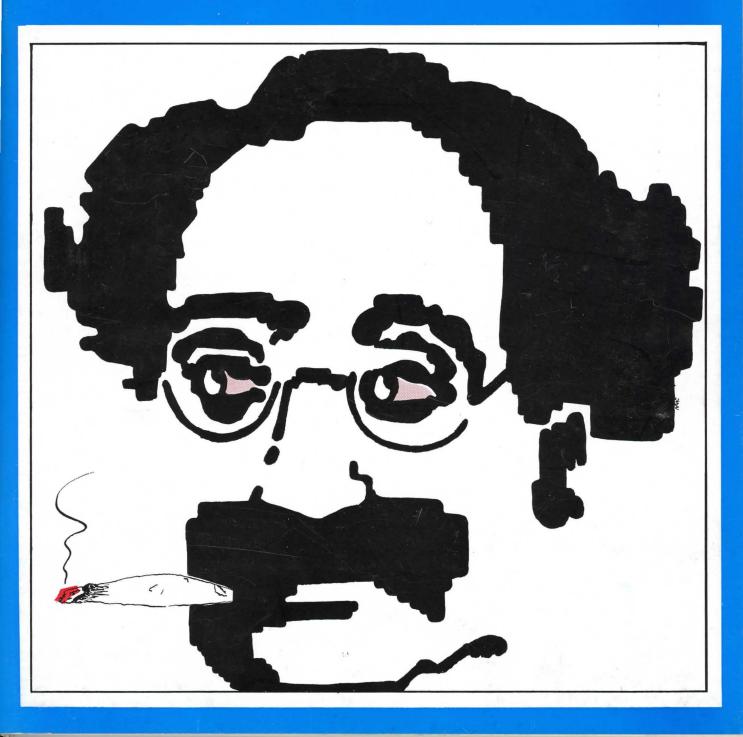
# advocate





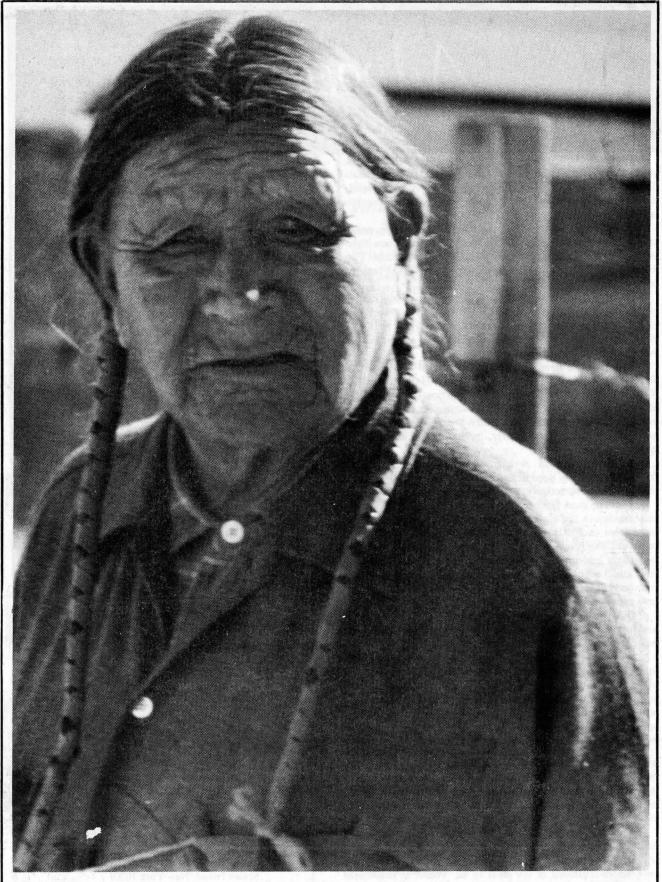


photo by joanne seador

# Advocate

Vol. Nos. 1 and 2

February 1973

Students face problems on campus everyday. Most classrooms are dull and the learning material is repetitious. Doing research and reading on your own is rarely encouraged, thus education remains boring, and new ideas and concepts are not discussed.

Classrooms are overcrowded, the trailors are a horror, parking is scarce, the cafeteria's food is lousy while prices are high. A serious shortage of quality faculty and counselors exist. The registration process and class scheduling benefits the faculty and administration only.

Students have no control of their own education of college facilities. Administrators paid by the city, representing a wealthy class of people, rule City University. It's in their interest that decisions affecting our lives are made. No wonder that student's problems grow.

Groups have been formed on campus to fight various forms of oppression. The Women's Group, Gay Liberation, Vietnam Vets Against the War, SDS, Attica Brigade, PRO, Black Students Union. All have been struggling to change the college. More students and faculty are needed to wage a successful struggle. Particularly, in the area of educational quality.

Curriculums need revision. Evaluation of students, faculty and courses need drastic overhauling. We must learn to criticise constructively, not in terms of "pass"-"fail", or "A" - "B", or good teacher, bad teacher. The student-faculty relationship in the classroom must be changed so that both learn from each other, both produce knowledge by means of research. The consumer (student), producer (faculty) aspect is archaic and unproductive. So too is the division Liberal Arts and Technology students. What students need is a well rounded education which is developed by reading, discussing and experiencing various subjects.

Only when we organize new groups, join existing ones, and form alliances can we change and control our own lives. It has been done in the past and can be done again.

"Advocate" and other campus publications can be platforms for a communication between students for exchange of ideas, of platforms for change. They can serve as an educational tool to inform the college community. Students and faculty must fight for constructive change and speak out against injustice wherever it exists.

Every student on the Staten Island Community College campus is responsible for the production of this issue of "Advocate." It is Community College, the City University of New York. The financed by student money allocated by Student Government. The opinions herein expressed are solely those of the writer with the students that found, wrote, edited and layed out the material in this exception of the editorial which represents the viewpoint of the issue come from the same backgrounds, neighborhoods and basic editorial board only, and not necessarily those of the entire life experiences as the students it was produced for.

The idea of this isue is to share ideas with other students and quested from the entire Staten Island Community. faculty in a creative and exciting way. We hope many of the articles will be material for classroom discussions and we invite constructive criticisms of the ideas to be voiced in subsequent issues of the magazine, "Advocate" would like to become a platform for exchange of ideas, experiences and struggles.

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hard times composed by ralph palladino

#### Student Money Not For Students

SICC students are faced with problems concerning finances, whether it's prices or lack of money. Poor services and education make us feel dull and unimportant. Alienation between people, and towards the institution grows each day.

Each semester, SICC students pay a \$48 Student Activity Fee. Twenty dollars is given to CUNY for operating fees and the remaining \$28 is given to the Student Government and is allocated to various student organizations. Half of it is used for athletics and various operating expenses.

At the end of each year, all expenses that are not spent are reverted to the Corporation and used as reserves. The Association Financial Report ending June 30th, 1972 showed Corporation assets of \$358,678.31. The Bookstore is supported by the sale of books to students and showed assets totaling \$167,960.44. Total assets built over the years of the student funded SICC Association were \$526,638.75, and have grown each year (see chart).

Financial reports that cover the last 3 years show that tens of thousands (\$77,-241.02 for '71-72, as of April 30th, 1972) of dollars are not spent by Student Government and are reverted to the Corporation. The Bookstore profits from students buying needed books each year (\$28,961.46 net income for '71-72 as of April 30th, 1972).

Assets are put into savings accounts, collecting interest and helping banks like Chase and Community National to make profits. Fifty seven thousand is put into the CUNY investment Fund which supports corporations like Dow Chemical, Con Edison, Esso, Union Carbide, Shell Oil, Gulf Oil, PanAm Airways, Goodyear Tires and others. All of which, along with banks, hold military contracts, South African investments, Latin American investors, and are noted polluters.

Our expenses are being used to create weapons used by U.S. and other countries to kill people all over the world, notably in Viet Nam, foster racism as in South Africa where these corporations support the economy of an overtly racist nation; encourage economic imperialism and political facism by investing and supporting dictatorships like Brazil and the colony of Puerto Rico, and pollute our atmosphere, land and water.

President Birenbaum implied that SICC expenses no longer were being used in such a way. The University Student Senate claims otherwise, citing the fact that all expenses from various CUNY sources are pooled and thus are indistinguishable as from which college they came. Furthermore, the dispersement of the Investment Fund is made by the Board of Higher Education.

College officials claim there is need of financial reserves so that SICC can receive federal money for financial aid. This is no longer true thanks to the new Higher Education Act, it's also been argued that reserves are needed for emergencies.

Students must take classes in dehumanizing trailers, be denied needed financial aid, do without adequate medical care on (or off) campus, mothers suffer extreme hardships because there aren't enough Day Care Facilities. We are lacking teachers, curriculums, classroom space and parking facilities. Student drug addicts (as distinguished from pushers) are thrown off campus by the new Drug Review Board. Rehabilitation? Education? Not at ole SICC. No money! Emergency conditions do exist.

We must force the Association to use student money to remedy these ills. The bookstore must be forced to discontinue profiteering off students. Money from the student fees could be used to pay for upgrading the quality and choice of food, while lowering the prices of the cafeteria. That very thing is being done at Wagner

College (Moran is the concession at SICC and Wagner). Drug users could be helped on campus with proper funding, rather than being discarded.

Bill Birenbaum's books talk about "open campus," "freedom, "education," and the involvement with the Community. SICC turns its back on the sons and daughters of the community. There is no attempt to help the drug users, instead she's thrown back to the "community." Hollow words and no action. Well, Bill did winan award from the Urban League. Money for awards and dinners, time and energy for praise and thank-yous. What an image Birenbaum projects, just ask any student. A man dedicated to education, Bill is doing no different than any aspiring upper class ruler and politician.

In the last year SICC has witnessed a near zero growth of faculty and educational programs. The number of administrative Dean's personnel, and offices have grown immensely. Money is used to increase the beaucratic administration, not the education or the student services.

Birenbaum wants to build SICC into an economic and political power on Staten Island. In order to do so he must build a solid financial base; the Association assets (student money), CUNY funding (taxpayers money) to hire personel. Faculty hiring is not stable a human investment as hiring secretaries and office workers. Faculty comes and goes. The people who work in offices at the college live on Staten Island. An institution or industry that hires a large amount of local residents can exert much political power in that area. Birenbaum boasted in the "Advance" about the fact the SICC employs so many Islanders.

Owning land is a basis for power in America. SICC has acquired land adjacent to the college and is seeking more. Rumors have it that a deal is in the works concerning Wagner College. Birenbaum is building his empire with our money (student and taxpayer).

We gain nothing. Services are declining, education is unstimulating and the atmosphere is drab. Students have been robbed, raped and beaten on campus. The cafeteria food is lousy and unnutritous and the prices are too high. The beaucratic red tape grows and control of the wealth of the college is concentrated in the hands of the few on top, the Association and Birenbaum.

SICC has become no different than the rest of American Society; the work place, institutions, market places, streets and homes. Birenbaum is doing on a smaller scale, no different than what the Rockefellers and Nixons do nationally. But for every successful Rockefeller there are millions of people that MUST lose. In order for one person to become wealthy, he must take from many others. Such is the case at SICC. Because of the rules of our competitive society, Birenbaum must act in his own interest, and has the power to "legally" do what he's doing.

People must realize the danger of allowing a certain few because of proper-

ty rights and/or position, to have power over them. Property, decision making power, and rights must be shared in common by all people. We must have a classless society. Throughout history, class society based on private property rights and privileged positions have failed to guarantee the welfare of all the people. Class struggle has been a reality. Only during pre-class Communal society was common welfare a fact. All the people made the decisions collectively.

We can successfully end our problems at SICC when there are no longer any authoritarian college presidents and

#### CHART

#### ASSETS OF ASSOCIATION

#### YEAR ENDING

June 1970			\$331,052,02
June 1971			393,727,29
June 1972			526,638,75
SOURCE	The	financial	reports of the
SICC Ass	ociati	ions, Inc.,	1969-70, 1970-
71, 1971-7			

money grubbing Associations. Students, faculty and campus workers must eventually work together, collectively deciding how to organize the college. This can only be a reality when the rest of America is organized in the same way; the workplaces, imstitutions and communities.

Politics, alienation, racism, poverty, and crime will disappear. There will be no opportunity or need for one person to control, mistrust, exploit or steal from another because all people will share in common ownership of all land, resources, and responsibility. People will be able to open up to each other and develop their creativity and intellect rather than compete and mistrust each other.

Looking around the United States, we find millions of oppressed people looking for security and a direction. We must find ways to relate to these people and struggle together for a better society.

The immediate remedy for our problems is to organize together at SICC and force the administration to adhere to our demands. The only far reaching, basic change will come when we win the struggle for a classless society.

# College Governance

Last May the College Governance Proposal for SICC was voted down by the students and faculty. The plan called for student participation on faculty committees allowing students vote on decisions of the advisory bodies.

This year, we students are being asked to participate in our student government using President Birenbaum's Student Government Constitution. The new Student Constitution calls for constitutency groups of 200 to 250 students to meet every other week and decide what it is we wish our representative to do in the senate.

The student response to the new Birenbaum student government is about the same as was the response to the Governance Proposal; negativity and apathy. This despite heavy selling by the adminstration of various student orgainzations into becoming "actively involved" in the plans.

The President claims he reluctantly took over Student Government because there were no elections last spring. However, nowhere does it say when elections were to be held, not in the old constitution, nor in the BHE by laws. Richmond College government elections are held each Fall, not Spring. Futhermore, two years ago SICC elections were held in the Fall. One must question Birenbaum's claim of reluctantly taking control:

Both governance plans failed to generate student support because they were initiated by the administration and not the students.

Though a token few students were involved in drafting each plan, the idea for and final approval of each plan rested with Bill Birenbaum.

People are getting tired of having liberals and conservatives politicians bureacrats "do" everything (for us). It is one of the causes of the people's alienation and powerlessness in our society. No one knows the needs of the students better than ourselves.

Another obvious flaw in these "plans" is that they give no power to students. People have a need to take some control over their own lives. We're asked to participate and "relate" to a proposal of re—presentation of faculty committees, that have no power, but merely make recommendations that must be "approved" by President Birenbaum and /or the Board of Higher Education and Regents. We are asked to take hours away from our studies so we may exercise our "power" to advise. What a joke!

SICC and City University in general is a bureacracy which means that the decisions and power affecting us all come from the top. Not the faculty committees but the board rooms and the businessmen that need our well educated bodies for "thing work" in the city. Some faculty

members will deny this, those still hung in their status of PH.D.

Other faculty members won't say anything, better to keep the 12 to 20 thousand a year job than to make waves.

Students must be pacified and given something to occupy their time rather than stirring up trouble. Presto, the College Governance Proposal. "Let them think they have some power. We"ll fool them." Some students don't fool easily.

Student Governance has no power and the new constitution gives it none. All student government can do is charter student organizations and approve budgets funded by student activity fees. Some power? Don't bet on it! All budgets must finally be approved by the Corporation, 1/2 students, 1/2 faculty—adminstration, and / or its board of directors, 1/3 students, 2/3 faculty and adminstration. The constituency groups make up a student government with no power.

When will we get some power over our own destinies? If we want changes in the classroom, complete decision making power over how our own money is spent, and better educational and health facilities we've got to share equal decision making power with the administration College Governance (Proposal) and constitutions for the powerless is a waste of time and energy.

# History As A Way Of Learning

Most history textbooks are empty of the roles of ethnic minorities, women, and achievements of the working class in building America. Giving a distorted view of issues as slavery, and the labor movement, they are partly responsible for the mistaken attitudes that most people have concerning race, sex and class.

Some books make mention of blacks only in reference to slavery and reconstruction, neglecting the true history of the black man as one of the builders of roads, docks and national agriculture and industry. No mention is made of their courage or participation in every war that America has fought. The books written about European, Oriental and Latin American immigrants can be counted on one hand. Yet, these people built America with their sweat and fought our wars.

Women are treated in history when

speaking of Women's Rights Movements, and only the surface of their struggles has been scratched. Neglected is the hard physical work women performed in factories during the two World Wars, and throughout the era of America's industrialization.

Few American historians have dealt with the history of the Working Class in this country. The life styles, work conditions, feelings, living conditions, and militant struggles are only touched on when discussed. Working class art forms have always existed, but can't be found in books or museums.

It's easy to see why such neglect and distortion of history has taken place since most of the "accepted" history of the United States was written by Southerners, Upper Class whites, mostly anglo saxon in heritage, and male in sex. These writers had their own class,

religious and ethnic interests to protect, and understood little else. People with the same backgrounds and attitudes control education today.

There is a small group of students at SICC that have recognized this problem and have decided to do something about it. More students and faculty are needed to research textbooks and expose, condemn and demand the discontinuing of sexist and racist material.

There are books that do give different accounts of history, that can be used as substitute reading. A class project of reading and discussing different views of history can be done. "The Contours of American History" by William Appleman Williams is good alternative reading. A research panel can be formed to find others. Contact Joan Bodden in room C-115 if you have suggestions or would like to be involved.

# "intelligent bookworms and quiet signs" by dennis maher

Since all information and material cannot be stored at a single library we are part of an inter—library service which can get any book (except perhaps current popular items) within two weeks. This isn't a very long time if you consider that such research material is usually for term projects that are assigned early. This service restores my faith in the possibility of borrowing the book I need which always seems to be the one missing.

There are no longer fines for past due books. A notice is now sent out and if the book is not returned after a second notice the Business Office bills the delinquent borrower. A book can now be borrowed for a full month with the possibility of renewal if no one else has requested the particular book.

No matter how many persons are concerned and willing not to hoard the information it is still necessary to protect the resources. We have recently aquired a magnet detection unit for the exit of the library. Eventually all the books will be marked so that the machine will ring if book crosses its field that has not been demagetized at the circulation counter. The system is not in use yet due to a manufacturing error in the markers. They will be implanted in the book and not easily detached. At present the alarm goes off if a piece of material like a belt buckle goes through that has picked up enough

static electricity.

This system is financially more feasible than hiring guards. With the amount of time the library is open, it would take three full time guard to cover the entrance/exit to check bags. That cost would be about \$25,000 per year. According to Dr. Vann this system cost less initially and maintence is nominal. If the system stops all the thefts, we'd be in a sense, making money in the first year of operation (\$20,000 loses & 28,000 to \$40,000 in processing compared to \$25,000 for the security machine.)

All this seems petty when we realize what the library will be in the future.

In the Master Plan for Learning Town projected for 1977 there are scheduled to be two library buildings. One will be a storehouse of information of all medias including slides, film, videotapes, sound-tracks as well as the traditional books, periodicals and microfilms. The television generation which is producing more of the new media material will also be able to experiment with it on a wider range in the other building which is to be a production center.

The future library is already in progress, not the buildings, but the underlying structure and collection of the resources. Even if we do not possess our own material the library acts as an information centre making all resources

available. Dr. Vann says 'if there's someone down in Oklahoma who remembers something that isn't written down, that just as much a resource as a book . . . we want to be able to give any student any information he is seeking whether we have to call an attorney's office to find an answer or call the mayor's office, that doesn't matter to us. Our job is to find the information that is needed.'

Talking about the library does not render a sudden burst of enthusiasm from any listener. Generally one getsimpressions of intelligent bookworms and 'quiet' signs. This may be what it seems like on the surface but the valuability of the library and its potential need make it the single most important tool of education.

It is the unfortunate plight of the traditional student with the traditional teacher to argue facts and memorize definitions, names, dates, places, and other people's opinions, working intensely to pass a test. If we could only agree that an important fact is a useable fact and is therefore a repeatable fact that is already recorded that one just need how to get hold of. School then would be learning how to conceptualize and the classroom experience would always be creative.

One may argue the uncertainty of recorded fact but one cannot argue the

continued on page 96

# Vietnam Vets Screwed

After graduating or dropping out of high school, a teenager either gets drafted, enlists, is deferred from, or draft dodges the Armed Forces. Those in the services are supposedly defending their country; actually, the foreign investments of U.S. corporations. The soldier puts his life on the line defending the private property, profits, and existence of the rich corporate executives, bankers and politicians. The Vietnam War is a perfect example of this.

Historically, the United States has been involved in the expansion of markets too and political control of other countries, especially in Asia and Latin America. In order for profits to be made by the wealth class, and the pacification continued of the working classes, overseas expansion was/is necessary. Such policy has been echoed throughout American History by Monroe,

Madison Adams, Van Buren, Lincoln, McKinley the Roosevelts, Eisenhower, and Nixon, among others.

Vietnam is an extension of this expansionist policy. Robert McNamara described it as, "wars of liberation" have sprung up. The U.S. had to destroy the NLF so as to set an example of what would happen to other liberation fighters around the world. The overall purpose being to fix the U.S. as the number one Imperial power.

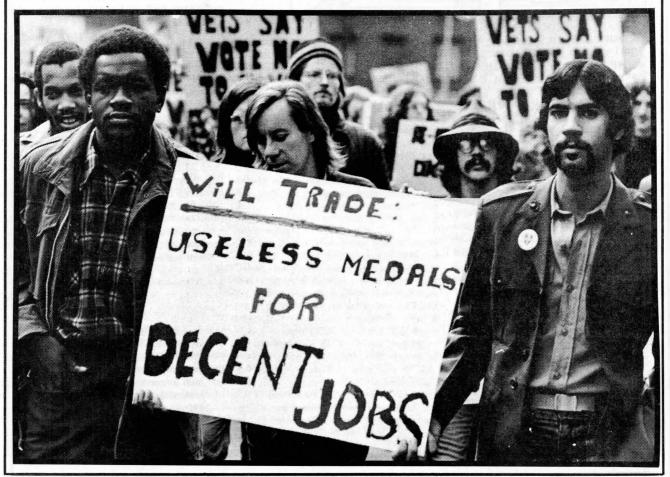
The decisions of war were made by those standing to gain the most, the wealthy ruling class. The blood spilled was that of working class youth, or those that stand to gain nothing. Corporate profits have hit record highs in recent years, all of which benefits the bankers, biggest stock holders, and the politicians they pay off.

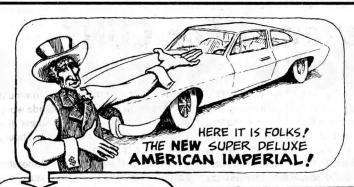
The situation facing the Vietnam veteran is desperate, however.

Special programs have been set up for veterans to encourage college entrance. These programs are designed to bring the veterans back into the system and dump him in an institution (college), Veterans at SICC and Richmond must prepare for the tightening job market and discrimination after graduating or dropping out. Education at these institution is as empty and unfulfilling as high school and a college graduate is little better off than those that never went.

Nothing is more degrading to a veteran than having to seek financial assistance that he earned and is his **RIGHT** to receive, and be made to feel like some low misfit by a government official when trying

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NOW BEFORE I MENTION THE PRICE, LET ME TELL YOU WHAT WENT INTO THE MAKING OF THIS AUTOMOBILE.

rses, de :

ALUMINUM FOR THE ENGINE AND TRANSMISSION FROM SURINAM, HAITI, AND JAMAICA.

CHROME FOR ALLOYS AND TRIM FROM TURKEY, SOUTH AFRICA AND PHILIPPINES. TUNGSTEN FOR ALLOYS FROM BOLIVIA, THAILAND, SOUTH KOREA, AND BURMA. TIN FOR ALLOYS FROM INDONESIA,

MALAYA, BOLIVIA AND CONGO. COPPER FOR THE ELECTRICAL SYSTEM FROM RHODESIA, CANADA AND CONGO. RUBBER FOR TIRES FROM MALAYA AND INDONESIA.

OIL FOR LUBRICATION AND FUEL FROM VENEZUELA AND THE MID EAST.

AND LOTS MORE!

OF COPPER FROM CHILE BEFORE THEY NATIONALIZED IT. LATER FOR THEM

IT TAKES AMERIKAN INGENUITY AND KNOW-HOW TO ORGANIZE THIS GLOBAL RIP-OFF AND TURN IT INTO A FINE LOOKING AUTOMOBILE. SO WHEN YOU HEAR THE MELLOW SOUND OF YOUR NEW AMERICAN IMPERIAL V-8, YOU CAN FEEL A WARM SENSE OF PRIDE IN KNOWING WHY YOUR SON DIED IN VIETNAM.

