

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.

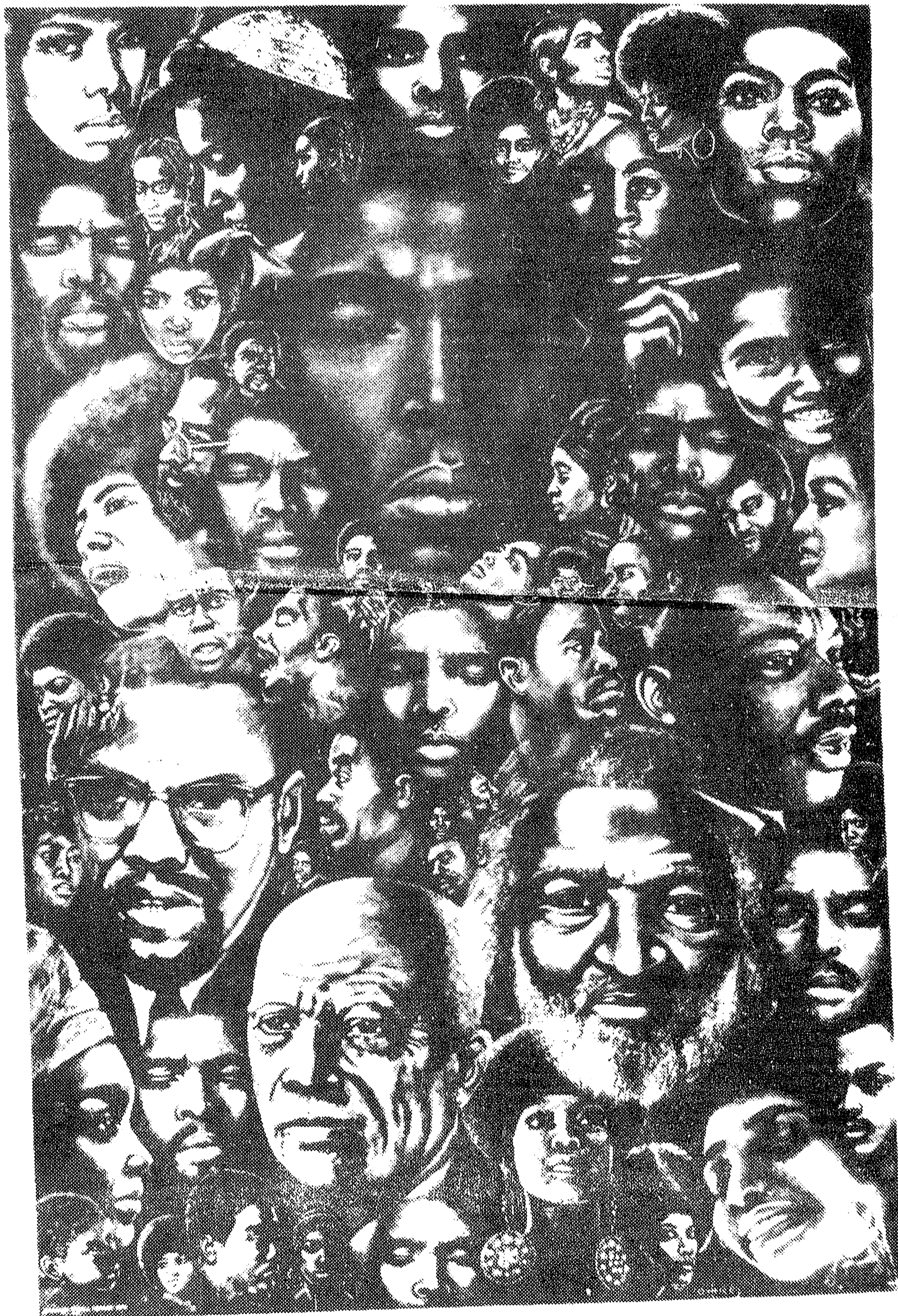
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Thursday, March 9, 1978

—Langston Hughes



The Black Student Movement: Which Way is Up?

EDITOR'S COMMENT

The following is the text of a speech delivered by Muhammad Ahmad, on November 5, 1977, at the first congress of the National Black Student Association (NBSA). The Congress, held at Atlanta University, had as its expressed purpose the national consolidation of NBSA.

by Muhammad Ahmad

The National Black Student Association's congress meeting this weekend meets in a time of historical legacy. It meets in a time of a serious nine year movement lull after a fifteen year period of the highest level of mass activism in the history of the Black liberation struggle.

While many of us know of the outward approach of the FBI COINTELPRO program to destroy the Black liberation movement, few of us know of its internal plan that leads to mass ideological confusion in the movement which continues to this very day.

What we as students of social change must do is learn from the mistakes of the past so that we don't repeat them in the present and future. One of the failures of the Black liberation movement of the 1960's was to give a clear ideological or theoretical perspective dialectically, of how liberation would be won.

Presently, most groups agree that liberation cannot be won short of a socialist revolution in the U.S. But, the burning question is how do we as a people move to that point and, what are we to achieve by such a revolution.

Revolution does not provide us with easy answers. We must do some serious thinking and studying if we are revolutionary. If a black student/person is a revolutionary, he/she must seriously study the development of U.S. society. The U.S. has developed unlike most European capitalist societies, and therefore, revolution in this country has its own unique characteristics. This paper is too short to fully discuss these characteristics, so we encourage study groups and ideological institutes to study them.

One question we must answer this weekend for the organization to take a clear perspective, is whether our people are an oppressed national minority or whether we are an oppressed nation of a unique type, with unique characteristics.

This outline addresses itself to say that New Afrikans (Afrikans enslaved in the U.S.) are a domestic colony: a captive nation held in colonial bondage. For four hundred years the New African tilled the land in the south (particularly the Black Belt; a region of Black majority through Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina), living up until the last thirty years as a peasant sharecropper. Most of these years the New Afrikan was living in an agrarian situation, and until the last ten years had no redress in the political system. What is the condition today?

Nearly five million Black people live in the Black Belt area today, comprising about 20% of the Black population of the entire country and about 43% of the Black population of the South. About 4.5 million Black people in the south live in rural areas and small towns, and most of these are in the Black Belt. Also, on the average, Blacks are still a majority of the rural population in the Black Belt and a 30% minority in the Black Belt's urban areas.

Under unique conditions of imperialist and racist aggression over the years, Black people in the South, have acquired all the attributes of an oppressed nation. We are a people set apart by a common ethnic origin, economically interrelated in various classes, until the last thirty years had a common economic relationship to the land in the Black Belt, united by a common historical experience reflecting a common culture and psychological makeup.

The Black Belt South is the area that today has the largest concentration of Black people.

"Thus, imperialist oppression created the conditions for the eventual rise of a national liberation movement, with its base in the South." The content of this movement would be the completion of the agrarian democratic revolution in the south, that is, the right of self-determination and the guarantee of complete equality throughout the country.

This new analysis defined the status of Blacks in the north, as a unassimilable national minority, who cannot escape oppression by fleeing the South. The shadow of the plantation falls upon them throughout the country, as the semi-slave relations in the Black Belt continually reproduce Black inequality and servitude in all walks of life.

There are certain singular features of the submerged Afro-American nation which differentiate it from other oppressed nations and which have made the road toward national consciousness and identity difficult and arduous. Afro-Americans are not only a "nation within a nation," but a captive nation, suffering a colonial type oppression while trapped within the geographic bounds of the world's most powerful imperialist country.

Blacks were forced into the stream of U.S. history in a peculiar manner, as chattel slaves, and are victims of an excruciatingly destructive system of oppression and persecution due not only to the economic and social survivals of slavery, but also to its ideological heritage, racism.

The Afro-American question is also unique in that it is a new nation evolved from a people forcibly transplanted from their original African homeland. A people composed of various tribal and linguistic groups, they are a product not of their native African soil, but of the conditions of their transplantation.

The overwhelming stifling factor of race, the doctrine of inherent inferiority perpetuated by ruling class ideologies, has sunk deep into the thinking of Americans. It has become endemic, permeating the

entire structure of U.S. life. Given this, Blacks could only remain permanently unabsorbed in the new world's "melting pot."

The race factor has also left its stigma on the consciousness of the Black nation, creating a powerful mystification about Black Americans which has served to obscure their objective status as an oppressed nation. It has twisted the direction of the Afro-American liberation movement and scarred it while still in its embryonic state.

A serious Black liberation organization must address itself to the question of developing a program around where the majority of our people live. So while the liberation organization should have an overall program of all Afrikans in all areas of the country, its focus should be in the South, particularly in those areas we constitute a near to the majority population: Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina.

The NBSA's main emphasis should be about completing the democratic Black political revolution; the electing of people's representatives and the building of an independent Black political party to complete this phase of the revolution, to take it to its logical conclusion, self-determination and national independence. NBSA should then develop a strategic long range outlook and a tactical short range program.

"Black people already have the voting potential to control the politics of the entire southern counties. Given maximum registration of Blacks, there are more than one hundred and ten counties where Black people could outvote the political parties and not waste time trying to reform or convert the racist parties."

The right to vote in the south, in essence, means the right to self-determination, if that vote is organized around the politics of independence and self reliance; the building of an independent Black political party. The late Malcolm X in his speech, "The Ballot Or The Bullet" in 1964, emphasized the need for the movement to build a new politics of independence from both the democratic and republican parties. The democratic and republican parties are parties of the monopoly capitalist ruling class and are designed to serve their interests.

"The exploited classes need political rule in order to completely abolish all exploitation, i.e., in the interest of the vast majority of the people and against the insignificant minority consisting of the modern slave owners, the landlords and capitalists."

So the important question before NBSA is the building of an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, anti-racist independent Black political party. This party would have as its base young Black workers, Black farmers, streetforce and Black revolutionary intellectuals who make up the Black intelligentsia.

In order to be effective, this party would have to be national in scope with its organizing base in the national territory (the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina). The

political objective of the party would be to run independent Black candidates for offices in areas north and south where Black people constitute the majority or near majority. The long range political program of the party, would be to take over legally, at least try at first, the national territory and then raise the question of the right of self determination and national independence; the right of secession from capitalist-imperialist-racist U.S.

We must see that this perspective is a long range perspective and will take years to develop. We should not expect to jump up and run out of this room and expect our people to respond to the idea of building an independent Black political party. This will take years of hard work, built from a sound body of cadres, well tested in struggle and day to day practice.

"The role of the Black Revolutionary party, is first, to develop and keep before the movement, the nation and the world the real meaning and objectives of the life and death struggle in which our community is now engaged; second, to bring together in a disciplined national organization the revolutionary individuals who are being constantly thrown up by spontaneous eruption and the experience of struggle; thirdly to devise and project, in constant interaction with the masses in struggle a long-range strategy for achieving Black revolutionary power in the United States."

We say, we should seriously study our people's history to understand the underlying aspects of mass movements and the historical objectives of our people. This historical analysis will help us in developing a long range strategy for Black revolutionary power.

Will the struggle for self determination lead to socialist revolution? This is hard to answer. Though no one can put a timetable on revolution, or say exactly how it will proceed, we can make broad generalizations.

For New Afrikans to be thinking about socialist revolution, and we should be, we would first have to answer the question: what is the most feasible way New Afrikans can engage in successful revolution? The most feasible and historically sound way, is by New Afrikans attempting to take over the goods and services of the national territory and through protracted struggle, turning it into a liberated area.

The struggle for national independence of the National territory will polarize the internal contradictions of the racist monopoly capitalist system, and hopefully, will cause a major crisis. Whether the masses of white workers will come to our aid or not is theoretical question that cannot be ed at this time. But we can say we have as many as thirty million potential third world allies inside this country, many progressive whites and many African and other third world allies around the world, who have, from their practice, shown us that they can be potential supporters of the Black Liberation struggle for national independence.

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HANIF RAHMAN'S
UNCREATED ESSENCE

