY HAVE MORE FIGHT THAN OTHER SURFACE MEN. BUT THEY WILL SOON LEARN TO OBEY MOG!**

**LATER, IN A CELL WITH ANOTHER PRISONER, DR. KI ASKS QUESTIONS.**

**SO YOU'RE FROM THE SURFACE TOO! WHO ARE THE MUTANOIDS? HOW DO WE FIGHT THEM?**

**DURING THE WAR, MEN WERE INFECTED BY RADIOACTIVE WASTE. THEY BECAME UGLY AND VIOLENT. THEY FOUGHT THEIR BROTHERS. BUT THEY ARE STILL INTELLIGENT AND DANGEROUS.**

**ESCAPE WILL BE DIFFICULT. TO FIGHT THEM, WE'LL NEED GUNS!**

**THEN WE'LL GET GUNS! ULYSSA, YOU'LL HAVE TO GET THE GUARDS' ATTENTION. WE'RE BUSTING OUT!**

# The U.S. Police State

by Timothy Schermerhorn

Mentioning facism in connection with the United States is generally regarded as left wing paranoia by establishment oriented people. This is due to a misunderstanding, on their part, of the function of the state in general and police states in particular. Before understanding why any state resorts to repression in its most naked form, it must first be acknowledged that the state is the apparatus through which one class rules over others in a society.

Contrary to theories promulgated by United States establishment social scientists, facism is not a movement of unnecessary excesses emanating from mass insanity or archaic values. Where and whenever facism exists, it has been implemented as a strategy—the rulers of a society consciously push the political system to the right because, it is necessary. The political, economic situation dictates that repression is necessary for the maintenance of the economic order.

Facism is the response to capitalism's economic crisis which is accompanied by political unrest. It is no aberration when bourgeois democracies move rapidly to the right; in every case where it has happened, it has—at least tenuously—saved capitalism. During the 1920s and 1930s the most noted fascist movements in the modern world

climbed to power in Germany and Italy. Most of the world was taken by surprise and, over half a century since that movement started, it is still generally not understood. That, in addition to the fact that the United States has amassed apparatus for the most sophisticated and virulent police state to ever occupy planet earth, is cause for alarm.

## The Crisis That Opens The Way For Facism

Germany and Italy were faced with economic crisis after World War One. Industries that grew up during the war were faced with sudden loss of the war market. The late-starting imperialist actions of both nations helped little as the choice areas of the world for exploitation had already been taken by other European powers, and the workers in each nation were actively organizing for the betterment of their condition. Industrialists responded to their quandary by financing and supporting numerous right wing groups to militantly repress workers. They decided that workers would pay for lost warmarkets. They assured this by utilizing adventurous gangs of armed thugs—along with the police and army—to attack workers as they organized. Without organization workers were easy prey for big business attacks on their standard of living and, their position deteriorated as profits were saved.

The United States on the other hand, is the leading imperialist in the world. Rather than isolation by other capitalist nations, the U.S. problem is with national liberation movements. The United States supports fascists worldwide. White workers in the United States don't suffer as much because the U.S. imposes facism elsewhere. As the struggle against U.S. imperialism intensifies in one area, repression intensifies in all dominated areas. So not only is there always a potential for facism in the United States itself, but Third World people, abroad and domestically, are experiencing the police state now. An examination of the repression of the Black Liberation Movement indicates this clearly, as does the recent intensive actions of white vigilante groups. The brutality of the U.S. Nazi party is alarmingly similar to that of German Nazis in the 1920s. Just as the Nazis, Ku Klux Klan, Minutemen, Concerned Citizen Councils and Aryan Brotherhoods operate without legal censure—for firebombings, political harassment and brutal attacks—so did the fascists of Germany and Italy operate with the blessing of legal institutions.

## Fascists Gain Power

After performing the task of subduing the workers of Germany and Italy, big business had other uses for Hitler's Nazis and Mussolini's Black Shirts. (Fascist gangs were numerous

in both nations but they were all eventually absorbed into these two groups.) Business needed a more direct control of the state. Still faced with limited markets (the reduced income of workers reduced consumption) government had to become a major consumer. So in the 1930s business propelled fascists into government. After acquiring government power—through election and subsequent dictatorial consolidation, in Germany, and through a coup de etat in Italy—fascists went about creating an artificially propitious situation for capitalists. Government expenditure—defense spending, public works—kept industries afloat. The government financed itself (industry got tax breaks and workers had little income to tax) by printing large volumes of money. The resulting inflation catalized the states rapidly growing role in supporting capitalist enterprises. The rising costs of living increasingly ate away the already depression level incomes of workers. The state bureaucracy thus grew larger and the government's growing expenditure on war implements progressively instituted a war economy in peacetime. Obligated to make more drastic moves as the ramifications of each infusion effort for capitalist enterprises became manifest, the fascists of Germany and Italy even-

continued on page 7

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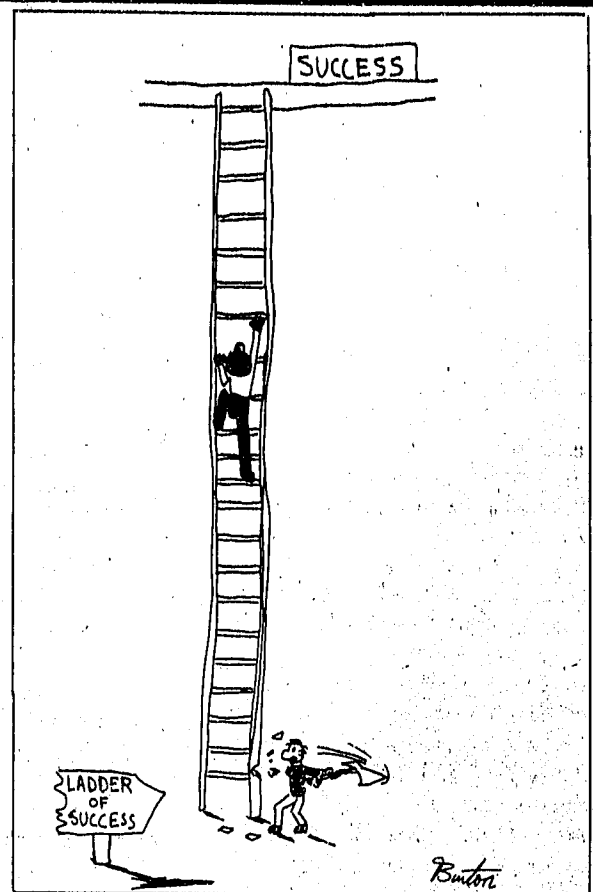
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## *The Bakke Case, A Threat To Black Opportunity*

Equal opportunity in the job market is a tenuous thing. For that matter, equal opportunity in all facets of American life is a dream (still) deferred.

For Blacks, Hispanics, Asians and Native Americans, subtle racism always creeps about; overt racism can rear its ugly head at any moment.

The Bakke case is one such example.

Alan Bakke, a white man, was turned down when he applied to the University of California at Davis' Medical School. He claims that a less qualified Black was admitted in his place. Bakke successfully sued the University of California at Davis, saying that the special admissions program for minority applicants made him a victim of reverse racial discrimination.

Many news reports fail to note that Bakke is past thirty, the (usual) maximum age for medical school applicants.

Many reports fail to note that thirty-four white applicants, with lower qualifications than Bakke, were admitted to the medical school.

Reports also fail to note that five seats were set aside for the children of favored college supporters.

The California Supreme Court ruled in favor of Bakke and the medical school is currently appealing to the United States Supreme Court.

The U.S. Supreme Court's decision will affect all phases of Black life.

Many businesses and educational institutions have affirmative action programs. These programs were set up to specifically recruit minority people. Often, the threat of a loss of federal funds is behind this seemingly progressive gesture.

But if the U.S. Supreme Court rules in favor of Bakke, expect many, many businesses and universities to reverse the trend.

Individuals and groups who support Bakke say that his case is dealing with quotas, not affirmative action. They define affirmative action and quotas separately.

To them, affirmative action, through its programs, encourages minority group participation. But quotas set aside a fixed number of spots specifically for minority group applicants.

They may make this distinction between the two, but many people *do not*. And the media has fostered this by not pointing this out and by using the terms interchangeably.