WE USED TO

RIP-OFF LOTS

to apply, as has been the case with most Vets. When assistance does come, it arrives four and five months after it is originally needed (ie. when applying for Education Benefits the first time under the

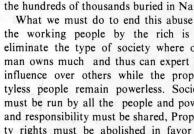
The unemployment rate for Vietnam vets has fluctuated between 12% -20% This high rate doesn't take into account vets that have gone back to school, who are employed only part-time or those that have not filed for unemployment. In recent report, Wasted Men. the Veteran, more than 90% "of prospective employers were unsure or did not believe that the veteran would be a loyal and satisfied employee" The New York Chamber of Commerce last year published a pamphlet, Drug Abuse as a Business Problem advising members not to hire Vets. The pamphlet says, "With the spread of drug abuse in school and among members of the armed foreces in Vietnam it would be unrealistic for business to assume it could recruit from these markets and not risk bringing abuse, narcotics addicts and pushers into companies, despite all sophisticated screening available".

Heroin addiction has been a problem for a good many Vets. Junk pushed by the military and political leaders of governments supporting the U.S. are responsible for this plague. The CIA has been implicated in the pushing as well. Detoxification camps have been described by vets as "a joke". In an article appearing in a recent issue of "The Staten Island Register", an SICC vet explained how he had to go to the Island Methodone Maintenance every day.

For the Vietman Veterans that are crippled and lame, what is the compensation and token of appreciation? For the thousands of psychologically disturbed from war what is the thanks? As far as the profit seeking rich are concerned these Vets might as well have shared the fate of the hundreds of thousands buried in Nam.

What we must do to end this abuse of the working people by the rich is to eliminate the type of society where one man owns much and thus can expert his influence over others while the propertyless people remain powerless. Society must be run by all the people and power and responsibility must be shared, Property rights must be abolished in favor of common ownership of land and the means of production.

Only then can we have a society free from exploitation and warfare, all the people will have decision making power.





### **Tuition Threatened For CUNY**

The New York Board of Regents has called for the payment of tuition at the City University of New York (CUNY), which includes Staten Island Community and Richmond Colleges. In a report titled, "Education Beyond High School". The Regents Tentative Statewide Plan for the development of post - secondary education, 1972, the Regents asked the Board of Higher Education (BHE) to establish a "rational tuition policy for all students based upon their ability to pay".

Recommendations made by the Board of Regents have history of becoming policy. All that need be done is that the report be approved by the Governor. The tuition for CUNY students could be a reality. Staten Island Representatives, Edward Amann, Lucio Russo, and John Marchi have reportedly backed the Regent's recommendations.

In this decision for tuition, the Regent's report states, "...free tuition, a policy that runs counter to the Regent's view that the students, based upon his ability to pay, should assume an equitable portion of the cost of his education." At this time, there is no criteria for determining who has the "ability to pay". But, if the recent Federal guidelines for those eligible for financial aid are an indication of what criteria the state might impose, we're in trouble. The state claims, it cannot raise enough money for CUNY, thus the need for tuition.

However, there are better ways to finance education. For instance, the Federal Government could transfer some of the \$85 Billion they spend on defense and Vietnam to the state, to be used for education. Local business can donate funds. According to an article on Community College in Change Magazine,

"Leaders of industry view (community) colleges as institutions to provide workers at public expense." Since business profits by us getting an education, why shouldn't they share the cost.

In years past students have demonstrated against such cuts. These measure might alleviate the problem for a while, but next year they'll be back. Every year politicians make up defense and education budgets without the taxpayer's approval. Furthermore, those that are directly affected by these budgets have no control over how the money is spent. The annual tuition problem proves the politicians inability to govern in the interests of the taxpayers. The only lasting solution is for the people to have the decision making power in the educational system, and government.

#### Consequences

The following are predictable consequences according to CUNY officials: Layoffs of significant numbers of faculty and non-instructional staff, higher dropout rate among students already admitted under Open Admissions because of reduction in remedial, tutorial and counseling support (present rate for Community Colleges are 40 per cent on the average), curtailing development of new colleges including Richmond College, substantial cutbacks of admissions to senior colleges, community colleges, graduate programs, paraprofessional programs, and adult continuing education courses, delay of graudation for May students because of reduced availability of courses, increased faculty workload (large class sizes and additional course assignments per faculty member), suspension of faculty research, elimination of all new academic programs (CUNY BA, Experimental College at SICC and possibly Integrated Studies at Richmond), and cutback of cultural programs for students and communities.

Politicians have offered higher taxes as the answer, while others claim the faculty raise in pay was too high. New York City tax payers are the only people in the nation to provide major funding of a public university system. The Wagner Commission noted that New York City residents provide 60 per cent of the students in public higher institutions in the State come from New York City. Parents and

(Continued on next page)

#### Financial Aid Woes

Thanks primarily to the Nixon Administration and U.S.Congress, war on higher education following the 1960 decade of unrest, the amount of financial aid for needy SICC students has been cut back from 1971 Nearly every student awarded aid this year received a 20% cutback from what he received last year. Furthermore, many students in dire need received no aid at all.

According to statistics released by the head of finanancial Aid, Bob Trow, there are 1500 students receiving aid of one sort or another (i.e. workstudy, grants, loans, etc.), and of this number, 1185 are enrolled on College Workstudy (working for a wage of \$2.00 an hour on campus). This is approximately the same number enrolled last year (1182 exactly).

There has been a cut back of \$20,000 in Workstudy (from \$590,615 in 1971-71 to \$569,035 in 1972-73). The grants (E.O.G"s) are given to students on workstudy that are in serious financial difficulty. National defense student Loans are given out when money for grants have been exhausted. These funds have been cut by nearly \$40,000.

Not only have funds been cut, but the Washington bureaucrats have devised a new way in which to dispurse funds, dividing up the income groups into 3 priorities, with only those in priority 1

guaranteed of some sort of aid. Further information on how this system works can be obtained from the Financial Aid Office located below the bookstore.

This new system is not only unrealistic in dealing with dispursing aid according to income, but it also places people of varying incomes in a competitive position. Students in need of aid are forced to quit college to get a job, thus undermining our education. President Nixon is parading around his guaranteed financial aid legislation that will guarantee every college student a grant to continue education. For working family's youth at CUNY, this is not a reality.

Every student that comes from a family that makes under \$12,00 should be given financial aid. The government estimates that it costs a family a little more than \$11,000 a year to survive. "Survival does not include college education costs.CUNY estimates, albeit conservatively, that it costs a student \$1200 to attend. Yet, there are students at SICC whose family's: income is around \$7,000, that receive no aid at all, couple that with lack of aid with rising prices in stores. (including the SICC Bookstore and Cafeteria), as well as tax and transportation rate hikes. It makes you wonder who is reaping in the "milk and honey" of our land.

\* \* \*

## "all that's left is a dictatorship"

President Birenbaun decreed that all bills passed by the Student Senate, and all matters concerning Student Activities follow the letter of the laws (BHE By laws, constitutions, etc.). "The system", the government by bureacracy and for those in power, comes to SICC and the students are being exposed to it. The presidents decision has afforded students the opportunity to feel what is meant by and the results of "due process under law."

Students who are involved in producing something and developing their creativity have been stifled by red tape, "due process" rhetoric, the whims and egos of those who hold power. The student publications have been hampered from administrators allocating money by means of a per capita allotment allegedly made last year, though they had no evidence Student Government ever approved such an allotment, no idea why the allotment was made, if it was approved, and worse, no conception of the needs of a publication. All they had was the power of allocating student money.

The Hey Brother Coffee House, the Women's Group, and others have been seriously hampered because of the delay of funds. Only through the efforts and will of the students have some services and functions been performed.

In the past, SICC students have performed brilliant and creative feats. We've had art works published, publications awarded and copied by other colleges, musicians working, books being written, a record album and wall posters produced. SICC students operated and organized a free community Pest Control, a free coffee house, a day care center, rock concerts, and anti-drug programs. All made accountable for funds spent, but free from the excessive red tape that is a problem with the rest of American society. Concrete things were accomplished. Now that the "American way" has caught up with SICC Student Activities things are different.

In the past there have been irregularities concerning misuse of funds. Last year's Student Government proved however that students can correct their own mistakes and run a rip-off free government, and given the chance, can organize and operate a government in a productive way without administration interference.

The red tape and bureacracy in the United States is wasteful and oppressive to people trying to use their creativity, as evidenced by the current problems at SICC. Birenbaum will not approve a senate passed bill unless it is worded in legal terms.

The college president does interpret a by-law the way HE reds it. Last year no Student Government elections were held. Birenbaum then claimed that under Article XV of the BHE by laws he could assume the power of Student Government. However, nowhere in the old constitution or by-laws does it state when elections are to take place. Elections could have been held this Fall as was the case at Richmond College, and at SICC two years ago. Last year's Student Government President Geraldine Jackson went to Birenbaum to tell him she wanted the government to continue until new elections could be held. The president turned down the request, stating to the three students there. "Democracy hasn't worked, I will not tolerate Anarchy, so all that's left is dictatorship." He added, "You've had your chance (to draw up a new constitution), now it's my turn.'

The new Student Government constitution is Birenbaum's, not the students. Three students, along with administrators and hired politicians drew up the document. Needless to say it's a failure. Constituent groups with 250 members produce one or two students per meeting.. The student body never did demand a new constitution. How could we relate to something we had no desire for, or hand in drafting? These facts illustrate how the one man in power can interpret laws and make decisions his own way and enact programs, while the people can do nothing and are faced with one road block after another. But it's all legal, the American Way.

Students want to develop their creativity and produce useful things. We believe in accountability and in doing things right. But we need to control our own funds and lives. The American form of bureacracy works against those ideas; orders came from the top, not the people, we receive rhetorical phrases instead of materials and funds that we deserve. Power must be taken from the few "chosen ones" and given to the people so we will no longer be alienated and can shape our destinies which is our right as human beings.

#### **TUITION, CONTINUED**

students alike appear to be fed up with paying taxes everytime bureaucrats mismanage money and the State has a huge deficit Faculty salaries at CUNY are in line with SUNY salaries.

36 per cent of CUNY students come from families that have incomes under the required minimum income about \$7000) for a family of four living in New York, and would probably be forced to dropout if tuition is imposed. Another 37 per cent would have difficulty staying in as their families have incomes just over (7 to 12 thousand Gross income) the \$7000 mark. Already it is estimated that the average CUNY student spends a minimum of \$1,125 a year in college related expenses (carfare, books, food, fees, and clothing) and students are hard pressed as it is to keep up paying the cost.





### Day Care In Struggle

by rosalyn fenton

Students are never at a loss for complaints about the administration of the country and the school. One major complaint in the country is the matter of priorities such as spending money on the war instead of on poverty programs. In most cases it's the human need that loses in the end.

The Student Government at SICC is an administration. It has approached the subject of Day Care with the same sense of misguided priorities as the administration of the country. Here again the human need seems to be losing out. When Sidney Kitain ran for President he promised, with traditional political gusto, everything under the sun. One of those things was that the Day Care center expand into what is now the Student Government room to help accomodate the one hundred people it had on a waiting list. This promise has not been kept nor does its fulfillment seem forthcoming. The Student Government is not willing to meet "human need." I have been told by one of the senators that she feels the Student Government needs a centrally located office; for what purpose

I do not know. The campus can be crossed by foot in a matter of minutes. With a little juggling the Student Government could still find adequate space in "C" building where they are presently located. They do not need a room as large as C132, their office. The only time that room has been fully utilized was during Senate meetings and they could be held in the auditorium or the President's conference room.

If each Senator's attending school dependent on finding decent, inexpensive daycare for a child things would be different. But the reality is that only two of the Senators have children. One of them is on the waiting list; she is fighting the hardest for more space. Finding an alternative to Day Care in the school is the exception. Day Care facilities on Staten Island are few and many of those are very expensive. As a result, many of the people on the waiting list have not been able to find a place for their children which means they are unable to attend school. I have two children and spent a year on the waiting list. I know what it means not to be able to attend school.

Many women who seek Day Care have been divorced and are attempting to reestablish their lives. There are couples, fathers and mothers, who seek education. What higher priority is there? What is more important than creating the opportunity for someone to educate him or herself?

In a survey that I am taking of the people using the center, I have found that virtually all of them do well academically. Their mean grade point average is 3.4. A large number of them also work. Having more than just themselves to think about gives them more motivation and a better sense of responsibility than the average SICC student.

It saddens me to realize that the Student Government has become a microism of the administration of the country in dealing with the community of the school. If human needs cannot be met on our level, how could we expect them to be met on a higher level? Will this hypocrisy continue? The one hundred people on the waiting list hope that it does not continue.

# We Made It—Finally

Publishing a magazine is not an easy task, especially for students who are beginning to develop their journalistic abilities. "Advocate" was to have published two 48 page issues last term but was able only to publish a double issue (100 pages) in January. The staff had material ready to publish late October that related to the 1972 Presidential elections. The students never saw it.

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President Birenbaum's assistant Dabney Park was the chairman of the publication committee (Birenbaum was the Student Government at the time), and was no help in trying to get "Advocate" published. He was the major obstacle, setting up a ceiling budget for each publication and allowing 10% to be spent. Had we been allowed to spend 10% of last year's budget it could have been published.

Park works for Birenbaum, and the boss told former Student Government President Jackson and two editors last June that, "I don't like Advocate." You begin to get the idea when you consider that all other publications on campus were allowed to publish. "The Dolphin" submitted their budget to Park the same day they went to press. Park wouldn't allow "Advocate" to even typeset, though a budget was already approved!

It wasn't until early December, when Student Government and the SICC Corporation passed "Advocate" budget, that typesetting was allowed. Unlike other publications we were forced to use a typesetter of the administration's (Jerry Schwartzburg and Leon Brown, the Business Manager) choice. As a result, the job was poorly done. Copy was returned to us with paragraphs and sentences missing, making it impossible for us to work properly.

When brought to the attention of Leon Brown, suggesting that we change typesetters, it was not allowed. Brown said that since he signed his name to a purchase order (equivalent to a contract), he could be sued. Earlier in the term Brown stated how

we didn't know anything about journalism and how he hired someone to teach us (Schwartzburg). Schwartzburg's incompetence was made evident and he has since been releaved of his job.

"Advocate" has a history of publishing quality. Even with Birenbaum's dislike for us (rather what we are saying), he was prompted to congratulate "Advocate" as an "interesting departure in journalism." Only when administrators like Park and Brown stuck their noses into controlling student funds and publications do students suffer.

In the face of administrative oppression we managed to publish. What we say in this issue the administration will not like. We serve the students, not Birenbaum. If in the future we are censored or oppressed we will inform the students. "Advocate" is funded by the students and they have a right to know what's going on, we have a duty to inform them, and will always be a platform from which all students can speak their mind.

## **Priorities Are Reversed**

The most important single group of people in the fight to allow every high school graduate a chance to remain in college are the students in the SICC tutoring program. Remedial education is a must for students who have floundered through years in an archaic educational system. A system that has obviously failed students as a means to learn, think, and develop their full potential as human beings.

Tuturing in skills such as reading, writing, and math as well as specific subjects has helped many to remain in SICC. SICC's dropout/failure rate, though unacceptable is below the national average and the tutors must be given much credit for this. Yet, the administration at SICC has seen fit to undermine the tutoring program and thus prove where their priorities lie.

Last year the students organized and ran the tutoring center that was located in the basement in "C" building. It was easily accessable to all students in need of help and though not perfect, had a much better atmosphere and more room in which to tutor effectively. This year the program has been moved out to the trailers without consultation with, or

approval by the student tutors. Students will be forced to learn under adverse conditions such as overly crammed space, dull surroundings, (though the students have redecorated the place), and where there are no rest room facilities. The trailers are not easily accessible to students taking classes at SICC since they're not located in any of the main buildings. Furthermore, when cold rain and snowy weather is upon us, what student will want to go outside to a trailer? Couldn't that be construed as a health hazard?

We know the college is overcrowded but why fight the problem by banishing the tutoring center to "Siberia" which will surely increase the dropout/failure rate? The BHE has mandated that all city university units have remedial programs because of Open Admissions. It appears that SICC administrators is only interested in complying because of mandate and doesn't care about the needy students. Why couldn't the successful tutoring program be allowed to stay in "C" building where it was? That space now is being used by the Financial Aid office.

Bob Trow, head of Financial Aid, claimed he needed more space to operate. Fine, then why couldn't the administration move the Financial Aid bureacracy to the trailers instead of the students. Students use the tutoring facilities constantly, all year. The only time Financial Aid is crowded is September and May. It's interesting to note that Financial Aid, unlike the tutoring office cannot serve, nor meet the needs of SICC's students.

The tutoring program has a three year history of struggle against administrative and faculty bureacracy in order to provide educational opportunity for students. During 1970-71 students fought for academic credit for remedial courses, more space, better facilities, and for student control of the program. In 1971-72 these struggles were won. The remedial courses and faculty became what is now Circle 73. The student tutors organized and ran a most successful program last year, and the center was moved from a closet, to down under "C" building. Now all the gains of students are being taken away. Where will it end? In total oblivion of a good and needed program or will the students fight?

#### Education Testing

Chuck Stone, former aide to Adam Clayton Powell, has quit as director of minority affairs at the Educational Testing Service in Princeton, charging ETS with apathy on racial matters. ETS testing procedures, he said, "solidify the rigidity of higher education in America." Stone had been working on a program that would have improved the performance of black students through counselling and introducing measures of creativity.

A local Nader-type Public Interest Research Group is beginning a year-long investigation of ETS, to find out how good ETS examinations are and in what ways the company is culturally biased. Ralph Nader himself has charged that ETS is an unregulated monopoly, accountable to no one. He called ETS "the greatest regulator of human intelligence allocation the world has ever seen."

There has long been criticism of ETS' standardized tests, which include College Boards and Graduate Record Exams, gate-keepers to higher education and middle-class mobility. The tests are considered by many observers as culturally discriminatory, as invalid predictors of educational and occupational success, and as aiding in the exclusion of minority and working-class people from educational occupational opportunity. A New York dermatologist reports that marijuana smoking may cause acne and hair loss. Dr. Irwin Lubowe of the New York Medical College states that he has conducted studies on patients whose baldness or acne seems to be caused by heavy indulgence in the pleasures of pot—defined as "at least two joints a week." Dr. Lubowe told Zodiac News Service that he suspects that "tetrahydracannabinnol"—or "the"—is a poison which affects the skin. He said that a number of his patients recovered from their outbreaks of pimples, severe dandruff and hair loss attacks shortly after they quit smoking weed.

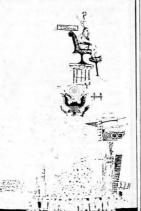
On the other hand, four UCLA researchers have recently suggested that marijuana may be an effective treatment for glaucoma, the most common cause of blindness in the United States. The disease results from a build-up of fluid pressure inside the eyaball. The UCLA research team found that smoking grass decreases this fluid pressure for at least several hours.

In a related item, the Canadian Commission of Inquiry into the NonMedical Use of Drugs reports that pot has often been used to treat symptoms of the flu and the common cold. According to the Commission, "cannabis" was an active ingredient in at least 20 medical preparations until it was outlawed in the 1930s.

#### Pot: Perials and Pot

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#### What's a Little Cancer?

Nothing to worry about, according to the Nixon administration, which has proposed that Congress make more "flexible" the law that forced such cancer-causing food additives as cyclamaters removed from the market. About 3,000 chemical additives, accounting for sales of \$500-million a year by the companies that produce them, have been approved by the federal Food and Drug Administration (FDA). But that's not good enough for the food and chemical industries.

"Even assuming that these chemicals are harmless," said one research chemist who testified before a Senate hearing on the proposed relaxation of bans on carcinogenic food additives, "the advantage in selling bread that does not go stale for a week or more . . seems to lie more with the baker and retailer than with the consumer."

Unfortunately, existing regulations are not enforced even for known carcinogens. Nitrates and nitrites, which are added to ham, bacon, pastrami, corned beef, and sausages, are known to cause cancer and blood disease. But they are not only used as necessary additives to ensure freedom from botulism. They are also used as coloring and flavoring agents.

California voters turned down a proposed law that would have barred boycotts of farm products and outlawed strikes by agricultural workers at harvest time.

Proposition 22 on the November 7 ballot in California was sponsored by the State's big farming industry. The proposal was opposed by labor groups, led by the United Farm Workers Union.

That union's president, Cesar Chavez, said the union will expand its efforts to get consumers to boycott nonunion lettuce—a tactic that would have been barred by the legislation, had the voters put the measure on the books.

The Farm Workers Union claims to have signed up more than 200 growers in the State, covering more than 80 percent of table-grape output, about 15 percent of the lettuce crop and some 10 percent of wine-grape production.

The growers claimed that the proposition would give bargaining rights to farm laborers and bring order to the labor relations of the industry.

Among other things, the suggested legislation would have provided for secret-ballot elections for bargaining rights, banned employer interference with unionization of employers, and barred picketing at retail establishments.

Boycott

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#### VVAW Drug Hearings

TO BE VILLE WAY

Election

Goodies

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War held a two-day series of hearings in New York Aug. 2-3 to denouce government policies on handling addicts and also to expose U.S. involvement in the drug trade. The first point was made by Arthur Egendorf, among others, who testified that of the 1200 veterans in New York Veterans Administration hospitals, half are on methodone maintenance, which substitutes methadone addiction for heroin addiction. The other half, he said, are simply held until they complete withdrawal and are then released without treatment. E. B. del Rosario, who formerly worked in Laos for Continental Air Services-said to be a CIA operation-testified that he had helped U.S. officials ship opium from Laos into Vietnam.

Times indicate that about 54 percent of the voting-age population went to the polls—the lowest since 1948. This files in the face of election-eve predictions that there would be a record turnout. The percentage has been more than 60 percent in every presidential election in the last 24 years.

These figures indicate that many voters were not happy about choosing between Tricky Dick and the senator from South Dakota. A national poll taken for the *New York Times* by Daniel Yankelovich revealed that when voters were asked to name the "more attractive personality" running for president, 33 percent said Nixon, 23 percent said McGovern, and 37 percent said neither one.

Among students this feeling was especially common. Steven V. Roberts, writing in the Oct. 2 New York Times, observed that "The catch phrase on campus this fall is 'the lesser of two evils,' and, if given the chance, many students would vote for 'none of the above'."

The reasons for this apathy and cynism are many. Neither candidate presented serious answers to the urgent social needs of the American people. There was also the Watergate and grain scandals and the Eagleton affair, along with the usual dose of doubletalk and transparent promises.

As proportion of voting-age population, the lowest in a quarter century

1948	51.0%
1952	61.6%
1956	59.3%
1960	63.1%
1964	61.8%
1968	60.9%
1972 (est.)	56.0%

#### INCOME GROUPS

Nixon's p	Nixon's percentage of vo						
The color was and labor to the	1968 1972						
High income	66%75%						
Middle income	46%65%						
Low income	24%38%						
Blue-collar workers	50%						

#### RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

	Nixon's percentage of vote								
City dwellers			. 10				 ٠.	.38%	.53%
Suburbanites					1		 	.48%	.64%
Small-town vo	ters						 	45%	63
Rural voters .								.44%	.66%

#### Safe

Nothing sacred—Nearly 4,000 Cadillacs, including hearses, were recalled for defective axles. Commented a UAW official: "You're not even safe from General Motors when you're dead."

A THOUGHT FROM CBS Newsman Morley Safer (from a talk at the Overseas Press Club): "This administration has carefully planted doubt in this country about what we (the press) print or show or say. It has not been a casual, accidental thing . . People who practice the big lie cannot stand the smallest truth . . . The truth? Agnew and Richard Kleindients

. . . The truth? Agnew and Richard Kleindients and Melvin Laird have done for the truth what the Boston Strangler did for the door-to-door salesman."

The Center for Science in the Public Interest wants additives to be listed on the labels of alcoholic beverages.

A report by the researchers said that from 1964 to 1966, forty seven people died because brewers were adding a pinch of cobalt to beer to make the head thicker.