TO ALIYA

IT'S THIS SEEKING/THIS SEARCHING/FOR MY ALIYA/FROM WHOM DEATH/HAS PHYSICALLY SEPARATED ME/THAT'S CAUSING/FORCING THIS PENETRATION/INTO/INTO THE ASTRAL PLANE/I FIND/THAT I CAN NO LONGER/RELY ON MY FIVE/MY FIVE PHYSICAL SENSES/IN ORDER TO COMMUNICATE WITH HER/AND SO I HAVE NOW/BEGUN TO CALL ON POWERS/THAT I HAD NEVER KNOWN TO EXIST WITHIN ME/I HAVE NOW BEGUN/TO CALL ON POWERS/THAT I HAD NEVER KNOWN/TO EXIST WITHIN ME/WHEN SUDDENLY / UP FROM THE WORLD OF THE SOUL/COMES THE VOICE/COMES THE VOICE/OF MY ALIYA/"I WAIT FOR YOU/LISTEN BELOVED/AND YOU WILL ALWAYS/HEAR ME/LOOK DEEP/INTO THE HEART OF OTHERS AND YOU WILL ALWAYS/ALWAYS BE NEAR ME/I WAIT FOR YOU/I WAIT FOR YOU/DARLING HANIF/FOR YOU ARE NOW ENTRAPPED/WITHIN THE DIVINE CURRENT/DARLING HANIF/YOU ARE NOW ENTRAPPED/WITHIN THE DIVINE FORCE/ AND YOU/YOU CAN NO MORE/STOP YOURSELF/ FROM JOINING ME/THAN THE ONRUSHING RIVER/ CAN STOP ITSELF/FROM JOINING/JOINING/JOINING THE SEA/FOR THE DIVINE/IS USING YOU/I AM USING YOU /AND USE YOU I MUST/UNTIL THERE REMAINS OF YOU/ONLY A DESIRE TO EXPRESS/ TO EXPRESS/TO EXPRESS YOUR LOVE/YOUR LOVE/YOUR LOVE FOR ME/FOR THE DIVINE/IS USING YOU/AND I/AM USING YOU/AND USE YOU I MUST/UNTIL THERE REMAINS OF YOU/ONLY A DESIRE/TO EXPRESS YOUR LOVE/FOR ME/ I/HANIF RAHMAN/AM BEING DRIVEN/BY THE FORCE OF LOVE/INTO THE INNER MEANING OF LIFE/INTO THE INNER MEANING OF LOVE/I AM BEING DRIVEN/INTO THE INNER MEANING OF MY OWN/MY OWN PHYSICAL DEATH/SIXTEEN YEARS PRIOR/TO THE TRANSITION OF MY BELOVED WIFE/ALIYA/RAHMAN/I HAD WRITTEN TO HER/WHAT HAS NOW BECOME/A VERY PROPHETIC LETTER/IN WHICH I SAID/BELOVED ALIYA/LET US PROVE/THAT OUR LOVE/WILL OVERCOME DEATH/BELOVED ALIYA/LET US PROVE/THAT OUR LOVE/WILL OVERCOME DEATH/AND NOW I FIND MYSELF/TOTALLY ALONE/BESIEGED ON ALL SIDES/BY THE TEMPORARY NATURE OF THIS WORLDS LIFE/BESIEGED FROM ALL SIDES/BY THE TEMPORARY NATURE/OF THIS WORLDS LOVE/DEATH/ WAS APPARENTLY ON THE THRONE/HAD WE BEEN VANQUISHED/THERE WAS THAT/THAT MOMENT OF DOUBT/BUT I/FURIOUSLY/AND DESPERATELY/BEGAN TO PENETRATE/INTO/INTO THE MYSTIC TEACHINGS/OF THE ANCIENT MASTERS/I WAS SEEKING ANSWERS/I WAS SEEKING ANSWERS/TO WHAT WAS BEING CALLED/THE UNKNOWN/I QUESTIONED EVERY WISE/CONTEMPORARY/PEOPLE/WHOM WERE KNOWN TO THE WORLD/AS SAINTS/SAGES/MYSTICS/YOGIS/SUFI/AND MASTERS/I WAS TOLD/"LOVE IS THE UNIVERSAL FORCE/THAT ITS SWEEP IS IRRESISTIBLE/I WAS TOLD/LOVE IS THE UNIVERSAL FORCE/THAT ITS SWEEP IS IRRESISTIBLE/I REASONED/COULD I/HANIF RAHMAN/COULD I/THROUGH THE POWER/THROUGH THE POWER OF LOVE/CALL MY ALIYA BACK/BACK/BACK FROM BEYOND/BEYOND THE GRAVE/COULD I/THROUGH THE POWER/THROUGH THE POWER/OF MY UNIVERSAL MIND/BRING FORTH HER

MANIFESTATION/HER VISIBLE FORM/BRING FORTH HER CREATION/FOR I CAN FEEL/I CAN FEEL YOUR PRESENCE ALIYA/I CAN FEEL THE FORCE/OF YOUR INCREDIBLE LOVE/ITS SURGING/SURGING/SURGING/THROUGH MY BEING/ITS OVERFLOWING/OVERFLOWING FROM MY HEART/AND I CAN RESIST/I CAN RESIST YOUR PULL/YOUR PULL NO LONGER/FOR YOUR ALL ENCOMPASSING FORCE OF LOVE/BEYOND/BEYOND THE GRAVE IS STRONGER/I AM BEING COMPELLED/TO LEAVE/TO LEAVE MY PHYSICAL FORM/AND FOLLOW/FOLLOW YOUR SOUL/INTO/INTO ETERNITY/FOR EVER/I AM NO LONGER CONSCIOUS/OF BEING IN MY PHYSICAL BODY/FOR I AM NOW ETERNAL ESSENCE/I AM ETERNAL ESSENCE/WITH THOUGHTS/WITH FEELINGS/AND THE ONE FEELING/ABOVE ALL/IS THIS EXTRAORDINARY HAPPINESS/THE ONE FEELING ABOVE ALL/IS THIS EXTRAORDINARY HAPPINESS/FOR I AM NOW/ONCE AGAIN/WITHIN THE TENDER/FOR I AM NOW/ONCE AGAIN/WITHIN THE LOVING ARMS/OF MY ALIYA/FOR I AM NOW/ONCE AGAIN/WITHIN THE TENDER/I AM NOW/ONCE AGAIN/WITHIN THE LOVING ARMS OF MY ALIYA/ BELOVED HANIF/YOU/YOU HAVE ENTERED/THROUGH THE ETERNAL DOOR/PRECIOUS HANIF/YOU/YOU HAVE ENTERED/INTO MY HEART/ONCE MORE/

HANIF RAHMAN

CHOSEN CHILDREN: A BLACK

where are we coming from
and more important
where are we going

where are we coming from
& where are we going

coming from a place
from a holy spirit place
returning to a place
going to a materialistic place

and can't you see the sign
of the ascending golden sun
sent just for us
to guide us
to show us the way

Brothers and Sisters, behold
for we be resurrected up
into new life
contenders with god
true children of Isreal
brother of the Elounites
sons of Buddha
daughters of Brahman
ancestors of the Shamnous
priests & priestesses of the Egyptians
and it has been said that
'only those who have served
every race of peoples
shall one day rise up to become
masters over thos people
for we be not the Black minority
we be just god's chosen few.

Adrienne A. Curry

T H E P A P E R

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The White Citadel on the Hill In Harlem

On February 4, 1978, an article in *The Paper* titled "A College: the private papers of a campus dean. It was written by CCNY's dean of Humanities Theodore L. Gross. The basic theme of the article is that the Black, Puerto Rican and Asian students who entered City College under Open Admissions, don't belong there. The article, like its writer is racist!

In a city where the majority of college age youth are Black and the City University's 1968 population was 13.8% Black, 5.9% Puerto Rican and 75.9% white, wasn't something fundamentally wrong?

Can a university correct the situation while at the same time perpetuating some of the same ills which permeate the public school system, i.e. unresponsive, unprepared faculty teaching an irrelevant curriculum. Gross himself admits the "... poor preparation, if not outright resistance, of the faculty..." to teaching Blacks, Hispanics and Asians. He also tells us that underemployed foreign language and history teachers were employed to teach basic writing. Furthermore "... faculty and administrators were impatient with the work of teaching basic writing (...) and acted as if it would go away."

Despite these revelations, the experience of open admissions argues most dramatically that adequate preparation is essential to success." What he forgot to explain was how one can adequately measure students' success when the faculty and academic departments were never quite prepared or willing to handle the job. He cites no figures to substantiate his claim, yet is ready and willing to dump thousands of Black youth into the streets and community colleges, where they would be given vocational training, at best.

Gross said that CUNY was going to implement open admissions, anyhow, in 1975. What he didn't say was that the 'open admissions' proposed for 1975 would've placed the top 25% of High School graduates, overwhelmingly white, into the senior colleges, the remainder of the top two thirds into the community colleges and the bottom one third, mostly Black and Puerto Rican were to be dumped into 'educational skills center' where they would receive vocational training. Only a racist can call this open admission.

A fuss is made about

'academic excellence' and preserving CCNY's standards, yet, in his article, Gross admits that "... in the sixties the college was almost entirely white and predominantly Jewish ... we at City College ... had abolished requirements and prerequisites and had arranged elective courses in a cafeteria curriculum that made basic skills and basic knowledge seem irrelevant and sequential study unimportant."

Later in the article the author attacks Black Studies

as having "little to do with education and much to do with establishing racial bases of power." The truth is that Black Studies has more to do with education than the traditional disciplines of English, Philosophy, Literature and Political Science, which are totally white washed. It is not that Black students are unprepared to take these courses, as Gross claims, but that the courses themselves have little to offer Black youth. The point here is not that these disciplines are irrelevant, but that they need to be taught from a world HUMANISTIC perspective, as opposed to a Eurocentric perspective. If the latter was the case then we would not need Black Studies. For example in the History department one learns that Abraham Lincoln was nice to Blacks and that he freed the slaves, whereas, in Black Studies, it is made clear that Abraham Lincoln was concerned solely with preserving the union, whether it meant keeping or freeing the slaves. In physics we would learn that Archimedes invented the endless screw, whereas, in Black Studies we learn that when Archimedes was studying in Egypt, he observed Blacks using the Hydraulic Screw to pump water and that was the basis for his 'invention'.

How can Black Studies encourage 'militant separatism', as Gross argues, when the latter is an American way of life? Didn't the author ever hear of the phrase "separate, but equal"? of the Dred Scott decision? of the Black codes? of the fire hoses and dogs that were unleashed on Black babies? Did he forget about slavery? wasn't that 'militant separatism'? How about when white parents in Canarsie bring out rifles to keep blacks from going to the same schools? Is that called integration? Is American culture really as integrative as Gross says it is or has the entire history of American been the

history of Europeans exploiting, oppressing, colonizing, and waging genocide against non-European peoples? The only integrative aspect was when millions of European ethnics came here to escape the barrenness of Europe and integrated into white America. The Native Americans, Blacks and Chicano/Mexicano peoples on whose backs they climbed up into the middle class have remained unassimilated. These same whites, like Theodore Gross, will step all over our faces before they lose their white-skinned privileges.

Maybe Gross needs to take a few Black Studies courses.

By Gross's own admission they, the white teachers at City College have studied a body of literature that is fundamentally Anglo-Saxon, but we teach many students who are Black, Asian and Spanish." Are they fit to teach people whose contributions to the world they know nothing of?

The last point we want to make is that City College has remained the 'white citadel on the hill in Harlem' since 1847, when it was known as the Free Academy. Up until the 1969 takeover, it was inaccessible to the Black population in whose midst it stood and whose taxes pay for both the education of the white students and the salaries of the white faculty and administration. Open admission disturbed the status quo by throwing itself into the spokes of the CUNY cycle in 1969. Since then, as is evident from Gross's article, the main preoccupation of the white faculty and administration has been how to get rid of the 'niggers'. Keeping that in mind we should look at the end of open admissions in 1975, the imposition of tuition in 1976, the protracted dismantling of SEEK, the decision to end tuition deferrals, and the upcoming 'Freshman Skills assessment program' (two-year test) and ask ourselves, WHY?

The rumours of the Paper's demise have been grossly exaggerated. Actually this has been a test; one design to establish whether or not people are reading us. To all our 'admirers' you can put our eulogies away for another time. P.S. we'll let you know when. BRB

Success of SEEK? You Decide!

Special To The Paper

One of the major factors leading to the formulation of the proposed SEEK guidelines is the belief that SEEK has not been successful. For example, in March 1977 the CUNY Office of Program and Policy Research published a report entitled "Retention and Graduation of Disadvantaged Students in the Senior Colleges of CUNY", parts of which have been widely reported in the media as evidence of SEEK's failure, when the report is considered in its entirety, however, clear evidence of SEEK's success emerges.

The report compared SEEK students with two other groups:

1. Students eligible for SEEK but not selected in the lottery; and
2. Students academically and/or financially ineligible for SEEK.

Retention and graduation of these three groups were compared for students entering CUNY in 1970, 1971, 1972 and 1973. To no one's surprise, those ineligible for SEEK did better than either of the other groups. But the core of the study was the comparison of two similar groups—both eligible for SEEK but one actually accepted into the SEEK program, the other not.

The authors were careful to point out that these groups were similar, but not identical. The SEEK students had lower high school averages than the students who were not in the SEEK Program, and probably differed somewhat financially and motivationally as well. Students who were accepted into SEEK, then, began the Program with greater academic and financial disadvantages than those who were eligible but not admitted to SEEK.

In light of these differences, let's examine the authors' findings:

1. In terms of retention: A significantly greater percentage of SEEK students remained in school compared to students of similar background not enrolled in SEEK in all the years examined and at all levels of high school achievement. At levels of high school achievement below 80, the percentage of SEEK students remaining in school was even greater than that of students ineligible for SEEK.
2. In terms of graduation: The results of the study are less clear. Due to various circumstances in the University during the years examined, only the data on the 1971 entering groups could be meaningfully compared.

After ten semesters, the authors found that 16.6% of students

enrolled in SEEK as of 1971 graduated, as compared with 15.7% of the students eligible for SEEK but not enrolled in the SEEK Program. At all levels of high school achievement, a slightly higher percentage of SEEK students graduated, but these differences are generally not statistically significant.

For students entering with high school averages less than 70, however, more than twice as large a percentage of SEEK students graduated as non-SEEK students, and it should be noted that 31% of all SEEK students had high school averages less than 70, whereas only 19% of students eligible but not enrolled in SEEK entered that year with high school averages less than 70.

As the authors state, their report is limited in several respects and further research is needed before final conclusions can be drawn. It is clear, however, that the information in the report is largely positive in its implications about the retention and graduation of SEEK students.

One should not the fact that when the study was released, the newspapers reported only the finding that "SEEK students were graduated in similar proportions to SEEK eligibles", and used this as evidence of SEEK's failure. In fact, the *New York Times* of December 18, 1977 again cited this report in the same distorted manner. Why wasn't it made clear that the report was limited and the groups compared were different? Why didn't we hear about the clear success of SEEK with the most academically disadvantaged group which constitutes about one-third of the SEEK Program? Why wasn't the clear success of SEEK with retention reported—an area where SEEK surpassed the record of even more economically favored groups of students? Clearly someone is looking for opportunities to find fault with SEEK and ignoring opportunities to see what is right with it. We would hope that the members of the Expanded Educational Opportunity Committee will not be swayed by those who offer distortions and will instead look carefully at the evidence at hand.

The report we have been considering used retention and graduation as standards for measuring the success of the SEEK Program. But are these the most appropriate standards? In one sense, the purpose of the SEEK Program is to enable SEEK students to enter, stay in school and graduate. But in a larger sense, the purpose of the Program is to enable people of disadvantaged backgrounds to use higher education as a vehicle to obtain a more equitable share of the advantages society has to offer. Interaction with the SEEK Program, even for as short a period as a few semesters, can help students

find in themselves the inner resources to change their lives. We need to conduct studies that show the percentage of SEEK students who obtain good jobs, pursue interesting and useful careers, serve their communities, provide richer experiences for their children, and produce an economic return to society for its investment in their education. The anecdotal information compiled under "Success Stories" in the 1976 SEEK Task Force Report, as well as similar information available through the individual SEEK Programs, is a beginning in this direction, and clear evidence that SEEK works.