Now, there are rallying cries against *both* systems. Whites saying that Blacks and whites should be treated alike. "I didn't discriminate against Blacks," they say. "This happened in the past."

If Blacks and other minorities are given the same opportunities as whites, affirmative action programs wouldn't be necessary.

The federal government wouldn't have to threaten institutions with loss of funds.

Black educational opportunities wouldn't be inferior. Black teenage unemployment wouldn't be more than triple that of white teenage unemployment.

Black earning power wouldn't be below that of whites.

The average Black wouldn't die at a younger age than the average white.

The list goes on and on.

The American system has been racist historically and it is racist now. Until this changes *there must be* programs to help Blacks get into the economic mainstream of American life.

It's naive of whites to quote the Constitution, "...all men are created equal..." in defense of Bakke. But it's another to have the American system live up to it.

# Bakke Decision: Post Reconstruction Once Again

by Selwyn Carter

In 1973 and 1974 Allan Bakke, a 34-year old white engineer, applied to the University of California at Davis. He was rejected both times. Davis, which was established in 1963, established a special admissions program in 1970 allotting 16 seats for students from 'disadvantaged' backgrounds out of a total of 100 annual openings. In 1974, Bakke was one of 3700 applicants. Apparently, this had been Bakke's tenth rejection from a school.

Encouraged by a Davis' admissions officer, Bakke filed suit in 1974 against the university charging "reverse discrimination." The California State Supreme Court, on the basis that Bakke's MCAT (Medical College Admission Test) score and grade point average was higher than some of the non-whites admitted, ruled in his favor. The court said that it was unconstitutional for Davis to favor non-white applicants unless Davis had intentionally discriminated against them in the past.

## Some Facts Relevant to the Bakke Case

The court ignored the fact that 84 of the 100 admission slots go exclusively to whites. Studies have indicated that standardized tests like the MCAT are racially and culturally biased. Carl T. Rowan reported that many professional schools "are 'selling' admissions to the children of powerful state legislators or of citizens who have influence with college presidents and deans or trustees and influential alumni." In an article in the New York Post, Rowan said that the National Observer reported that in 1973 the Chicago Medical School "collected an average of \$50,000 each in contributions from relatives and friends of 77 of its 91 entering freshmen. School officials admitted under oath that the money influenced admission chances." The National Observer also reported that "Dr. J. J. Tupper, Dean of Davis, admitted sons of three California politicians outside normal channels."

## Case to Reach U.S. Supreme Court

Despite the urgings of the National Conference of Black Lawyers and other non-white groups, the University of California appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court. These organizations also requested that the U.S. Supreme Court not hear the case because U.C.'s defense of it was so weak. U.C. also ignored their requests to hire a non-white co-counsel to represent the views of those directly affected by the case. The court decided to hear the case in October of 1977.

## 'Friend Of The Court' Brief Filed

After a lot of lobbying from Black organizations and individuals, the Carter administration released a brief which endorsed the concept of special consideration for minority groups but avoided the concept of quotas. That brief differed with earlier drafts which had explicitly argued against quotas. While in favor of Bakke, it appears that the position taken by the brief was aimed at establishing credibility, for the President, in the Black community.

## Fourteenth Amendment

Because Bakke claims that his 14th amendment rights have been violated, it is necessary for us to put his case in historical perspective. The fourteenth amendment was drafted and passed by the first Reconstruction Congress in response to express doubts as to the constitutionality of the Civil Rights Act of 1866. Ratification of it was made a condition for the reinstatement of the Southern States into the Union.

In the 1857 Dred Scott decision, the Supreme Court ruled that "black people have no rights which white people are bound to respect."

## Civil Rights Acts (1866-1875)

Congress passed seven civil rights acts during the reconstruction era (1866-1875). Designed to protect the newly freed Blacks from the Black codes, the first one, passed in 1866 over President Andrew Johnson's veto, overturned the Dred Scott decision. The fourth of these acts (the Enforcement Act of 1870) imposed criminal sanctions for the interference with the rights of Black suffrage. The third and fourth sections of this act were declared unconstitutional in 1876, section two in 1887 and section five in 1903. Act six, the Ku Klux Klan act, which was designated as "an act to enforce the provisions of the fourteenth amendment," was also declared unconstitutional. The above evidence clearly indicates that overlapping the Reconstruction decade, there was a series of Supreme Court decisions (1873-1883) which paralyzed legal action designed to enforce Civil Rights. This is indicative chairman of the National Conference of Black Lawyers) meant when he wrote that the American legal system has been the vehicle by which the generalized racism in the U.S. has been made particular and converted into policies of social control. "... The law played a critical role in the institutionalization of American slavery; defining it, sanctioning it, and ossifying it, and protecting its presence upon the American landscape for centuries."

Within the same time period, 1873-1883, in the Slaughter House cases, the majority of the Supreme Court members took the position that the 14th amendment was solely designed to protect newly freed Blacks from discrimination. However, in those same cases, the Supreme Court removed provisions for equality in public education and accommodations from federal control and placed them under state control. Thus, the Federal gov't. officially abandoned Blacks to state control. According to 'Civil Rights And The American Negro' by Blaustein and Zangrando, "... with its decision in the Civil Rights cases, the Supreme Court completed the virtual nullification of the Reconstruction era legislation designed to give equality to the Negro ... coupled with at least eight other decisions which had been handed down since 1873, permitting the maintenance of segregation-discrimination patterns throughout the nation despite the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments."

## Jim Crow: American Apartheid

The next thirty years saw Blacks repressed and reduced to second class citizenship by the force of law and force of state control. This was the period of Jim Crow when the South effected a racial front against Blacks, and the rest of the country proved indifferent to Blacks. To quote Blaustein and Zangrando again, "... despite the promises of the civil war and Reconstruction the position of the Negro deteriorated to its nadir during the Jim Crow period."

The 1896 Plessy vs. Ferguson Supreme Court decision, establishing American apartheid (separate but equal), provided a constitutional basis for a plethora of Jim Crow legislation that continued beyond the 1954 Brown vs. the Board of Education decision. In that 1896 decision the court took the position that the 14th amendment "... in the nature of things ... could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based on color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to each other." Such language represented a drastic change from the language of the Court in the Slaughterhouse cases. As the Court established in the Slaughterhouse cases: "The one pervading purpose of the three post-civil war amendments was the freedom of the slave race, and the protection of the newly made freedom and citizens from the oppression of those who had formerly exercised unlimited domination over him."

If we remember correctly, in the civil war, Blacks had joined the Union Army, not to fight for the North, but to fight for their own liberation. Just as this struggle for liberation resulted in civil rights legislation, the Black struggle for national democratic rights (1960's) also resulted in civil rights legislation: affirmative action, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, etc.

In the first part of this article, we witnessed the nullification of all of the post-civil war legislation. The Bakke case focuses us on the destruction of the post-'civil rights era' legislation.

In a forum on the Bakke decision in Goethals, Room 210, the Bakke case was put into a proper political analysis. Highlighting the speakers were Muntu Matsimela (African Peoples Party) and Lenox Hinds (NCBL).

"People talk about reverse discrimination as if the historical process of racism, national chauvinism, and genocide heaped on African and third world people in this country, primarily, is a process that has stopped; that's crazy!" to quote Mr. Matsimela. He points out that affirmative action was a political, and military, strategic holding action by U.S. imperialism in the 1960's ... "The United States was in the midst of its greatest imperialist war, in Vietnam, and it was, qualitatively, losing! Simultaneously, massive urban rebellions were occurring all across the U.S." ... The state was fighting a war on two fronts and Vietnam was analyzed to be the major one, therefore the domestic front had to be held back. The domestic Third World struggle being led by the Black

struggle for National Democratic Rights (freedom rides, strikes, sit-ins, boycotts, etc.), had to be prevented from moving into a more revolutionary phase; the phase of National Liberation and independence. Affirmative action was that holding action. To quote Lenox Hinds, "... the Johnson initiated 'war on poverty' was like injecting a large hyperdermic needle into the backsides of those people who were struggling for change." Muntu reminded us that a holding action is temporary: "You know, hold back the water until you can construct a dam." **The massive wave of cutbacks that have been sweeping the country lately, makes it obvious**

The massive wave of cutbacks that have been sweeping the country lately, makes it obvious that the damn has been built. They also bring home the fact that there was never any real attempt to get Black people into the many diverse institutions of this society. The issue is not quotas, to quote Muntu, "We've always had quotas in this country and the quota was 100% white." "Reparations is the question; anytime you enslave for two-hundred and fifty years, and you have neo-slavery for the next 100 years; the question is not affirmative action, but reparations! REPARATIONS! genocide and murder that we have endured and continue to endure in this country."