Since cobalt wasn't on the label, doctors couldn't figure out why generally healthy 'beer drinkers' were having heart attacks.

Unemployment was almost three times higher last year than official government figures showed, according to the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty Subcommittee economists found that 15,000,000 workers, (more than one out of every six in the national workforce) cannot make a living by working.

The researchers compared government unemployment figures to a 68-volume special survey made by the Census Bureau in 1970 in the slum areas of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington, and 45 other cities. They found that the government figures fail to include three groups of workers in need of jobs:

1. Workers who have got so discouraged at not finding work that they have dropped out of the labor market.

Part-time workers who want and need to work full time.

3. Workers with full-time jobs whose earnings put them below the government's poverty level of \$4,000 for a manily of four.

The first two categories alone, according to a United Electrical Workers study, bring the national jobless rate to at least 10%. The third category would make it even higher than the 17% estimated by the subcommittee, since the U.S. government Bureau of Labor Statistics says that a family of four needs more than \$7,000, not \$4,000 per yearr to maintain a "lower level" standard of living.

The Administration particularly hushes up the massive unemployment among black people, who make up a large part of the population in the areas covered by the Census figures.

This cover-up in the employment figures is not new with this administration either. A similar study by President Johnson's Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz in 1966 found very similar conditions.

The government's false unemployment figures don't just help cover up a big problem. They also cut down the amount of money it has to pay out in unemployment benefits, even to workers it officially admits are unemployed.

In each state, these figures determine how many weeks of benefits an eligible worker can get. States with official unemployment rates below 6.5% cannot get federal money for 13-week extensions. In July unemployed people in New York, California and other states lost these thirteen weeks of payments because the misleading figures indicated that they were not plagued with high unemployment.

#### The Press

**Nuclear Beer** 

Jobs For All?

# More Years

by nacla

(north american congress on latin america)

The Watergate affair keeps raising more questions than it seems to settle. As one traces the personalities and their connections to various groups, a configuraion of the real political forces begins to emerge which challenges our accepted notions of national politics; that of two political parties contending with one another; that it was a moment of Nixonian overeagerness (a sin that Nixon has long suffered from: overkill) that ordered this act of political espionage answers too little, in fact hides the forces that were behind this act. Looked at another way, many of the more lurid aspects of the case become commonplace and fall in line, in fact, appears as a part of an ongoing system. What begins to stand out is the normal mode of operation of the bipartisan business coalition (see box) which sanctioned the act. The act revealed, rather than concealed, a certain desperateness, a fear that McGovern, if nominated, could unleash forces that would unseat this bipartisan business coalition with dire consequences for their interests.

We must not forget the timing of the bugging: McGovern, winning primary after primary, was begining to look like an unbeatable force inside the Democratic Party, putting together a grass roots organization which operated outside of the established Party structures of political control, and what was more, was defeating candidates who would be accepable to the coalition, Humphrey, Muskie, Jackson. What was not acceptable was the possibility that Kennedy or any Kennedy-backed man with any charisma at all might win the nomination. McGovern not only seemed appealing, he seemed to have the organizational know-how and practical ability to speak to and rouse forces which were not content to operate through the established channels of power, with its convenient arrangements. He was rousing youth, Blacks, Chicanos, peace people, women who were going out and getting out the primary vote. They were raising issues challenging the ongoing system that the force Nixon represented had entrenched, rerousing those very insurgent forces that the Nixon years seemed to have quieted by downgrading, withdrawing poverty funding or outright repression. And the very extremity of the Watergate action implied that this new force constituted a viable danger to Nixon's power and the power behind Nixon, that of the bipartisan business coalition.

Watergate embodied only one tactic in a much broader stop-McGovern strategy. Over the past year Nixon's chances had been looking good. The last remaining obstacle of a GOP victory was the emergence of a charismatic candidate from the Kennedy organization. This had to be prevented by any means necessary, including covert action. To look at this covert action as an aberration is wrong. It is organically connected to the aims of the bipartisan coalition and an accepted mode of operation. Certainy, the quality of life in Washington alone, where anyone with a job of any degree of sensitivity is under surveillance, indicates that spying is a common mode

of life.

Conflict in U.S. party politics, over the last decade, has centered around the ambitious Kennedy organizaion. Nurtured by an independent fortune and utilizing charismatic figures, the Kennedy machine has

repeatedly threatened the political hegemony of esablished business groups. It successfully challenged the power of these groups first inside the Democratic Party and then secured a run for the presidency. Since the political process is the medium through which business controls the government, the Kennedy organization was able to challenge established business control of the White House, that vital command post for regulating the national and interational economies. The groups who benefited from Nixon's leadership are in no mood to put up with another threat from the Kennedy machine.

To counter just such insurgent threats, the esablished business groups organized themselves long ago into a bipartisan coalition. The groups agreed to place their common economic necessity to control the White House ahead of party loyalty. Unity behind their representatives in both parties would guarantee their dominance and limit the power of insurgents backed by the independently wealthy. If by chance such a maverick should secure the nomination in one party, the coalition members would cross party lines in order to win the election.

Nixon was the overwhelming choice of this coalition for the 1972 election. He had served its interests faithfully and "deserved" another term. To insure his victory, the coalition would engineer the nomination of a phantom opponent in the Democratic Party. Nixon would then sail through the election and the myth of the two-party system would be sustained.

Inside the Democratic Party the coalition frontman most favored was Hubert Humphrey. Humphrey (of whom LBJ had said, "Boys, I've got Hubert's balls in my pocket") had proven his loyalty to the business group as LBJ's VP. He had defended the commitment to the war in Vietnam. Humphrey was financially dependent on contributions from the Minneapolis, Texas and Jewish banking groups (all part of the coalition); he was entirely predictable, despite his liberal image. In 1968, he owed his political life to Johnson and his nomination to RFK's assassination. He even offered the vice presidential slot on his ticket to the rock-ribbed Republican, Nelson Rockefeller. His backers knew a Rockefeller would swing GOP coalition members behind HHH and sew up the election. But the Rockefeller-led coalition stayed with Nixon. Humphrey went down to defeat.

In 1972, the power of the bipartisan coalition inside the Democratic Party was seriously weakened by rule changes coupled with a concert Kennedy-McGovern drive for the presidential nomination. Anxious Nixon backers set about hatching an elaborate set of coningency plans to stop the growing insurgent effort.

Their principal source of anxiety was Senator Edward Kennedy. In the event of his nomination (or anyone equally as formidable) it appears very drastic action was contemplated. In a forthcoming book, a nine-year Los Angeles undercover agent, Louis Tackwood, describes the formation of "Squad 19" by the LA police Criminal Conspiracy Section and the FBI.

The plan entailed planting a number of agent provocateurs both inside and outside the 1972 (San Diego) Republican Convention. Agents were to infiltrate the groups planning demonstrations against

the war and poverty. At the time of the demonstrations, these agents were to provoke street battles with police surrounding the convention hall. Meanwhile, agents inside the convention hall were to plant explosives timed to blow up concidental with the riots in the streets. The purpose is to kill a number of delegates.

The result would be to create a nationwide hysteria that would then provide President Nixon with the popular support necessary to declare a state of National Emergency.

Orders came directly from the State Department of Justice, District Attorney Evelle Younger, on these special squads.

Richard Nixon would then arrest all militants and left-wing revolutionary and cancel the 1972 elections. He could invoke special emergency powers leading to the detention of political activists. Martial law would be achieved.

By May, the Nixon staff realized Kennedy wasn't going to run. At the same time primary results showed George McGovern, Kennedy's less menacing ally, overtaking the coalition's Democratic Party representative, Humphrey. To bolster HHH's chances, the Nixon staff activated a less drastic contingency, intelligence gathering. They were bent on securing embarrassing material on McGovern through less public sources and more sinister means—espionage. Any ultra-sensitive operation like this would require the sanction of the bipartisan coalition—Democrats as well as Republicans. The details were left to the operatives but the idea of using political espionage had to be approved.

The trick was to gather support for such clandestine operations from Humphreyites without jeopardizing pre-convention power inside the Democratic Party. More than simple embarrassment was stake; exposure about Nixon-Humphrey complicity to stop McGovern would certainly doom HHH's chances, weaken Nixon and reveal the real nature of politics in America: that it isn't bipartisan in the accepted sense and that the financial strength of this business coalition is so overwhelming as to make a mockery out of the two-party system; further, that the Democratic Party's commitment to social change.

However gradual, is not only a farce, but is being abandoned. There was obviously another fear: that, in fact, the perceived interest of the majority of the electorate lay with McGovern.

Faced with this problem, the Nixon staff probably reasoned that if Humphrey backers were willing to actually finance the espionage work, their loyalty as well as absolute silence would be guaranteed. A readymade vehicle for accomplishing this delicate task existed in the form of a super-secret Nixon slush fund.<sup>2</sup> One purpose of the slush fund was to hide the names of contributors. It could cover other secrets as well. Among the donors were the traditional fat cat Republicans paying their dues for past business favors or future promises. The ITT handout is typical of such deals which, if exposed, cause much embarrassing publicity.

The fund was put together in late 1971 when Congress passed a new Federal Election Campaign Act requiring the full disclosure of \$100-and-over

donors. This Act, however, was not to take effect until April 7, 1972, providing the Committee for the Re-Election of the President (CRP) with a convenient opportunity to rake in large untraceable sums. A high-powered White House team, composed of staunchly conservative, full trusworthy Republicans, was put to work specifically for this purpose under the leadership of White House hatchetman Charles W. Colson, Attorney General John Mitchell and Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans. The immediate operations officers were recruited from a White House elligence team of so-called "plumbers," originally used by the Administration to plug leaks to the media.<sup>3</sup>

For four months, from December 1971 through March 1972, this special fund-raising intelligence squad collected at least \$10 million in secret conributions. It assembled, in effect, an enormous slush fund quite similar to those other ventures so characteristic of Nixon's career. The squad set up one discreet operation under the cover of a small Washington public relations firm, Robert R. Mullen & Co.<sup>4</sup> Its offices are conveniently

located across the street from the White House and down the block from the CRP.

Hand-picked to run this quasi-public make-shift slush fund operation was E. Howard Hunt, Jr., a leading CIA spook. Hunt painstakingly erected 75 to 90 secret conduits with such Nixonian-fantasy names "Supporters of the American Dream." This whole set-up resembled a classic CIA structure, from the use of a public relations

outfit as a front to the channeling of untraceable funds through fly-by-night conduits.

Certainly, in choosing Hunt the White House had selected not any old CIA agent but an embodiment par excellance of the spook generations. Since 1949, he had climbed up through the ranks of the CIA. He specialized in supersecret covert operations in Latin America. His advancement ran parallel to the expanion of the Agency and its development into the most powerful weapon for constructing the U.S. Empire. It appears likely that Hunt's rapid rise slowed down after the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, that massive CIA failure for which he served as chief operations officer under the code name, "Eduard." President Kennedy's refusal to save the mercenaries by sending in U.S. troops infuriated the invasion's organizers and aggressive supporters, who included the former vice president, Richard Milhous Nixon. From this point on, it appears that Hunt and Nixon's careers were inextricably entwined.

It is important not to be mused by the more covert and glamorous aspects of the intelligence community, particularly the CIA. U.S. intelligence operations really come into their own after the outbreak of World War II, when the business groups needed a coordinating and tactical agency directly under their control to secure and maintain a world empire. Other established agencies (like the FBI or military involved elligence) were not able to fulfill this function because of lack of direct corporate control, provincial bureaucracies and Congressional scrutiny. So the

continued on page 89

#### The Nixon Coalition

Nixon, Business Groups, and the Bipartisan Coalition: As a representative of the small but expanding Los Angeles group, Nixon's rapid advance rested on forging an alliance with the bigger Eastern financial groups. In 1952, he was placed on the Eisenhower ticket by the primary groups, particularly Rockefeller, to strengthen Republican relations with the South and Southwestern secondary interests. He was almost dumped after the famous slush fund scandal because inter-primary-secondary group relations were still weak, untested and ill-defined.

Nixon lost the 1960 presidential election for the following reasons. The Eastern primary goups, led by the Rockefellers, were reluctant to fully back his candidacy because of his secondary origins. Besides, JFK was viewed by the bipartisan coalition as a reliable representative of their interests and not an independent threat. Therefore, he received some

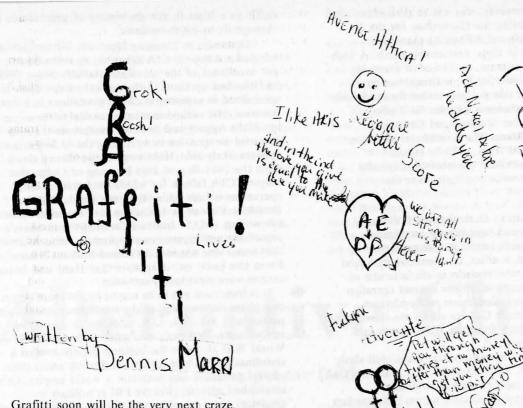
primary support and significant secondary backing from the Texas, Florida and Mineapolis groups. In effect, Kennedy"s minimum support from non-Rockefeller primary groups, his large assistance from many important secondary groups and charisma constituted a winning power combination.

After JFK took power, business groups were dissatisfied with some of his policies, particularly the Bay of Pigs fiasc, the Civil Rights movement and the CIA overthrow oppose any future Kennedy candidates.

Nixon"s resurrection began in 1963 when he moved to New York and entered a Wall Street law firm (Mudge, Rose, Guthrie & Alexander). While retaining the Los Angeles connections, he worked to broaden his base among the Eastern primary groups, particularly Rockefeller, as well as other regional groups. The revamping proved extremely successful. The coalition of groups behind his

1968 campaign included all the primary coalition of business forces ever assembled.

That combination is reflected in the Administration"s key appointments. For instance foreign policy has been relegated to Henry Kissinger, a long-time Rockefeller associate who hardly knew Nixon before the election. Mitchell also had the Rockefellers' blessing for Attorney General since Nelson had worked closely with the bond lawyer in Albany. On the secondary side, the Texas group was accorded its due reward with the appointment of John B. Connally as Secretary of the Treasury. Florida's George Smathers, retired from the Senate, now lobbies for several industry. The latter received its largest government subsidy in history under Nixon. Smathers still pulls a lot of weight and keeps the channels open to organized crime which has shown tremendous growth over the last ten years.



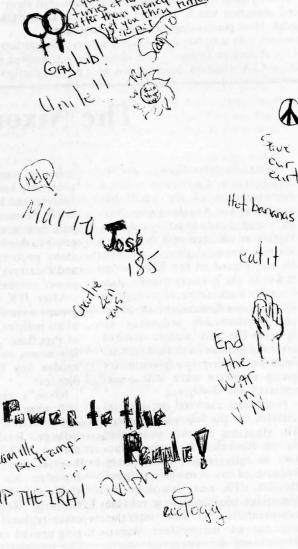
Grafitti soon will be the very next craze. Women's liberation, gay liberation, ethnic exaltaion, and now the children of the Sixties are beginning their revolution.

What have children got to feel oppressed about? Symmetry, that's what"One hell of a nerve", I hear them say as they spray a new deluxe subway car. "One hell of a nerve", as they zig-zag a lane across the previous white-tiled station wall. "Order", cries Nixon, Lindsay, the middle class, and the middle age groups (20-60). "Neatness" is the value system of the prosecution. "One hell of a nerve" the conservative color tones, the depressing boring oppressing ads, the windows with nothing to look out at. Neatness and order are proportional to your objective and priorities.

The babies of the Sixties were given a renewed promise of freedom; a promise made every generation from antiquity to the present. But there is nothing new. Grafitti is just another craze that will go through the stages of being unacceptable, avant-garde, in vogue, popular, corny, traditional, ancient.

But why the subways? Why grafitti? What is grafitti?

Grafitti is painting without a frame. Grafitti is as colorful as the expense account of the artist permits. Buy a kid your favorite colored magic marker, though he'll probably still use **his** name as the subject matter, like the famous "Taki-183", who made the Daily News. All art is a self-expression. An artist embodies his feeling in a signature. These modern artists just use their signatures. The street address number is only to give credit where credit is due, without the mayor and his police pointing the finger of scorn at a particular Taki (I imagine Taki has been pinned out, but the more common names are impossible to trace). I mean, there's no sense in leaving your full name and full address so the pigs can bust you. Is there?



And why not your name? You don't have all day to draw. You probably don't have more than one color to doodle with. And a Madison Avenue ad man might come by any minute and chase you or call the Man. And the people of the system say, "The advertisers pay for space, why not kids?". Yet the kids have only playgrounds that close at dark. "The taxpayers pay to keep it clean, why should the kids deface it?" But the kids have no say.

All famous artists have been put down. Most die and are not acclaimed until after their bodies have rotted. Will society always be as nearsighted? Probably.

"Neatness' is not a criteria for art. Neatness is functional, art is just art. Neatness is the value system of the literate who want to put all thought in a logical line. Art is not logical, although it may use logic. It may have aspects of locical, linear, boring order; people may look to make sense out of everything but no one has yet succeeded in rationalizing life.

I apologize if grafitti offends anyone. But the beat goes on. Any change always indicates a change in a value system which most people spend their time growing up hoping to establish permanently. But the times they are a changing, as they always are. So if your not busy living, you're dying, growing stale.

The revolution of the Dr. Pepper generation has its roots in an educational system emphasizing reading and writing and ignoring film, videotape, dance, feelings, music. School is still irrelevant. The few token changes would have been appreciated by the graduates but those in school now have been brought up in an even faster paced environment with a more feeling and reactionary hero image. No wonder apathy is in the air, the fucking war is still going on. Marijuana is so common you could pass a cop and forget you're smoking. Whats more the cop might not get upset, yet the supersystem still deems it taboo.

Grafetti is ignoring the bullshit. "Express yourself' It certainly ain't hurting no one. As a matter fact its probably making sense out of the world to the artist doing it.

Making sense out of the world is the purpose of the 'next' lovers—the self acclaimed literate. But the problem is, if something, like grafetti or longhair or loud music or soft music don't fit in then the unterstanding is not under enough. They didn't make enough sense out of the world. Dualities contradict literate comprehension. Opposites only exist because of each other therefore the set of opposites is merely two ends of the one. There is no difference between birth and death except in your outlook. The modus operandi then is to find the sameness, not look for distinctions.

The grafetti artist amazes me when he puts a line on the wall, thru the windows, advertisements and on to the seat. My itemi of 'different' characteristics of a subway car indicate how I precieve dualities in my outlook. The artist however has related them all. Even so far as to incorporate another plane by drawing thru the seats on to the floor. This seems a disgrace only if your the system. But my god, why do they have windows in the subway? Why should the corporations be the only ones to use the space. Because they have

money? That's not good enough. Free enterprise is a dream most get caught in. Children are not even offered the chance.

Slowly and with a lot of opposition, the subways are being painted with the fervor of a Michalangelo painting the Sistine Chapel. The technical accomplishent of it will be determined by the degree of harassment, the quantity of paint available, and the amount of time allowed. (you'll notice that local trains are more extensively covered by the grafitti artists, especially in manhattan around cultural lincoln center.)

Grafetti is predominant in the subways for the same reason ads are—it's boring. The whole mass transporation problem could be solved if the subway ride was more interesting. Air-conditioning, heat, and express trains make it bearable. Newspapers and books make use of the time. The next step is to become attractive. The neatness and ads are not attractive; they enhance nothing. What the subway needs is inscense, color and music, as well as some comfortable seats. Transportation is a function but it could just as well be a social event as the airlines have it.

The prohibiting factor is again money. Airlines are for the upper class. The subway is for the working class and the kids. Grafetti is an economic way of

"Graffitti is just another craze that will go through the stages of being unacceptable, avante-garde, in vogue, popular, corny, traditional and ancient.

interior decorating since the artist doesn't ask for pay and usually supplies his own paint. If it were socially sanctioned you could have all styles which would at least partially please the conservative close-minded.

Murals on the sides of city buildings are in the popular phase. They are more popular because they are better defined —still existing inside a f—with usually simple compositions which are easily recognized and rationalized. But as soon as all buildings have murals the frame will be so microscopic as to be undefined and we will be living inside of an ever changing painting. This is where the subway grafetti is starting.

Grafetti has been around a while. And it certainly doesn't look like the kids are all of a sudden turning into Rembrandts, with easals and pallets and studios and patrons. The artistic thing to do is to take advantage and exploit the avenues now open. We always say children have the intuitive sense of beauty that we tend to lose with age. 'It takes a genius to see the obvious'. Most of the opposition to the grafetti-art is the 'sloppiness', simplicity and ease. The puritain ethic of anything worthwile is only achieved after intolerable work is the same complaint heard in the early part of this century by the modern artists, especially Pollack.

The question is not 'why do I live' or 'why art' or 'why graffetti' the question is 'why not'.



## by michael rindone

"O believe as thou livest, that every sound that is spoken over the round world, which thou oughtest to hear, will vibrate on thine ear"

Just by walking or standing anywhere messages are sent to us. Revelations from within or without. Within can give the impression of within the body or more appropriate in this case within the soul. But, the soul can be a part of a total soul or God which is without and have a piece of this soul present in all bodies to guide them. Example: while eating lunch today, last terms Geology Professor sat and ate with me. Strange that this should happen on the day I received my transcript in the mail and noticed that the grade I had received for Geology was not correct and reminded me that I had to look into it. Though it took me hours to realize this, it finally came to me, and at that point I realized why he was there. The time will come when realizing everything's meaning will be simultaneous with the message.

This feeling of everything meaning something started about 1969 when I was deeply involved in tripping, and started formulating patterns and reasons for this re-occuring phenomenom. During the first year it was O.K., but the second year started getting me down for this reason. New York City is a very confusing, mixed up place. Can you imagine walking in the Village trying to find a reason for everything you were going through. Trying to figure out exactly what everything meant. Every word, sight, emotion, etc. that you caught. It was getting crazy. So I limited my experiences to country environments and musical concerts

or personal playing only, and eventually ceased turning on through drugs entirely. After a while I realized that these messages were still and always present only a little easier to cope with now being able to pick out one and decipher its meaning instead of methally wrestling with a hundred all at one time.

How many times have you known the personality of someone just be standing next to them? How many times have you felt uncomfortable somewhere and didn't know why, but you just had to leave.

These are all examples of Self-Reliance, Relying on the vibrations that your soul receives and transmits to and from your body. Did you ever notice that happy people seem to glow and have an aura around them that definitely is not present around a grumpy, grouchy person. The reason for this is simple. Just as the internal atomic structure of a mineral is reflected in/on its external shape and features, the internal vibrations of people are reflected through their bodies and into the air aound them giving each individual a different appearance and consequently a unique personality.

Emerson appeared on the scene years after I had speculated these happenings, and while reading his work I only found a few thoughts that were completely new to me and on the whole was just agreeing with his ideologies. I always felt that whatever I was experiencing was not fantasy but reality on a higher level. I also believed that everyone was subjected to this reality as frequently as they were willing to accept it. This brings to mind another of



Emerson's quotes: "To believe your own thought, to believe that what is true for you in private heart is true for all men—that is genius." Self-Reliance.

Whenever a feeling inside tells you that what you are doing is best and you truly believe in this feeling, don't change your mind due to the power of external forces, unless the change is in coherence with your soul and there are no invading forces present. Sometimes if the feeling is too strong it can prevent constructive alterations. The problem here is that how do you know when it is better to accept change than to avoid ti. The only answer that I can arrive at is this one: LET IT BE! Whatever the outcome in the total end of whatever it may be that is being sought after, is the right outcome.

"Do that which is assigned you, and you cannot hope too much or dare too much." Self-Reliance.

In other words just hang out, don't think about what you are supposed to be doing because what you're doing is what you should be doing. Dig? If you break your new toy, then it was destined for it to be broken, and the reason is one that will be beneficial to your existence, in some weird way. Even if at the moment it seems that only an act of the devil could have performed such a terrible feat.

Sometimes I just don't feel like doing anything or think about what has to be done. But the reason for this is hazy to me. NOW let's get away from me. Me is only a definition, a title given to my body, and does not include my soul, or does it? When you do something wrong, who is doing it? Is it your body, soul or a combination of two.