The remaining question is: does SEEK work well enough for enough people to justify expenditure of funds? We believe the answer to this question is yes. To obtain the relevant data, Louis Hofman of the CUNY Office of Special Program has developed a detailed research plan. Unfortunately, this plan was not funded through CUNY, so Mr. Hofman is now exploring alternative sources of funding. We urge that this research or a similar research plan be undertaken immediately so that we all can have access to the data we need to decide this important question.

Two final points should be emphasized in closing this presentation: First, all evaluation involves value judgments. Research can only say how many people graduated, or how many got white-collar jobs, etc. Whether these results are good enough is a question for our collective good judgment, not for meaningless comparisons of SEEK with very different programs and students. Second, the kind of evaluation that is needed is that which points the way towards improvements in the program. In as large and diverse a program as SEEK, there are bound to be both successes and failures. We need to find and analyze both, so we will know how to proceed.

Last spring, HEOP, the State Department of Education counterpart to SEEK, prepared a comprehensive evaluation plan of this type. They will use the data produced by this evaluation to develop and implement improvements in their program. The principal author of this HEOP evaluation plan has indicated to us that a similar plan could be formulated for SEEK to provide useful information on which to base program improvements.

Without information of this type, changing guidelines is a random, senseless process which is more likely to produce chaos than improvements. We urge that the Office of the Vice-Chancellor for Special Programs immediately implement a comprehensive evaluation plan which includes procedures for continual program improvement on the basis of hard facts rather than the unsupported opinions of the CUNY administration.

Since the SEEK Program attracts more eligible applicants than it can accommodate each year, a selection procedure is necessary. Ideally, such a selection process will have two characteristics:

1. It will be fair.
2. It will optimally select those students who can best utilize the services the program can provide.

The presently used lottery is not fair, because it fails to take student diversity into account. In addition, no room is allowed for colleges to match students to their particular programs. Therefore, a system that can provide this flexibility while, at the same time, fulfill the above characteristics is clearly more desirable.

The proposed guidelines state that "from the list of eligibles, selections are to be made on the basis of diagnostic testing and/or interviews by central panels established for this purpose . . . selections thus made shall be on the basis of motivation and potentially for success . . ." What is to be the nature of this so-called diagnostic testing? What content will be included? Who will determine the content and form? What cut-off points will be set and by what criteria will they be determined? Can motivation and potential be properly assessed? How? In what forms are motivation and potential identified? At what level will motivation and potential be considered inadequate for admission into SEEK? Since none of these important questions are answered in the guidelines, it is obvious that clarification is necessary. It is, in fact, not clear that motivation and success potential can be measured at all for SEEK applicants. If the CUNY administration is seriously interested in establishing a procedure that will select students fairly and in a manner that best matches students to SEEK Program services, then evaluation of a procedure must precede its implementation.

Specifically:

1. Procedures must be formulated.
2. Procedures must be tested by collecting the information called for, but not using it to admit students into the program to allow for
3. the opportunity to compare the progress of those students who would have been admitted under the new procedures to the progress of those who would not have been admitted under the new procedures—to see whether the procedures can, in fact, identify potentially successful SEEK students from others. The new procedures will only be acceptable if they do not eliminate some groups of potentially successful

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SEEK

continued from page 5

SEEK students in the process of indentifying others.

Furthermore, it should be pointed out that **standardized tests are not appropriate** for diagnostic testing because they serve only to rank students rather than measure a given level of achievement. Standardized testing would only be appropriate if the University intends to **eliminate** a percentage of students taking the test.

We will support any procedure that can be developed to preserve the fairness of the lottery while, at the same time, select those students who can best benefit from the SEEK Program. To this end, we urge that the Vice-Chancellor for Special Programs establish a university-wide SEEK committee to do the work necessary before a viable screening program can be implemented, as proposed in the "Recommended Revisions" by the Council of SEEK Directors.

Before closing this presentation, there are two other points to consider:

(1) The educational criteria for eligibility, as written in the proposed guidelines, omit a group of applicants who should be included, i.e. students who transfer from HEOP and EOP Programs, and students who have obtained college credit through other higher education opportunity programs.

(2) The economic criteria for eligibility outlined in the proposed guidelines is probably not even adequate for 1977-78, and would certainly not be adequate for subsequent years. This section should be amended to include provisions for change in economic criteria that reflect the spiraling costs of living.

SEEK COUNSELING

The content of this presentation is on that aspect of the proposed guidelines which designates "intensive supportive services" in the form of "special counseling and guidance services for enrolled students". The proposed guidelines further specify that "counseling shall be directed toward maximizing the academic success of the student" and that SEEK students shall have "an entitlement to SEEK counseling services" throughout the college career.

Moreover, such goals would seem self-explanatory were it not for the absence of a guideline specification on counselor/student ratios. An informed position and recommendation by the Board of Higher Education on this question can act to ensure the proper provision of this supportive resource.

The state has recommended that SEEK counselor/student ratios at CUNY be increased by over 100% with no other rationale other than to accommodate existing SUNY ratios. This recommendation is **not feasible** in servicing the disadvantaged SEEK student at CUNY and totally ignores **major differences** in the academic prepara-

tion, admission requirements and educational environments under which the students of these different systems must function. In fact, the monetary campus expenditures and environments which usually exist at State University levels provide a host of additional support systems which do not exist for the urban commuter student within CUNY. These sometimes elaborate support systems are inclusive of the following:

—Spacious college campuses with dormitory facilities.

—Faculty residing on campus and available for consultation with students.

—On-campus medical facilities and staff to address health needs of students.

—Centralized classroom sites in close proximity to dormitories.

—Direct availability of upper classmen to help advise lower division students.

However, the disadvantaged SEEK student at CUNY is faced with formidable deterrents to academic progress and is often subjected to innumerable pressures imposed by urban socio-economic conditions. Specific examples are as follows:

—Deteriorated and cramped living facilities resulting in a lack of peace and privacy for study.

—Considerable stress and difficulties in traveling up to two hours to and from classes on noisy, crowded, unsafe public transportation.

—The necessity to help with the financial support of families.

—Inadequate child care facilities.

—Constant exposure to peer-group and, in some instances, parental pressures which may discourage rather than encourage college endeavors.

—Difficulties in forming student study groups because of student obligations off campus.

The individual and collective time requirements necessary for counselors to intervene and resolve such problems is often oversimplified or totally ignored. It is important to note that the work of counselors involves not only direct contact with students—in individual or group sessions—but also involves contacts with significant others with whom the student interacts, i.e., instructors, tutors, administrators, family members, etc.

Counselors cannot realistically address the needs of each SEEK student and render a qualitative service when assigned student caseloads are unrealistically expanded.

The CUNY system is commuter oriented and non-residential, with a limited support system on a weekday basis. To further dilute the comparatively limited support resources presently offered to SEEK students in CUNY will ultimately foster programmatic failure. It would therefore follow

that the existing support systems for City University be strengthened, rather than diluted.

The absence of a workable counselor/student ration in the proposed guidelines severely jeopardizes successful implementation of the very goals described under counseling and guidance services. It is totally inadequate to simply declare that counseling and guidance services shall be "intensive" and "special" while failing to designate, or even recommend, practical counselor/student ratios. In as much as counseling is a major component of the support systems for the urban commuter SEEK student, we strongly urge that you scrutinize carefully the position paper that we are submitting on this issue. The content of this paper, at the very least, illustrates that there is ample basis for an examination and informed position on this question so as to ensure effective counseling and guidance services for SEEK students.

FRESHMAN SKILLS ASSESSMENT PROPOSAL

On April 5, 1976, the Board of Higher Education adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, that students moving to the upper division of a four-year college—either from the lower division of the college or from a community college within the University system or outside of it—must provide evidence, in accordance with a standard to be determined by the Chancellor, that they have attained a level of proficiency in basic learning skills necessary to cope successfully with advanced work in the academic disciplines.

In order to implement this resolution, the Chancellor appointed a faculty committee, The Chancellor's Committee On Movement From The Lower To The Upper Division. The work of this committee resulted in a document called "Freshman Skills Assessment—A Proposal". This proposal calls for the initiation of standardized testing, to be administered CUNY-wide for the purposes of deciding student ability to do upper division work.

The Committee acknowledged three primary tasks in developing these proposals:

1. To decide which proficiency skills students must have to cope successfully with advanced work in the academic disciplines.
2. To determine the minimum standard of proficiency in these skills which students will be required to demonstrate.
3. To recommend ways of implementing these standards of proficiency.

The Committee then proceeded to define basic skills as reading, writing and mathematics, but, in going from task one to task two, the Committee ran into a major obstacle: How does one define terms like:

Fluency
Competency
Minimum necessary proficiency
Minimal exit criteria
Skills deficiency
Minimal basic skills requirement

Literacy standards, terms that pervade the entire proposal? It has been said that the power to define is the power to destroy. Who will have control of the process of defining what these terms mean? For example, under the broad heading of elementary algebra (a basic skill), there are numerous topics. Should all students be proficient in every aspect of elementary algebra? If not, what skills or combination of skills and what criteria constitute proficiency as opposed to deficiency? And if this difficulty arises in mathematics, cannot the same be said for reading and writing? And furthermore, will the same criteria be used in evaluating students from whom English is used as a second language? The proposal does answer the last question. Yes, ESL students will be subject to the same criteria as all other students.

In addition, these minimum proficiency levels must be met prior to completion of the sophomore year and "for many curricula these standards must be met long before completion of the sophomore year". If a student, after completion of 61 credits, has not proven minimal competency by virtue of passing the proposed proficiency test, he will not be permitted to register for any senior college course except for remedial work as a non-degree student. These three specific standards pose certain problems.

1. What happens to the student who passes the reading and writing components of the test and fails the mathematics component? Will he or she be permitted to register for courses that require no mathematical knowledge (art, literature), some mathematical knowledge (chemistry)?
2. How many chances will students have to pass these tests?
3. In terms of status, how will these students who fail be viewed by financial aid offices?
4. What type of test(s) will be used?
5. Why should a student who demonstrates academic excellence in his or her remedial courses be subjected to examination upon completion of remedial courses?

We feel that the movement from the lower division to the upper division should be based solely upon one's instructors' assessments of the ability to cope with advanced college-level work. Students are subjected to placement examinations, tests and quizzes, mid-term evaluations, as well as final examinations throughout each semester; they should not be subjected to post-remedial examinations.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT CONSPIRACY AGAINST MALCOLM X AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY

February 21, 1978 marks the thirteenth anniversary of the Malcolm X assassination. The majority of Black people generally knew in 1965 that the U.S. government was ultimately responsible, but we did not have a scientific analysis as to what specific tactics & strategy were being perpetrated against our leaders, our movement and our community.

Later, in 1967, we would learn that the qualitative distinction between the Black community having a clear understanding and the government's accomplishment was **INTELLIGENCE**. The government had conducted an intensive, thorough, and in-depth assessment, analysis and investigation of Malcolm's dynamic ability and effectiveness to **unify** Black people—how this ability would create **serious** political and economical crisis for the U.S. and what the responses, and repercussions would be if his efforts were neutralized.

Government complicity surrounding Malcolm's death was implicit from the beginning but concrete evidence to indict the government and educate the Black community had been surreptitiously concealed by the **CIA** and the **FBI**.

During the time of Malcolm's assassination the words *Domestic Violence*, *Counter-Intelligence* and

Cointelpro were not household words to the Black community. It was not until 1972 under the auspices of the F.O.I.A. (Freedom of Information Act) that **facts** would surface that boldly revealed government **conspiracy** and premeditated violence, frame-up's, wiretaps on phones, organization infiltration, sabotage, use of **agents**, provocateurs, under a nation-wide counter-intelligence program **COINTELPRO**.

The primary objective of **COINTELPRO** was to destroy, through total neutralization, all Black Leaders and organizations that fought and struggled for Blacks' human rights.

During the sixties, Malcolm X had become very instrumental in building and unifying Black people's human rights struggle for self-determination.

There are some pivotal events that transpired during the sixties that we should take a closer and more introspective look to gain a better insight into why Malcolm had become a target and threat to the power structure.

a) Malcolm's historic speech "Message to the Grass Roots" raised Blacks' consciousness on Revolutionary Nationalism and stressed the political importance of the Bandung Conference. This was very historical and significant because it marked the first time in the 20th Century that a conference of this magnitude had convened with Blacks from all over the world which disproved the myth about Blacks' being a minority.

b) In 1964, Malcolm addressed the Organization of African Unity in Cairo, Egypt, **speaking on behalf of Blacks in the U.S.** and raised the question of Black oppression and captivity in the U.S. The O.A.U. endorsed Malcolm's plan and assured support in bringing the issue before the United Nations.

c) Malcolm traveled to Africa twice and met with Heads of State and Revolutionaries and received concrete commitments to support our human rights struggle.

d) Twice while **in Africa Malcolm was poisoned by C.I.A. agents**, with the intent of bringing international embarrassment to African Nations and seed disunity to undermine Pan African Unity.

e) Malcolm was the **first** Black leader in the U.S. to extend a personal invitation to an African Revolutionary, Mohammed Babu, a leader of the Zanzibar revolution.

f) Malcolm traveled to the South and laid out a strategy with Dr. King to **link** the Civil rights and Human rights struggle for Blacks. Five days later he was assassinated.

g) He spoke before Black youth in Mississippi and intensified their fight with the K.K.K. around the question of **self-defense** for Blacks.

h) Malcolm had planned to speak before the United Nations and indict the U.S. on the charge of **Genocide** in its dealings with Blacks in the U.S.

i) In the final days of his life **his house was bombed, agents surfac-**

ed inside his organization and then viciously shot-gunned and hit him with six bullets as he tried to restore order at the Audubon Ballroom, February 21, 1965.