## Rise of Right Wing

Last May, the Supreme Court ruled that a seniority system set before the 1964 Supreme Court decision, can be used despite the fact that it discriminates." In Chicago, Blacks are being murdered for attempting to move into white communities, in Tennessee and Philadelphia Blacks are being murdered. Over 1000 Native Americans have been killed by FBI and other intelligence agencies in the last two years. Black and other national liberation organization are being murdered, infiltrated, destroyed, members incarcerated or forced into exile or forced underground. "Koch talks about being against quotas as a matter of principle, while Morris Abrams, who sits on the boards of the Black United Fund, United Negro College Fund and the Field Foundation wrote an editorial in the N.Y. Times supporting Bakke." Of the briefs filed with the Supreme Court, thirteen are in Bakke's favor. Among those organizations supporting Bakke are: The American Federation of Teachers, The American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the Italian American Foundation, and the Polish American Council. Why is it that in the last decade programs designed to 'reverse' centuries of discrimination are under so much attack?

continued on page 7

# Human Rights



Jimmy Carter, President, U.S.

by Tim Schermerhorn

The largest and, most powerful settler state on earth installed a new president. In November 1976, James Earl Carter became president of the United States, through an ostensibly democratic election, on the strength of several code words.

Code words are traditional in United States politics, and essential as cover for the virulent intentions of their creators. From the time a continent was seized, through genocide, and expansionist war under the auspices of manifest destiny, the code words have perhaps become more prominent than United States history itself. The efficacy of these phrases is evident throughout history—It is unlikely that anyone will soon forget the repression and malfeasance committed under the Richard Nixon code words: law and order. In light of these facts it is not likely that James Carter came to use the phrase human rights, fortuitously. It was not his only catch phrase, but, it is the one drawing the most attention. Hence, it is most prominent.

Insulated with a hard shell of ambiguity, the phrase performed the first stage of its task marvelously, it helped get James Carter elected. Black people, who had no historical reason to support either candidate, got caught up in the mystique of Mr. Carter's born again christian, media image. They became part of a Carter constituency (The faction of Blacks who vote for establishment parties). Mr. Carter's advocacy of human rights had much to do with this, due to subjective applications of the word. People deluded themselves into being Carter believers as is indicated by the fact that, many diverse interest groups interpreted human rights as meaning everything they postulated for themselves. Consequently, Carter, agri-businessman, member of the pernicious Tri lateral commission, ex member of the racist Sumter County (Georgia) school board, supporter of ethnic purity in neighborhoods, member of a white segregationist church—won the presidency, without actually defining the code words in his love and compassion campaign.

However as president, the 'human rights' code word was put to its second task and its meaning became more clear. First, it's clear that human rights is applied to nations other than the United States. In his ten months as president Mr. Carter has made no significant comment with reference to the United States concerning human rights: Not because the United States protects human rights, on the contrary the United States was built on the systematic violation of human rights,

but because it is expedient for him to pervert the phrase to serve the expansionist interests of U.S. capitalism.

What the Carter crusade for human rights consists of, is United States exertion of its influence on other nations—which is significant—to implement U.S. interpretations of what human rights are. This amounts to United States intervention in the internal affairs of other nations. A violation of the right to self determination?, not according to Mr.



Carter. He views international manipulation as an obligation. Imperialism is by no means a new phenomena in international politics, and the United States is no novice at it. However, the present focus of U.S. imperialism is noteworthy as an indicator of world conditions—the conditions that have necessitated the tactics of the Carter administration in the third world.

## NEW TACTICS FOR CRISIS

The last major crisis for U.S. capitalism—and capitalism in general—(popularly known as the great depression), necessitated an emphasis on international politics for survival just as today it intervenes in the affairs of other countries. It was during the post war recovery period that some of the most effective tools of United States imperialism were born, supposedly for the purposes of international development and aid. The task facing the United States at that time was the usurpation of the colonial empires of Western Europe, most notably Great Britain. Their success in accomplishing this feat, thus forestalling their decline, contributed to the process that created the present crisis—the disintegration of the empire they had accrued.

During the depression, the United States was cut off from a great portion of international commerce and investment because of exclusive trading Blacks and protective tariffs. Western European nations established with present, and, former colonies. This, to protect their own struggling economies. The United States, excluded from the obscene exploitation of much of the Third World, struggled until World War Two, when its economy was buoyed by war related investment. After the war each of the colonial powers had its own plan for post war development and international economic order. The United States was pushing a plan it developed in 1941. Of course the United States plan included free investment and trade, so it could steal

the resources and expropriate the surpluses of the Third World nations, while the European nations advocated an order similar to the old, to rebuild their economies. Because of the superior economic condition of the United States, free international trade would lead to world dominance. Europe desperately needed loans to develop their disrupted economies. The United States, on the other hand, was freshly infused by the war and desperately needed access to Third World markets for consumer goods and capital accrued during the war. These conditions led to a supposed compromise in 1946—which actually was the United States' plan almost to the letter—that gave us the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (I.B.R.D.) or world bank. The United States dominates these institutions and along with private development foundations. They are international finance capitals, primary instruments of control in the Third World.

Since 1949, I.M.F. and World Bank activity has almost exclusively been in Third World countries. Through these institutions a proper economic climate



is created, in turn produces a political climate inimical to investment, and the Carter administration's 'human rights' campaign is part of the attempt to resolve this problem for the United States%

The whole situation arises from the dilemma facing underdeveloped nations. Saddled with onerous debts, balance of payment difficulties; inadequate, indigenously owned industries—hence a dependence on foreign imports. And a lack of finance capital for development—all emanations of European underdevelopment of the Third World—underdeveloped nations have only two options for relief. One is the temporary relief of an I.M.F. loan. To receive one, an austerity plan (sound familiar) must be imposed to encourage investment and supposedly cure inflation. This entails a curb on government expenditure: no government development programs or industries, a retrenchment of welfare programs, increased unemployment and a generally depressed standard of living,

devaluation of currency, cheaper labor, improved terms of trade for foreign traders, guarantees for investors, anti-strike legislation, guarantees for profit remittance, and against nationalization and expropriation, tax breaks. Ultimately, what this does is exacerbate the problem as surplus that should go into development is consumed by imperialists in the form of profit and debt service on an increasing scale. Foreign capitalists collect windfalls as the general standard of living declines to contemptuous levels.

The other alternative is to suffer the privations concomitant with real development. This entails development of indigenous industry and a self-sufficient economy, and usually subversion by capitalist nations. Everything has its cost and the cost of self-sufficient, viable economies, is a constant struggle with capitalists.

U.S. intervention comes into play, as the attempt to impede movement toward the latter alternative. To give this a human facade they pretend concern for human rights when what they seek is acquiescence. From Andrew Young's sibilant fabrications in Southern Africa, to vague reports about political prisoners in Chile, the crisis of private enterprise is veiled in human rhetoric. Since resistance is the natural response to repression, and the U.S. economic crisis necessitates their mobilization of fascists, it's obvious they must confuse the contradiction. There is a false crusade for human rights. The attempt is to maintain an economic presence by propping up puppets—to save an empire from its breakup, in the liberation struggles that rightfully resist them.

## DOMESTIC REPRESSION

As the U.S. supports police states, from Argentina to South Africa, while



shouting about human rights, there has been an I.M.F.-style austerity program, imposed on Third World people domestically colonized inside the area the U.S. defines as its borders. One need only look at unemployment and retrenchment of service, for Black and other Third World people, and it is clear. Our declining standard of living makes it obvious. We suffer like our brothers anywhere else in monopoly capitalism's crises. The repression is there. For political prisoners abound in "correctional facilities," accidental shootings by police are epidemic, white supremacist organizations are on the rise, clan-

continued on page 7



continued from page 11

picked them off. The FBI used smear campaigns, infiltration with agent provocateurs and overkill tactics against the Panthers. Some 356 Panthers were imprisoned in 1969 alone, 30 assassinated and some 30 raids took place as a national coordinated campaign by police. Similar tactics were used against other Black revolutionary organizations. In 1971, the FBI raided the RNA (Republic of New Africa) in Jackson, Mississippi. Also in 1971 police shot up Jackson State College campus and Kent State occurred. The movement was under constant attack by the state. Due to internal division and confusion, the movement began to fall apart.