The body acts or reacts on the mind's command, Right? Then why can't your mind allow your body to fly. One answer can be that the aerodynamics of the human body at this stage are too unproportioned for flight. Then let's consider something a little easier like...walking through a wall. The entire material world is composed of atoms. If we could only become aware enough of the position and presence of all our atoms, then it might be possible to interweave our bodies with any tangible object in existence.

The problem here lies in the mental awareness and confidence of the mind. Whatever you believe you can do you can do, to a certain extent. e.g. believing that your body can survive after a knife was pluged through your heart is foolish because you are defying a biological law. On the other hand, any mental conquest can surely be achieved through meditation, concentration, and an immense amount of perseverance.

To get back to the original and first question asked, If your body is your soul, then there would be no afterlife, because the sould would be with the body. There is definite proof of the spirit or soul. When looking into someone's eyes what is it that we are looking at? The pupils are hollow. They are not tangible and therefore cannot be held, yet we see them. What is it that we are seeing, and where is it? Is it in the body, or is it in the cosmic universe exposing part of itself through its temporary container. I believe the latter to be the truth being that my pen just wrote it without the consent of my mind, a true revelation.

# Justice and Jane

#### by randy scelza

In the early fall of '72, anti-war activist and actress Jane Fonda came to SICC to speak to the students about the Vietnamese War. The actress was conf ronted with an overwhelming reception from the students when she approached the microphone to deliver her speech.

Although the event did not go off exactly as planned, it turned out rather well. As she got into the topic about Hanoi, a bomb threat halted everything temporarily to continue on forty minutes later in the quadrangle. A huge crowd surrounded her in the quad as she stood up over the platform to look down on her audience.

From a recent visit this summer in North Vietnam, she explained that the U.S. Government is destroying a culture of people that have lived and flourished within a 4,000 year history. As we continue to bomb the country, we are strengthening their will to survive. Jane Fonda feels that Nixon doesn't realize that the Vietnamese are living within their heritage and culture and have developed a strong united front of resistance to counteract invasions and preserve this history.

After a weeks visit in Hanoi, Jane has learned that, "in North Vietnam everything is linked together: nature, peoples' lives, their work, resistance and culture. This is how the Vietnamese with a broad united front; a front that wouldn't frighten anyone away. The only way the Vietnamese could be happy was to rid the country of a puppet government and U.S. Forces. It is we who are the patriots and Nixon who is betraying the American Ideal." Now that Nixon has been re-elected, he will be re-defining patriotism and our country's history.

Basically what Jane Fonda and other anti-war activists are pointing out is the fact that the U.S. Government is using the policy of containment to keep a sphere of influence in Indochina. "There is so little we know about the country and its people and yet Nixon continues to lie and deceive Americans every day! Nixon is making us believe that Vietnam is two separate countries and that the more we fight the less chance there is of Communist takeover. Nison is lying

to us and we must force him to end this war!"

The theory of containment has been accepted in this country since 1948. The working class is beginning to realize that the U.S. Government is using them and the Indochinese people in war factories and on the battlefield as time and labor to continue absorbing profits on Vietnam's resources. Finally waking from their dormancy, they're beginning to realize this and they're speaking out against such injustice. The U.S. Government, like Hitler's scheme in WW2, is comitting genocide on a scale so large and expensive than man has ever known throuhout the scope of history!

The Indochinese struggle is a monetary war; a war that the working class youth is fighting so that big business can keep up their profits. The ruling class is using the Indochinese people and their land to mainain a foreign policy of economic aggression. As Jane puts it, "The damage done to Vietnam in just ONE day is equivalent to the damage of FIVE Hiroshimas done back in 1945!"

After speaking with Vietnamese in media, playwrithers, poets, political figures and by observing their way of life and attitudes, Jane has learned that these people are not what the U.S. Government has made them out to be. The people have progressed in wiping out illiteracy, developed a system for flood control (dikes), and protecting the people and land as much as possible from US military invasions.

She feels a streak of passion for these people, and can't believe that the U.S. Government could torment them so long for economic reasons! "If I cried every night in Vietnam I didn't cry for the Vietnamese. I cried for the Americans! It's phenomenal for us who are sleinated from our past to see people who are at one with their culture and history and who are living beyond themselves. When you a society which is geared to bringing out everthing that is best in people you learn that people aren't evil! I wouldn't support any politician!"

As she continues on her political crusade, Jane Fonda is urging Americans to force Nixon to end the

Vietnam conflict. "We have to force Nixon to end this war! Force him to put an end to this Vietnamese War!" Hand gestures and a strong eagerness in her voice tell her audience that within the last 2 decades, the American people have lost control of their governent. "From the McCarthy era, the minds of the people have been put to sleep and it is only now that these minds are beginning to wake up and look around them! We've been to the gap between the people and their government is unbridgeable: Americans have been put under a hypnotic spell over the last 20 years and now these sleepy minds are beginning to wake up and look around them! We've been to certain parts of this country where people are so afraid and confused that their heads are a different shape!" Jane is extremely determined at this time to make the people force Nixon to end the Indochinese conflict and grant them "Complete independence and freedom from the government. The Vietnamese will not settle for anything less than this and are only asking the government for COMPLETE freedom and inpendence and NOT interference!"

Some people mock and critize Jane Fonda for being active in politics and carrying out her present camaign. Having met her and seeing what type of person she really is I found her to be totally different than her critics make her to be. She's sincere, unselfish, and determined.

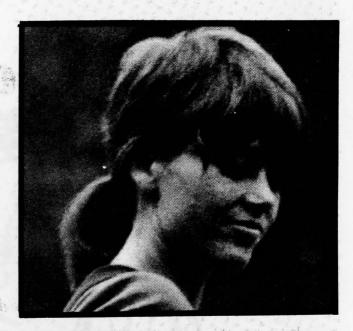
This woman deserves a hell of a lot more credit than she's given. She's trying to do more to end this war than our last 2 presidents did within their administration. The thing that struck me as strange is that she feels she's wasted a life-time.

Her acclaimed role "Barbarella" gave the young activist a reputation among the public which she fought to overcome. "I never thought of myself as sexy. I'm just an average woman and I don't have any particular confidence about the way I look. I never thought of myself as beautiful, because I'm not. So I went from a position of not having anything to do in my life except a lot of energy to being stereo-typed as a sex symbol and feeling weird about it. When my child was born I was a different person and at that time I began to turn outward from myself and saw Vietnam."

Jane has dropped her acting career temperarily so she can devote all her time and energy to the movement. She travelled around the country getting to many people, conducting peaceful demonstrations and anti-war rallies, lectured on various college campuses and is presently working side-by-side with the Indochinese Peace Campaign. "Right now the Vietnamese are carrying out the longest and most successful offensive of the war. They are showing that Nixon's Vietnamization program has failed.

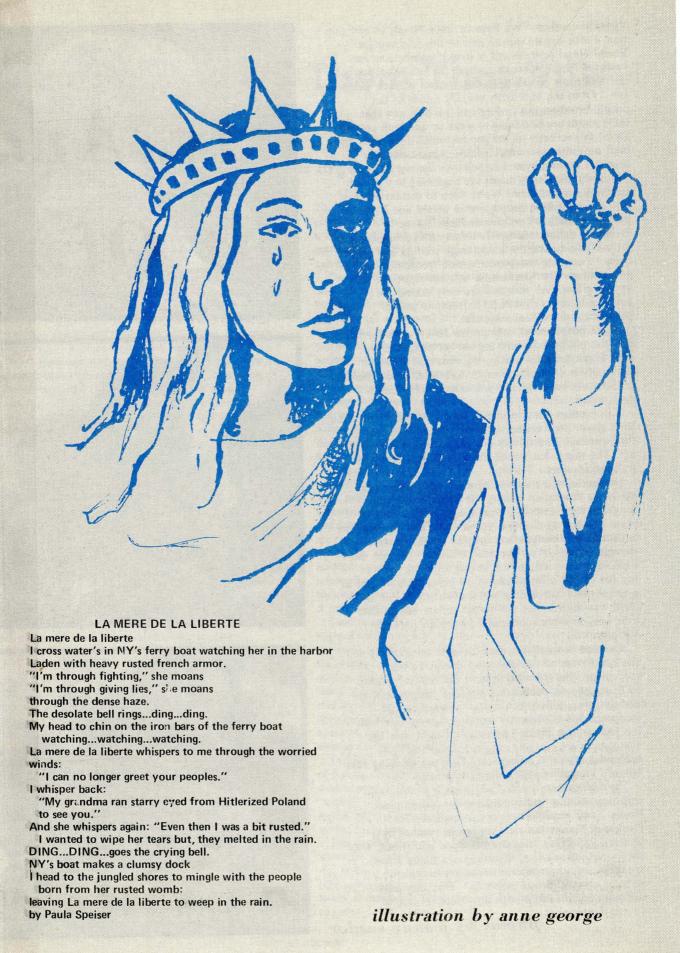
The Indochinese Peace Campaign is a non-profit organization that is campaigning for Vietnamese Peace. Their headquarters are located at 156 5th Avenue in Manhattan and they can be reached by phoning 255-0726. They are equipped with films, slide shows, leaflets, various literature and many guest speakers and other material necessary to organize a rally or other anti-war activities. They can provide all different organizations with any material free of charge if interested.

photos by joanne seador









# Life, Liberty, And The Pursuit Of...

by loretta argue

# "... this nation which so nobly claims to have been built on freedom was in reality founded on slaughter, slavery and exploitation."

The Statue of Liberty, which majestically greets millions of foreign visitors and immigrants to the shores of this nation, is the physical embodiment of how the United States portrays itself to the world. The United States depicts itself as a benevolent, "freedom loving" nation founded on the principles of "liberty and justice for all." It perpetrates the myth of abundant affluence and wealth for all of its people who are showered with the blessing of "democracy. When it admits to the existence of some inequality and racism, it is dismissed as the remnants of "old, wrong ideas" held mainly by dumb Southern whites which are gradually dying out.

The true history of this country and the reality of how it was built from a small nation into a world power has been conveniently distorted and ignored by our "benevolent" government. The annals of history, however, have only to be examined to shatter these myths and expose their falsity. This nation which so nobly claims to have been built on freedom was in reality founded on slaughter, slavery and exploitation. Racism rather than being the mere product of inividual attitudes was sanctioned and institutionalized in this nation from its inception. The abundance of wealth rather than being enjoyed and distributed

equally among the people is centered in the hands of a priviledged few.

The history of this nation from its very foundation has been one of brutality and injustice against all people of color. The founding fathers of this "freedom loving nation" committed the most barbaric and atrocious crimes against the Native Americans (whom they gave the derogatory name of Indian and savage, the same as they gave the black man the name of Negro and nigger) and this period is described as a "great pioneering age" and the "taming of the west."

White men stole the land of the Native Americans and called it their "private property", destroyed their means of livelihood by exterminating the buffalo, committed wholesale massacres and slaughters and herded the survivors into detention camps called reservations. These reservations were a forerunner of the modern "ghetto." This country has a long history of forcing its "undesirables" into distinct and separate areas. In these reservations the forefathers of this nation destroyed the culture and traditions of the Native American and subjugated him to become dependent on the White man for survival. John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the Roosevelt administration described the fate of the

Native Americans once the other white conquerors were driven from the continent by our "noble" forefathers.

"When the Spanish, Dutch, French and English were gone from the continent there remained only one expanding empire, race-prejudiced and with a boundless land hunger. The former policies toward Indian societies and Indianhood became reversed, a policy at first implicit and sporadic, then explicit, elaborately rationalized and complexly implemented, of the extermination of Indian societies and of every Indian trait, of the eventual liquidation of the Indians, became the formalized policy, law and practice."

The attempted liquidation and near genocide of the Native American race was the first necessary step in the building of the American empire. The Native Americans possessed the basic necessity for the creation of an empire-land. All of the insane racial prejudice and hate directed toward the Native American had one motive and one motive only—the acquisition of his land. The "pioneers" sought to justify their crimes by inventing elaborate theories of how the "redman" was inferior by nature. This is an age old strategy used by whites, not only in this nation but throughout the world, to vindicate their aggression against non white peoples. By classifying non whites as subhuman and inferior, the white man is free to pursue his "economic interests with a clear conscience. During the 19th century one of the main justifications for imperialism was ethnic superiority. This policy was termed "the White Man's Burden" after a poem

written by Rudyard Kipling. Kipling advocated that it was the moral duty and natural right of the white man, as the superior being, to conquer "uncivilized and "savage" nations of the world in order to "uplift its new caught sullen peoples." He classified non whites as subhumans "half devil and half child."

In this nation whose Declaration of Independence declared that "all men are created equal," Native Americans were called savages, and black people are called niggers. Evidently the term "all men are created equal" was only meant by our founding fathers to apply to those having white skin. The Declaration of Independence also proclaimed that "all men . . . are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness." This proclamation was somehow overlooked by our "freedom loving forefathers" when it came time to draw up the U.S. Constitution. This document, regarded as sacred by our historians, was nothing but a declaration written by racist men declaring freedom for themselves while sactifying and protecting that "peculiar institution" known as slavery.

Art. I, Sec. 2 established the policy that in counting population for the purpose of determining the number of representatives a state might send to Congress, all free persons and "three-fifths" of all other persons were to be counted. Thus a slave was regarded by these "noble and just" men as only three fifths of a human being.



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Art. I, Sec. 9 forbade the Congress from making any laws restricting the slave trade until 1808.

Art. IV. Sec. 2 provided for the return of runaway slaves who had escaped to other states seeking refuge.

While our nobel forebearers were preaching liberty and freedom, they were guilty of the most ruthless system of human exploitation, the enslavement of over 40 million Black people. At this time one sixth of the nation consisted of black slaves.

Black people were subjected to this condition of complete physical servitude and exploitation for exactly 78 years after the U.S.C onstitution (adopted Sept. 7, 1787) declared "all men are created equal." It took 78 years for this nation supposedly founded on liberty to adopt some token semblance of the freedom it preached. During the Reconstruction Era the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments were enacted.

The 13th Amendment abolished physical slavery and involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime.

The 14th Amendment declared that all persons born or naturalized in the U.S. are citizens of the U.S. and the state of their residence. It also declared that no state shall deprive any person of "life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

The 15th Amendment granted all citizens of the U.S. the right to vote regardless of "race, color, or

previous condition of servitude."

In 1875 the first significant civil rights law was enacted by Congress. Theoretically it d'clared, "all persons . . . shall be entitled to full and equal enjoyment of the advantages, facilities and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters and other places of public amusement." However, there is an enormous gap between theory and practice. The enforcement of these newly acquired constituional guarantees became totally dependent on the extent to which it was politically avantageous to the Republican Party and the Northern industrialist. Black people soon discovered that it was a major legal battle to simply acquire a seat in a "white" restaurant or buy a ticket to a "white" theatre.

The ink was hardly dried on the Civil Rights Bill of 1875 when eight short years later it was erased by the Supreme Court. The High Court in 1883 declared the Civil Rights Bill unconstitutional. The Court interreted the Fourtheenth Amendment as forbidding states not individuals from discrimination. It still remained illegal for any states to violate the rights of Black people; but, if private citizens or a group of them (for example, the Ku Klux Klan) within a state actively prevented Black people from exercising their rights, then the crime came under the jurisdiction of the state in which the crime took place. Thus, if the KKK or any individual citizen was arrested, for instance in Mississippi, for a crime against a Black man, then he must be brought to trial before a Mississippi court. Considering the court system at the time and the method of selecting a jury this decision was equivalent to a judicial farce and an instant acquittal.

In 1896 in the case of Plessy V. Ferguson the doctrine of racial separation and classification became the law of the land. The Supreme Court ruled that segregation did not constitute discrimination and that

State laws requiring "separate but equal" accomodations for Blacks were a "reasonable" use of State police power. After this display of classic American justice, scores of Jim Crow laws were passed by law abiding citizens. Blacks and Whites were forcibly separated in every walk of life. In public transportation, sports, hospitals, orphanages, prisons, asylums, and even in funeral homes, morgues, and cemeteries. All of these inhuman crimes were made legal and an established part of "law and order" by the highest court in the nation.

During the 1890's the South also focused its attention on subverting the Black man's newly won enfranchisement. Recognizing that the balance of power would be greatly upset if blacks exercised their right to vote, Southern whites attached certain qualifications to voting. These qualifications assumed the form of literacy and property tests and poll taxes. In order to ensure that these qualifications did not exclude poor whites from voting "understanding" and "grandfather" clauses were adopted. If a man's ancestors voted on or before a selected date, for example 1866-a date on which unfortunately there were no Black voters-then he could escape the other provisions. Or, if he was white and illerate, then he surely had "good character. However, if a man was black then he had to meet the stringent literacy and property requirements. These devices proved to be very effective. In 1896 for instance, there were 130,344 Black voters in Louisiana. Two years later, after the adoption of a state constitution with a "grandfather" clause the number of black voters dropped to 5,320.2

Black people again learned that there is a world of difference between what is guaranteed and what is practiced. Although the Fourteenth Amendment constitutionally insured their rights as citizens and exended to them the full protection of the law, it was precisely through the law and the courts that they were deprived of "life, liberty and property." Black people were told that they were free, yet they could not eat, sleep, walk, ride, work, or play or even die where they chose. If they attempted to exercise their "freedom" they were subject to arrest, imprisonment and lynchings at the whim of the white man. In a country which so ardently preached liberty this is a strance conception of freedom. The Fifteenth Amendment guaranteed all citizens the right to vote. Yet, through the American judicial system masses of Black people were systematically deprived of this right.

In 1954, Fifty-eight years after the case of Plessy V Ferguson, the Supreme Court in a display of rightousness reversed itself and concluded that "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place." A year later, the Court ordered public school desegregation "with all deliberate

speed."

Consistent with the history of this nation "all deliberate speed" has meant that at present in 1973 full desegregation of public schools has still not been achieved. Although progress in desegregation has been made since 1957 when troops from the 101st Airborne Division were called out to escort nine black children to school in Little Rock, much still remains to be

In analyzing racism is this country it is not only

vital to recognize it as an institution sanctioned by the government, but also to consider what segment of the population has derived the benefit from it. From the time the first slaves were brought to the shores of this nation in 1619 to the present, those who have reaped the benefits of racism have been the wealthy, dominant ruling class. In the days of physical slavery the ruling class was the wealthy plantation owners who owned slaves and exploited them for their labor. It was the plantation owners who first invented the doctrines of racial inferiority and divested the black man of all sense of identity with his African heritage. Their motives were purely economical. Just as Native Americans were butchered and massacred for their land, black men were enslaved for their labor. This

#### "... those who have reaped the benefits of racism have been the wealthy dominant ruling class."

was the second essential step in building the American empire. First it was necessary to acquire land and secondly the labor necessary to transform the land into a productive state. At present this nation has been transformed from an agrarian to an industrial nation. The balance of power has shifted accordingly from the plantation owners to the industrialists.

This nation is theoretically ruled "by the people" and its government consists "of the people" and governs "for the people." However, nothing could be further from the truth. This country is governed by a small minority of wealthy industrialists (about 0.5%) of the population) who own and control 85% of basic industry, communication and transportation and thus dominates the US economy. The "public officials" who are elected by the people govern entirely in the interests of the industrialists who in return reward them financially by generously contributing to their campaign chests and bank accounts. A primary example of how the "public officials" govern for the benefit of the businessmen is the tax situation in this country.

The same Congressmen who publicly denounce, for the benefit of their constituency, the unfair tax burden carried by the people conspire to help the industrialist, particularly the oilmen, escape with token payments. In his last debate before the Senate, Senator Paul Douglas declared that "a charwoman earning \$55 a week paid more in income taxes than an oil company whose income was \$26 million." The basis for this inequity is the oil depletion allowance which became law in 1926. It excuses petroleum produces from taxes on 27½ percent of their income on every barrel of oil they pump out of the ground. This loophole brought other lobbyists to Congress and at present almost 100 minerals get some depletion allowance.

In 1966, Standard Oil of New Jersey claimed to have paid \$740 million in taxes. Yet the facts are that the top 22 oil refiners combined only paid \$585 million in taxes. The same 22 refiners in 1964 paid only 4 percent of their gross income as US income tax. In 1966 they only paid 8.5 percent as compared to 20

percent paid by wage earners and small businessmen.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the average workingman who slaves at a job from 9-5 every day shoulders the major burden of taxes while the rich industrialists enjoy special tax priviledges. It is not very difficult to see in just whose interest the "public officials" govern.

Since the wealthy, dominate ruling class has become the corporation and big business it is precisely they who reap the rewards of racism. Racism is a powerful weapon wielded by the ruling class to keep blacks and whites divided so they cannot recognize the true economic situation in this country. The ruling class uses the age old strategy of divide and conquer which has proved to be very profitable in the past. By fostering animosity and fear, the industrialist cause workers to regard each other as competitors for employment and enemies rather than focuse their attention on the bosses who economically control their lives.

Racism has been used effectively in this manner since the Reconstruction period. W.E. Dubois in his book "Black Reconstruction in America" analyzes racism during Reconstruction and describes how it was used then as a weapon by the ruling class.

"The Negro was subject to public insult, was afraid of mobs, was liable to the jibes of children and the unreasoning fears of white women and was compelled almost continuously to submit to varous badges of inferiority. The result of this was that the wages of both classes could be kept low, the whites fearing to be surplanted by Negro labor, the Negroes always being threatened by the substitution of white labor."

The answer to the race question lies in the recogniion by both blacks and whites that their interests are
exactly the same. Whites must realize how they have
been brainwashed into accepting a racist doctrine that
serves the interests of the big corporations. Blacks
must recognize that racism on the part of whites is the
result of years of indocrination by the ruling class.
Racism will only be conquered when blacks and
whites become politically aware of the economic basis
of racism and understand how they are commonly
exploited by it. Then and only then will they unite in

# "Racism will only be conquered when blacks and whites become politically aware of the economic basis of racism."

solidarity and attack their true enemies—the wealthy industrialists and "public officials" who control the government of this nation.

#### **FOOTNOTES**

- 1. Rose, Thomas—Violence in America, A Historical and Contemporary Reader. (N.Y.) p. 72. 1969.
- 2. Bennett, Lerone—Before the Mayflower, History of the Negro in America. (Maryland) 1962, p. 235.
- 3. Drew, Pearson,-Jack Anderson, The Case Against Congress". (N.Y.) 1969. p. 125

# The Rise and Fall of the Twentieth Olympics

#### by karl blei

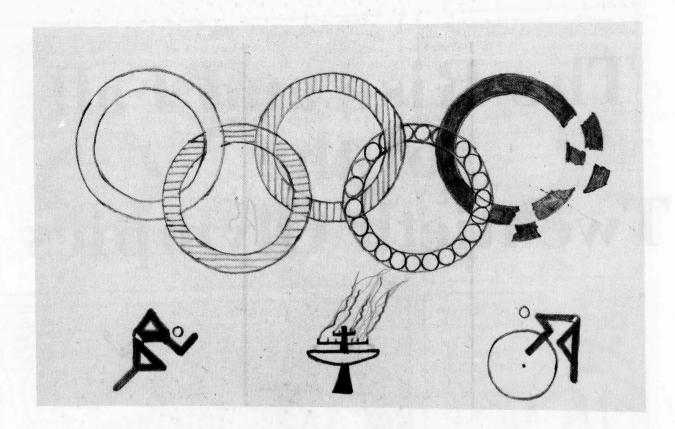
A couple months ago, the Twentieth Olympiad closed. During the fourteen or so days of events, we witnessed terrorism, murder, bad judging, unfortunate injuries, disrespect, bitterness, cries of 'being robbed,' and the perversions of world politics going on in a place and on an occasion that is supposed to foster the ideals of world peace and understanding. Probably the majority of the students in this college have no real interest in what occured there, but if one really thinks things over, one would see all of the bad scenes that went on there. Some of the worst deeds were done by our own athletes. If we are supposed to be one of the most humane and responsible countries in the world, we are very sick indeed if we can still declare our 'righteousness,' even in light of some of our immature and back-handed actions. A lot of people seem to think that the Olympics are just childish games meant to bring in a lot of bread to the host city (which it does anyway), but that is not what it should represent. It is, or was, supposed to represent the ultimate expresion of man's utopian dreams. But it is still susceptible to the idiosyncracies of everyday life. And those common, daily hassles are something we put up with in our own local neighborhoods.