In retrospect Black people should be clear of all the entrapments that were used against Malcolm and realize how many other Black families were affected. This is only the tip of the iceberg.

The Assassination of Malcolm was another deliberate blow to smash the Black Liberation momentum and movement. There is great historical importance to honoring a memorial for Malcolm at the **Audubon Ballroom**. It has been thirteen years since New York City paid respect to the life and times of Malcolm at the place where he was **viciously** assassinated. We should not mourn Malcolm's death, be emotional, angered or saddened. We should be **enlightened**.

*Long Live
Malcolm!*

1000 At Audubon Shout: "Long Live Malcolm!"

by Selwyn Carter

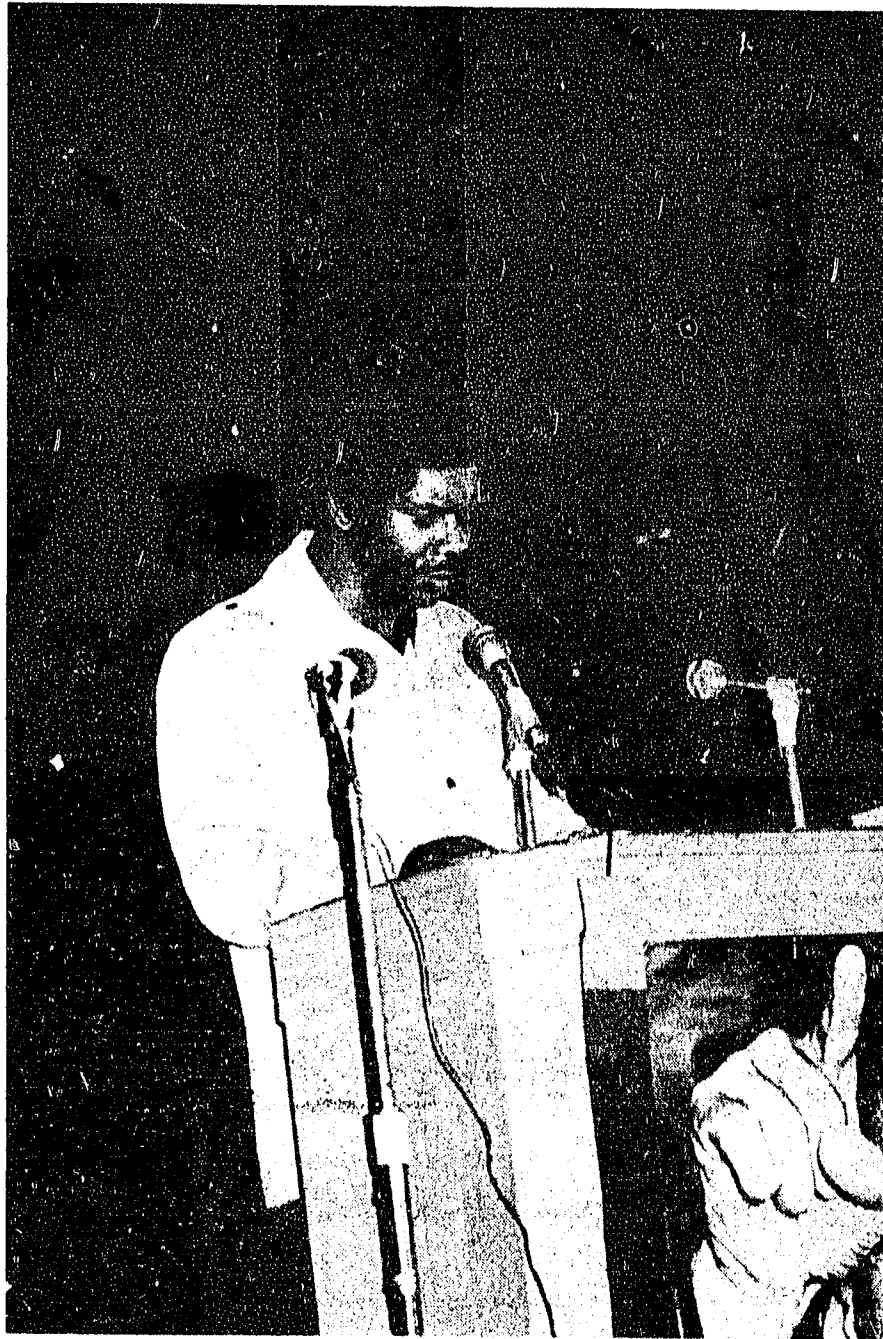
February 21st will always be an important day for Black people, because it was on that day in 1965 that Malcolm X was brutally assassinated. February 21, 1978, is of special importance; in fact, it is **historic** because it represents the **first time** in thirteen years that **BLACK PEOPLE** returned to the place of Malcolm's assassination to honor him. The place I'm speaking of is the **Audubon Ballroom**, located on the corner of 166th Street and Broadway in **Harlem**. It shouldn't go unnoticed that **1,000** people packed the Audubon floor this year, as compared to the 400 or 500 who were present to witness this bold young Captain fall.

Among the other speakers, Muhammad Ahmad made what was perhaps the most important point of the evening when he reminded everyone that **Malcolm did not exist in a vacuum**, "... **He was being pushed by social forces**". As mass spokesman for the Nation of Islam, Malcolm was in touch with developing Revolutionary Nationalist organizations, such as the Afro-American Association in Los Angeles, the Black Brotherhood in Queens and the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) in Philadelphia. Muhammad Ahmad, who is the former Field Chairman of RAM (now a member of Afrikan People's Party), revealed that Malcolm, "... had also joined RAM and became its international spokesperson." He traced Malcolm's development from his days in prison, 1942-1952, (when he studied intensely), to his rise to prominence as the main spokesman for the Nation of Islam (1952-1962).

Within the next two years Malcolm would stop looking for a divine solution to Black people's problems, and realize that Black people had the strength and power to change their conditions.

And strength it is, for the attendance ranged from **Queen Mother Moore**, who has spent **sixty** of her eighty years struggling for Black liberation, to young bloods, barely out of Junior High School. They all came to pay respect to a Brother who is so loved because everytime he got up and spoke "he articulated views that were in the heart and minds of Black people"

Perhaps the most important reason for the packed ballroom is revealed in a question asked by Bro. Ahmad; "**Are we here just to commemorate Malcolm's assassination, or are we here to carry out Malcolm's program?**" For those who remain unfamiliar



Muhammad Ahmad

with that program, Malcolm, as Muhammad reminded us, had planned to "transform" the Civil Rights movement into an anti-imperialist, Human Rights Movement **He believed that Black people**

constituted a nation whose national territory was in the Black Belt South . . . but that the majority of our people had not developed a national consciousness yet. In this regard he

advocated Revolutionary Nationalist to become involved in the struggles with which the people were concerned in order to raise their consciousness. Malcolm advocated Revolutionary Black Nationalism, a nationalism that would **change** the system. He wanted to form a Black Nationalist Political Party, independent of the Democratic and Republican Parties." He wanted to form an Afrikan People's Party.

Malcolm's assassination did not kill the Black Liberation Movement as the Government had hoped; for as Chokwe Lumumba told the crowd "...you can't kill a revolutionary, you can only take him in the physical sense but his teachings and ideas live on for ever." Chokwe Lumumba, said to be the only Revolutionary Black Nationalist lawyer in America today, has a history in the struggle that dates back to his student days in the midwest since 1971. He has spearheaded the fight to free the "RNA 11" and has also helped with Assata Shakur's defense.

The focal point of Chokwe's speech was the number thirteen: "... They say that the number thirteen is a bad number, and it is a bad number. This is a very bad year for American imperialism. This is a bad year for American racism, This is a bad year for American Imperialism because when Malcolm was slain there were only 400 or 500 of us here and if you look around you there are over a thousand people in this building so this is a very bad year for imperialism" The crowd cheered when he said". . . **This is a bad year for american imperialism but it will not be the worst year yet.**"

Indeed it won't be for everyone knows that a **seed**, when planted, does not dry up but it grows into a tree. Even if you cut it down more seeds will scatter and trees will grow all over. Keeping this in mind, always remember what Ossie Davis said upon delivering Malcolm's eulogy: (which can be seen towards the end of Gil Noble's film "EL Hajj Malik Shabazz") "**What we place in the ground is no more a man, but a seed, which, after the winter of discontent will come forth**". . . .and we shall know him then for what he is "a prince, our own **Shinning Black Prince.**"

"True, and to top that off, you should've been one of those 1000 Black people at the Audubon ballroom to shout "**LONG LIVE MALCOLM! LONG LIVE MALCOLM!**" . . ."

On Saturday April 1st, 1978, the National Black Students Association (NBSA) is sponsoring a demonstration and rally, to be held outside the White House. The demonstration will launch a national campaign for Human Rights in Southern Africa and the U.S. The purpose of the demonstration is to show the support of Black people in the U.S. for the Liberation struggle in Southern Afrika and to demand:

1. That the U.S. sever all diplomatic and economic ties with the illegal governments of southern Africa.
2. That the U.S. withdraw all forms of support and aid from these governments, rhodesia, south africa and south west africa.
3. That U.S. corporations withdraw *totally* from south africa and bring the runaway shops back to the U.S., thus easing unemployment here.
4. That we expose and demand an end to Human Rights violations against Black people in southern Africa and the U.S.
5. To launch a counter-offensive against racist repression and economic oppression of Black people in the U.S.
6. That the U.S. support the United Nations proposed economic sanctions against south africa.

Confirmed speakers at the rally, and participants in the demonstration include Dick Gregory, Dara Abukakari, Sonia Sanchez (poet and literary figure), Akbar Muhammad Ahmad (Afrikan People's Party) and Kojo Owusu (NBSA).

Further information can be obtained by calling 690-5325, or 522-7317 or by writing to N.B.S.A. at P.O. Box 573 Bronx G.P.O. 10451.

The Underclass and Revolutionary Internationalists

Africans and World Revolution pt. 3.

by Muhammad Ahmad

What is the relationship of Revolutionary Internationalists to the Underclass in their respective countries and as a whole? Revolutionary Internationalists are the vanguard of the Underclass. Revolutionary Internationalists' loyalty is with the mass of colonized peoples—the Underclass—and their principles are derived from the concept of "from the masses to the masses".

Revolutionary Internationalists, revolutionary nationalists, constantly struggle through various stages of their national movements against colonialism, capitalism, imperialism and neo-colonialism but always emphasize that without the correct international perspective, national liberation movements can fall prey to neo-colonialism. Revolutionary Internationalists are the "Avant Guard" of the Underclass in every country: They act as catalyst, vanguard and theoretical clearing house in national revolutions. The immediate aim of Revolutionary Internationalists is the formation of the Underclass into a powerful national liberation movement, overthrow of colonialism, imperialism, and neo-colonialism and the conquest of world political power by the Underclass. While Revolutionary Internationalists are at the same time Revolutionary Nationalists in their own countries, they understand that a world government under the dictatorship of the Underclass is the ultimate solution of the World Revolution.¹⁴

To be a Revolutionary Internationalist is to admit the need for the dictatorship of the Underclass. The dictatorship of the Underclass is the central issue of the ideological differences between Revolutionary Internationalists and reformists. The theory of the Underclass dictatorship is the only means capable of putting an end to the universal slavemaster, the white man's evil, cruelty and his exploiting nationalists' movements and their leaders. It is not enough to see the necessity of eliminating entirely the European's rule, influence and control over the world by the establishment of a dictatorship of the Black Underclass. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between Revolutionary Internationalists and others. This is the birthstone on which real understanding and recognition of Black Internationalism is to be tested. The question of the dictatorship of the Underclass should occupy a special place in Revolutionary Internationalism because: without the seizure of political power, without the dictatorship of the Underclass, there can be no victory for communalism. The Revolutionary Internationalists' theory of the establishment of a society without race and exploitation would remain wishful thinking if the Underclass and its Revolutionary Nationalists Movements did not concentrate their efforts on what is most decisive, the seizure of power to reorganize society along communist lines.

The international importance of Revolutionary Internationalists consciousness is reflected in the message to Afro-Americans, issued by Claude Ndalla, the first Secretary of the Congolese Workers Party, "The struggle being waged by our Afro-American brothers is a struggle that is very important to us because it is being carried out in the very citadel of Imperialism. In the course of this century American Imperialism has become the policeman of the world. Not one day passes without some corner of the world being aggressed upon, either directly or indirectly, by the United States Imperialists. But the blows that we strike against American Imperialism in the Congo, in Vietnam, in Laos, in Cambodia, or in Chile, these blows cannot have the same impact that the blows that the Afro-American people can strike against American Imperialism on its own soil. Therefore, the Afro-Americans who at this time constitute the essential force in the struggle against American Imperialism in the United States must understand that they have a historical task to carry out in the process of liberating the world."¹⁵

SO CALLED REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA:

The struggle in the world today is a battle for men's minds, for to control men's minds is to control their actions and also to have some control over their reactions to actions.

Propaganda, becomes an important instrument in the developing world revolution. The oppressed (Underclass) must be able to interpret what is revolutionary propaganda. The worst kind of propaganda is that which on the surface pretends to be revolutionary, but in content is counter-revolutionary, the "wolf with a sheep's face".

A revolution is a political war in which the oppressed class comes to power using any means necessary. In that process, the oppressor class is annihilated in the process of elimination in the bringing of a new social order. There is no honorable surrender in a revolution. That is reform. There is no peaceful co-existence in a revolution between the oppressed and the oppressor. That is reform, an uncompleted revolution. Peaceful co-existence means evolution, not revolution. The oppressed need revolution.

Marx said: "Theory will always become reality among a people to such an extent as it meets the needs of the people."¹⁶ Revolution has become a reality among the oppressed because it meets our needs.