In 1970, SOBU, Student Organization for Black Unity which later became YOUB, Youth Organization for Black Unity, formed. Also Malcolm X Liberation University began to form a broad Black united front called ALD (African Liberation Day) which mobilized some 50,000 people in Washington, D.C. in 1972 to support African Liberation struggles in Southern Africa. ALD eventually became the ALSC (African Liberation Support Committee) but split by 1974.

While seriously weakened, the struggle is not dead.

The struggle continues. . .

FOOTNOTES

1. Ebony Pictorial History of Black America, vol. 3, pg. 2
2. The Voices of Negro Protest in America, Burns, pg. 42.
3. Zinn, SNCC, pg. 3
4. Conflict and Competition: Studies in the Recent Black Protest Movement, Bracey, Meier, Rudwick, pg. 137.
5. Black Youth and Afro-American Liberation: Black America Vol. 1, Don Freeman.
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7. Ibid., pg. 142.
8. The Radical Probe: The Logic of Student Rebellion, Miles, pg. 191-192.
9. Ibid., pg. 226.
10. Ibid., pg. 231, 232.
11. Ibid., pg. 234, 235.
12. Young Socialist, February 1969, pg. 14.
13. Black Activism, Brisbane, pg. 236, 237.

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19. The Black Experience in American Politics by Charles Hamilton.
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21. Black Power by Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton.
22. Picking Up the Gun by Earl Anthony.
23. Racism and the Class Struggle by James Boggs.
24. The Summer That Didn't End by Len Holt.
25. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.
26. Ebony Pictorial History of Black America, Civil Rights Movement to Black Revolution, Vol. 3.

## Bakke Decision

continued from page 5

### Economic Crisis

Lenox Hind's answer to this question is simply, "There aren't enough People in the State Legislatures, city halls, supreme courts, etc. are saying that the niggers and spics are taking the slots away from their little Johnny or Mary." Brother Muntu expanded on that question by saying, "serious economic crises. The continuing success of national liberation struggles around the world is causing the U.S. to lose international power bases. This occurs because the U.S. is a world-wide imperialist state, based on the exploitation of world wide markets. It is these economic crises, manifested in the super-exploitation of Black and third world people here which reverse the gains we've made."

### Imperialism and Domestic Colonialism

If South Africa is an illegal settler state; if Rhodesia is an illegal settler state; if Israel is an illegal settler state; then what is the United States?

"... The United States is a white, settler colonial state. European immigrants came here and rode the backs of Africans, on the one hand, and Native Americans on the other. Native Americans were the basis of the exploitation of the land and African slaves the basis of the exploitation of labor. It was these two factors which allowed for the rapid development of the U.S.—domestic colonialism," said Brother Muntu.

Because the issue is much more fundamental than Bakke, Brother Lenox Hinds said, "even if the Supreme Court skirts the issue, there will be other Allan Bakkes. They will spring up at City College (A suit by the B'nai B'rith charged reverse discrimination, and won, involving CCNY's Bio-med program.) and all over the country. I believe it is this truth which led Haywood Burns to write, "Black school children of today must still look at the Constitution of 1789 and see enshrined in our fundamental law; the guaranteed continuation of the slave trade, the required return of fugitive slaves, and the counting of enslaved, disfranchised Blacks as 3/5 person for the purposes of political representation.

That contradiction, between the U.S. imperialist state and the Black nation, will only be resolved through the total liberation of Black people, and that excludes integration.

*I threw my hands up into the air  
Surrender, I surrender  
No, no I heard a voice say  
Do not give up  
Open yourself  
Look deep within you  
There is goodness  
Look in, look in, and see  
Touch it feel it, carress it  
It is your all yours...*

*How beautiful I saw myself  
I dropped my hands  
They settled upon yours  
They were reassuring  
They were comforting*

By Wilton A. George

# Human Rights

continued from page 6

destine police activities are notorious, politicians clamor for the death penalty, a condemned prison was opened in New York TO HOUSE PEOPLE ARRESTED during the blackout: all symptoms of economic crisis.

The situation is exigent and getting worse. (You need only look at your community, indeed, at this campus.) As our position deteriorates relative to that of white citizens, our contradiction with the United States is increasingly exposed. When the true history and nature of our struggle is exposed, we will no longer be taken in by establishment politicians, throwing around code words, that don't mean what we think they mean. We will be too occupied implementing our human rights.

## Police State

continued from page 3

tually had to create a war for their war economies. This expansionist effort plunged the world into the most costly armed conflict in history.

### The U.S. Police State

True to the laws of development, the institution of fascism starts a process. A largely ignored fact is that fascism in Europe developed historically, directly related to the general state of political affairs. If this were realized, the periods of activity of the U.S. right wing would not be looked at as merely political ups and downs. Every challenge of U.S. imperialism is concomitant with intense right wing activity. From the time of slavery, every revolt (even rumors of revolt) was followed by a period of repression and caution. As with all liberation struggles, each time Black activity steps up, the U.S. answers with repression; from reconstruction until now. Relative inactivity on the part of the right reflect periods of little political unrest. In Germany and Italy, from 1924 to 1929, a lull in fascist adventures corresponds with the time between the suppression of workers and the push for government office.

The most obvious characteristic of fascism is its police organizations, open and clandestine. It is this category that makes U.S. fascism a very unique consideration. The U.S., due to imperialism, has compiled technology sufficient to implement a police state of unimaginable sophistication. The most modern computers collect and process its data, it has volumes of records on microfilm, it has fantastic weaponry at its disposal, it communicates through highly efficient technical devices, it has whole scientific institutions devoted to continued development of its technology and has almost unlimited resources to be summoned for the purpose of repression.

The police state is evident not only in the territories of oppressed nations, but in U.S. urban centers also. Philadelphia appears to be in the middle of an armed occupation. The Nazi party parades and attacks Black people openly in Chicago. In New York, condemned prisons are opened when arrests indicate the need. Police gun down youth at random, as is the case with Clifford Glover and Randy

Evans, without penalty. F.B.I. "abuse" of power is rampant. There are so many people incarcerated solely for political reasons, it is almost impossible to follow. In Europe during the 1930s, fascists had to save capitalism by reversing the gains made by workers. This is comparable to the reversals of affirmative action and reduction of services that mostly affect Third World people.

### Resistance

Fascism in Europe was successful because resistance to it was never organized. Recalcitrance in Italy was so significant that Mussolini was prompted to call workers "perpetual malcontents" but the workers never organized to protect themselves from fascists. In Germany, Hitler acknowledged that the movement owed its success to anti-fascist forces not acting when the fascist movement was still weak. We must never make the mistake of believing that the forces of bourgeois democracy will keep fascists in check, for in time of crisis these very same forces will propel fascist forces against us. For example, Nelson Rockefeller, as a politician, puts up a false liberal facade. However, as governor of New York, he ordered a massacre when he felt the situation at Attica was slipping out of control. Hence, not only Black liberation, but even the limited liberties that are now enjoyed are dependent on the struggle for liberation, as that is our only defense against the U.S. police state.

### Illusion

Infantile leftists have said that since fascism sharpens contradictions, it speeds the process of revolution. This is at best a half truth, for it does sharpen contradictions but, it also presents new obstacles to struggle. It is much more difficult to struggle in a centralized police state than in a bourgeois democracy. For this reason an understanding of the police state in the United States is essential, as it has great bearing on our struggle.

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*Professor  
Why do you speak of poets  
Blake, Keats, And Donne  
As being metaphysical  
Visionary?  
Teli me about  
Langston, George, Countee Cullen  
Oh, come now  
They must be more  
Than just being colored.*

by Wilton A. George

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continued from page 1

It is unfortunate that the "Campus" has found it necessary to belabor such a trite issue which could potentially polarize this campus. This situation, where Black organizations are pooling efforts to improve relations between the College and the community is being sabotaged by yellow journalism. Yellow journalism is not taught in English 51, "Introduction to Journalism." However, if there are "Campus" reporters who feel this type of reporting is effective, then maybe they should repeat the class. The "Campus" version of Africa news articles are written out of context and do not realistically examine the reason for the higher appropriation of funds, which you recall was their main concern. Student apathy stimulates this type of reporting.