One of the first things that comes to mind was the fact that this year's Games were held in Germany again. Face it—one would think that all the bad things that happened during the Hitler regime would have given them second thoughts about holding it in their country. In 1936 we saw, and felt, the full brunt of

Hitler's hate, with the goosestepping and the gaudy monuments to the Nazi power structure. But the crazed dictator feared us—calling the U.S. team the 'Black Legion—because of the phenomenal successes of one of our 'brothers,' Jesse Owens, who easily defeated the best that the Aryans had to offer. Then, after the Games that year, the Nazis executed their policies of torture and destruction until they were finally eliminated by the Allies in 1945. After that, it is said, that the Germans became a changed people.

They made a good showing of it this year. To show their sincerity they used the theme 'Serenity' for the Games. It was a ploy to make the masses forget about the horrors of the past. Ironically, Dachau was only 15 miles away, and the site itself was built on the location of an old airfield where, thirty-five years before, an English statesman with an umbrella in his hand and dedicated to 'Peace In Our Time,' signed away half of Czechoslovakia to the whims of the Nazis. The stadiums were done in the latest architectural styles. the coloring was done in pastel shades of green, yellow and blue instead of red, white and black and the opening ceremonies were something to remember with joy, not disgust. The exhuberance of the crowd and the sheer beauty of the spectacle that the Germans and the Mexicans put on were something to make people hope, dream and wish for better times. But that delicate bubble was about to be burst by the murders, the cheap, petty propaganda and the poor sportsmanship.

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Somehow it seemed that everyone was trying to undermine the Games in Munich even before they were under way. It is a pity that all those countries, including ours, voted to oust Rhodesia. It just shows how hypocritical they really are. Every country, with no exception, has its own prejudices towards one minority or another. It is really funny to hear the cries of "Rodesia is racist!" when Kenya and Uganda are deporting Asians to purify their race, and South Africa is running on the worst apartheid policy in the world. Tell me, are they ACCEPTABLY racist? It takes the courage of that single athlete from the tiny, free state of Basutoland, who escaped from the hatred of South Africa to represent a deserving country and show the other countries how foolish they really are.

After that problem was shoved under the covers, the murders in the Olympic Village really blew everything wide open. Everyone forgot that the Germans were a changed people from the days of World War Two and started in on their actions taken in running the Games. I am very ashamed of some organizations in this country that like to bring back the horrors of their time in the camps just to use it as cheap propaganda meant to smear the German people. Trying to tell these people that Nazism is dead just seems to fall upon deaf ears. Then they complain that Arabs were allowed into the Games. Two things must be said: 1) there is, and shouldn't have been, any restrictions on who competes in the Games, and; 2) They hired workers randomly and from all over the globe. I could

have worked there. In their quest for international representation, however, they did not think that such actions would be taken by such a group as the Black September Gang.

The rest of the story is pretty well known about the kidnapping and the eventual slaughter of the athletes. I don't care how cold-hearted one may be, but I am sure that everyone was shocked and turned off by such an irresponsible group. It must be mentioned, however, that the German police agencies did their ultimate duty in attempting get the Israelis back safely. They did their best. Again, our American elements said that they shot carelessly and deliberate-Ly They do not heed the fact that their own beloved Golda Meir is quoted to have said that she gave the orders to shoot no matter what lives were lost. All of what happened was really unfortunate. There is a return of the stigma on the Germans again. And it strikes me probably deeper than other people about the murder of the Israelis because one of my friends, who I used to meet at the Academy of Sciences in the city, was one of the athletes cut down by an Arab bullet. His name was David Berger and, before he moved to Israel in 1970, he had told me he was moving there "to get away from all the hatred and the violence here." And now he's dead

If anyone was really following the Twentieth Olymics as I was, you would have noticed that, aside from the terrorism, the other idiosyncracies of everyday life

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were creeping into the Games. Some of the worst judging that I have ever seen went on. Little League corruption is piddling compared to that at Munich. In the diving competition alone, the Italian, Russian and East German judges were marking consistently a hundred or more points different from the other judges at the end of each competition. This is not hearsay, but pure fact. The trouble is that judging is a science, but human nature overrides it. At least the judging could have been done by judges other than those represented in that particular events. The opiion that this one diver is handsome, or the one girl gymnast from Russia is so cute, or that an inexerienced boxer puts on a wild show doesn't mean that the particular competitor is good nor is her or she deserving of a medal because of that particular

Following that line of discussion, we should not forget to mention our own country. From the third day of competition until a week after the Games ended, our coaches, announcers and so-called experts were crying that we were 'being robbed' of medals. Sure, that basketball game was crooked, Jesse Valdez should've won that last one, and Micki King should have gotten the gold, but what can you do about it? Of course Jim Ryun's fall was so very unfortunate, but look at our 16-year-old competitor whose gold was taken away because he had to take medicine with one-millionth of a gram of stimulant for his asthma since

Now we must decide on the future of the Olympic Games. With all the troubles that occured in Munich this year, some have suggested that they be abolished. It is rumored that they gave the Winter Olympics to Denver in '76, just so that the U.S. could finish it off altogether. Avery Brundage, the outgoing President, is known to have wished the Winter Games to be abolished and the Summer Games to be reformed. The topic of professionalism has been brought in lately. "They say the Russians have been doing it lately. Why can't we?" So some people here say "Why not? Let's bring in the Knicks and U.C.L.A. and pay them big bonuses and really cream the competition!" Unfortunately that would destroy the bubble called the Olympic ideal. Not only that, the people who advocate professionalism would only be cutting their own throats in the long run. All their best professionals in boxing and basketball, for example, came from the Olympic Games of past years. Why beat your head against a wall crying for reform? No one else does. We are not so self-righteous as to be in the position of criticizing others.

Looking back over these past few weeks of competiion, not only athletically, but policitally, one can really see the insurable mess that we are in. In the future there will be more murders of Israelis by Arabs, and vice-versa. There will be more Vietnams. The world can still be destroyed by the push of a button.

# "...The games will never achieve 'World Peace' in our time or any other..."

the day he was born. Is there anything one can do about that either? Are we that gold-happy? Or are we crying because we didn't take notice that the other countries were getting as good or better than us while we were gloating in our own high and mighty glory? We know better than that, don't we? I'll tell you. Look at the bad shape we're in now. Not only are we getting bad in sports, but it seems that we cannot do anything else right either.

Which now brings us to the point of disrespect. The Olympic Games foster certain lofty ideals, one of which produces the best athletes in the world. One of the other ideals is good sportsmanship. Now that is one thing that everyone can do a big spiel on, but is it right for one of our swimmers to openly express his greed for more medals, the cries we made about our being robbed or the derogatory remarks made by two of our athletes, one of whom, lucky enough to win a gold medal, swung it around his wrist like someone out of the flapper era? I can hack what other people's opinions are, though I may not follow it in pracice—but I RESPECT their opinion. But sometimes it just pays to keep your thoughts to yourself. And, especially in the case of the Olympics, with all its lofty ideals, it doesn't give anyone a good impression, and they will definitely disavow your beliefs. You will be forgotten.

With all that hanging over our heads, the most we can do is ride it out, with an occasional spurt of effort here and there. The games will never achieve 'WORLD PEACE' in our time or any other. The memorial service was touching, and it was supposed to prove that the good old Olympic Ideal is 'stronger than terror and violence,' but that ideal just doesn't seem to hold up any more. The stark realities of everyday life still pokes through and rips everything apart. The beautiful show that our boob tube provided for us was merely a successful mad grab for those nonsensical ratings that mean the life or death of the stations. It is a dirty business, as all businesses are full of corrupion, and trying to fool us by their 'live coverage' that happened five hours before.

Life is difficult, very difficult, for all of us. We put up with all the hassles that life and hard times put upon us, or at least we should. The Olympics that have just passed most of us by were just another hassle—to some because they missed their Friday Night Movies and to others because the bad scenes were really destroying their minds. What have we left to hold on to? The only thing that is left is the wild impression of an inflatable, dayglo plastic rainbow. Gather around the rainbow and sing and dream and hope and pray for better times.

To have health and energy it is essential to obtain enough protein daily. Protoplasm, the basic substance in our cells, is protein; in fact we are largely composed

Despite this many people, even those with enough money, do not eat adequately of the protein-rich foods. Protein malnutrition is widespread throughout the world, by virtue of both poverty and ignorance. Even in rich America.

People on a limited budget can greatly improve their protein intake by working into their diet soybeans and low-fat soybean flour, cottonseed flour, wheat germ, brewers yeast and non-instant skim-milk powder. THE NATURAL FOODS COOKBOOK by Beatrice Trum Hunter, is paper at 95c, has many recipes for using these foods.

Protein is counted in grams. Active adults require at least 50 to 70 grams per day; usually more if health has not been good or great energy is being expended. Many other factors enter into this and tend to push the figure higher than it was years ago.

By the cupful nuts contain about 15 to 20 grams of protein, sunflower seeds (super food) about 70, soy and cottonseed flour about 50, wheat germ (very perishable) about 40 and brewers' yeast about 100. We use the latter nowever, by the spoonful.

To give you a further idea a quarter pound of lean meat, fish

or fowl has about 20 grams, milk 32 grams per quart and an egg about 6 grams. Cottage cheese has about 35 grams per cup.

Some protein foods are termed complete; other incomplete. The protein molecule is made up of various combinations of amino acids, usually considered to be 22 in total number. Of these at least eight must be obtained through food. The others we can manufacture in our bodies. The amino acids contain the carbon, oxygen and hydrogen found in carbohydrates plus nitrogen and in some cases, sulfur.

When a food contains the eight essential amino acids in balanced proportions it is classed as a complete protein. Of those set forth above all are considered complete with the exception of some nuts and milk powder. Other incomplete protein foods are the legumes such as peanuts and other beans (with the exception of the soybean), most prepared cereals (especially the dry varieties which have almost none) and most commercial products made from flour such as baked goods and macaroni.

Grains, and the products from them, are classed as carbohydrate food but if whole and fresh offer good protein, too. Brown rice is a staple that fits into this category. Heat, age (especially after grinding) and the removal of the germ or bran reduce their protein quality. Most other vegetable protein is incomplete. Animal proteins, in

general, contain more of the essential amino acids.

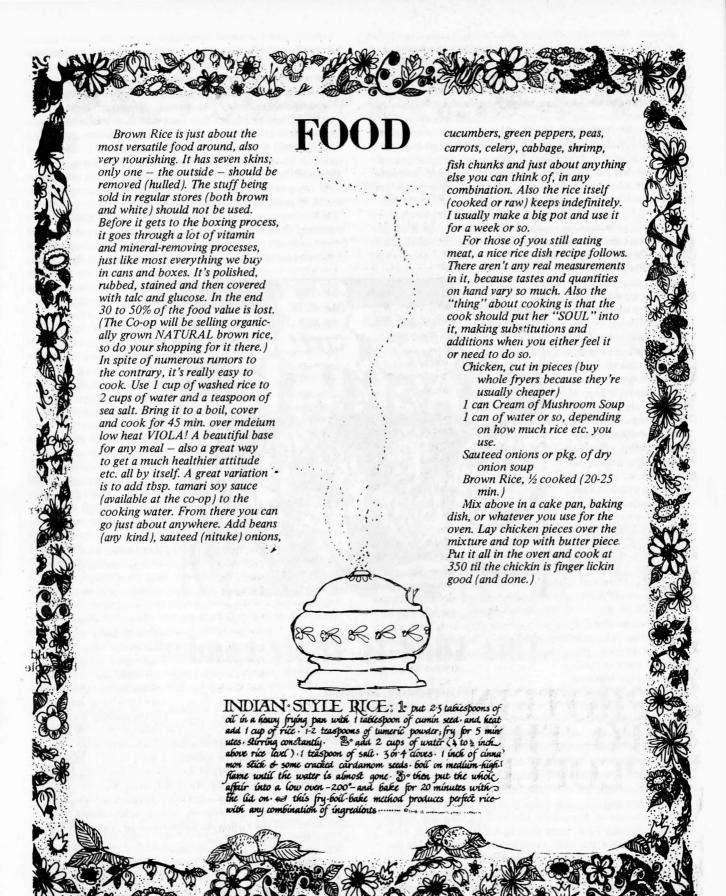
It is helpful to know, however, that by combining several of the incomplete (or less well balanced proteins) at one time, the result can be a meal quite balanced or complete in protein. It is essential that these be eaten at the same time, however.

Raw greens contain especially valuable amino acids which help to balance or complete the proteins of seeds, nuts, legumes or grains. Because cooking, perhaps necessary for other reasons, harms the protein in foods of animal origin, raw salad also greatly helps to ensure its balance and completeness. So there are sound reasons for our intuitive yen for salad with our steak.

Salad greens are also valuable because their enzyme systems are intact, hence they break down and digest easily. The minerals and protein they contain help with overall protein digestion and the bulk or cellulose they provide is an important factor in good illumination. In other words to shit well eat properly.

It is also interesting to note that chlorophyll, the green material in plants, is similar to hemoglobin, the red substance in animal blood. That includes ours. In both cases they are a molecule of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen atoms grouped around a single atom. In plant material it is magnesium; in blood it is iron.

### PROTEIN TO THE PEOPLE



The wheat field is ten miles long. There's a machine—one colossal machine—harvesting the wheat, rumbling toward the setting sun on tracks which keep it from compacting the soil. A helicopter sprays pesticide on the adjacent soybean field. Another helicopter circles, scanning crop conditions, transmitting data to a computer. Two men sit in a bubble-topped control tower, watching the instrument panels which surround them. The lengthening shadows of three giant skyscrapers—skyscrapers filled with cattle—fall on the men. In these nearly fully-automated structures they (the cattle) are fed various chemicals, fattened, killed, processed, and packed into cylinders for shipment by monorail to the Cities, which are, presumably, where all the people are.

This is a picture of the American farm in the year 2015, as sketched by U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) specialists. To them it is irresistibly appealing: ten whole miles filled with

great amber waves of grain. Yet the implications of their vision are chilling: environment ruin, nutritional famine, wrenching social dislocation. Who will own this futuristic farm? What will be its economic and environmental costs, and who will pay them? The government's crystalgazing agronomists cannot be relied upon for answers. But already, at every link in America's economic food chain. vast transformations are at work which provide some exceedingly disturbing cluees. We can begin with an implausible assertion and a surprising fact.

(1) When we think of land reform, Asia, and Latin America immediately come to mind. Things like the break-up of enormous "latifundistas" in steaming banana republics. Most

of us think that such land reform is generally a good idea. But what most people would find pretty hard to believe is that the indispensable condition of sound agricultu evelopment in America is land reform—right here in the fields of California, Mississippi, Maine. But consider this: (2) if you are the "average American," you eat a less nutritious diet today than you did ten years ago. (The Department of Agriculture admits this.) Only one half of American families have "good diets by USDA standards. How many more yearsof this kind of progress can we afford? The fact is our, thinking about large-scale concentration in the economy of food has been dominated by the wrong agricultura cliche: it is not reaping the benefits of efficiency; it is sowing the seeds of disaster.

The general trend towards control of our food and land by a number of large "agri-business" corporations has received a certain amount of attention. But considering that the "food and fiber" industry is America's biggest business—accounting for almost a third of all private employment and nearly a fifth of the entire GNP—agri-business has managed to arouse very little interest and debate, much less serious opposition. Indeed the process of concentration has been so swift that there is remarkably little awareness of just how far it has already gone.

By 1958, the U.S. Food Marketing Commission classified 80 percent of the food industry as being under "oligopoly" control. Some samples: 95 percent of all prepared soups are sold by Campbell Soup, four corporations make 85 percent of American breakfast cereals.

On the farming end, in 1969 just 2 percent of U.S. farms made 30 percent of all farm sales, and 5 percent made more than half. One percent of U.S. feedlots now handle 52 percent of our beef, and 90 percent of all broiler chickens are bought up by five com-

panies.

Food corporations continue to swallow up direct competitors, extending their "horizontal" expansion (as when one retail store is taken over by another, or a canner by a canner). But, even more significant, they are striving for "vertical integration." "total food systems" which encompass every step from farming through processing. Distribution and relating. And in recent years, huge conglomerates (like Greyhound. ITT and Tenneco) have been heavily diversifying into the food industry-particularly into farming.

Tenneco, roughly the

30th biggest U.S. in-

dustrial corporation,

although a fairly new en-

try into agri-business,

could be considered the

vertically integrated food

corporation par ex-



### This Land is Their Land

by larry casalino

cellence, with its stated aim of controlling food production "from seeding to supermarket." In 1967 Tenneco acquired Kern County Land Company, California's third largest landowner. Three years later it took control of Heggblade-Marguleas. The nation's largest marketer of fresh fruits and vegetables. Tenneco also owns J. I. Case Co., which manufactures, among other things, farm machinery, and the Packaging Corporation of America, which manufactures food containers.

So Tenneco plows its own land, fertilized and sprayed with chemicals from its own chemical division, using its own tractors fueled with gas and oil from its own oil wells and refineries. The food is processed, packaged, and distributed by Tenneco subsidiaries. Tenneco is presently attempting to develop its own national brandname (Sun Giant) for produce, which it intends to sell at "premium prices." Tenneco doesn't have its own super-

market chain yet. Unlike traditional farmers, when Tenneco needs capital it can look to its other operations for help: Tenneco is also busy searching out oil off the coast of Southeast Asia and is the world's largest transporter of natural gas, building two nuclear-powered aircraft carriers.

Most Americans are not farmers, and probably never get much closer to the source of the food they eat than the deep freeze department at the supermarket. So for them, if agriculture has been replaced by agri-business, what real harm is done?

To begin with, there is the habit agri-business has of slipping poison into one's dinner. As we now know, much of the food these corporations supply has had much of the taste and nutritional value processed out, and has become a witches' brew of potentially harmful chemicals which have been processed in. So that many people find shopping in the supermarket a queasy balancing act, selecting the least deleterious diet they can from alternatives that range from U.S. meat, already banned as unsafe in twenty-one more scrupulous countries, to "fresh" fruits and vegetables which are picked before ripe, then waxed, gassed and injected with implausibly vivid dyes.

Highly processed foods are the hard-sell specialties of the agricorporations. The use of chemical food additives, part and parcel of the rise of agri-business, has risen from a minor phenomenon thirty years ago to become a \$500 million a year business in its own right. It is hardly a secret that, as one marketing spokesman enthused, "The profit margin on food additives is fantastically good—much better than the profit margin on basic traditional foods." Every reader of Sylvia Porter or Consumer Reports knows that the more intensively processed, synthesized and "convenienced" a food, the more exhorbitant its price. But processed foods are not only a source of profit to their parent companies; today's giant food corporations simply could not exist without them.

Wonder Bread may not be the best for you—although you can store it forever, mail it to a friend, squeeze it 'til you can hold a loaf in your fist—but it sure is convenient for IT&T, which owns Continental Baking. It is the heavy doses of chemical additives that opened the way for a handful of powerful corporations to centralize control of food markets in the United States. Chemicals make it possible to stabilize color, texture and other illusions of freshness during the extended storage and transport involved in wide regional and national distribution. Previously food markets had been localized and fragmented by the very nature of the simpler farm-to-table foods. Besides being perishable, they were undistinctive, unpatentable, effectively unbrandable. They provided no basis for the packaging, distribution and promotion involved in national market exploitation.

Along with additives, agri-bueiness has brought an up-surge in pesticide use, which has more than doubled since Rachel Carson's The Silent Spring has published in 1962. Large agricultural corporations (which often have their own holdings in the farm chemical business) are totaly geared to large-scale farming methods that depend on disproportionately larger amounts of pesticides and inorganic fertilizers. They are firmly locked into the familiar vicious circle: extensive use of monoculture (using a field to grow a single crop without rotation), pesticides, and inorganic fertilizers, which together have increased the variety and resistance of pests and impaired the quality of the soil, so that ever greater amounts of even more toxic and costly chemicals are soaked into the land. Agri-business corporations decidedly are uninterested in alternatives like organic ferlizer and biological control of pests. And they are in a position to make their lack of interest count. As a National Agricultural Chemicals Association spokesman candidly points out: "There really is not much

biological control in industry research; they would research themselves right out of the market."

Among the many social costs of agri-business concentration is its effect on the prices prople pay for food. In areas such as breakfast cereals where concentration is far advanced, its inflationary effect is already very clear. And continued growth of agri-business concentrations sets the stage for inflated prices throughout the industry in the future, when the market will be dominated by sufficiently few "competitors" to make possible what is euphemistically called "administered pricing"—in other words the kind of price fixing, both tacit and conspiratorial, that has long prevailed in other highly concentrated industries.

But the question of food prices is problematic in other ways. For instance, when people switch to high-priced processed foods which are often made from cheap imitation ingredients (soy protein for meat or milk), are they paying more for their food or getting more for their money? A large part of what we pay for food goes for such things as advertising, which is neither edible nor convenient. In fact, the food industry spends more on advertising and less on research than any other industry in America. Betsy Wood, of the Consumers Corporative of Berkely, estimates that consumers pay 15-25 percent more for national brand names—an average family would save \$200 a year buying local labels. Are the taxes we pay that go to finance agri-business (in the form of subsidies, credits and special allowances) part of the price we pay for food? And when you consider the poisoning of our bodies and our environment, or the brutal exploitation of farm workers, it's even more difficult to count the cost.

The most direct cost of agri-business power is that it propers at the ruinous expense of the great mass of American farmers. For them the situation is desperate. Half the farms in America had gone out of business by World War II, and shutdowns continue at a rate of 2000 farms a week. The Department of Agriculture admits that the number of American farms remaining by 1980 may be reduced to less than a tenth of what it is today.

It might seem reasonable to conduce that the ability of agribusiness to overwhelm the smaller traditional farmer demonstrates the superior efficiency of its large-scale, integrated mode of operation, and that we are seeing an outmoded economic unit, no longer able to compete, replaced by their farming competence which is dubious at best. What has happened is that agri-business, being more efficient at farming the American people than at farming the soil, has been able to draw upon a fascinating array of lucrative subsidies, which the smaller traditional farmer did not enjoy, and against which he has been unable to compete.

At any rate this is what agri-business would like us to believe. In reality the big corporations have not prevailed by their farming competence which is dubious at best. What has happened is that agri-business, being more efficient at farming the American people than at farming the soil, has been able to draw upon a fascinating array of lucrative subsidies, which the smaller traditional farmer did not enjoy and against which he has been unable to compete.

At least five major subsidies have combined over the years to give its economic edge:

#### THE CROP SUBSIDY

In January this year Senator Adlai Stevenson III's Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor conducted three days of hearings in San Francisco and Fresno. Over and over the Senator heard the same basic complaint: "My government taxes me to the extent of confiscation to subsidize and create favorable con-



ditions for vertically integrated corporations," said Gus Stamenson, for 26 years a grower of almonds and walnuts on 40 California acres. "Give me a \$4 million dollar subsidy and I'll be the most efficient farmer west of the Mississippi."

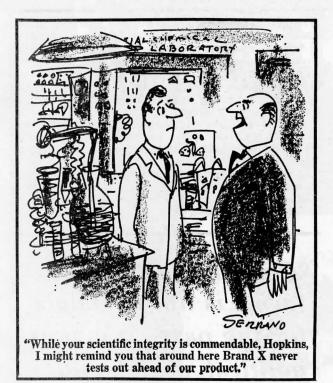
Ronald Reagan, Richard Nixon, and other politicians throughout the country have been very successful in persuading people that welfare is a major problem. They never mention the fact that federal crop subsidy programs cost the taxpayers more than all federal, state, and local welfare programs combined. In 1970 Tenneco received crop subsidies of over a million dollars. California's J. G. Boswell, one of the world's largest cotton growers, received \$5 million.