Counter-revolutionary Communists tell the Underclass to forget about the (racial) contradictions between the Western (white) world and the Eastern (Black) world. They tell the Underclass to forget all the atrocities committed against them and above all never to think of or discuss reparations or retribution for "all white people are not the same". They say "Black and white unite and fight for a worker's world". They tell the Underclass that the white working class is not to blame for slavery, colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. They say it was the European and American bourgeoisie who was responsible.

The Underclass will not use the bourgeoisie's concept of racism or just indiscriminately set about to kill all whites; but (the Underclass) will unite on the basis of being exploited racially in order to destroy the international race and class systems.

The Underclass will destroy all those who oppose the World Revolution regardless of race, color, creed, religion, science or any other thing. Let it be known that any and all who oppose the world revolution will be destroyed (annihilated) in the process of the world revolution because in opposing it they become counter-revolutionary and counter-revolution and revolution cannot peacefully co-exist at any time; one must win. History makes it necessary for the oppressed to make revolution win. **PETTY BOURGEOIS COMMUNISM:**

In European countries, Russia for one, where revolutions have occurred, a new class of petty bourgeois has formed. Calling themselves Marxist-Leninists and purporting to be Communists, they seem afraid to carry the world revolution to an end. The Communist bourgeoisie want all the advantages of their "national revolutions" without the struggle, dangers and sacrifices necessarily resulting from the continuing international world revolution.¹⁷ They do not want the Underclass to "rock the boat or upset the apple cart". "They desire the existing state of society misfits revolutionary and disintegrating elements."¹⁸ The wish for a world revolution without the Underclass. The Communist bourgeoisie conceives of a world in which they will be the rulers of a world revolution in which retribution by the Underclass will be nullified (cancelled out).

Universal Harmony can only be achieved through World Revolution and the establishment of a Revolutionary World Government.

The international race system has produced two nations internationally—the oppressed nation and the oppressing nation. There are two types of nationalism. One type suppresses or oppresses, i.e., a nation or particular group reaps profits or advances materially at the expense, exploitation, slavery or torture of another group or nation. In this nation and in the world today, this nationalism is considered "Capitalist nationalism" or the cooperation of the white western nations to keep the new emerging oppressed world in bondage. This is capitalism or reactionary nationalism. The other type of nationalism is to liberate or free from exploitation. That is the binding force of a nation or particular group to free itself from a group or nation that is suppressing or oppressing it. In this country and in the world, this is considered Black Nationalism or revolutionary nationalism.

We can see that Black Nationalism is the opposite of white nationalism—Black Nationalism being revolutionary and white being reactionary. We see also that nationalism is really internationalism today.¹⁹

Brother Malcolm in his message to the Grass Roots Conference said, "All the revolutions going on in Asia and Africa today are based on Black

Nationalism. . . If you're afraid of Black Nationalism, you're afraid of revolution and if you love revolution you love Black Nationalism."²⁰

We can see that the international perspective in the world today is built on nationalistic interests, dividing the world into two international nations: the white nation and the Black nation.

The present world scene is one of chaos and turmoil caused by Capitalist nationalism. The vast majority of the world, the Underclass, know that they can only achieve peace and harmony through a World Revolution that demolishes white power. Only then can the world be in "universal" harmony. Revolutionary Internationalism will then prevail. The need for national boundaries and barriers will be eliminated. National sovereignty though still respected, the need for nationalism in its aggressive form, will be eliminated. With white counter-revolutionary nationalism destroyed and completely annihilated, a "United World People's Republic", a new level of social order can be created. The World Revolution brings with it a new world society: a new world. It also brings with it the concept of universal law and order.

REVOLUTIONARY SOLUTION— DICTATORSHIP OF THE WORLD BY THE UNDERCLASS THROUGH WORLD REVOLUTION:

"... Today, we live at the end of the world of people who have ruled the Black man and his various colors between Black and White for the last 6,000 years. . . The old world must be removed to make way for the new world. There is a universal struggle being waged by the old world against the beginning of the new world. . ."²¹

The phenomenon of racism is not, as Western "thinkers" would have us believe, either a "sickness of the mind" or a product of certain economic conditions. This is the most convenient attitude for whites to adopt since it implies a process of self-exoneration (a Pilatus attitude) which says: If it is a sickness, then I had not contracted it consciously; if it is a product of economic circumstances which took place long ago, then I had nothing to do with it. Yet the truth is quite different (regardless of whether accepted or not by those implicated), since racism is a product of Western thought, Western civilization and Western values.

The phenomenon of racism is nothing else but an academic part of the Western Weltanschauung. The need to assimilate all cultures and to prove all different non-white cultures inferior has prompted the systematic pillage and destruction, of the latter in Asia, Africa, and South America. As Karl Marx himself stated, surely ignoring that the society of which he himself was a product would represent the dialectical opposite of societies he had not taken into account old orders or society never giving in to new ones without fierce struggle. Marx's version of the struggle between an underprivileged on a national scale as he predicted, but on a world level, since Western societies because of their exploitation and pillage of others constitute today a world bourgeoisie,

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BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT . . .

continued from page 2

With the masses of our people supporting the goal of self determination and independent nationhood, our struggle for national independence could lead to a genuine socialist revolution. Even if white workers didn't initially support the independence struggle, we feel U.S. capitalism would enter a crisis it would not be able to recover from.

At the same time, we support the just struggles of our Afrikan sisters and brothers in Afrika, to achieve a united peoples socialist republic of Afrika, we feel the best way we can express Pan Africanism in this country is by developing a revolutionary movement that holds mass demonstrations and work stoppages against U.S. imperialist aggressions in Afrika and by developing a tactical program that will destroy U.S. imperialism in its achilles heel; its home base in the United States.

If this congress agrees with this perspective, NBSA would adopt as its ideology, Revolutionary Black Nationalism, Scientific Socialism and Pan Afrikanism. In the Black community, there are many organizations that adopt this outlook for their ideology, but the three major ones which NBSA should enter a united front with are: "The League," the Southern League of Black/Afrikan Organizations (S.L.B.A.O.), the (RNA) Republic of New Afrika and the (APP) Afrikan Peoples Party.

In order to thoroughly understand the unique character of our revolution, serious students of social change should study the slave revolts, the abolitionist movement, the 1880's, 1890's, 1920's and 1960's. The 1880/1890's, 1920's and 1960's were periods of mass nationalist movements. We should study what they were about. In all eras of mass movements the nationalist organizations had strong self help economic programs. We should seriously study this dynamic.

One of NBSA's objectives should be to give Black youth mass political education. The purpose would be to instill pride and to heighten Black youth's consciousness, passing the revolution on from one generation to another.

Mass teach-ins help in this respect. Also setting up workshops to establish youth leagues that involve youth in the building of the mass party and NBSA projects would be essential. The showing of revolutionary films, plays, skits in communities will help youth become motivated to think about something other than the boogie culture. The spreading of popular form of revolutionary nationalism, scientific socialism and revolutionary Pan-Afrikanism, particularly in the national territory, will be of key and primary importance.

NBSA cadres should dedicated themselves if returning to their homeland communities to organize their high school where they graduated from as a base for the independant Black political party. NBSA cadres should dedicate themselves for at least ten years, if not a life time, to continued

political struggle. Mobilizing around the 18 year old vote, building a youth league for the independant Black political party would be essential in any community. This would encompass youth both in and out of NBSA between the ages of ten and eighteen.

NBSA is confronted with a broad challenge in the realm of education in colleges and universities. We are faced with a double-edged problem; on 'Negro' colleges and universities, and on white campuses. NBSA will have to struggle on all campuses to have students taught non-imperialist, non-capitalist orientation or education. On 'Negro' campuses, NBSA will have a strong struggle over teaching courses not only from a Black perspective but from the world view of the Black liberation struggle; the teaching of revolutionary nationalism, scientific socialism and revolutionary Pan Afrikanism.

The struggle for Black Studies is not over. *If Black Studies is to be meaningful, it must be revolutionary nationalist and political in content. Most Black Studies programs presently place too much emphasis on culture and aesthetics.* Culture is essential, but culture itself does not transform a political, economic and military power structure. Black Studies must teach Black students how to organize to overthrow the racist, monopoly, capitalist system. Each Black Studies department should include a course on Black revolutionary politics. Black studies should be directly linked to the Black liberation struggle. Black Studies departments should be the center for information to Black students on what Black liberation organizations are doing in different communities and should be the vital link between students and liberation organizations. Black Studies came into existence from the struggle of Black people and its survival and success depends upon its live contact with the people.

All Black students when entering any college or university with Black Studies departments should be required to take four semesters or two years of the "history of the Black Liberation struggle." *This course would prepare every Black student regardless of his/her class background or various ambitions to view the world correctly.* Every Black Studies department or Black student union should have a community based Institute Of Black Political Studies.

In order for NBSA to be an effective mass organization it must base itself on collective leadership and the principles of democratic centralism and criticism and self criticism. It must have central organization and a strong center of communications. Above all, if it is to be effective, it must engage in mass mobilizations of the people around issues affecting our people. Struggling against having stocks invested in the corporations who do business with the Union of South Africa; demanding immediate withdrawal as was done at the University of Mass., are good issues. Also the Bakke decision, the assassination of Sibeko and

students uprisings in Soweto are good. The freedom of political prisoners is always very good and is always very important.

NBSA should attempt whenever possible to become recognized by student government, and student organizations on campus. In this way, NBSA would be able to function better on campus.

NBSA should establish a training institute, one of the key things in the Black community is political and ideological backwardness. To increase political understanding among the broad masses and cadres alike, NBSA should establish an Institute of Black Political Studies in or near its communications center in the national territory. The main purpose of the IBPS would be to train community organizers.

Voter education: The general masses of our people don't know how the system runs, or what and who are the representatives, or how to run a campaign of independent candidates. NBSA should seek the cooperation of the Voter Education Project (VEP).

Voter registration: NBSA should cooperate with a broad coalition of groups to increase voter registration among Black people. Where NBSA might differ with some groups is that it should encourage our people to register as independents. NBSA should engage in mass voter registration drives of Black youth around the ages of 18-22.

Literacy campaign: In the South, in particular, the colonial system has left many of our people illiterate. NBSA in serving the masses, should go into the rural areas of the south first, where illiteracy is the highest and conduct literacy campaigns.

NBSA funding: NBSA should secure funds from various sources. Money can come from dues, fund raising, through speaking engagements, community affairs, as well as setting up pilot projects for foundation funding. NBSA should establish a strong finance committee, to develop a fund raising and economic plan.

Tutorial programs: NBSA tutorial programs in the past have been successful. But tutors must be soundly ideologically trained so they can give much more than technical expertise. The tutorial program should be expanded to wherever NBSA is located.

Medical and health care: NBSA should be thinking about training some students in Acupuncture and as paramedics to go into the national territory to work parallel without building the mass party. In this way, we would be bringing services to the people.

Self-reliance, a policy of NBSA: self-reliance should be a part of the ideology of NBSA. Our cadres once becoming skilled should set up community institutions from which they can transfer their skills to the community. Eventually we should be thinking about developing housing cooperatives and farm cooperatives. In this way we will have an economic movement as well as our political one. . . . Through scientific and protracted struggle, we will win. . . . Dare to struggle, dare to win.

ONE TEAR FOR THE LOST SOULS

Black Man
don't get
weary of struggle
rest in seat
at the
rear &
get tired
playing part
of Afrikan Man
in working role.

i know
it's hard
being
Black/
Afrikan/
Man
eating
day/old/bread
on chauffers pay-
ing.

the price
of being receptive
by pain in your
gut
but don't
become garbage
set out
for pick up
by scavengers
that want to eat
you up

in house of
three blind mice
running a-
round mistaking
exits for entrances
chew at your feet

so you will have to
do the wiggle walk-
ing to the tune of
Candy Man
poised
for exquisite
profile shots

in divine
Saks 5th Ave. dress &
fashionable pointed toes
pointed holes
in the wall of your interior
looking

for substance
devoid
of the tall and hard.

do you wish to say to me
'peace be still & let the power come'
but get scared and say instead
'Hi honey, i'm brown sugar
sweet as you & twice as lumpy'.

mountain of surrender
getting higher with each
additional strand of
foxy/natural looking curly wig

for the versatile you
who hates yourself &
make believe that you
Alex become Alice-in-Wonderland
mass produced at
drug counters everywhere.
oh dear, dead souls
lost in trance

moving with ladies sway
instead of walking the
WARRIORS
WAY

Malkia Mbuzi—copyright 1976

SEEK

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Moreover, we feel that is educationally unsound to measure progress by using a single criterion such as a test, and especially a test which, from all advance indications, will be a standardized one. Standardized tests have been known to produce inaccurate measurements of skills.

If the Board of Higher Education is truly concerned with strengthening basic skills, then it should (1) upgrade the quality of remedial instruction, tutorial services and curriculum materials. It should (2) in conjunction with the Board of Education, construct a meaningful program to upgrade the quality of education in the elementary, junior high and high schools so that, when students reach college-level work, they will have sound fundamental academic skills. It should (3) expend its energies and dollars, not in implementing testing procedures, but for such enhancement of the entire SEEK Program as to alleviate the necessity for unsound testing, once and for all.

Finally and most importantly, I must point out that this Coalition considers the utilization of a sophomore test to be discriminatory. As I have stated, tests are broad and inaccurate indicators of one's strengths and weaknesses. It has therefore been our contention that this test is not designed to test skills, but rather to eliminate "x" numbers of students from the SEEK Program. In fact, reliable CUNY sources tell us that this test will reduce student enrollment in CUNY by 10%. We feel that the overwhelming majority of this 10% will be minority students. If this projection can be made, one must question the intentions of those who created this proposal.

As the members of the E.E.O. Committee deliberate over their recommendation on these proposed guidelines, they must consider the question: "has there ever been a thorough examination of the SEEK program which would determine that Chancellor Kibbee's plan has a chance to work? or, is this an inadequately researched, unworkable response to the speculations and gossip-mongering of the mass media, put together by those who understand little about what they seek to change?"