During the press conference, President Marshak was asked to comment on the Bakke case, and how it would affect City College. Briefly, he stated, "The Bakke case implies quotas...that is unacceptable. I believe firmly in Affirmative Action." When asked if quotas would be used in establishing admissions policy, he replied, "Not as far as I'm concerned...in the spirit of affirmative action, City College will not have numerical goals." This press conference could have been more productive had enough students participated. It is not enough for students on campus to depend solely on the available media as a source of information.

by B. J. Ashanti

The id of greenbacks  
is  
cybernation—  
a mechanical humping  
in a dulled  
Consciousness  
taken in our wildest  
dreams as progress;

the calm before this storm  
of thorns bordering a  
bouquet  
of refracted sunbeams caught  
by a  
corolla of smoke stacks  
held together by an  
equatorial sweat

processed from a whorl of  
factories run by gears made  
from human blood and bones

shit—

I want the redemption of  
anonymous derelicts  
I want the musk of human toll  
of house keepers  
of hospital workers  
to be  
the legacy of immense boilers  
being staked with the pollen  
of discipline  
eating through the fabric of  
injustice like  
a swarm of  
renegade moths

### Commission on FBI at City

On October 21-23, 1977, the New York Citizens Review Commission on the F.B.I. will be held in Finley Ballroom. Testimony and documentary evidence from Third World National Liberation Movements, other progressive organizations, peace action groups, labor organizations and others involved will be examined. After the hearings, the Commission will make public, reports of harassment and illegal activities by the F.B.I. and other law enforcement agencies.

Students are urged to attend and support the hearings, on Friday, 7 PM-12 midnight; Saturday, 10 AM-9 PM; and Sunday, 12 Noon-7 PM.

### Aspira Looking For Tutor

Aspira Special Services Program is seeking an experienced tutor to work with students on a one to one basis and in small groups. Maximum hours are 15 per week.

Contact Ramon Rivera at 924-8336 on Fridays between 9:30 AM and 5:30 PM or leave your name and phone number in Room 228 of the Administration Building.

I want  
the flower of rhetoric's fire  
erupting with invincible spores  
commanding  
air with voices of  
the afrikan masses  
Organize  
organize  
organize  
A pulling together is what  
is needed  
the operation of worker's  
sinews is musik

the clamor of speeches at  
a lost to  
real struggle create a  
science of clandestine  
heartaches; to speak for  
the afrikan masses  
is to know their hunger—

neither a rifle  
nor dogma alone  
creates  
change—  
those who would lead must  
follow  
those who follow must be  
able to lead

Organize  
Organize  
Organize

Marlboro Tours is looking for students to work P/T on campus for the 1977-78 college year.

Escalating pay scale and free bonus trips for industrious travel representatives. Call Jeff: 934-1822, 986-0840.

## THE NATIONAL BLACK SCIENCE STUDENTS ORGANIZATION

Will Be Meeting:

Thursday October 27, 1977  
12 noon—1pm  
Finley Center, Room 332

Students interested in the activities of the organization and those interested in becoming members are invited to attend.

### Tranquility of A Black Woman by Benny James

Oh woman of essence  
woman of truth,  
how Black of you,

you advocate my innocence,  
you manifest my ego,  
you contemplate my confusion,  
how Black of you,

you bring out the insides of me,  
you make visible to me, what discreetly hides,  
you bloom my thoughts & acknowledgments,  
& nourish my aspects of reality,

and in the process of evolution,  
in the process of evolution,

I look upon you as the realism of nature,  
the maturity of existence,  
the lights of the universe,

you make the darkness of Black,  
bring insights throughout my perception,  
you cause the turmoil and fatigue,  
to seek refuge before  
my dominating awareness,

yeah beautiful Black woman  
you make thorough complete,  
you make absolute definite,  
and you do your due,  
that which you, can function wholly  
to,

when and if my temper should arisen,  
before your presence I have to look deeper  
into the decisive horizon,

if I search for lighted truth,  
and become blinded by the illumination,  
you shall become a convalescent cloud,  
so that I can get a precise outlook  
of what faces me,

oh woman,  
how sincere, how complete,  
how versatile, how transitive,  
how . . . . . how you,

any way, every way,  
are you, you are,  
you feel, feel you,  
your presence, presence of you,  
the you of black black of you,

makes the void, the spectrum,  
the minuteness to vastness,  
the beginning to infinity,

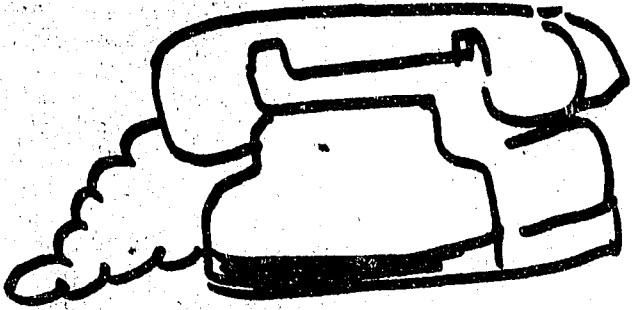
something to live,  
something for real,  
something that is,

how Black,  
how tranquil,  
dear, sincere, for real woman,

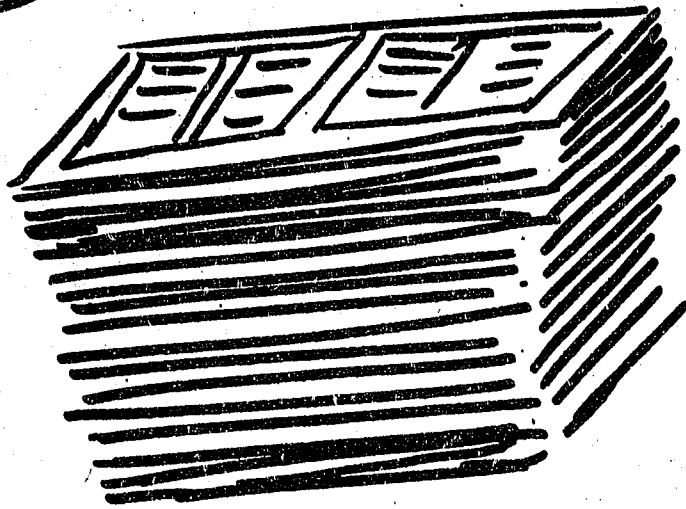


B.E.O.G  
PATROL

"AH-HAH! GET THE  
SQUAD CAR MEN! WE'VE  
GOT ANOTHER LIAR!"



SGT. ADOLF



Burton

continued from page 12

The Black student movement of the 1960's began with the sit-ins. When SNCC, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, was formed it served as an ad hoc coordinating committee for local centers of action. In the early sixties SNCC provided the movement with a center for non-violent direct action against racial discrimination.

In the North, white students formed the Northern Student Movement (NSM), that raised funds for SNCC.

"The turning point for SNCC came when CORE, the Congress of Racial Equality, started the freedom rides in 1961. "On May 14, 1961, members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) began the Freedom Rides to test a Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in transportation terminals. On May 20, after one of CORE's integrated buses was bombed near Anniston, Alabama and another was mobbed in Birmingham, CORE decided to call off its rides."

A group of Nashville SNCC students lead by Diana Nash and students in Atlanta continued the Freedom Rides. They decided to leave school for the movement. Most promised a year, others two, of full time commitment. Black student re-activated the movement in 1961; and before the summer was over, students from all over the country had taken rides in the South.

In the fall of '61, SNCC found it increasingly difficult to keep action going on the college campuses. By this time, a core of students had left school and were working full time with SNCC. This transformed SNCC from a student group to a professional civil rights organization.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, embarrassed by the Freedom Rides, suggested that civil rights organizations jointly sponsor a campaign to register Souther Black voters. Then the Justice Department seemed to offer federal protection for registration workers and white liberals procured foundation money to finance costs, civil rights groups agree to develop the project.

SNCC soon became the main focus of organizing mass voter registration drives in the rural South. Between 1961 and the fall of 1962, SNCC workers conducted many courageous drives in Mississippi. In December of 1962, SNCC made a major breakthrough. It managed to work with the Albany movement to mobilize hundreds of Blacks to fill the jails. The protest in Albany were against the city's segregation laws. Later, Dr. King was brought in and national attention came to the issue. This was the first time SNCC, a student group, had moved masses of poor Blacks in the rural South. Albany soon became a prototype for later actions in 1963.