Welfare is a problem for taxpayers—welfare for the rich. In a recent year 500 large growers in California's Imperial Valley received \$12 million in farm subsidies—or \$24,000 each. Meanwhile 10,000 poor, landless residents of the Valley received less than \$8 million in welfare payments—or \$800 each. George Thayer, a California almong grower, told Stevenson's committee: "I believe we have created the worst welfare system of all times—the welfare system for the corporate farm."

#### THE WATER SUBSIDY

Last summer the Ralph Nader-originated Center for the Study of Responsive Law published a massive, thousand page study titled *Power and Land in California*. The study blasted the California State Water Project as "possibly the largest special interest boondoggle in history." It claims that, when finished, the project will have cost roughly ten *billion* dollars—\$500 for every man, woman, and child in California. Yet economists estimate that the project will return only 50 cents of benefit for every dollar it costs!

Why build such an economically irrational project? Well, some folks do benefit from it a great deal—large landowners, large water-using industries, and developers. A 1959 study by the California Labor Federation reported that eleven landowners including Southern Pacific, Tenneco, and Standard Oil owned 33 percent of the land to be irrigated by the project. Southern Pacific and Tejon Ranch were the biggest donors to the successful 1960 campaign to persuade California voters to approve a bond issue to finance the project. And Bank of America is the biggest holder of the bonds.



#### THE TAX SUBSIDY

There are numerous tax breaks in the IRS cookie jar that may be of benefit to any knowledgeable farmer. The important edge obtained by diversified corporate farmers comes from a number of special tax breaks that enable money expended in farming operations to cancel out substantial amounts of otherwise taxable profits from an owner's non-farming operations. Since the old-fashioned farmer doesn't have any significant non-farming profits, this is of no use to him. But to agri-business companies, which operate in many non-farming industries, this kind of tax shelter has proved extremely lucrative.

In the past couple of years reform moves have been made to curtail the special tax breaks (as well as the inequities) in the crop subsidy program. But corporate ingenuity has found ample loopholes remaining in both these areas through which to make its way. There is little evidence that they have suffered much more from these reforms than the inconvenience of devious legal maneuvers.

#### (THE MYTH OF AGRI-BUSINESS EFFICIENCY)

The fact is, giant farms are not1 more efficient than small farms, even in a strictly economic sense. The government's own studies conclude that all of the economics of size can be achieved by modern, fully mechanized, one—or two-person farms ranging from 100 to 600 or sometimes to 1000 acres, depending on the crop (see Ag. E. Report No. 107, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture). It's worth remembering that "inefficient" family farms have been producing national food surpluses for decades.

Concern for small farms is not nostalgia for the past —it makes economic, political, social, and ecological sense. We have been taught to assume without thinking that big and powerful equals efficient and good. The demise of small farms has profound effects on both urban and rural America. As 2000 farm families a week leave their land, local businesses, schools, and community groups shut down. More people crowd into the cities (75 percent of Americans now live on 2 percent of the land),

where they will be dependent on big agri-business corporations for their food (and possibly for their jobs, housing, etc.). As large landholdings replace family farms, and the cities become even more crowded, rural communities turn into company towns. A 1944 study by anthropologist Walter Goldshmidt compared two farm communities in California's San Joaquin Valley, Arvin and Dinuba. Arvin was characterized by large landholdings, Dinuba by family farms. The differences are striking: The majority of workers in Dinuba were self-employed, while two-thirds of the workers in Arvin were agricultural wage laborers. Dinuba supported twice as many independent businesses and did 61 percent more retail business. Dinuba had many more parks, schools, and community groups, as well as more institutions for local political decision-making.

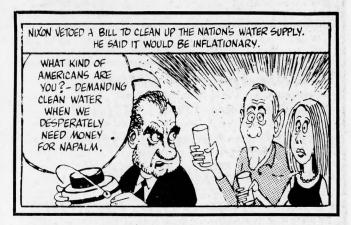
The water is a speculator's dream. It raises land values by at least \$300 an acre. So, if you own 20,000 acres, your land is suddenly worth \$6 million more than it was before California citizens built a water project for you. And the taxpayers pay about half the cost of the water, so you can irrigate your crops much more cheaply.

Agri-business could have tried getting irrigation water even cheaper by pressing for a comparable federal water plan. They were deterred from that route because there's a catch—the federal 160-acre limitation.

This law would go far toward breaking up the large corporate landholdings. But the law has, from the beginning, been flagrantly violated. Jack Henning of the California AFL-CIO estimates, on the basis of his organization's research, that 900,000 California acres held by by owners who own over 160 acres are receiving water from the federal Bureau of Reclamation. Among these owners are the old familiar names—Tenneco, Southern Pacific Standard Oil.

#### THE RESEARCH SUBSIDY

The University of California's Agricultural Extension Service was originally founded to provide easily available local technical assistance to small farmers. Late in 1971 David Talamante of the Tri-County Economic Development Association approached his local Extension "Service" for assistance for a Chicano cooperative which grows strawberries in greenhouses. Talamante was laughed at and told: "If you want to do that kind of farming, why don't you go to Guam?"



This attitude is typical. Nearly all of the more than \$20 million a year of state and federal tax dollars spent by the University of California on agricultural research are aimed at aiding the biggest farms. Some of the University's most brilliant inventions have been machines, like the tomato harvest, which allow corporate farms to dispense with troublesome farm workers. In the bitter grape strike of the late sixties, the University came to the

growers' assistance during pruning season and allowed them to use a pneumatic pruning machine it had under development.

The situation is simple: we pay the University of California for technological development deliberately skewed in favor of large corporate farms. Then we are told that it is technology that makes corporate takeover of agriculture inevitable.

#### THE LABOR SUBSIDY

American Indians were the first to toil as farmworkers in the fields of California. They were followed by Chinese (who were 90 percent of farmworkers in the 1870s), Japanese, Filipinos, and, today, Chicanos. Jack Hanna, one of the developers of the tomato harvester, observed: "I'd seen nationality after nationality in the fields, and I felt that someday we might run out of nationalities to do our hard work."

Farmworkers, who have fed us for many years, are the least protected of all workers by federal and state labor laws. They have no protected organizing rights, and cannot insist on union representation elections or collective bargaining. The government has actively intervened to obstruct the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee's attempts to organize farmworkers. For instance, the Defense Department more than tripled its purchases of lettuce from Dow Chemical subsidiary Bud Antle during the UFWOC lettuce boycott.

Thus the government hlps to provide big farmers with a cheap, easily exploitable labor force. Seven percent of California farms hire 75 percent of the state's farm labor. The larger the farm, the more labor the farmer can exploit, thus cutting costs of production and raising profits. The small farmer has no one to exploit but himself, in competition with \$1.50 an hour wages paid to many farm laborers. And taxpayers pay the welfare costs of keening farm laborers alive between seasons of peak work.

Goldschmidt originally planned to extend his research to include all farm communities in the San Joaquin Valley, but a vigorous campaign, spearheaded by the powerful Associated Farmer, forced him to discontinue his work. To this day, no follow-up study has been done—it's difficult to get research funds to look into the American power structure. But it seems likely that comparable study today would yield even more striking results.

In California, by far the nation's leading agricultural state, less than one tenth of one percent of the farms own roughly 40 percent of the cropland. Tenneco and Standard Oil each own over 300,000 acres of California land much of it agricultural. Tenneco also has vast landholdings in Arizona—altogether it controls a land area more than twice the size of Rhode Island (it actually advertises this in its annual report).

"Food Corporations continued to swallow up direct competitors ...which encompass every step from farming through processing."

Southern Pacific is California's biggest landowner with 2.4 million acres about 150,000 agricultural (originally given to it free by the government to build a railroad). Other big California "farmers" include the 348,000 Tejon Ranch (with a big interest held by the L.A. Times Mirror) and Kaiser with

111,000 acres. In the early 9040s California's largest agricultural landholder with over 600,000 acres was the Bank of America, which had foreclosed on a farm a day during the preceding depression years. Today the Bank of America today the world's largest agricultural lender works closely with big corporate farmers while frequently refusing loans to small farms thus giving another non-agricultural impetus to corporate control of the land.

California is only the most important example of the need for land in the United States. The situation varies somewhat from region to region in the deep South landholdings are highly concentrated, in Maine 12 corporations own 52 percent of the land, in the Midwest things are not yet quite as bad. But everywhere the pattern is the same: land, whether agricultural, timber, urban, is increasingly controlled by big corporate interests.

"Concern for small farms is not nostalgia for the past—it makes political, social, and economical sense."

#### (LAND REFORM IN AMERICA)

The kind of concentrated control of such basic resources as food and land vastly increases the power of a few corporations over the lives of millions of people. Most of us are alienated from land, unlike most people who have ever lived we have pretty much forgotten about it. But there is no more basic resource, none that on as many levels, physical, social, and spiritual so critically determines the dimensions of human life. And the corporations own it.

Land reform does not just mean a return to small farms. It means a radical restructuring of society. Corporate control of land helps force people into the cities and keep them there. Think for a moment about the vast changes in U.S. society if 75 percent of the people did not live on 2 percent of the land you begin to get an idea of the profound implications of land reform. A certain traditional might suggest that the alternative to the USDA farm of 2015 is for "the people" to "take control" of the same ten mile wheat field and the skycraper cattle factories. But the people can never control such things, which inherently centralize power and which point to a world of Super Cities worse than we have today. Ultimately, and reform should not just mean opening the up for people who want to farm, but opening it up for everyone, for communities of farmers and carpenters, poets, printers, teachers, tailors, plumbers, jacks-of-all-trades. It should mean a decentrailized society, in which the countryside is an attractive, healthy place wehre people live and work, where people are able to obtain and make use of simple, durable tools and machines, and independence. If we are really serious about having a direct say in decisions which affect our lives, we will first have to take the basic organization of our society out of the skyscrapers and bring it down to earth.

Larry Casalino works with the Food, Land, and Power Project (contact c/o Institute for the Study of Nonviolence, Box 1001, Palo Alto, California 94302). Stuart Burns and Leah Honea shared in the research for this article.

## Education...

### Is It Worth It?



". . . the kids still believe in education—not, of course, the kind they are being given, but the kind they try to give themselves. They do not know what the good is, but they could find out if others (like their parents, or teachers, or draft board) would stop interfering with their lives.

For the demonstrators, then, the crime of the system is not intelligence, but immoral uses of intelligence."

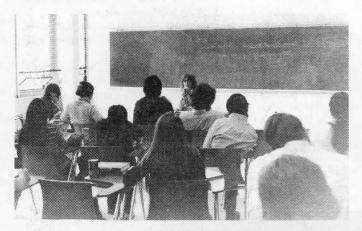
Garry Wills Nixon Agonistes

"... the upper classes. .. approach education as an effective means of social control ... unrest would become a serious danger . . . education would solve the problem. While the rich would remain rich, the lower classes would . . . (turn) away from the wanton destruction of the property of others."

William Appleman Williams Contours of American History

# Conversation Between SICC Students

#### transcribed by the editors





The following is a transcribed tape recording of a conversation between two SICC students and two former SICC students. It has been edited by Advocate.

It's an attempt to look at our educational experience at SICC and analyze it. Advocate feels that so much has been propagandized about this institution that it's about time that the student's feelings about SICC were aired.

We can benefit from other student's experiences. Faculty may learn how to change their methods to better educate students. RAY I began attending Staten Island Community College after working a few years at white collar jobs in the city. After a while, not getting anywhere, doing the same old type of work and lousy pay, I decided to get ahead and go to college. Also it was a thing about freedom, not having to go to work every day 9 to 5, taking orders and all, the same boring job.

**DONNA** I felt the same way working in the hospital. Most of my friends were going to SICC, too.

LORI I was a secretary working in Manhattan and getting nowhere fast.

I was interested in journalism so I decided to quit and go to college for that.

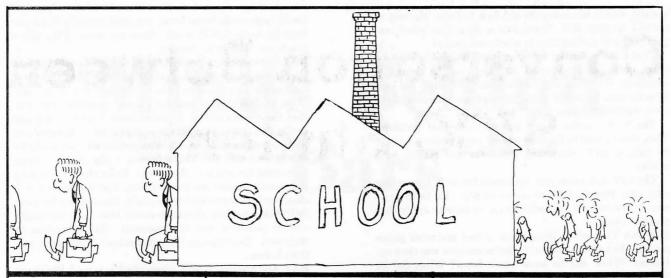
I remember one of the first things I felt was that the courses were just like high school. I was disillusioned.

JOE I was eligible for the draft so college was a better choice.

DONNA The biggest thing I remember was that I thought I was gonna get somewhere. It cost alot of money just to attend: books, fees, carfare, food, you know. Then I had to attend classes the hours the college authorities wanted me to. I had no choice.. I couldn't decide which instructor would be better for me, nothing. The remedial program was tough because they never had adequate facilities, the administration always screwed that program. The classes were overcrowded, and there weren't enough teachers. What kind of atmosphere is that to learn in?

No wonder my friends were always getting stoned. The administration has always tried to get rid of drugs. They never tried to change the lousy conditions, though. At least the people I know haven't felt any changes. And those trailers, my God.

The instructor had trouble teaching 35 to 40 students at a time. He taught from the book and that was that.



RAY And the professors' word was God. They were never

**DONNA** Right, if you couldn't understand anything, forget it. They'd tell you to reread Chapter so and so. That's all.

LORI That was true in every subject I took, too. You always copy notes. Never discuss the material or are encouraged to research anything on your own or in a group, and then talk about it in class. The teacher talks, the students respond. Just like high school.

I got a Commercial Diploma and there were things I was expected to know in college, but was never taught in high school.

JOE I received a General Diploma. I wasn't prepared for anything.

RAY My High School Equivalency Diploma was worthless. What did I know? Either some courses were rehashes of high school, or I knew nothing at all.

**DONNA** They know you don't know anything, so they tell you something and you've got to take their word for it. We never were left to do our own research or even taught how to research the right way.

RAY Like in history or economics. You're taught one point of view. How could a teacher in good conscience teach one point of view in history when they know history is interpreted by each writer his own way. Why not teach history by allowing students to read different interpretations, then come back to class and have discussions. The same for Economics, or Philosophy, or Psychology. That's learning.

I recently did that very thing and for the first time I feel I've learned some history.

**DONNA** The same is true in Anthropology, which ties in with history. It all relates to racism and how some people are supposedly generally taught a racist point of view, though they may not realize it. That very narrow from of teaching one point of view is synonomous with brainwashing.

JOE You've gotta figure that most teachers are educated in the same way we are so it's not surprising the narrow mindedness of the classrooms.

LORII think the classroom could be learning for both student and teacher. Both can learn from each other.

**DONNA** Another problem is that no one in that school (SICC) tells you or gets you prepared for what you're going to face after graduation. Even if you go on to a B.A.

I've seen so many former schoolmates that either got A.A. 's or B.A.'s, or just dropped out, working as telephone installers, in Woolworth's walking floors or checking out, in supermarkets stocking shelves, in construction busting their ass. For what? What was college for? It's waste. Four years wasted. Now they're doing the same jobs thet would've had if they never went to college.

Some people can't find jobs. I've gone through three already, in a year. Most of the time I can't find any jobs I'm trained for.

JOE I was in Civil Technology and I know friends of mine had alot of trouble finding jobs, even with degrees. The pay is lousy, about \$5 to \$6 thousand starting and you never make more than \$8 thousand a year, peanuts.

If you're in a technology curriculum you're not encouraged to take thought provoking courses like psychology or philosophy, say. It seems they've divided students; supposedly teaching some to think and others to work, but actually failing to do either. What a farce. What a waste of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years at SICC for me.

I'm not alone. Almost all my old friends think the same way. It seems our problems are only our own, but you know, just about everybody has the same problems. If we only could have realized it back at SICC and talked to each other about them and tried to do something about it, things might be different now. Maybe this interview will help some students.

RAY Things haven't changed much, either. Still the same old shit. They've got new programs and teachers but that still don't give or help students acquire thinking skills, or annual skills, or get them ready for after graduation. Out of 6,000 students, only 300 or so take these experimental courses. What about the others?

LORI There's a sense in the experimental program that the instructor is still the boss. In most cases you learn new things but still aren't learning how to think for yourself. That's true of the entire college and for all education.

From the first grade on we're constantly told what to do, and to obey. After 20 years of the same type of education that's about all you learn: how to obey orders.

I recently read a book describing what human society was like in the beginning. All people were the masters of their own destinies. That's because everybody owned and worked together on all the land. Then some people or a group or class of people arose that began taking land and slaves for themselves. Only then, the beginning of class

society, was it necessary for the rich to force the rest to submit to their will. There was a class that ruled and profited, and a class that worked and obeyed.

That's the situation we're in now. We as the working class must be conditioned to obey, not to think for ourselves. We must never be allowed to control our own lives because we would then challenge the authority of the rich, controlling class.

The SICC faculty is not dealing with that problem. They could get us to do more research and projects and get us talking and discussing problems and results with others.

The administration just represents the rich. Remember who pays President Birenbaums salary. He talks and writes nice rhetoric, but when it comes time to apply that theory, forget it.

**DONNA** That whole thing about school and work pisses me off. I had a better sense of what economics was then my teacher. What did he know about labor? When did he work in an office or factory? All he knew was what he read. What he taught us was Gross, National Product, inflation, balanced budgets, blah, blah blah.

My education in econimics was the time I went to Majors and saw the shoe bags I made on sale for \$4.00 a bag. I started thingking that if it took me 5 minutes to make a shoe bag and there was 125 minute units in an hour, meaning that though I made the bag, my boss received \$48.00

for 12 bags made in an hour, but paid me only \$1.65 per hour he made \$46.35 profit from my work They don't teach you that in economics.

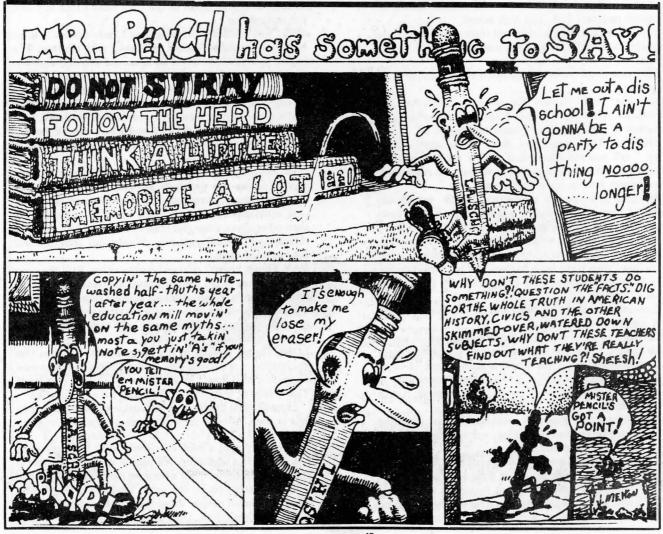
RAY My economics professor used to tell us about the fact that the economy made non-durable goods like cars to last for 5 years or so, so they have to continue produced cars. What he didn't tell us was that the only reason for this is so that the owners of the factories could continue to make profit, like Donna said, off the worker's labor. Without the need to make profit cars could be rproduced that would be sturdy and durable. The economy could produce items that meet the needs of the people. Items that, in the long run, would require less working time. But because the rich class need to control and make profit, this doesn't happen. DONNA Students should demand that they be taught various points of view in classrooms. Also do reading on their own. Even though I'm out of school, I read more now

RAY And discussion with others of what is read. We've got to start to realize our problems are similar, so we've got to get together.

than before.

LORI I'd like to see more faculty encouraging students to do research projects and teach ushowto analyze situations better.

**JOE** The thing to remember is that we can't fight alone, by ourselves, we've got to unite, in school and at work, to fight in order to win.



## Minds Behind Bars

#### by ralph palladino

We students are attending either Richmond or Staten Island Community Colleges, both part of the City University of New York. Most of us are faced with similar classroom experiences and family backgrounds. We have little money and our families don't own much.

For many Open Admissions was a boon, allowing us to go to college. On the surface this new policy is a good idea. Students previously barred from higher education now have a chance to attain it. As a student, I've wondered where this education was leading. How did I get here, why am I here, what happens when I graduate?

I've always envisioned college as a place to learn so one could become a leader in society, not to mention receive a high salary. At big universities this is true...for those with the money to attend them. For students at CUNY, especially community colleges, nothing is further from the truth.

City University had opened its doors to every high school graduate because of the change in the economy of the New York Area. In years past CUNY was the training ground for the limited number of New York teachers and clerical employees. The city needed only so many white collar workers. However, white collar office jobs are now on the increase. What is needed are workers who can read and write in order to handle clerical work, thus the need for a higher education, thus open admissions.

The Citizens Commission on the Future of the City University of New York in their 1972 report states:

"Today, higher education is not a luxury but a necessity for a large number of people. The number of jobs availbable for the unskilled has been steadily declining. In 1952 New York City had 1.0 million manufacturing jobs. By 1968 this total had declined to 0.8 million. In contrast, the number of non-manufacturing jobs grew from 2.5 million to 2.9 million during the same period. As these data indicate, the dynamic sectors of the job market are white-collar. In contrast, blue-collar employment in the city is in decline. This means that the training of technologically skilled workers and professionals is necessary if New York's labor force

is to meet the continuing thrust of the city's economy."

The rates of pay however, will not improve, A Liberal Arts B.A. holder can expect an average wage of only \$7,000 a year, business, sales, accounting and marketing about the same, according to studies reported in "U.S. News and World Rport." A survey taken by CUNY and published in a report entitled "Career Graduated, A Profile", reveals that 75% of the holders of a 2 year A.A.S. degree from CUNY that graduated 5 years ago are making \$10,000 a year and under. (See Table 1)

These salaries are based on present employment and it must be remembered that the U.S. Government says it costs a family approximately \$11,000 in salary to live in New York. Taxes take from 1/3 to ¼ of each pay check as well. Those statistics are based on people able to find jobs.

An article entitled, "A New Generation of Workers", in the August 1972 issue of 'Liberation' states, "Indeed, the two-year community college degree is so meaningless as a source of upward economic mobility that it is estimated that it actually cost the worker money in terms of diminished lifetime earnings as a consequence of the seniority (s)he loses by starting work two years later."! Furthermore, in "Change" magazine, an education oriented publication funded by the Ford and ESSO Foundations, it states, "Leaders of industry view (community) colleges as institutions to provide workers at public expense."

Even as the economy is changing and more jobs are opening in white and closing in blue collar work, it will actually be harder for a New York to find work in the 1970's! (See table 2).

We at SICC, Richmond and the rest of CUNY will have to complete to fill these jobs, if we can find them.

The fate of those at the big four year elite colleges is quite different. They go on to higher paid work that carrys with it power over workers not college trained, or trained at an institution like CUNY. Most of these "future leaders" come from wealthy families and private schools. Certainly not from the public high school system.



We're told what to do the minute we step into grade 1. The teacher represents the boss. We're drilled and drilled from then on so we'll be workers who are used to taking orders. For that reason we are never taught to think for ourselves. Life at SICC and the rest of CUNY is no different. Most students at the elite colleges received advanced studies at private schools as well as in college. The report of the CUNY Citizen's Commission states: "CUNY cannot compete with Harvard or Princeton in education quality."

It's not that Ivy League students are better, we just haven't been given a real opportunity. The idea that Open Admission will lead to greater opportunity and pay is erroneous. As a result, we're headed for our life time jobs with little pay, and no power or control over our lives.

What we learn in the classroom is what businesses want us to as the CUNY Master Plan states: "As a means of insuring that the new curricula under development are relevant to manpower needs, colleges rely on job market studies and statements from business industry or labor. Some of the colleges have standing advisory Councils composed of industry representatives who are consulted when curricula are being considered". Curriculum Committees are made up of faculty, and in some cases students as well, but the Board of Higher Education and the State Board of Regents with the business community make the final decisions on curricula. Our future in the classroom is decided by our future employers. Ma Bell (A T&T) Con Edison, Honeywell, Korvettes, New York Medical College (St. Vincent Hosp. Affl), First National City Bank, John Hancock Life Insurance Co., and others you'll be hearing from soon at the SICC job fair.