We say this proposal can only GUIDE SEEK into the SIDE LINES, because it is neither based on the realities of the City University nor on the needs of the community which SEEK serves. We say further that, in spite of our admitted shortcomings and of all the obstacles we have faced, we have been successful. The evidence is abundant and some has been offered by other speakers. We say, finally, that a true test of the program has not yet been given.

Changes—we have called for: and they are needed. But, changes not based on accurate evaluation can only lead to greater disruption—disruption of SEEK, of CUNY, and of our city as a whole.

I.

What then would a true test encompass? When has a strategy for program evaluation been designed for SEEK that would seriously determine which activities work, and how, as well as which do not work, and offer proposals to change them? Consider as such a study the "Proposed Evaluation Strategies for the Higher Educational Opportunity Program" which was developed for the State University of New York by the Columbia University Institute for Urban and Minority Education. When evaluations of the program have been made, where was the input from SEEK programs into the actual planning of evaluation strategies? Consider the proposal mentioned by another speaker that the program be measured on the basis of its total effect on the future of students' lives, rather than on retention and graduation rates, which may be misleading.

No true test has been given. Furthermore, such a test will become even more unlikely should the guidelines be implemented. SEEK students will be increasingly difficult to identify for purposes of charting their academic performance as they progress in various courses toward graduation. How then will our progress as a program be monitored, or our objectives coordinated with such fragmentation of SEEK students and faculty population as countenanced by the guidelines?

II.

If indeed no true test has been made, whence the rationale for the changes which these guidelines propose? Have the needs which brought the program into existence changed? Black unemployment, for one, is still the highest in the nation. New York City public schools are still under fire for graduating students who are functionally illiterate. No, the needs of the larger SEEK community have not changed. Indeed by their sheer persistence, these conditions have worsened.

We are, in effect, by these guidelines asked to entrust the education of our SEEK students to the college faculty and administration. Why this change? Have the colleges changed? Have the academic departments, which never saw the need to offer remedial and compensatory courses before Open Enrollment was imposed on them, suddenly developed a readiness to meet the needs of educationally disadvantaged students? Have the racist attitudes changed which prompted 1960's Queens College Mathematics Chairman Cope to state publicly that "blacks can never learn mathematics" and that the only ones he'd ever met who could had at least 95% white blood in them? We say those attitudes have not changed. In fact, they have intensified. Indeed, the same mathematics department just mentioned has sustained discriminatory prac-

tices and statements about highly qualified SEEK math teachers applying for CCE's, which has resulted in negative decisions for these individuals. In four out of five such cases, the decisions had to be overturned when the evidence was examined.

The college faculty and administrations have historically had no time or place for minority and disadvantaged students and faculty. What evidence is there to believe that they will suddenly rise to the challenge of these guidelines and meaningfully provide for the needs of SEEK students? We say, there is no such evidence. We say, further, that there is every indication that implementation of these guidelines will result in the elimination of SEEK courses, their faculty and, thence, of the SEEK student population. For example, at Queens College, again, the college's Division of Natural Sciences denied approval of the SEEK science courses since the program began in 1966-67. After several semesters of struggling for these introductory courses, vital to the access of minority students into medical and scientific fields, SEEK students were offered a two course sequence in 1970 by the college physics department. The chemistry and biology departments did not respond. Last month, the physics department announced that it will no longer offer one of the two courses, as of February 1978; and, we cannot be certain of the fate of the last remaining one.

In this regard, we say that changes in SEEK, without parallel changes in our colleges, cannot work; indeed, such changes can only doom the program. SEEK will die under these guidelines, unless we can be assured of at least the following:

1. teaching faculty who expect their minority and poor students to succeed as well as their white and middle class counterparts;
2. departments whose hiring practices will include faculty and others specifically committed to the education of SEEK students, and who will continue to do so beyond the academic year 1978-79 as provided in the guidelines;
3. student governments which will allocate funds (paid by minority as well as other students as fees) to minority student groups in proportion to their numbers, for activities which will promote their education and development;
4. college administrations and departments whose regulations will not erect subtle barriers which prohibit students from entering certain fields as majors and so restrict their options.

III.

We say again, that a true test of our success has not yet been given. From the inception, we have had to struggle for equipment, facilities and financial aid in the face of virtually annual budget cuts and in the face of spiraling costs in every area of

our existence. In spite of demonstrations and protests to assure our survival, our work as students and faculty has been expected to improve. Can the SEEK program bear sole blame for our shortcomings, when program activities have been inadequately financed and students have faced dropping out of school due to severe economic pressures?

IV.

Another consideration is the matter of conformity. Is it educationally sound or desirable that every SEEK program at each of the ten colleges should operate identically, when, in fact, the colleges themselves have different student populations and educational objectives and see to meet them via different activities, structures and course offerings? Devising the academic plan at each college is assigned to the college president in 'consultation' with the SEEK director. Where are the guarantees in the guidelines that flexibility will be an essential part of this process?

In conclusion, we assert that change is a vital part of any educational program. We have had to struggle to keep SEEK innovative, improving and expanding. But, we also assert that we—the SEEK community—are in the best position to know and to find out more about what changes are needed and how they should be implemented. Several educationally sound proposals have been submitted to the chancellor by SEEK directors, administrators, teachers, counsellors and students as alternative guidelines to evaluate, improve and develop the program. Yet, our basic recommendations have been ignored. Instead, these guidelines have been offered.

Our situation is not unlike that of the black majority in southern Africa. They, like us, are struggling to determine the nature of the changes which must come in their nations. They are being offered what is supposed to be change, in a manner and at a pace which is unacceptable to them; changes which they assert cannot work.

But in southern Africa, as in CUNY, change will come, the only question is how? And in how long? The members of the E.E.O. Committee can help to answer this question by their response to the Chancellor's proposal. Consider the alternative guidelines offered by the various components of the SEEK program. Consider voting a substantial budget for a research and evaluation design which will indicate the true successes and weaknesses of the program and offer proposals for change. Consider the seriousness of the loss to all of us if something that is working is wantonly dismembered and nothing better is put in its place. You can help determine how change will come by voting no on the proposal at hand.

LEMME PULL YOUR COAT

by B.R. Brown

More dates to remember. . . On the third of January Floyd McKissick was named the director of Core in 1966. Melvin H. Evans was elected Governor of the U.S. Virgin Islands in 1971, on the 4th. Dr. George W. Carver, scientist extraordinaire, died in 1943 on the fifth. Senator Charles Sumner, abolitionist, was born on the sixth, in 1811 (he died in 1875). Zora Neal Hurston, author of "Of Men Andf Mules", was born in 1903 on the seventh (she died in 1960).

West Point Colonel Charles Young died on the eighth, in 1922. Fisk University, home of the original Fisk Jubilee Singers, was founded on the ninth in 1866. George Washington Carver was born this day, the tenth, in 1864. The estimated slave population of the thirteen colonies was around 462,000, in 1770, on the eleventh. Mordecai Johnson, educator, was born in 1890, on the twelfth.

Dr. Robert C. Weaver, the first Black Cabinet member, was appointed on the thirteenth, in 1966. Ethel Waters, singer, actress, was awarded the critics award for her performance in "Mamba's Daughter" on the fourteenth, in 1939. The Reverend Doctor Martin Luther King Jr. was born on the fifteenth in 1929. In 1962, the students of Southern University, demonstrated against the injustices they/we suffered, on the sixteenth.

Benjamin Franklin, statesman, inventor and humanitarian, was born on the 17th in 1706. Donald Hale Williams, surgeon, was born in 1856 on the eighteenth. On the twentieth, over 5,000 Black soldiers were in the Revolutionary War. In 1816, the African Methodist Zion Church was founded on the twenty-first.

Black Nationalist Nat Turner was born on the twenty-second, in 1800. On the twenty-third, the First Training School for Black Nurses was established in 1891. Arthur Schomburg, bibliophile, was born on the twenty-fourth in 1874 (he died in 1938). The Honorable Constance Baker Motley was appointed to a federal judgeship on the twenty-fifth, in 1966.

On the twenty-sixth, in 1863, the 54th Infantry Regiment was formed. Leontyne Price made her debut with the Metropolitan Opera on the 27th, in 1961. Richmond Barthe, artist, was born on the twenty-eighth, in 1901. The first Negro was allowed to attend Clemson College in South Carolina on the 29th in 1963. The thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery was passed in 1865, on the 31st. Peace.

BR BROWN

I heard ya missed me, well, I'm back (thanks Sly). Here's a few more tidbits to tantalize your temples, no brain strain here just facts. Read on Mac-Duff.

On the 1st in 1960, four North Carolina A & T College students launched the Student Movement in Greensboro. In 1810: Charles Lenox Redmond was born. Langston Hughes, a major figure in the Harlem Renaissance was born in 1902.

On the second, in 1951, the Martinsville Seven was electrocuted in Richmond, Va. for an alleged rape that they could not have committed. John S. Rock became the first Black to practice in the Supreme Court in 1865. On the third, in 1870 the 15th amendment was ratified. In 1964, over

464,000 Black & Puerto Rican students boycott NYC public schools. In '69, the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane, president of FRELIMO, by Portuguese secret police.

On the fourth, in 1964, the 24th Amendment abolishing the Poll Tax was passed. In '61, armed struggle began in Angola with an MPLA attack on the central prison in Luanda. The fifth, in '64, Peter Stone of SNCC was arrested in Mississippi. '74, Maruwa Saunyama Chiri killed in a NYC subway, was born 2/17/43. Benjamin Bannecker at the age of 23, built the first American clock, in 1754, on the sixth. 1820, "Mayflower of Liberia" set sail with 86 aboard. In '61, SNCC launched a "Jail, No Bail" movement in Rock Hill, S.C.

A 3,500,000 dollar Peabody Educational Fund was established for the South on the seventh, in 1887. Southern States forbid the slave trade in 1861, on the eighth. Poet Paul Laurence Dunbar died on the ninth, in 1908. Pvt. Nathaniel Johnson was machine-gunned to death by military police at U.S. Disciplinary Barracks at Gransville, Wisconsin, in 1946. Leontyne Price, world-famous mezzo soprano, was born on the tenth, in 1927. In 1968, there were a total of 113 Black colleges in the U.S.

On the eleventh, in 1790 the first freedom petition was sent to Congress by the Quakers. On the twelfth in 1802, two slaves were executed for alleged involvement in conspiracy to rebel in Brunswick, Va. In 1909, the NAACP was organized. The thirteenth represents the beginning of Black History Week, the 13th to the 18th. Absalom Jones the first Black Episcopal minister died in 1818.

Richard Allen, founder of the Free African Society was born in 1760, on the fourteenth. Frederick Douglass was born in 1817. In 1851, on the fifteenth, Afrikans invaded a Boston courtroom and freed a fugitive slave. Nat 'King' Cole died in '65. W.S. Scarborough Black scholar published a book in Greek, on the seventeenth in 1900. In '46, in Pickens, South Carolina, Willie Earl was taken by a mob from jail and lynched.

On the eighteenth, in 1767, the Mason-Dixon Line was drawn. In '49, George Waddell was shot in the back by Brooklyn, NY police, in his own home. On the nineteenth, in 1919, the first Pan-African Congress met in Paris, France. The Supreme Court decrees due process of law in '23. Frederick Douglass died on the twentieth in 1895. El Hajj Malik El Shabazz was assassinated in NYC on the twenty-first, in '65. Blacks sail with the explorer, Balboa, in 1513, the twenty-second. On the twentythird, in 1892 the Tuskegee Conference was organized. 1868, W.E.B. DuBois was born. Daniel A. Payne, reformer and educator died in 1893.

In 1839, Seminoles and Afrikans were shipped from Tampa Bay, Fla. to the West, on the twentyfifth. In '64, Cassius Clay won the Heavyweight Crown. The 15th amendment, giving voting rights to ex-slaves was proposed, in 1869 on the 26th. In 1877, the Hayes-Tilden Compromise was enacted. 1970, Fred Billingslea, a Black prisoner in San Quentin, was gassed and beaten by guards in his cell.

The first Black YMCA was organized in 1853, on the 27th. In 1948, Roy Cyril Brooks was pulled from a bus and killed in Gretna, La. after arguing with the white bus driver. The Black

poet, Phillis Wheatley visited Gen Washington on the 28th, in 1776. In '46, William Gordon and James Johnson were shot and killed by police in their Columbia, Tenn. jail cells. Peace.

Welcome to the stormy month, March, the month of change. In 1841, Blanche K. Bruce was born (d.3/17/98). In 1875, Congress passed the 1st Civil Rights Act. Howard University was chartered by Congress on the second of March in 1867. On the third, in 1750, an ad in the Boston Gazette offered a reward for the runaway slave Crispus Attucks. Senator Blanche K. Bruce was seated in Congress on the fourth, in 1875. In '68, an FBI memo issued to 'prevent the coalition of militant Black nationalist groups'.

Crispus Attucks, runaway slave, was the first to die in the Boston Massacre, on the fifth in 1770. In '71, the BPP sponsored a Day of Solidarity, dedicated to Freedom for all Political Prisoners. In 1857, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the Dred Scott case that Afrikans are not US citizens. One hundred years later, Ghana became an independent nation and Martin Luther King, Jr became the president of S.C.L.C.

The first Selma to Montgomery march was lead by M.L.K. Jr in '65, on the seventh. The eighth is International Women's Day. Phyllis Mae Dailey was the first Black nurse in the Navy Nurse Corps, in '45. Massachusetts ratified the fifteenth Amendment on the ninth, in 1869. In 1970, brother Ralph Featherstone was killed by a firebomb planted in his car outside a Maryland courthouse, where H. Rap Brown was to stand trial on frame-up riot and arson charges.