In the North, another student formation began to take place. In the fall of 1961, Black students at Central State College in Wilberforce, Ohio who had been involved in the sit-ins, Freedom Rides, African nationalist organizations and the Nation of Islam began to discuss what they felt were the shortcomings of the civil rights movement. The students decided to form a political party on campus to bring about a Black political awareness. As these Black student revolutionaries began to formulate ideas for their party, some decided to leave school and go into Northern Black communities and organize as SNCC did in Southern communities. After some debate, a name was chosen for their Black student party; it was called the RAM party, later to become

known as the Revolutionary Action Movement.

"1963 produced the second phase of the protest era. By spring, through efforts of SNCC and SCLC organizers, various Southern cities were seething with protest revolt. The turning point of mass Black consciousness and for the protest movement came during the "spring non-violent offensive" in Birmingham, Alabama. Dr. Martin Luther King, who had become the symbol of the direct action non-violent struggle through the efforts of SCLC and SNCC . . . pushed Birmingham to the brink. The honkies bringing out dogs, tanks, water hoses on women and children was too much for the African-Americans to stomach. Within months mass demonstrations had occurred all over the south.

In the North, in Philadelphia, RAM, working with the NAACP, organized mass demonstrations against union discrimination in the building trades. The place of the demonstrations was a school construction site in the middle of North Philadelphia's Black community. In a week's time, over 10,000 people participated in the demonstrations. This was the first breakthrough in the North. In New York, CORE began demonstrating at down-state northern cities with freedom marches and police brutality demonstrations.

The March on Washington which was held in late August started as a mass movement. Some 250,000 people demonstrated.

The concept of non-violence suffered setbacks among SNCC workers when four Black girls were killed in the bombing of a church in Birmingham, Alabama in the fall of 1963.

RAM organized a student wing called ASM, the Afro-American Student Movement. It organized chapters in Nashville, Tennessee, Fisk University, Detroit, Michigan and Los Angeles, California. ASM called a student conference on Black Nationalism in May 1964.

The convening of the 1st National Afro-American Student Conference on Black Nationalism held May 1st to 4th in Nashville, Tenn., was the ideological catalyst that eventually shifted the civil rights movements into the Black Power movement. During the summer months, RAM organizers through the agreement of John Lewis, then chairman of SNCC, went into Mississippi to work with SNCC. RAM organizers soon came into conflict with white SNCC workers, who opposed an all-Black force and the practice of self-defense. Soon, RAM began a movement to force whites out of SNCC.

Brother Don Freeman, in his article "Black Youth and Afro-American Liberation" in the fall, 1964 edition of *Black America* describes the conference: "May 1-3, 1964, the Afro-American Student Movement representing young Nationalist groups and tendencies throughout the North and South, convened in Nashville, Tennessee, to form a Black Nationalist Youth Movement. . . The impotence of traditional or "bourgeois" nationalism was examined. The delegates agreed that the traditional nationalist approach of rhetoric rather than programmatic alternative to "bourgeois reformist" civil rights activities. . . Nationalist demands for an autonomous Black American economy from capitalism and unfeasible because of the white and Jewish capitalists' intention to perpetuate "suburban colonialism" through their exploitation of Black Ghettos. The consensus was the Afro-

Americans must control their neighborhoods, but the realization of aim necessitates, in Rev. Albert Cleage's terms, a "strategy of chaos" involving more devastating civil disobedience than the kind undertaken by the established reformist groups."

The participants supported Minister Malcolm (X) Shabazz's contention that it is erroneous to define Afro-America's fight as "civil rights" and protest exclusively in Congress; instead, we should utilize the UN Declaration on Human Rights and petition in the United Nations for "human rights."

"The young nationalist insisted that prerequisite to a genuine Black revolution is a fundamental "Cultural Revolution"—"Re-Africanization" repudiates decadent bourgeois, materialistic values and the "Rat Race" or "pathological" egoism and individualism inherent in American society. It embraces a humanism derivative to the African heritage which exalts authentic, intellectual, and spiritual development and "Communalism" or cooperation rather than exploitation. "Re-Africanization" is preferable to American materialism as a source of cultural values. Afro-Americans must know their authentic history in Africa and America in order to demolish the "psychological rape" or inferiority instilled by American "indoctrination." The Afro-American's self-image and the conception must be revolutionized to foster a collective ethnic identity as a unique Black People before Black Nationalism can emerge triumphant. . . The assembled nationalists asserted that young nationalists are the vanguard of a Black Revolution in America, but they must create 1) an organization apparatus to "translate" Nationalist ideology into effective action; this requires Black financing to insure Black control and 2) dedicated, disciplined, and decisive youth cadres willing to make the supreme sacrifices to build and sustain a dynamic Nationalist Movement."

The conference stimulated nationalist cells in the North and polarized the contradictions between white and Black field workers within SNCC. The conference sent organizers into Mississippi to work with SNCC and to begin to build self-defense units. Greenwood, Miss. became a base for revolutionary Black nationalist activity as the organizers worked with Black field workers bringing them over to the cause of Black nationalism, rather than the goal of integration. A showdown occurred in Greenville, Miss., in May at the Mississippi SNCC staff meeting. The brothers from the field staff revolted against the SNCC hierarchy then represented by Bob Moses and the white radicals.

SNCC began to involve large numbers of white students in the movement in the summer of 1964. Their involvement led to their radicalization which later they developed into the anti-war student movement.

"The crucial milestone of SNCC's road to radicalism was the Freedom Summer of 1964. Freedom Summer grew of a remarkable mock election sponsored by SNCC in the autumn of 1963. Because the mass of Mississippi's Black population could not legally participate in choosing the state's governor that year. Robert Moses conceived a freedom election to protest mass disfranchisement and to educate Mississippi's Blacks to the mechanics of the political process. COFO organized a new party called the Mississippi Freedom Democrats,

printed its own ballots, and in October conducted its own poll. Overwhelming the regular party candidates, Aaron Henry, head of the state NAACP and Freedom Democratic nominee for governor, received 70,000 votes, a tremendous protest against the denial of equal political rights. One reason for the success of the project was the presence in the state of 100 Yale and Stanford students, who worked for two weeks with SNCC on the election. SNCC was sufficiently impressed by the student contribution to consider inviting hundreds more to spend an entire summer in Mississippi. Sponsors of this plan hoped not only for workers but for publicity that might at last focus national attention on Mississippi. By the winter of 1963-64, however, rising militancy in SNCC had begun to take on overtones of Black nationalism, and some of the membership resisted the summer project on the grounds that most of the volunteers would be white."

During the Freedom Summer sponsored by COFO in Mississippi, six people were killed, eighty beaten, thirty-five churches burned and thirty other buildings bombed. Student volunteers taught in Freedom Schools where 3,000 children attended.

"They organized the disfranchised to march on county courthouses to face unyielding registrars. Most importantly, they walked the roads of Mississippi for the Freedom Democratic Party (FDP). Denying the legitimacy of the segregated Democratic party, COFO opened the FDP to members of all races and declared the party's loyalty to Lyndon Johnson. The goal of the FDP in the summer of 1964 was to send a delegation to the Democratic convention in Atlantic City to challenge the credentials of the regular Democrats and cast the state's vote for the party's nominees. To mount this challenge against the racist Democrats of Mississippi COFO enrolled 60,000 members in the FDP and then organized precinct county and state conventions to choose 68 integrated delegates to go North. The FDP, in which tens of thousands of Black Mississippi citizens invested tremendous hopes, was a true grassroots political movement and the greatest achievements of Freedom Summer."

The FDP went to Atlantic City to challenge the Mississippi regulars. Northern liberals tried to work out a compromise that would appease the FDP and at the same time keep the bulk of the Southern delegations in the convention. President Johnson's proposal was to seat all the Mississippi regulars who pledged loyalty to the party and not to grant the FDP voting rights but to let them sit on the floor of the convention.

The failure of the FDP to be seated led SNCC to attempt organizing an all Black independent political party a year later.