It's interesting to note that big corporations and Foundations give grants for educational programs. All of which fade out after the money is spent and the benefactor sucks publicity by "helping

students." ESSO contributed heavily to the now dear department SICC Identity 69 program for servicement at Fort Dix which since has been replaced by a new federally funded program. After publicizing what they did, the program ended. They didn't care about the vest there now who would like to get an education. Ford funded the University Without Walls program at SICC. After getting the publicity, they split and the administration is itching to dump the program and the students. These grants are other ways in which corporate interests control our education. With the grants the foundations draw guidelines outlining how the money is to be put to use.

Jonathan Kozol, author of "Free Schools" says it all in his article, "The Open Schoolroom: New Words for Old Deception" the interests of the state is identified for reasons of survival, with the interests of industrial domination. The school exists to turn out manageable workers, obedient consumers, manipulative voters and, if need be, willing killers." All my life I've suffered from an educational system that's sole purpose is to turn me into a Manageable worker and obedient consumer." Those promises of "equal opportunity," "getting ahead", and Horatio Alger are all bullshit. In short friends, we've been had!

Many students tired of this inhuman, machinelike education have been flocking to the new experimental courses in Circle 73, University without Walls, and Place at SICC and Integrated Studies at Richmond College. The college administrations have attempted to pacify us.

We can take out our frustrations and anger by taking experimental courses for "credit." Never mind that this "credit" probably wouldn't be accepted at another college for transfer, or that President Birenbaum can end all experimental courses at a whim, or that students aren't being helped in deciding careers, or that faculty members in most cases still hold all the power in the

classrooms, or that employers may be reluctant to hire someone with experimental credit. What is even worse, and I would say criminal, is that these students are functioning in a dream world, the Disneyland known as the Experimental College. They are given alternatives and more classroom freedom, but the real world, the one a student must face after dropping out or graduating, hold no real alternatives or freedoms on the job. In all work you're told what to do. The only exceptions are the bosses, bankers, and owners, who give the orders, and their sons and daughters who will take their places. Life for us will be a struggle, and the experimental courses aren't dealing with that. The education system wouldn't dare teach us to struggle and fight back. We have to be good, obedient, and passive little workers.

What we've got to do once we all realize we're being screwed is get together and find ways to win the right to control our own lives, now, and later on our jobs and in our communities. What Jonathan Kozol writes makes sense. "The only forms of educational innovation that are serious and worth consideration in this nation in the year 1972 are those which constitute direct rebellion, explicit confrontation or totally independent ventures, such as networks, storefronts, Free School and the like, which stand entirely outside of the public system and which at all times labor to perform the function of provocateur and conterfoil."

Education will become an experience where students can realize their true potential as human beings and not as machines. If students and workers take control of business and educational institutions and make them responsive to the needs of all people in society, instead of a whealthy few, the private property of the rich minority can become the property equally shared by all. With our present technology, we can free everyone from material want, eliminating hunger, and the need to steal.

Collectively, we can organize and run society successfully

without the need of profits and competition. Jane Fonda recently made a pertinent statement in University Review upon returning from her visit to North Vietnam. "No one will ever be able to tell me again, that greed, corruption, sexism, racism and competition are human nature. I know that's not true anymore. When you see a society which is geared to bringing out everything that is best in people you learn that people aren't evil."

We've got to begin the struggle for our own self determination in school and continue afterwards. It'll be a long, hard road, but we will win.

#### TABLE 1

	% of holders of a 2 year AAS Degree with Earnings \$10,000 and Under	
Nursing	85%	
Electrical Tech	65%	
Mechanical Tech	62%	
Marketing	81%	
Accounting	70%	
<b>Business Tech</b>	73%	
Secretarial Studies	100%	

#### TABLE 2

For every 100 jobs availab	ole in 1968 only:
TYPE JOB	JOBS AVAILABLE
Service	53
Clerical	47
Professional and Technical workers	61
White collar	53
All (including blue collar)	43
will be available in the 1970's according	to the U.S. Dept. of Labor





## Nurses: Rising

by joan bodden

Nurses and nursing students are quickly defying the image of weak, passive females that inexhaustably care for patients who blindly ignore intolerable conditions. At Bellevue Hospital nurses proclaimed October 12, Implementation Day. Fifty nurses picketed in front of the hospital for three hours to announce that in the future they will perform only nursing functions, not those of lab technicians, auxiliary workers, messengers, maintenance and even doctors. The legal background of this action is the Nurse Practice Act passed April after Rockefeller vetoed it in 1971. It states that nurses should perform only those functions they were trained to do and not be forced to do chores outside regular nursing duties. Chronic understaffing in these fields make even minimal patient care an impossibility in all but the rich private hospitals. As one Bellevue nurse phrased it, "We're taking the jobs of other workers; we should have gotten them to

come out here with us, too." Another stated, "The Health and Hospital Corporation talks about unemployment. Well, if we didn't pick up the work of those who're gone because of atrition, the City would be forced to hire more workers."

On October 24, about fifty nurses, doctors, workers and medical students picketed Jacob Hospital demanding more hospital workers and better hospital care. As the New York Nurses Association enters negotiations for a new contract, city hospital nurses are demanding more non-professionals be hired to nurses can perform health services without the speeding up additional duties. The prospect of nurses and other hospital workers rotating throughout the hospital to learn all the different phases of health care is not a bad one; however, under present conditions this is only an excuse for understaffing.

At Los Angeles County-University of Southern Medical

"Under capitalism . . . hospitals are not neutral ground. They are battlegrounds of class oppression, everyday people die from lack of good medical attention, or racist experimentation in the hospitals, and they are all working people.

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Center, a 3 day sick-out by 13 registered nurses won some relief from severe understaffing in orthopedic wards. According to Fred Sharkey, head of the L.A. County R.N. Association who supported the action, this extra staffing has come from other parts of the hospital, which also suffers from chronic understaffing and overwork. Unfortunately, the rest of the workers are divided into many different unions that did not support the action.

In order to succeed in winning improvements in the hospital it is essential to develop working unity within the hospital and the community. A stronger example of nurses leading a militant struggle was Chicago's infamous Cook's County Hospital. On November 2, R.N.'s and L.P.N.'s County lead a strike against the administration's offer of a 3 year contract, that, among other things, would have cut vacation and personal leave time and given the hospital the right to lay off or transfer to another hospital without notice. The nurses demanded a one year contract, bargaining rights, no transfers, no layoffs and a grievance procedure. Of 1,200 nurses only 16 crossed the picket line that was in effect from 6 a.m. to 12 midnight. Most patients were transferred out of the county; striking nurses set up emergency care for critically ill patients who could not be moved. This action was sabotaged by the Illinois Nurses Association; they refused to print picket signs and leaflets which the Social Services Employees Union provided for the nurses. They called off the strike the right before it was scheduled; in spite of this 700 nurses set up a picket line as planned in spite of a court injunction! On Sunday November 5, INA called a meeting to vote on the contract without informing the membership. They lost the contract; in a larger sense the nurses won. They learned that the only way to win was to rely on the workers at the hospital workers not the corrupt self-seeking union "leaders." They learned that the fate of nurses, other workers and patients was intrinsically linked.

Patients cannot receive good, safe care from exhausted, overworked nurses; nor can hospital workers derive any satisfaction from providing insufficient care without inadequate supplies and staff.

What does it mean to be a good nurse in light of all this? Is it enough to pass the state licensing test, or does a society like ours require a greater understanding and committment just a secure basic health care for patients? Under capitalism, a system where a small class of people run corporations for their profit (and control the government in order to do this) hospitals are not neutral ground. They are battleground of class oppression; every day people die from lack of good medical attention, or racist experimentation in the hospitals, and they are all working people.

Although most hospitals are designated as "non-profit" this only means the additional funds, left over after operating expenses must be reinvested in deriving expansion. Private doctors, hospital supply companies, and insurance corporations derive huge profits from patients. This profiteering is the reason behind understaffing and other inhuman conditions.

One of the most vicious justifications of this degenerating health system health system is racism; municipal and state hospitals service primarily black and latin populations. Social "scientist" such as Bamfield try to convince us that people like the miserable conditions that exist in inner city areas.

The actions of many communities in demanding adequate, responsible medical services have proven this theory a vicious justification of a two class healthy system. Therefore, as to responsible nurses we must organize with hospital workers and the community we serve, to have a consistent organization that demands sufficient facilities and community people overthrow the billionaires' profit system and establish a government of people (socialism) with health care, or any other institution, really serve the needs of the people.

NO PARKING ADVANCE 3 SPACES

CAFETERIA

STUDENT GOVT.

PAY 50 TAX T FINAN AID

REGISTRARS OFFICE

START HERE

A new game for students and faculty at Staten Island Community College, played yearly for fun and pleasure.

#### RULES OF PLAYING "GO TO CLASS, MAYBE."

Materials needed.

1 gymnasium (overcrowded, and understaffed)

1 malfunctioning computer

1 closed parking lot (no parking signs around edges of school)

1 used catalog (last year's edition)

1 overcharged, understocked bookstore

3 buildings (A, B, C)

undetermined numbers of portables or trailers plenty of mutilated, spindled and folded I.B.M. cards

0 I.B.M. pencils

power cards

1 set of dice

#### Preparation of the game.

Shuffle and deal out power cards to players. If you receive a "Dean" card sit and overlook game. If you receive "President of College" card, take a leave of absence. If you receive "Security Officer" card, ignore game and sleep in corner. If you receive "Bursar" card, open Swiss bank account. If you receive "Instructors" card, use only instructional staff bathrooms, dining rooms, chairs, desk, etc. If you receive "Student" card, be over-enthusiastic, overjoyed and over-anxious.

Starting

After all players have received Pay \$48.00 to start if you ar gymnasium. Race all pieces (600 Stop for two hours to fill out Instructors enter game finally. In other room, handing student wro stop for two more hours and wa must be unmutilated, unspindled, to go and start game over again.

At this time, all faculty and s College Cafeteria. Students go to Move students to vending machine

broken machines.

Students who remembered to trailer has electricity, heat and sta must go back to go.)

Move remaining pieces to Stude If student receives I.D. card with the beginning and try again.

Hints on Ea

Blackmail Dean, become an aut Receive notice of draft. App!: at some other college.

PAY 50.00 TAX TO FINANCIAL AID

SORRY CLASS CLOSED

COUNSELING

PAY 25 PE INTEI ON LO

Sulc In Comi 00 SORRY STUDENT BOOKSTORE CLASS CIAL LOUNGE CLOSED e game. BEGIN If you land on You Must eir power cards, the game begins. COLLEGE Book Store-Pay \$50 for \$30 worth of books a student. Place all pieces in Cafeteria Crawl to Medical Office and ask for a Priest. ) to both tables for class cards. C.D. Pick up a \$30 check and keep quiet. I.B.M. cards and questionaires. President's Office-Watch out for trap doors. ructors stamp cards and point to Library Take a nap g class card. Students must now Student Gov't-Take an ego trip to hand in I.B.M. cards (which Student Lounge --Pay \$5 to the pusher for a higher education. infolded and unsigned). Go back Financial Aid-Go in with hope-come out naked. Counseling See your parole officer aff take a lunch break at Wagner Registrar's Office-Due to waiting-notify next of kin I.C.C. cafeteria which is closed. Place-It's no place to be es and lose book money in the Kaleidoscope--Show false I.D. gn cards, move to Trailer 23. (If If you do not have \$48 then get a Student Loan for \$100 from f, student is in wrong trailer and Community International Bank. You are not allowed to pay the loan back-you must pay \$25 every time you land on the PAY 20% it Lounge and wait for I.D. cards. INTEREST ON LOAN spot. Even if you dropped out of the game PRESIDENTS OFFICE wrong picture, he must return to you must continue to pay \$25 every time you blink your eyes. If you land on the spot that says PAY TAXES GIVE \$50 TO FINANCIAL AID then you must put this money on the Financial y Playing. Aid square. Whoever lands there first gets the money. matic winner. End of Game If you can go around the board at least four times you will receive a B.S. Degree. Good Luck! SORRY FINANCIAL AID **ADVANCE TO** CENT CLASS COLLECT 5.00 FINANCIAL **EST** CLOSED **WORK STUDY** AID AN de

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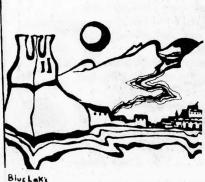
### Apologies To The Real American Man

America, America
I hear your screams
Standing on a massive grave
overlooking the splendid green.
On this day, Aug. 11, I visit Wounded Knee.
I vist Aushiewtz.
I visit Mylai

Christopher came to play the game He labled you Indian, Insulting your name. The Nina, Pinta, Santa Maria Delivering syphilus and Firewater To drown out the freer.



. . . Yesterday we took a ride in the Texas bus. We entered the black ribbon which wound up and over the foot of the mountains. An offspring from the FREEway, on the a dusty dirt road, took our bus to the red sign that read, "INDIAN RESERVATION" . . . no hunting, no fishing, no destroying the property, etc, etc, order of The law, of The United Statessssss. . . I laughed inside. It hurt. It was laughter that men despair and build from. I felt very uncomfortable entering the reservation, but I wanted to so much. Here we are, long white noses and cave hole eyes, coming to see what it was the Indian has, minds living stories retold many times. I felt ashamed. I wanted to run out of the bus and offer my hand and say, "I wish they did not do this to you." But I feel the only response would be their laughter-theirs much stronger than mine. And I look out of the window, the bus rolling through the dust, and I almost feel like I am back in New York City and all those many people are watching as I wait for a street sign that allows me when to cross. I wanted to touch the Indian and feel if his arm is strong, hear if he aches at night and see if he rises whole with the sun. How I ask, can men and women still be so strong? . . . Driving on through, I see wire fences surrounding the land . . . government tradition. Here I see dry earth that lies out in the open sun all day. I see no irrigation though. On the fenced dirt earth is laying not sweet grass and crop, but old tin cans and assortments of industrial waste. A contradiction in red, white and blue. I think this must be their feeling towards the government card dealing game . . . the Indian always with the short-hand. Their land to grow. Their life. This mistreated surface that has become another dumping ground. Do you think the government will solve the riddle one day? They sign mass-produced lies like the rest of the country. There are no FREE-ways leading anywhere. There is NO Declara-



tion of Independence, Bill or Rights, Civil Rights, or American Constitution. Find one American who in truth is willingly American and take my rifle and relieve his pain. There was nothing to hunt, nothing to fish, nothing to steal off that reservation. It had been already stolen.

. . . And I look above, to the top of the foothills and wonder if every corner speaks the same. Beyond the dirt, where the pavement begins are crisp pools and shiny Hollywood lives. The road revolves in a circle, passing through one moment of life, seeming so insignificant, but measuring eternally. Someone, if not the earth must be receiving my thoughts. My eyes watch the few horses eyes meeting mine also wondering and remembering the days they had run free.

#### "Do Not Lament The Indian Culture, It Is Not Dead."

by diane zorcikowski

. . . I see all the broken houses and feel that inside men are still living whole.

I wish I could write a strong political essay so you can look at the black and white of this country. But I can not do so. I can pretend to think I know so much, but I cannot pretend to feel. If this was not so I would not have transferred my heart on to type written paper. I do not know how to save lives, nor minds. I can only speak and express. I only hope.

I have tried to relay to you a feeling I can feel. I feel and hope that you will receive its' feel and question its' truth. That is all. It is in you to do what you will with this truth. Let me say that if you believe that change is essential, before you start throwing and ripping up things, be careful not to touch the Indian home and further hurt him. But remember to fight with his home in mind. Do not short hand him again. Men are only so strong.



. . . There is a Red Movement going on and it is growing and growing. Do not lament the Indian culture; it is not dead, nor has it ever been dying: just bodies die. That is another concept though; I feel there is no said answer. I feel everyone in life, seeks some spoonful of truth (organic). It can be helpful for you to look at the red mans' life because we are all descendants of naturalism . . . We were once as they, before clamps were holding the natural order of the universe in a headlock. Before bodies and minds (the soul, a rebel) because institutionalized and computerized and there was no more of you left. More, as man sharing ground, they need your support. They don't want it for reason of fear and doubt, but they need it. They hope for you to have that nod of understanding when thinking of their existence. To understand that they are what they are and have always been. They do not want you dancing around their campfire and they don't want to sit in your living room warm and cozy. They want space. To walk and breath unpolluted. They wish to be untouched. Will you let them be when your clenched fist raises a "Power to the People?" This sounds as though Custer could have died yesterday morning; the Indian tale seems to remain the same. To be left alone in a world that allows men to grow and grow and still stretch.

. . . Find why. Listen to primitive wiseness-their elders dreams and promises, days, sons and daughters. Real what Vine Deloria. Jr., feel about his people's Indianness and our people. He is a Red Warrior in 1972 and there are many others who will resist. Find why. Ask about discrimination in the friendly glorious West and those cold winds that blow through hot Arizona and dusty Oklahoma. There is an Indian museum on Broadway that is free. There are many Indian histories in Manhattan bookstores. There is an Indian Center in Manhattan. Find out. But leave them be. No Indian needs to question Indianness, as no living body needs question the natural order of life.



#### Demise of a Speed Freak

He stands on the corner, weaving like a thin sapling, his hands are like leaves as they shake, he stumbles as if his roots were torn up. He feels no pain, knows no anguish, love, or self—pity. His eyes looking, but not realizing; his thoughts wander. He tries to speak and babbles, his mouth is dry. He looks for refuge, a place to enjoy this splendid peace. He staggers, he plunges, he gropes and clutches and realizes his final refuge.....
REALITY.Reality in death; his final sweet and beautiful release, his tonic, his magic elixir, his multi—colored, bejeweled ermine ecstacy. F.J.Moyniban

#### Demise of a Down Freak

Alive, living, doing, feeling. His step is quick, his mind sharp but confused, Food love, sleep—these are of no consequence. Superman, incredible specimen of human endurance. dedicated to perpetuating his trek. Irritable at times, clammy, warm, sexless, leaping, screaming....stoned. The mind persists, the body fails. He ages but doesn't feel, doesn't realize, doesn't care. The body rebels; the overworked, underfed, unrested creature cries out in a final retort...He slows, trembles, gasps.... He falls. There is no repair, there is no alternative. F.J, Moynihan

Nothing moves inside here. I am a rusty gate left swinging beside an unkept lawn.

At first it was an explosion I split at the sides like a house tortured by flames. Everything came down.

After the fire, only charred foundations and a rusty gate left swinging by dead grass.

by Debbie Martin

#### Caught in the Rain

raining cats and dogs, empty cans all over the street, sewers belching gas shit everwhere, an i'm running around looking for an umbrella somewhere..... old codger hiding under an arch in the door way of a church... one side's dry; the other wet and i'm all wetcat moved over and said' how are vou' ... i said hi... there wasn't enough room there anyway so i left it behind and went into the rain, cat said 'goodbye', i said 'so long' ..... blue—jay came by, almost pecked my head... must of thought it was a nest... to bad buddy try somewhere else ... could have gone into a store, but I had nothing to buy... then i realized i was to wet to become dry, so i kept on walking while the sky cried ...

by Louis DiMeo



# Sue's Song

Memories keep clouding my mind, like the time Sunny Bunny, who lived upstairs, was going to commit sideways by jumping out the window. Priscilla and I were sitting on the steps of my house drinking our usual (Colt 45 and rum) when we heard a crash. The window fell out upstairs and Sunny Bunny followed. I heard the crash, jumped up and leaned over the railing to see what happened. The mother-fucker almost took me with him when he reached out to break his fall. Hall-way down he had a change of heart. He was lying on the cement, inside the front gate, in a pool of blood with one leg and an arm twisted under him. Folks from the block gathered and looked at him.

We kind of respected his decision to kill himself. He was our new hero, until he started yelling.

"Help me Jesus. Help me Jesus." This guy had ruined our night. He'd upset our routine of watching TV or drinking and rapping. He'd shattered our hero's worship of a courageous feat. The place would soon be swarming with cops asking questions and reporters taking pictures. What a hell of a blow! For once in his life Sunny Bunny had made his own decision and had the power to implement it and the nigger copped out. No one on the block would, hereafter, come up with that false sense of courage and power to attempt suicide.

What about that time Tony and I were sitting on the porch drinking beer and my old man came up the street ossified. It was a warm fall evening, school had just started. I had just met Tony and was trying to impress him. My old man being drunk didn't bother me, I just didn't want him to go in the house and start shit. I was warm and the windows were open and I didn't want Daddy to put our business in the street. He came up the stairs like a ballerina and when he saw us, shrugged his shoulders, changed his countenance to that of dead seriousness, stopping to explain to us.

"With the medicine I'm taking, one beer fucks me over!"

He proceeded onto the house. I became apprehensive. Tony was talking to me like nothing happened and I was listening for the beginnings of an argument. Nothing happened! Twenty minutes had passed and nothing happened! I figured he'd fallen asleep, but I should've known better. Tony was about to kiss me good-night when two squad cars pulled up. A cop asked us.

"Where's 222?

"Right here."

"What floor do the Johnsons live

page 53

came on the porch in his stockined

"I called officer. I want my wife arrested for forgery. She signed and cashed my check without my knowledge and now she won't give me a dime." The cop moved into the hallway where my mother was standing.

"Did you do that, miss?"

"Yeah I did it."

"Was the check in both your names?

"No, I signed his name."

"Have you ever done this before?" "No, but he wasn't home all day and my babies were hungry.'

"Are you two legally married?"

"Get the fuck off my property. Don't nobody need you here to start no okie-finokie shit!" With that, the officer took my father's arm, pulled him out to the porch and said,

'All I can advise you to do is to go to bed now, you look like you've been drinking. Tomorrow morning go down to family court and press charges." The cop descended the stairs and got into the patrol car. Tony and I watched from the stairs and saw him explain to his partner what happened. As they drove away, you would have thought they'd left a looney tunes cartoon show, they laughed so hard. I said good-night to Tony fast, as I head the side window crash. When I got inside I asked my mother what happened.

Nothing. I just threw the Vaseline jar through the window."

She took off her robe and climbed into bed beside my father, who was already sleeping and dozed off. I went into the kitchen to wash the dishes before I hit the sack.

Then, there was the strange Tuesday night Priscilla and I had our usual but didn't feel like drinking. It was about nine o'clock and I said,

"I feel funny, something's wrong." I was sitting in the living room near an open window and a sparrow perched on the window ledge behind my left shoulder. It sat there and I felt its presence. I turned around and looked at it, it looked back at me, turned its head and flew away.

Priscilla stood by the stereo and saw what transpired. She turned, put a record on the stereo, lit a cigarette, got our usual, put it on the coffee table, poured me a drink.

"Sue, that was a premonition of death!"

I took the drink, lit a cigarette and

"Yeah, I know and I haven't seen Teddy all day."

"Maybe we should go and get Sonia and go looking for him.'

"No, let's talk about it first you "On the first floor." My father know how scary she is, there's no

by alice bishop

sense getting her all up-tight for nothing."

"You know, Sue, when my mother died, a sparrow flew into my bedroom. By the time I got to my mother, she was dead."

"Yeah, hey I feel like singing, want to harmonize?"

We sang until two in the A.M., forgetting about the death premonition.

Annette came in. She sat down, poured a drink, looked at me and said,

"I'm tired, I'll see you two night-owls tomorrow.'

I was shocked. First, Annette is usually in the streets all night, second, she usually doesn't drink liquor. I put it off and went home myself.

I lay in bed about to doze off, when the telephone rang. I go to the kitchen and look at the clock. It's four o'clock, I pick up the phone.

"Hello?"

"Sue? This is Aunt Becky."

"What did Teddy do now?"

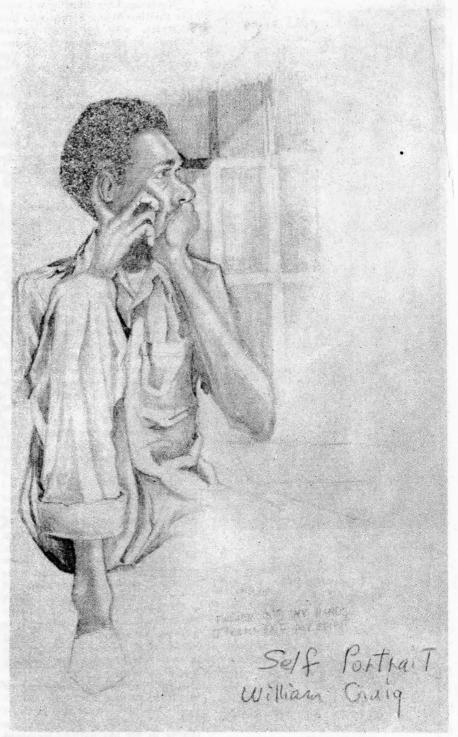
"Teddy? Bunny is dead!"