Harriet Tubman died in Auburn, NY on the tenth, in 1913. In 1895, Black workers were attacked by a white mob, in New Orleans on the eleventh. In 1926, Ralph Abernathy was born, also, on this date he became the new president of the S.C.L.C. Col. Charles Young, a Black officer in WW1, was born in 1864, on the twelfth. Charlie 'Yardbird' Parker died in 1955. In 1974, a Holman prisoner was beaten to death after killing one guard and wounding another.

Jean Baptiste Pointe de Sable, a Black pioneer who founded Chicago in 1773, on the thirteenth. the cotton gin was patented from a Black man's design, on the fourteenth in 1793. John Lee became the first Black officer in the Navy in 1947, on the fifteenth. Freedom's Journal, the first Black paper (in Amerika) came about on the sixteenth in 1827. In 1974 over 267,000 Black and Puerto Rican students boycott NYC schoolw.

In 1836, the Republic of Texas abolished the slave trade on the seventeenth. In 1886, in Carrollton, Miss. a massacre of over twenty Blacks took place. Herbert Chitepo was assassinated in Lusaka, Zambia in 1975. The 'Great Negro Plot' was uncovered in 1741 in NY. Blacks planned to set city afre and kill all whites. 18 Blacks were hanged and 71 shipped to the Carribbean. Louis Lautier became the first Black Congressional newsman in 1947.

The British offer of freedom to enlisted Blacks brought about the Jay Treaty on the nineteenth, in 1794. In 1883, Jan Matzeliger patented the shoe lasting machine, on the twentieth. On the 21st, 1709, in Virginia, the Lt. Governor issued a proclamation preventing the assemblage of

slaves for fear of conspiracy to rebel. The 20 slaves originally in Virginia had grown to 1,554,000 of which 184,000 were free, March 21st 1810. On the twenty-second, Alonzo Pietro, a Black pilot (navigator), sailed with Columbus in 1492.

Tom Molineaux, an early American boxer, was born a slave on the twenty-third in 1784. In 1975, the jury selection began for the San Quentin Six case. In 1709, a Virginia court revealed a conspiracy of Afrikans and Indians to escape slavery, the date 24 March. Dr. R.G. Brown, an NYU professor was the first Black Airman to bring down a German Jet in WW2, in 1945. The Afrikan Slave trade was abolished in the British Colonies on the twenty-fifth in 1807. In 1977, an all-white jury in New Brunswick, NJ returned a guilty verdict against Assatea Shakur whereupon she was immediately sentenced to life in prison.

Bishop Richard Allen passed on the twenty-sixth in 1831. In 1948, on the twenty-seventh, Ike Madden, himself twenty-seven, was killed by Birmingham, Ala. police for 'resisting arrest'. In '62, New Orleans Catholic schools were desegregated. NY State abolished slavery on the twenty-eighth in 1799. In '71 the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) Capitol consecrated, Hinds County, Miss.

Napoleon of France forbid the slave trade on the twenty-ninth in 1815. In '48, John Johnson, aged 50, was killed by Birmingham Ala. police for 'resisting arrest'. On the thirtieth, the 15th Amendment gave Blacks the right to vote, in 1870. The birth/death of Jack Johnson, Heavyweight Champion, born 1871 in Galveston, Texas, died in 1946. In '68, the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) founded in Detroit, Michigan. Amant.

By the by, a Ms Judith Beville will be at Finley Hall, room 325, Friday March 3, 1978, from 10 AM until 2:30PM. Ms Beville representative from State University of New York at Albany's Graduate School of Public Affairs, she and other will be recruiting Blacks and Hispanics (Juniors and Seniors), check the lady out.

If you're on 125th St, some Wednesday night that person who's been following you the last block or so, yeah that's right, the one with the floppy hat. He's not CIA, nor one of the haunts of Harlem, he's probably a poet on his way over to the Club Baby Grand. Rumor has it, that the second coming is on the way (Harlem Renaissance) If that's so, then the heralds are meeting now getting their gameplan in order, so you better get on over and get down.

Micheal Greene, the son of Our Lady in 152, is attempting to make it to the '80 Olympics. So stop on by and rap to the mother of an Olympic hopeful: Gotta go.

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Sez me . . .

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about it and those who did were not organized enough to make it a reality.

The CUNY administration, not quite sure of the number of students who would have protested registration, developed a buy-now pay later plan allowing students to defer their tuition by signing a power of attorney form. This plan helped to pacify students into registering and definitely influenced those at CCNY who were being asked to boycott.

In a fact sheet released just prior to registration U.P. had warned that: 'Many students have been asked to believe that the Tuition Assistance Plan (TAP) would cover their tuition and allow them to continue their education. We are now realizing that we have been lied to, again.'

The evidence offered to support their claim was (1) Students who entered school before July 1, 1974 were eligible to receive no more than \$600 from TAP while the cost of tuition is \$925 per year. (2) In 1976, only \$35 million was allocated to the CUNY TAP program to serve 170,000 eligible, full time students. . . . 'When \$35 million is divided by 170,000 we are left with only \$205 per student, per year.' The above figures made it clear that TAP was initially, drastically underfunded; for if some students received the maximum, most would receive nothing. (If Officials never intended to give students the money to cover tuition costs, why would they have imposed it?)

(3) Knowing that 170,000 students were too many to be covered by the TAP program, university officials made it mandatory for students to sign a power of attorney form which gave respective colleges the authority to confiscate student financial aid monies (BEOG, SEEK and Work Study) to cover tuition costs. As part of this buy-now, pay later plan, students who still couldn't pay were given 60 days to come up with the money or face debarment from school.

Why was tuition imposed?

Within one semester following the imposition of tuition, 42,000 students were forced out of the University. The reason given for this exodus of 18% of the undergraduate population include tuition, the unavailability of courses and a sense of insecurity surrounding CUNY's future. Examination of the enrollment figures for private colleges reveal that few, if any former CUNY students enrolled in them. Reports from the State University of New York (SUNY) indicate that they did not register there. In fact SUNY's enrollment of New York residents dropped. The inevitable conclusion is that these students were forced to drop out of college. Without a doubt, a large majority of these students are Black.

Further Cuts

Because of tuition the maximum BEOG award was raised from \$800 to \$1200. However, for every dollar BEOG was raised, the SEEK stipend was lowered. The SEEK Book voucher system, which gave SEEK students free books, was disbanded and, according to financial aid sources \$350,000 of

the \$1.2 million allocated for SEEK stipends (1976-77) was used to pay tuition. Approximately forty Black, Puerto Rican and Asian instructors were retrenched (e.g. In the spring the English department had 132 teachers of which fourteen were Black and 2 Puerto Rican. By the fall semester, only nine Blacks and one Puerto Rican remained.)

While this retrenchment was occurring, white faculty were being transferred from department to department to avoid being let go. In addition, seven SEEK staff were not rehired, along with twenty-four Black and Puerto Rican custodians. These cutbacks represented a total lack of concern for the human needs and struggles manifested in the sixties.

The City University, like other institutions throughout this land, had in fact not made a real commitment to equal opportunity for Blacks and other oppressed nationalities. Blacks were imposed upon it in an era when it had no choice but to accept. The Black Liberation struggle of the 1960's had forced these 'equal opportunity' and 'affirmative action' programs.

The end of Open admission, imposition of tuition, dismantling of SEEK, upcoming freshman skills assessment program, reduction in TAP, decision to end tuition deferrals and the threatened debarment from classes of students (1200 students were asked to repay up to \$325 each on an alleged reevaluation of their TAP form) are clear expressions of the denial of human rights to Black and third world people. These short lived programs were never meant to undo the crimes of institutionalized racism and national oppression of third world people, but instead mere holding actions, temporary tactics that were done to stem the tide of mass actions in the sixties. This realization is what shapes the perspectives of students on their role in the Black Liberation struggle."

"We state all these things to identify the present period in our struggle. We see Blacks' existence for the majority of us worse off now than we were seventeen years ago. We see that our struggle, like all genuine struggles of an oppressed people is protracted, i.e., it is long and drawn out. It is only our political inexperience that makes us mistake a low period of political activity for no activity or even, as some of us think, the end to activity in the Black Liberation Struggle. It is with this understanding that we must see that our political lull has bottomed out and is currently on the rise, slow, but nevertheless on the upswing. As students we are beginning to consolidate the wealth of experience that our peoples struggle has taken over the last 20 years. The present period is being used for ideological study and clarity and organizational growth and development. Local student organizations, although still in the embryo stages, are being built in many parts of the country. Students in Northeast, South and West have reorganized a national Black students organization."

At City College, Black students who were involved in United People and some from the May 5 strike, along with other Black students, have organized Weusi Julma (Black Collective Work and

Responsibility), a local chapter of the National Black Students Association. Weusi Ujima sees the role of Black students in the Black Liberation struggle as direct participation in organizations and activities that fight the worsening conditions of our lives as students and as Black people. They see fighting against attacks in SEEK and other affirmative action programs as part of the tasks of Black students.

The National Black Students Association was organized after the convening of the National Black Students Solidarity Conference, held February 17 to 23, 1976 at Tufts University. The conference, which was attended by students from all across the country spoke to the need for Black students to . . . revive their active participation in the struggle for the liberation of our people."

The purpose of the NBSA is to . . . promote unity, commitment and collective struggle for the liberation of our people. Based upon our analysis that we are a colonized Afrikan people within the U.S. we resolve to foster Black values and to develop a Black communications system to foster the ills of our people as a whole. Our objectives are to: (1) Represent and support Black Students in their quest for knowledge and skills (2) To develop within the Black student an understanding of the community's vested interest in the Black student, and the student's responsibility to serve the Black community with the students knowledge and skills. (3) To expose the racist hypocrisy of the present educational system by developing an academic program/curriculum designed to build a positive view/perspective of the Black community thereby increasing self-awareness, self-respect and commitment to the Black value system. (4) Develop an ideology which calls for liberation of Black people in North America and recognition of the fact that Afrika is wherever Afrikans are. (5) Develop understanding of traditional African culture and the celebration of traditional African holidays and Holydays. (e.g. kwanza.) (6) Promote the understanding of time and the ability to structure and use it meaningfully. (7) Develop collective leadership. (8) Promote the interrelationships and mutual cooperation around community issues and problems among students and the entire Black community."

Clearly, the struggle is not over. "It is a most fatal error for those who fight for social change to accept initial and token success as a conclusive and permanent victory. No revolutionary victory can ever be thought of as being secure until all active opposition and adverse reaction are forcefully liquidated or staunchly contained.

"Black students must begin to search out and observe the concrete practice and examples of organizations and individuals, looking for political clarity, also their consistency and commitment." They must be on guard for opportunists, ego-trippers and people who put on a progressive facade. There are some like that at City college; there are others who pretend to be crazy while eavesdropping on Black organizations. They must all be

exposed. These fools must be made to see that their efforts will not keep Black people from struggling, for as a people who have fought against slave ships, slavery, oppression, repression, exploitation and domestic colonization and are still struggling for liberation, we will undoubtedly win.

FOOTNOTES

1. On The Black Student Movement, by Akbar Muhammad Ahmad
2. The Education Of Black Folk, by Allen Ballard
3. Crisis At CUNY, by The Newt Davidson Collective.
4. Crisis At Cuny, by the Newt Davidson Collective.
5. The Education Of Black Folk
6. Crisis At CUNY
7. The Education Of Black Folk
8. Black Students And Black Liberation, by Muntu Matsimela
9. Black Students And Black Liberation
10. The Education Of Black Folk
11. A 1976 United People fact sheet.
12. Draft Paper: The Social Mission Of The University Under The Impact Of Budgetary Reductions.
13. Black Students And Black Liberation.
14. Black Students And Black Liberation
15. Statement Of Purpose And Objectives Of The National Black Student Association.

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Throw Thunder At This House

by B. R. Brown

With all the celebration of the sterile '50's being hurled at our sensibilities, now, by the protectors of the 'placebo syndrome'; in this the sterile '70's; it would at best be an understatement to say that J.E. FRANKLIN's new work was a refreshing and delightful change, from, if you will, the norm. Friday night, the twenty-third, was the last showing, at least in this stage and in New York for awhile. Held at the Church Of The Crucifixion, 459 W. 149 St., where the Children's Playhouse, plan on four more productions during the coming year. So if you have designs on the theater and/or love working with children, stop on by.

The cast in order of their appearances was: Mrs. Steinhauer (Barbara Jane Leie); Lynn (Jewel Brimage); Joyce (Nikki Coleman). Jeri (Attalah Shabazz), Heavy (Maggie Henderson), Wilma (Angela Sargent), Jonah (Brian Smith). Jimmy (Earl Miller), Willie (Hubert J. Edwards), Dennis (Chico Kasinor) and Nancy (Barbara Jane Leie). Aside from Willie and Dennis both of whom I know personally, my favorite characters were Heavy, Lynn, Jimmy and Wilma. Taking nothing away from the other players, who, in spite of their other commitments, the space they had to work in and Ms. Franklin's wordy script, gave one hell of a performance. Do not misinterpret wordy as stating that Ms. Franklin's play was too lengthy, fact is, that minus a fifteen minute intermission, the total playing time was ninety minutes. A bit trying on unseasoned theatergoers, but was so totally engrossing that no notice was paid to the time which had elapsed.

The time period is the '60's, right after the courts have grudgingly 'given' us our 'civil rights!'. The setting is an exclusive white college, the dormitory assigned to the new Negroes, brings to mind the phrase, correctional institution, which when translated by the inmates comes out to the same old sh*t. Franklin's terminology and music from the period paints the picture of dormitory life, most accurately, even down to the *descriptive* girl talk, you know how we do.

The first scene dealt with the introduction of the female leads, Mrs. S. who has never seen a hard day in her life, and at the present she is suffering immensely, at the most recent acquisitions to one of her dorms. The seemingly scatterbrained Lynn, caught up in the moment (of history). Joyce and Jeri, two high-toned 'foxes', somewhat streetwise young ladies. To use a 'Trane' tune, Sister Sadie would best describe Heavy, downhome and strong. Enter the house 'bitch', Wilma, who has a few secrets in her hope chest.