In the summer of 1964, members of the SNCC staff were invited to visit the Republic of Guinea by Sekou Toure. While traveling in Africa they met Malcolm X who had left the Nation of Islam and had formed the OAAU (Organization of Afro-American Unity). SNCC personnel were deeply impressed by Malcolm and SNCC soon became influenced by him. In the fall of 1964, SNCC underwent internal debate over direction. 1965 began with Dr. King going to prison and holding demonstrations in Selma, Alabama. Malcolm X came to Selma while Dr.

continued on page 11

continued from page 10

King was in jail, spoke and offered an alternative to non-violence.

Dr. King announced he would lead a march from Selma to Montgomery. His assistants convinced him not to lead the march in the beginning. Instead, Hosea Williams and John Lewis of SNCC led the march of about 525 people. After the marchers crossed Pettus Bridge going to U.S. Highway 80 they were confronted by a battalion of state troopers. After an exchange of words the troopers attacked.

After the attack, Dr. King announced he would continue the march. Suffering setbacks at the beginning, the march was finally successful. SNCC began to re-evaluate its integrationist approach in 1965. The Watts rebellion occurred in August.

During 1965, SNCC began discussing how to form a Black student movement. NSM (Northern Student Movement) began to organize Afro-American student groups of Black students on white campuses in the North while SNCC again began to focus on Black students in the South. Another development was the Deacons for Defense, a Black armed self defense group in the South. A group of Black students working in Atlanta polarized the contradictions within SNCC between white and Black workers; confrontation sometimes came close to gun battles. These students served as a catalyst of pushing SNCC towards the Black power position. These students were from the now infamous Atlanta project which led demonstrations against the draft in 1966 and developed the Black consciousness movement within SNCC.

After a serious fight, Stokely Carmichael became chairman of SNCC in 1966. James Meredith began his "Memphis to Jackson March" on Sunday, June 5, 1966. His march was to dramatize fear among Blacks in Mississippi and encourage them to exercise the right to vote. On Monday, June 6, Meredith was shot in the back by a white man with a shotgun. Taken to the hospital, major civil rights leaders pledged to continue the March. During the march an ideological split occurred between Dr. King and SNCC and CORE. At a rally, Stokely began to shout, "We want Black Power," and the audience began chanting Black Power. Soon across the nation the Black Power movement was born.

Stokely Carmichael became the new Black mass spokesman for a while. Resulting from his efforts in Loundes County, Alabama to build an all Black political party, the Black Panther Party formed in northern areas.

1967 was the turning point for the Black liberation movement in America. It was the year of mass rebellions, two-hundred and ten across the country. SNCC agitated the masses to rebel and RAM organized cells and issued a call for a national uprising. Both SNCC and RAM, which had started as students organizations, were now professional revolutionary groups. RAM issued its version of the communist manifesto called World Black Revolution and called for a Black cultural revolution; while SNCC began organizing Black student groups at southern Black college campuses. RAM began to organize Black high school youth in the Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit and New York area to demand Black history courses in

their high schools, the right to wear their hair natural (Afro), wear African clothes and the right to salute the nationalist flag—red, black and green.

Many were shocked when on November 17, 1967 in Philadelphia, seven-thousand Black students demonstrated at the board of education to make their demands met.

The emergence of the slogan Black Power was the turning point for the Black student community. The concept of Black power challenged the whole value structure of the Negro community. In essence it forced Black people to think about Black people in the United States as powerless. Black Power challenged the pseudo-class structure of the middle class Negro society and Black became the new and fashionable thing; it was now hip to be Black.

Faced with growing contradictions of fighting for a system that enslaves us, fighting in a racist war in Vietnam and for democratic rights in America, Black students began to develop an anti-imperialist, anti-colonial attitude. The turning point in this attitude and the Black student movement came on March 21, 1967 at Howard University when a group of Black students chased Selective Service Director Hershey off Howard's Crampton Auditorium stage chanting "America's the Black man's battleground."

As the year continued, these students engaged in what they called a cultural revolution at Howard, a re-channeling of the student body's values toward changing Howard from a "Negro" college with white standards to a Black university relevant to the Black community and its struggle.

Black students at other colleges slowly began to pick up on what was going on at Howard, and by 1968, the Black studies rebellion had swept across the country. The rebellions hit Black as well as white campuses. High schools by the hundreds in '68 and '69 began to explode. In Detroit, the Black Student Union was the student wing of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. By 1969 the Black studies revolt had hit over fifty Black colleges.

"In March 1967 students of the Black Power committee at Howard University demonstrated against General Lewis B. Hershey, Director of the Selective Service System. As he attempted to deliver a speech, they jumped onto the stage shouting, "America is the Black man's battleground!" When the university attempted to hold administrative hearings to discipline students for the incident, the proceedings were disrupted. When it went ahead with disciplinary action against four of the Hershey demonstrators, several thousand undergraduates boycotted classes for a day. Meanwhile, student rallies and faculty forums took up the questions of due process in discipline, authoritarianism in administration, and the possibilities for a "militant Black university." Finally, at the end of the spring term and the commencement of the summer break, the Howard administration summarily expelled sixteen students and dismissed, without customary notice, five faculty members closely identified with the faculty forums, students protests, and the Black Power Committee. The reason given for the expulsions and dismissals was that the offenders' "general conduct" was detrimental to the university's "fundamental mission."

"The 1967 Howard protest was the first major Black student rebellion of the decade directed specifically against a university administration. It inaugurated a series of Black student

protests against the administrations of both Black and white institutions of higher education, protests which gathered increasing momentum in 1968-69 and were generally built around the demand for "Black studies" programs."

"... As an organization which identified itself with the evolving Black movement, the Black Power Committee endorsed the radical doctrines in advance of any direct engagement with university authorities. In this case, its most important commitment was to the creation of a "militant Black university."

"... Except for minor incidents, the Howard campus was relatively quiet in the fall of 1967. In March 1968, however, one year after the Hershey demonstrations, students seized the Administration Building and occupied it for several days. Students were able to negotiate an agreement with the trustees on various "student power" and "Black university" issues. In this extended occupation, the first of its kind among the student rebellions in the United States, student leftist were also able to extract an "amnesty" agreement from the administration."

Black student rebellions began to spread. . . Also in 1968, five hundred students from South Carolina State, a state institution and Claflin College, a private college, began a campaign to desegregate the bowling alleys in Orangeburg. This led to fifteen arrests and twenty hospitalizations. Ten days later, police and National Guardsmen responded to a report of arsons on the South Carolina State campus, where they fired on unarmed students, killing three and wounding 'fifteen,' primarily with shots in the back. In this case, the college administration did not intervene. Students began a boycott against downtown business, and eventually the bowling lanes were desegregated.

... Besides the confrontation at Howard, Fisk, and Tennessee A&I, 1967 was student demonstrations at Southern University, Allen College, South Carolina State, and Jackson State. In 1968 there were again incidents at Howard, South Carolina State, and Tennessee A&I, and also at Virginia State and even at Tuskegee Institute. At Tuskegee, students held the trustees hostage in support of their demands for African studies and the abolition of compulsory ROTC, until the National Guard arrived. Fifty four students were expelled, but after they obtained a federal court injunction ordering a hearing, they were readmitted on probation. . ."

Both the Baton Rouge and New Orleans campuses of Southern University had a series of violent confrontations between demonstrators, the state police and the National Guard.

In March 1968, students boycotted classes in support of wage demands of striking cafeteria workers. Black students at Duke University seized a building and demanded an Afro-American studies program. Later Black students and community people created Malcolm X Liberation University.

Protests broke out at white universities when in 1968, the Black Student Union and the Third World Liberation Front got into a struggle with San Francisco State's administration over Black studies. The Black Panther Party played a role in the demonstrations. A class boycott was touched off in the fall of 1968 when George Murray, a Black instructor, who was also Minister of Culture of the Black Panther Party, was suspended. The Third World

Liberation Front demanded open admissions for minority students and the establishment of an autonomous school of ethnic studies. There was continuous struggle for four months with the San Francisco police making the rebellion the longest in American history.

"The student strike at San Francisco State College, led by the Black Students Union and the Third World Liberation Front, has vaulted over the narrowness of its physical setting. It has linked up with significant sectors of the Third World community, encouraged similar actions on other campuses in California and around the country, and produced an impact even on the labor movement by creating an atmosphere in which the college teachers, organized into the American Federation of Teachers, decided to strike for union rights.

The students are striking for fifteen demands. The first ten demands were drawn up by the Black Student Union, and five more added by the Third World Liberation Front."

As student strikes spread, the Black Panther Party (Oakland) grew into a national organization with thirty-five chapters and about 30,000 members at its peak.

As the Black Panther Party grew, so did internal tensions and war occur inside the Black community. Being a young and immature party, the BPP was bound to make some mistakes. While most of its membership was sincere, courageous and dedicated, its leadership made some wild and adventurist mistakes which led the party to be set up for infiltration and destruction. The Party entered into an alliance with SNCC in early 1968. After Cleaver and some Panthers kidnapped James Foreman of SNCC and terrorized him the alliance was broken. The BPP soon became engaged in an ideological and physical war with Ron Karenga's Los Angeles based cultural nationalist organization called US. The Black community as well as the Black student movement soon was torn into two factions: revolutionary nationalists/Marxists-Leninists vs. cultural nationalists.

A fight between the two factions broke out at UCLA in January 1969.

"Beginning in the fall semester of 1968, control of the BSU at UCLA was split between two factions, Ron Karenga's US and the Black Panthers. Karenga's people included Donald Hawkins, Claude Hubert, Harold Jones, and the brothers George and Larry Stiner. Panther members were Captain John Huggins and Deputy Minister of Defense Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter. Trouble began when the university established an Afro-American Studies Center and asked the BSU for its advice in naming director. The position paid \$20,000 a year. The Karenga group nominated Charles Thomas, then Education Director of the Watts Health Center. The Panthers did not have a candidate of their own, but they, nevertheless, opposed the appointment of Thomas. The impasse continued until January 17th when the BSU convened a meeting to settle the matter once and for all. After lengthy and acrimonious debates the meeting ended with the question still unresolved, but during the post-mortem discussions outside of the meeting hall, Huggins and Carter were shot to death."

Karenga's US men had done the assassinations. The Southern California area became known as the war zone as the FBI aided Karenga's US with information on the whereabouts of the Panthers as they

continued on page 7



# On The Black Student Movement-1960/70

by Akbar Muhammad Ahmed  
Special To The Paper

The following article was submitted to The Paper by the student organization, United People. It gives an historical account of the conditions that gave rise to the Black Student Movement. This article represents the first in a series on the Black Liberation Struggle.

The scope of this paper is to investigate some of the dynamics that produced the Black student movement of the 1960's and early 1970's.

Black student movements in America flow from movements in the Black community. The Black student community is a young community. It came into existence for the most part during Reconstruction when land grant colleges and universities were established for African people.

Black student movements usually occur during the same time that mass Black movements are full bloom. Different leaders and organizations influence the birth and direction of these movements.

The Black student movement reached a high point in the 1960's and early 1970's. But due to repression on the Black movement in general and ideological division/confusion, the student movement is on decline in the latter 1970's.

To trace the origin of the Black student movement in the 1960's we have to understand the beginnings of the civil rights movement.

The first mass civil disobedience protest against segregation began with the Montgomery Boycott. The Montgomery movement began on December 1, 1955 when a Black seamstress named Mrs. Rosa Parks refused to give her seat on a bus to a white man because she was too tired to stand.

"After the arrest, a group of Black women asked the ministers and civic leaders to call a boycott on December 5, the day of Mrs. Park's trial. One of the ministers who responded to that call was twenty-six year old doctor of philosophy, Martin Luther King Jr., an Atlanta native and pastor of Montgomery's Dexter Avenue Baptist Church."

Out of mass struggle new organizations emerge. From mass meetings the Montgomery Improvement Association was formed. The M.I.A. organized a car pool to transport brothers and sisters who lived too far to walk back and forth to work.

At mass meetings Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. emerged as the main mass leader of the boycott. The city of Montgomery tried to break the boycott; but after a year of struggle, the U.S. Supreme Court declared Alabama's state and local laws supporting segregation on buses unconstitutional.

The Montgomery boycott served as an example of successful mass direct action. Dr. King insisted the success of the boycott had been because it's participants had adhered to non-

violence. He soon became the advocate of a passive resistance movement. Other communities organized similar campaigns.

By 1957 sixty southern Black leaders met and formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to develop the non-violent mass direct action movement. Also in 1957, Dr. King, along with A. Phillip Randolph and Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, organized a mass prayer vigil in Washington, D.C. which was the largest Black protest demonstration up until that time in history.

From Black working class struggles for national democratic rights, Black youth, especially in the South, began to relate to the movement. Many were determined not to "wait" for freedom. In 1959 the Cuban revolution was victorious; many youth closely followed this revolution. The year 1960 came in with the aura of high expectations. It was a presidential election year and the NAACP had projected the slogan "Free by '63."

On February 1, 1960 four freshmen at A&T College in Greensboro, North Carolina sat in at a segregated Woolworth lunch counter downtown. In a matter of days, the idea leaped to other cities in North Carolina. During the next two weeks, sit-ins spread to fifteen cities in five Southern states. Within the following year, over 50,000 people—most were Black, some white participated in some kind of demonstration or another in a hundred; and over 3,600 demonstrators spent time in jail.

In a year several hundred lunch counters had been desegregated in Southern cities.

"Nearly 1,300 arrests had been made by this time. . . There were 400 arrests in Orangeburg, about 150 in Nashville, nearly 40 in each of Tallahassee and Florence (South Carolina), about 80 in Atlanta, about 65 in Memphis and nearly 85 in Marshall, Texas.

"In the North, college students staged supporting demonstrations and raised funds for arrested Southern students. The focus of the sit-ins was broadening to include libraries, museums and art galleries; the methods . . . were . . . wade-ins, stand-ins, kneel-ins and other forms of non-violent direct action. . ."

Miss Ella Baker, an organizer for SCLC, decided to hold a conference bringing together the sit-in leaders. She asked SCLC to underwrite it financially.

"Ella Baker went to Raleigh and got her Alma Mater, Shaw University, to provide facilities for a meeting of about a hundred students. But by the time of the conference on Easter weekend, April 15-17, 1960, demonstrations had spread so fast that there were sixty centers of sit-in activity. Also, nineteen Northern colleges were interested enough to send delegates. The result was that over two-hundred people came to the conference, one-hundred twenty-six of them student delegates from fifty-eight different Southern communities in twelve states."

*continued on page 10*

## Student Voices

by Rynard Moore

Question: How do you feel about the new Core requirements?



**S. Harlow Almond, Senior:**

"Basically, I feel that the new Core has no relevance for those who are seniors. This is because we don't need the courses."



**Imra Harding, Sophomore:**

"The new Core requirements do cut out a lot of courses for students who are following the old Core. However, City College is known for making things more complicated without necessarily making things more efficient."



**Etta L. Rahming, Junior:**

"The new Core requirements are a move to phase out some of the old courses. Also, some of the courses which overlap into the old requirements are worth one credit less. I think this is unfair."



**Franklin Velazquez, Senior:**

"The new Core requirements have tended to affect adversely the ethnic studies departments at CCNY. I feel that the new requirements obviously pose a threat to those Blacks and Puerto Ricans who have long fought for ethnic studies. The intuition of the college on objective terms is to relegate these areas to a tertiary position and this means emphasizing traditional academics. This is an excellent area of struggle in which the student senate, Blacks, Latins and other concerned students, can unite and seek effective changes."



**Joe Barba, Ph.D student:**

"The change in the core requirements in the Electrical Engineering Dept. has, in my opinion, reduced the amount of knowledge that the student is receiving."



**Marcya A. Joseph, Junior:**

"In my three years at City, I have learned absolutely nothing. I feel it is an insult to all students to be required to waste two or more years studying subjects that teach us nothing about the higher aspects of life. We spend so much time learning how to make a living that we never learn how to live. The bulk of my education has come from the "Tree Of Life" bookstore located at 125th Street and Lenox Avenue. There, I learned how to educate my spiritual self in such areas as Astrology, Metaphysics, meditation and the here-after. And as for the new Core requirements, it should be abolished and the above mentioned, be inserted in their place."



**Sara Durant, Sophomore:**

"The new Core requirements have made it more complicated for incoming students. It will affect many minorities who cannot cope with the new Core. Also, I feel that the new requirements have been designed to eliminate students who can't deal with the Technological skills that City is known for."

Next Question: What are your views on affirmative action programs?