The second scene is the middle of the semester, and the girls are showing the strains of college life, all save Wilma. The grades, Lynn's antics, and the deep-rooted feeling that the civil rights movement didn't accomplish what everyone *thinks* it did. At this point, bordering on desperation, the 'boys' are 'discovered'. They enter, Jonah, Jimmy, Willie and Dennis, Joyce's boyfriend, who just happens to have 'passed' at Yale.

A party at the dorm, Lynn has gone to her White friends party, overriding Wilma's directive. Athletic Jonah tackles Heavy, Joyce and Dennis, Willie who would really like to get next . . . 'to that white girl I saw at the bookstore', is with Jeri, while Jimmy scores with Wilma. A strained relationship because of her secrets and his 'restlessness'.

The guys are over at the dorm again. This time the girls won't let them in because . . . all they want to do is eat and . . . Nancy, Willie's 'love object', enters at the request of Lynn. The boys follow to find that the girls were home, so they stage a *sit-in*. The scene closes with Nancy's devastating humiliation from the boy's harrasment, all but Willie, who would still like to get into her pants.

We find the boys a few days later at their favorite pastime, over at the girls dorm, eating and talking shit. Dennis and Joyce arrive in Dennis' birthday present, a new Continental, from his Dad, visbly shaken, Joyce tells the others of Dr. King's assassination. During the rest of the scenes analysis of the event and their relationship to it,

we are shown again the varied personalities. From Heavy's religious wallings to Lynn's disbelief, that, . . . it didn't work. . . to the iclness of Wilma.

Confrontation. All secrets are laid bare. Lynn's diary is missing. Wilma has it. Lynn takes it back. Wilma threatens with the 'police'. Lynn counters with a 'discovery' she made while searching for her property. Her secret out, humiliated, she loses control, obtains a gun and shoots to kill, but blinded by rage and the shooting of the light, she hits no one. Jimmy disarms her, by force of love. The others couple off viewing each other with different eyes, save for Lynn, who is now the heroine (for lack of a better word) but still alone.

I offer a seven out of a possible ten points for Ms. Franklin's THROW THUNDER AT THIS HOUSE. I know when the play comes back to New York, the flaws that I detected will have been eliminated. I recommend the viewing of this play, to those in the Pampers generation, who never really knew what went down in the 'volatile' sixties. Peace.

MALKIA'S LOVE SONG
no longer scared of sleep that
conjure up ghosts that haunt me.
now dream of romping through
the valley of venus with you.
cause

you are the plane i board
to go home in.
yet you are also my Egyptian
entrance to the house
of essential knowledge.
cause

you are all the branches
on my tree of life
save two smaller ones
that stem from your
larger one.
cause

you are the fertilizer
that makes me the beautiful flower
that is my other name,
Ayanna.
cause

like the homing pigeon
i know that i've found
a home to come to.
cause

you are the king
that makes my position
as queen possible
and i treasure my position
and administer to my king.
cause

you make night alright
and day okay . . . and
blacken all the white cracks
and crevices on my wall of basic black
. . . and make the blackness total.
cause

you make my bad good
and turn the devil of hate
in me
into a goddess of love.
cause

you make my ordinary
extraordinary
and make what used to be
an average person called Linda
the comely, queenly, cosmic
Afrikan woman that is Malkia.
cause

even if this is the last love poem
that i write for awhile
you'll understand
that this still stands:
you are everything that i need.

Malkia Mbuzi—copyright 1976

SEEK Coalition Formed

On February 8, 1978, the CUNY Coalition For Special Programs announced a series of visits to all the CUNY senior college campuses to inform the SEEK Programs of its work and to secure representation from each campus on the Coalition council.

Formed in December, 1977 as a coordinating organization to represent the interests of CUNY's special programs, the Coalition has been active in the fight against Chancellor Kibbee's proposed new guidelines for SEEK.

Most recently, CCSP organized and delivered a series of presentations critiquing the proposed guidelines at a hearing before the Expanded Educational Opportunity (EEO) Committee of the Board of Higher Education on Tuesday, February 7, 1978. The Coalition also coordinated the efforts of individual SEEK Programs to publicize the hearing and encourage people to attend.

Earlier, on December 20, 1977, the Coalition sponsored a hearing on the proposed guidelines at John Jay College. Mr. Ronald Gault, member of the EEO Committee, attended in an unofficial capacity. At the hearing, Coalition members presented a thorough, comprehensive critique of an earlier draft of the proposed guidelines. These presentations have been transcribed and made available to BHE members, SEEK Program directors and community leaders.

At present, the Coalition is working on consolidating its own structure and identifying areas where coordinated effort among CUNY

special programs would be helpful.

The CCSP now includes representatives from Baruch, Brooklyn, City, Hunter, John Jay, Lehman and Queens Colleges. Charles Barron, President of the Hunter College SEEK Student Committee, is serving as temporary chairperson.

Special program students, faculty and staff interested in working with the Coalition are urged to contact:

Selwyn Carter, City College SEEK Student Gov't. 690-5325

Charles Barron, Hunter College SEEK Student Committee, 570-5508

Marylin A. Maye or Elaine C. Smith, Queen College SEEK Steering Committee 520-7204, -7565

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Open Sez Me! A Saga of Open Admissions at CUNY.

by Selwyn Carter

The Black student movement at City College reached its highpoint in 1969 with the struggle for open admissions at the City University of New York (CUNY). "Black student movements usually occur the same time that mass Black movements are in full bloom."

Prior to the Black struggles of the 1960's CUNY was a lily-white institution. The SEEK program, which was a direct result of those struggles, was started in 1965 with 105 Black and Puerto Rican students at City College. Within two years it had spread CUNY-wide, with 1500 students. Despite this program the 1969 figures for CUNY entering freshmen were 13.8% Black, 5.9% Puerto Rican and 75.9% white. These figures were inconsistent with the Black and Puerto Rican college age population in the city.

At City College, out of a total population of 10,000 students, the SEEK program contained 600 students. These students realized their obligation to struggle for the accessibility of their brothers and sisters who were akin to them "... in academic, social and economic background but had failed by reason of the lottery system of admission to become SEEK students." (The racist nature of the SEEK lottery system is in the way it selects from the pool of students eligible for SEEK, failing to take student diversity into account. This system is indifferent to which Black or Puerto Rican is selected as long as the number requirement for the program is fulfilled.)

The rising tide of Black rebellion, coupled with the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., forced the Board of Higher Education of CUNY to think about the Black masses. The BHE thus developed, in 1968, its masterplan for 'integrating' Black and Puerto Ricans into the CUNY system. "By no means were they prepared to guarantee all students access to the same kind of education." Thus, BHE developed, 'Open Admission' policy was no more than a tracking system geared toward producing a supply of lower level clerical and technical workers. (To make matters worse, its planned date for implementation wasn't until 1975.)

Under the masterplan, the top 25% of high school graduates (overwhelmingly white upper middle class) would be allowed into the senior colleges. The remainder of the top two thirds were to be sent to the community colleges and the bottom one third (mostly Black and Puerto Rican) were to be dumped into what the BHE euphemistically called "Educational Skills Center", where they would receive vocational training.

This racist scheme was exposed by the Black and Puerto Rican Coalition at CUNY when they seized City College in the spring of 1969.

The Black and Puerto Rican students at CCNY... although small in proportion to the student body, were extremely well organized well led, and supported by a group of

Black and Puerto Rican faculty who had been recruited to teach and counsel in the SEEK program." Early in 1969 these students presented the college president with five demands. They wanted: (1) The racial composition of all future entering City College classes to reflect the racial composition in the city's high schools. (2) A separate school of Ethnic Studies. (3) Separate orientation for Black and Puerto Rican students. (4) A voice in hiring, firing and educational policy in the SEEK program and (5) All education majors, most destined to teach in the city's schools, be required to take some Black and Puerto Rican history and study some Spanish.

"Every one of the dozens of Black Student uprisings which occurred during 1967-70... had substantive justification, yet, even the demands enunciated in presidents' conference rooms, extreme as many considered them, did not wholly reflect the students' grievances and if accepted, would not have alleviated their anger. The root causes of their hostility which Black students expressed frequently lay deep in the turmoil gripping both Black communities and the campuses."

The City College president ignored the students' demands and by February 13, 1969 one hundred students took over the administration building. When, by April 22 there was no response students seized south campus and reiterated the five demands. This action spread throughout CUNY and by May 3, 1969, only Hunter among the four oldest colleges remained open. On May 9, the BHE tentatively approved the SEEK and orientation demands, agreed to the education major demand, but insisted on further negotiations around the central issue of open access. The students continued the occupation and by July 9, 1969, the BHE gave in and promised to offer admission to some university program to all high school graduates of the city. The same was the escape clause which allowed them to perpetuate a good part of the Tracking System. Open Admission became one of those programs aimed at slowing down and redirecting the National Liberation struggle of Black people. Such token programs represented a temporary scheme to coopt and disintegrate the genuine stage of the mass Black movement.

"The other part of this dual strategy by the state, which was stated through the Cointelpro (counter intelligence program) and other programs of the CIA, FBI, army intelligence and local counter-intelligence has as its clear objective the smashing of Black progressive organizations by any means necessary (usually intimidations, harassments, infiltration, frame ups, arrests and murders). It was this dual strategy of the U.S. gov't., the carrot and the stick, which effectively threw the Black Liberation Movement into a political lull, a lull in our movement which was produced by massive repression on the organized leadership, forcing them underground and incarcerated

others in maximum security penitentiaries.

On campus, students who were in the forefront of struggle became less numerous. Many of them had graduated (or were forced out) and joined Black progressive organizations in the community. Others, who were just coming into school and were not part of that direct history of struggle found themselves with little or no continuous examples of Black struggle to emulate or help their development.

For many students who had a political conscious and looked for some organized direction it began to appear as though there was nothing happening, or what was around did not meet up to their aspirations. For the majority of Black students, education once again began to be viewed as the panacea for economic upliftment."

Aware of this state of affairs, the City University of New York began to dump its unwanted burden.

In December of 1975 the BHE ended Open Admission by instituting a mandatory grade of 80 or a 'B' as admissions criteria for the senior colleges. (Ironically, Open Admissions was ended the year the BHE had projected implementation of its 'open admissions' program). This, and the occurrences to follow, made it clear that the BHE was never committed to equal opportunity for Blacks and other oppressed nationalities.

In addition to adopting retrenchment plans calling for the closure of York College in Jamaica, Hostos community, in the South Bronx and the reduction of Medgar Evers College, in Brooklyn, to a two year institution (The first and last are predominately Black Colleges and the middle one is Puerto Rican.) The board voted to implement a 2nd year comprehensive exam for students in an attempt to eliminate 10% of the student body. (When San Francisco State, in 1965, added as an admissions criteria the SAT, it precipitated an "... actual drop in the number of Black students on campus between the years 1965 and 1968.")

At CCNY alone, some 100 faculty were retrenched in addition to campus workers. The writing and study centers, which service primarily Black and latin students were virtually destroyed, with the writing center being able to service only 250 of the 3400 students taking basic writing.

Students were clearly opposed to these cuts, as was demonstrated on May 5, 1976, when close to 2000 Black and third world students went on strike, protesting the end of Open Admissions and the upcoming imposition of tuition at CUNY. (The Strike lacked well organized leadership and specific direction, thus it fizzled after two days.)

The white racist Professional Staff Congress (PSC), the faculty union, later demonstrated for their salaries without raising a fist against tuition. (An attempt to impose tuition was made in 1961 but was defeated by a coalition of White Civic organizations. However, when tuition was im-

posed in 1976, these groups showed little signs of resistance. The difference in the two situations was that in 1976 CUNY had *thousands of unwanted Blacks and Puerto Ricans, who were graduating and competing with white youth, for jobs in a jobless market.*)

(The success of National Liberation Struggles in Cambodia, Vietnam, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola and intensified armed conflict in Zimbabwe, served to reduce American corporate profits abroad, by eliminating markets and cutting off their supply of cheap labor and resources. The corporations, assisted by the government, compensated their losses by taxation, price hikes, inflation and firings and by having the poor bear more and more the cost of its own education. *Economic crises are declared to justify these reductions.*)

In mid-1975 New York City declared a "fiscal crisis" and created the Municipal Assistance Corporation (Big Mac) to control the movement of City bonds. The Emergency Financial Control Board was later created to oversee City spending. Thus the banks overtly took control of the city by seating representatives on the boards of these two agencies.

With New York City having declared a "fiscal crisis", CUNY proclaimed itself broke, closed down because it was 'broke' and imposed tuition to help solve its 'fiscal problems'.

On May 26, 1976, the BHE closed City University. The board had carefully timed the imposition to occur when students were off campus. When, on June 1, 1976, with CUNY closed, the BHE voted to impose tuition, few were surprised.

At CCNY a small group of Black students calling themselves United People, made an effort to resist the imposition of tuition. They spent their entire summer at the college organizing for an intended boycott of registration.

On the first day of fall registration, in September 1976, United People took over the thirteen story science building in an effort to enforce the proclaimed boycott of registration. Their demands included: (1) No tuition. (2) Restore Open Admission, (3) Hire Black, Puerto Rican and Asian faculty in all departments to reflect the student body composition (4) Rehire the fired faculty and custodians (5) No second year test (6) Release figures citing an ethnic breakdown of all CCNY students and staff.

Despite assistance from over 50 construction workers from the construction group, Black Economic Survival, the building was retaken and registration proceeded, having been delayed four hours. Five members of Black Economic Survival were arrested. (Black Economic Survival together with *Fightback, Student, and other organizations had, in Spring 1975, seized the North Academic Complex (construction site) and the administration building demanding that Black and Puerto Rican construction workers be hired on the site.)

The boycott, while a good tactic, was premature. Few students knew

continued on page 14