People tell me that Bunny knew he was going to die. He was a junkie trying to go straight. He had stayed at my grandmother's house for two weeks. In the house for two weeks, staying off the street away from junk. He read books, and wrote what would have been his autobiography. He prayed, Lord, how he prayed.

This particular Tuesday, he woke up, bathed, shaved, dressed, made his bed, cleaned his room. He took his only black suit out of moth balls and hung it hung it behind the bedroom door on a hook, with a shirt and black tie. He put his black brogans, which he wore on special occasions, under the bed. He kissed my grandmother good-bye and let the door knob hit him in the ass. That day he visited every living relative he had on Staten Island and that night he paid his last respects to his street buddies. That's when Annette saw him. They all had a

last high together.

He met his maker in a dirty hall in the Matiners Harbor Projects. He was stabbed and bled to death in that hall. He died not like he lived. He was a sensitive, gentle, loving man who met a violent death. It was painful, agonizing, slow death. He did not deserve to go that way. A bullet through the brain would have been better. At least it would have been quick and painless. He suffocated from his own blood. He did not deserve to go that way. His face was kicked in, his fingers mutilated from trying to fend off his attackers. He did not deserve to go that way. He was a Prince, a Black, shining Prince. He was a tall red-skinned beautiful man, who was sensitive, loving, aware, easily hurt, yet, strong, tough, brutal and



uncompromising. He was a family man with five children, yet unmarried with many wives. He worked hard every day of his life, yet, never held a steady iob and laid for Mother's Day like white on rice.

He was an intellectual, he knew all the classics, yet, he never finished high school. He was a man who ran home to Momma when he was sick.

Bunny was burried in the clothes he laid out for his funeral. On the afternoon of the day of his funeral, a special delivery letter came from a drug rehabilitation center, saying he had been accepted for treatment. He didn't need it then. He had already been delivered from evil.



### On The Bus From Salt Lake City

by steven horowitz

```
I watched you again last night,
  was sure this time
   That I had caught you.
Lying still,
  sleeping,
holding you're mantle of green,
   of sagebrush,
               of wheat,
   of corn,
  your breasts.
   lay still
    while your heart thumped
    and thudded
   underground.
                           You sleep in beauty
                             in kaleiodiscipic hues,
                               pastel blues
                             in valleys that roll
                              from the hills like
                                water from an overfilled cup
                               Burst your abundance
                                  from every pore,
                               waited.
                               felt you creeping.
                                    holding,
                                     coming.
                                watched the dawn
                               come slowly
   easily
   without hurry,
   Like honey from a jar
   covered the prarie
   stuck golden on the hillside
                           Saw you lay your sterile
                           vomit of asphalt,
                          set vour concrete headstones,
                           hack out your black
                          death cough,
                           wrap your cities in their smoke,
                           wrap your town in ignorance
                          your farms in vesterday
                          your suburbs in never.
  Castrate your fine young men
  an assembly line of
  academia
  Lobotomize vour women
  in doll house dreams
  your children in monopolized
  schemes
  while your cauldrons bubbles and steams
  vour cities scorched
```

scream
and scream
and scream...
to no one.

# Introduction To Peace

by charles adams

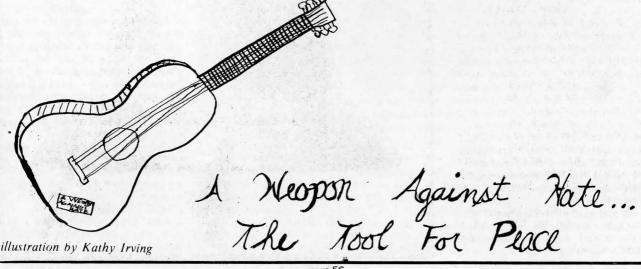
Shut off all functions of intellect in relationship to ego, as to say do not respond to form, when this process is completed the creative principle emerges. Leading to the obsolescence of either affirmation or menance to man"s existence thus indicating the realm of absolute spirit total ressurection of the body.

Unconscious

conscious

once again residing in complete peace.

Satori.



### Let Freedom Ring

#### by ralph palladino

Last week two twenty year olds, John Sweat, a laborer and Jim Learner, a city University student were rapping about the good ole' U.S.A.

"Gee its' great living in this country," says Sweat. "Nowhere in the world are people as free or as better off as we are." "Yeah," states Learner, "and the educational opportunities afforded American youth cannot be paralleled, and nowhere else is there more of a chance to make it and get ahead." "That's right," agrees Sweat.

"Say, what kind of work do you do

"Oh, I work in construction."

"Construction! I though you were going to college to become an engineer."

"Yeah, but you know, there weren't enough jobs around. After I graduated with my B.A., I searched for a good job, but no good."

"Too bad John. I wonder if I'll have the same problem? A few other guys I know are having that problem."

"I hope not John. I hope you make it. This work is backbreaking and all I do all day is take orders. Do this, do that. I can't make a decision on my own or think for myself. I'm not the only one either. There's a couple of guys I work with that have degrees to teach and do other things, but can't find jobs. And another thing, race don't make a difference; blacks and whites do the same lousy, monotonous work and get paid the same."

"It's really strange John, I'm not sure what I want to do once I graduate. I may not even finish college. Education is a drag, a rehash of high school and the professor is the boss. Like my history class, it's the same old thing. I know of some real fine history books and writers that tell a different and interesting story of our country, than the stupid text books I'm forced to read now do. But I have to learn what the professors want me to, because it's the professor that writes up those tests and their based on the texts. I feel I'm wasting my time. I'd like to read other things, and I wish other students were allowed to do the same so we could exhange ideas in class, instead of just sitting and listening."

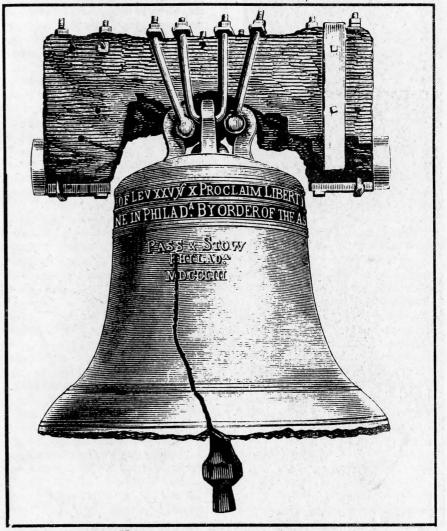
"Oh, well what are you gonna do?"

"Say, how's your new house John. I bet you're glad to get away from that bastard landlord." "You betta believe it. The house is coming along fine, but oh man, those mortgage payments to the bank. If I ever get sick or can't work, good-bye house. Now I have to look for a car, more payments. Everything I have could be taken away from me anytime by the bank. I really don't feel I own anything. And those prices!"

"Wow, yeah. Even in school the prices to eat and buy books are outrageous. It even costs to get to and from the campus. Financial aid is a joke, and I can't find a job."

"I wonder who makes up those prices, anyway. He can't be a working man that's for sure. He'd know." "Hey, did you see that story in the newspapers about the Republicans bugging the Democrats' offices? That's nothing new though. Probably happens all the time. They wiretap lots of people's phones I here."

"Yeah, I guess. Did you check out that story about that cop gunning down that 11 year old black kid in Staten Island. That was something, huh, 11 years old!" "And what about those crazy commies demonstrating at the U.N., saying that the United States is a repressive society. It's a good thing the cops broke it up. I'd like to shut them traitors up for good. Don't they know America is the land of the free?"



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## LECC

ev llue le kel

We were walking down an old worn out path that traversed the Via Appia and meandered down a valley disappearing behind stone walls. Lena and I had been childhood sweet-hearts. She grew up in these splendorous hills in the Compagnia, while, I had to content myself with visits when time allowed to these verdant hills of ancient countenance. She wasn't an ordinary country girl. Her parents were of the land owning class and therefore were able to afford a university education for her. They send her off to a school in Padova where she lived with an aunt while attending the university. This summer we had met once again, after a long absence on my part from the mountain town of Montemarano.

We continued down the path; flanked by the terraced gardens of Dionysus we ecstatically pranced down the dusty path like two wood nymphs drunk by the fragrance that emitted from those pulpy clusters of green and purple sacs basking voluptuously in the torrid heat that was necessary to their existence.

We were now at the base of the valley that coiled around the hill of which Montemarano was situated upon; in the

distance we could discern a chorus of peasant women singing religiously as they harvested the produce of the earth in the August sun. Above us, impending gloriously over the entire country-side. was the tower of the town's cathedral banging relentlessly to summon the midday hour all over the surrounding country-side. The sound of the 12 o'clock bell banging away and the chorus of women gloriously singing in a meadow of golden wheat thrust my mind into a rhapsody of euphoric, state, and, as I turned to glance at Lena's olive tinted countenance I could not bear the ecstasy any longer . . . and I laughed hysterically at the magnificence of it all.

We continued down the path till a babbling stream of clear water greeted us merrily. We decided to stop and rest under the boughs of an enormous fig tree jewelled with the emerald and magenta fruits which it bore. The clanging tune of the church bells had ceased their domineering bellows, but the chorus of harvesters were still singing religiously from the distance. "There's nothing so serene as a country walk." Lena ejaculated. "Yes, when I am roaming through-out these hills I feel unleashed, uninhibited, like an unintelligible goat, I just climb around and receive nourishment from the good earth." We laughed a little and she lay her head upon my lap and stared with glittering chestnut eyes into the dense foliage of the overhanging fig tree. "Tell me something," I asked. "do you like the university life?" "Yes and no," she replied hesitantly. "How

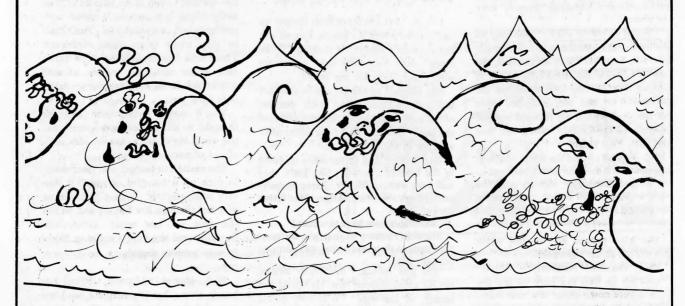
about you?" "Well," I answered, "let's just say that I can bear it." "You can bear it?" she replied perplexed, "how can you simply say'I can bear it? You are in a land of excitement, a land of opportunity and intellectual possibilities." "My lovely Lena, I am not in search of opportunities or anykind of possibilities, I am in search of something which I cannot justly say I know what it is, and the land which you speak about so respectively is nowhere near the beauty of where we are at presently, anyway let's forget about civilization for now and enjoy the splendour of this moment we are in." We embraced passionately, discarded our clothing and pressed our naked bodies against each other, as the shade of the pulpy fig tree blanketed our trembling passions. We rolled into the stream entering each other's being with violent thrusts of rapturous sensation. At that very moment the blissful melody of the harvesters singing in the distance faded away into an oblivious illusion and the banging of the 1 o'clock bell also became lost in oblivion; only the icy tingling of the mountain stream trickling over our throbbing pores had any meaning . . .

# Two Poems By Lorraine Galiber

Sucking on fingertips
Her mind drifting down the waterfront
Collects waves of thoughts
That glides her off to sea, despite
The coughing, cussing, dripping
Sweat on the floor. It's all blocked-out
Nostrils corked—up while she's peuking through her veins.
Nobody knows.

Cool, noble lady Hiding what's real about herself Covers earth with fairy wings, yet feeds on earthy things.

Then slipping back to time and place Responding to cries of fire, blood, sex, help, Responding to her name Somewhere, between takes, with pain, great pain A child is dying/a woman trying to emerge. Was a hassle one night A man I despised Tore off both arms Yet I'm alive and strong I'm a track star A professor, a wit, But you came and Touched me Then walked away. You crippled me.



The Waves of Pain Flowing in and out

## THE GFT

#### BY LAURA DE PONTE

Martha felt her hair fighting on her cheeks, whipping, snapping, swirling around itself.

"Stop pushing," she said and laughed because the strong, cold wind made her stumble as she walked clumsily through the loose sand. She shook her hair away from her face and turned toward the ocean, where she spotted a wave rising high above the rest of the water. Trying to run, she thought, trying to get loose and run far away, way past me, and never back . . . She laughed as she watched the wave tumble over itself, the ocean screaming for it, tearing it back into itself, for it, tearing it back into itself churning it, tripping it until the wave slid backwards as a subbdued "swoosh" over the shore . . .

"You'll never be back," she said as she looked down at the sand covering her feet. She kept her shoes on because the sand was cold. She turned her shoes in toward one another and stood on the outsides of her feet. Her smile had gone but the wind pushed her forward and she laughed as she quickly raised her face

and said, "All right."

She reached toward the water, smiling, and ran into it until her pants were wet to the knees. The water was icy and the wind had put tears in her eyes but she smiled and struggled to keep her balance against the strong undertow.

The wind pushed her forward again and she fell on her right knee.

"No," she said, "No more."

She got up and ran back to the dry sand, escaping the anger of a new wave.

"No, no, no!" she screamed, and giggled when she knew she was safe. She looked up and saw the silver-white seagulls flying beneath the slowly darkening clouds. She watched one of the birds fly at one of the black, musselcovered rocks. She approached slowly, but the bird flew away before she could get very near.

You didn't have to be so afraid, she thought, as she passed her fingers lightly over the shiny black shells; thousands and thousands of you and so beautiful. Hanging on so tight so no can hurt you.....

"Don't worry," she whispered and then let out a short scream as some cold water hit the rocks and splashed onto the front of her thin canvas jacket.

I'm all wet she thought as she got up and walked along the shore; I'm all wet but it doesn't matter. If it rains I'll be more wet. And more cold with more wind. And funny for my friend......

She laughed to herself and pushed her hands down through the torn pockets of her navy blue jacket. She remembered the last time she had gone home after walking in the rain ....

Her mother and father were standing in the kitchen doorway. She knew they had been waiting for her. Three hours of rain. Angry. Worried. Angry. Her father . spoke:

"Martha, where have you been?"

She didn't answer at first; she stared at the floor, at the puddle that was forming beneath her.

'Do you realize," her father began, but his anger stopped him. He sighed and turned to his wife. "Will you please explain to that girl that she's our baby and we only worry ourselves to death like this because we love her."

"Martha, look. Look, now you're all wet. You'll get sick if you do things like this. You've got to listen to us. We want you to stop wandering all over the beach. There are bad things out there. Martha. Bad people. And they'll hurt you."

"I can have friends," said Martha softly, still staring down. "He promised me friends . . ."

Don't you understand?" shouted her father. "Martha, you're a fifteen year old girl and very beautiful and anyone of those people out there could easily harm you. And that boy you talk to-we don't even know who he is. You never bring him around here so your mother and I can meet him. You've got to stay away from these strangers. There's no one around for a few miles and when someone comes around you've got to be very careful . . . We only love you . . . who he is . . ."

You'll never meet him, Martha thought as she kicked some sand into the wind. He'll never come to you. He's afraid of people like you . . .

She smiled to herself and bent down to pick up a handful of sand. It was very cold: slightly moist. She let most of it fall through her fingers and wiped the rest on her wrist. Cold, she thought, and she began walking. Soon it was raining lightly; a cold, quiet rain.

Wet, thought Martha, lifting her hands above her head. She closed her eyes and threw her head back, smiling, letting the rain tap her teeth, trickle into the corners of her smile. The icy

wetness slid from her eyes down her checks, some of it dripping into her ears, tickling her, the rest running through her hair or down her neck.

Cry, she thought, it's making me cry... She opened her eyes and wiped the excess water off her face with the back of her hand. Her smile slowly disappeared and she walked faster as the rain fell harder. The patter of drops seemed very loud and she thought she could hear footsteps behind her.

Someone is running as fast as the rain, she thought, trembling from a shriver; he is after me, I know. But I can run faster than the rain.

She gasped slightly and ran toward a small cave along the embankment. As the rain became louder she ran faster, breathing harder, her mouth open, her eyes widened. Her hair stuck to her face, her neck. Her were fists, pushing the rain out of her way. Her legs became heavier as she tried to move them faster and still she heard someone behind her, catching up—very close... She collapsed on the wet floor of the cave, panting, wiping her face. Her back was toward the opening of the cave and she listened as she caught her breath.

Just rain, she thought. She got up and walked to where she had an old T-shirt packed into a hole in the ground. She

sniffled as she slowly removed the shirt.

There, she thouht, smiling to herself; they're still here. Still beautiful.

She reached into her tattered pocket and took out a crumpled handkerchief. Carefully she spread the cloth flat on the ground and picked up a tiny sea shell. It rolled slightly before she could touch it. She held it close to her ear and laughed.

You're not big enough to have an ocean of your own, she though.

Then she added to the collection that was in the hole on front of her.

Sea shells she thought; all so pretty; and so small.....

"Today I'll take you home," she said and she knelt beside the collection. She took out a plastic bag and filled it halfway with the small shells. Then she smiled and sat very still, examining all the shells, looking into, at around as many as she could, touching the plastic bag lightly with one finger.

Listen, she thought and without turning she could hear someone breathing behind her, each breath getting lost in the pounding of the ocean. She put her hand to her lips and spoke through her fingers.

"I know you're there," she said giggling.

She rubbed her hand along the back of

her head, Still she heard the breathing behind her, outside, in the rain. She took the bag of shells and poured them on the ground on front of her, spreading them apart with several light strokes of her hand. She shivered as she pushed her hair behind her ears.

"You promised me friends," she whispered and smiled because she could hear more people breathing, louder, together. Mumbling; a soft steady rumble of young voices. A jumble conversation, every word melting into the next; every sound louder than last.

Speaking, giggling, breathing, thinking; she could hear the monotonous hum.....louder, louder, until the tangled voices collapsed into a snakelike whisper.

"Martha.....

She turned and held out the shell she had brought in the handkerchief. Her smile was gone and the hair that stuck to the corner of her mouth fell away as she stared onto the rain, into shadows that faded faster than she could look. She shivered again and put the rest of the tiny shells into the plastic bag. Then she slowly wrapped the new shell in her wet, wrinkled handkerchief. She kicked to muddy T-shirt over the empty hole and pushed it down with her foot. She sniffled as she held the crumpled handkerchief in front of her.

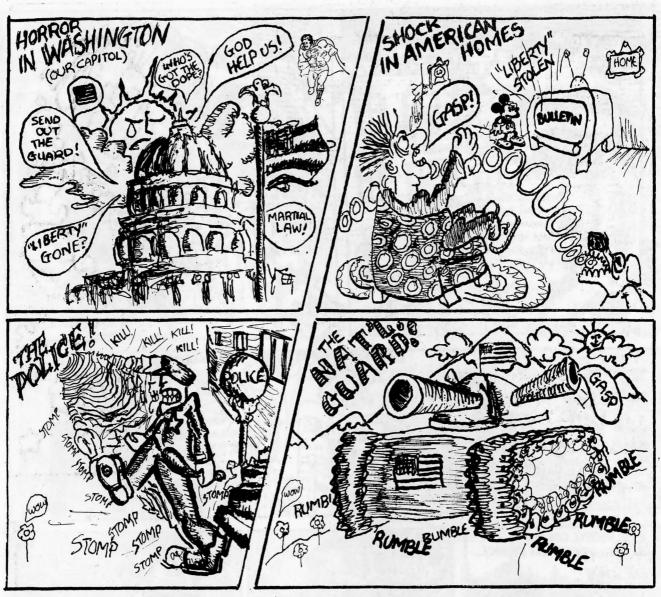
He gave this to me, she thought.
Then she smiled to herself and ran

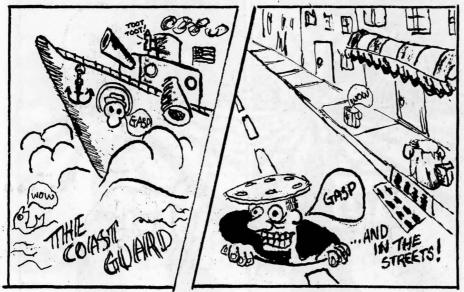


photo by joanne seador



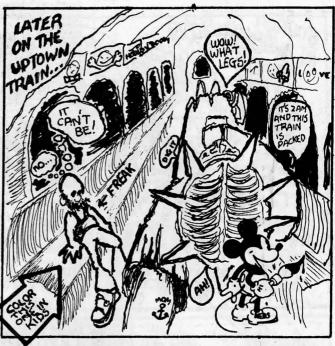
















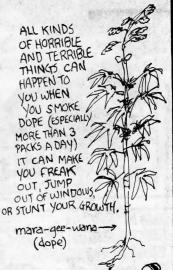




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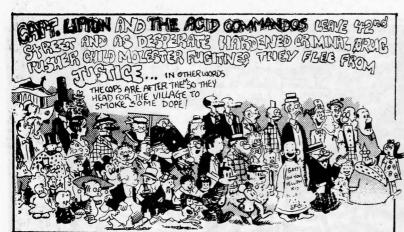
hide out with the statue of liberty in the itch" (you know the 45¢ movie house with a space thriller or a monster raping some old man or something) Sama or something)



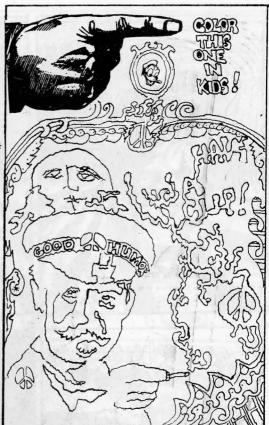




THE THE WORKIN' ON THAT ONE CONNECTIONS
WHERE WERE WORKIN' ON THAT ONE CAND DON'T YOU
WORRY THEY RE WORKIN' ON THAT ONE RESOUND
THE CHEST WE WORK OF OUT THAT ONE RESOUND
THE CHEST WE WORK OF THE TO WHITE
THE CHEST WAS CONNECTED ONE THAT ONE RESOUND
THE CHEST WAS CONNECTED ONE THAT ONE RESOUND
THE CHEST WE WORK ON THAT ONE RESTORMENT TO SHOVE IT!





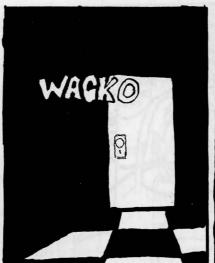




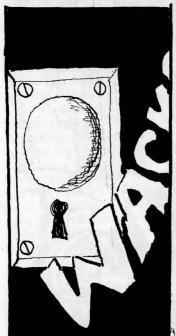








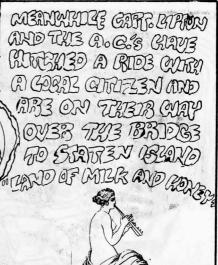




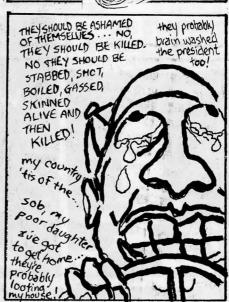














THE PARMING

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WHEN THE ESSIES UP

EVEN ESSIES U





WHAT DO YOU THINK YOU'RE DOIN' HUH? DO YOU THINK THIS COUNTRY IS FREE -NOSIREE YOU GOTTA PAY! YOU GOTTA PAY TO GO OVER THAT'S RIGHT. THE BRIDGES! YOU FREE LOVE FREAKS YOU'LL - WELL FIX YOU! YOU'RE PROBABLY HIDIN' PLENTY OF STUFF IN THE LOTS OF DOPE TRUNK AND PROBABLY FIRE CRACKED 100 ... WE'LL FIX YOU!

YOU THINK WE'RE GONNA LET YOU ACID HIPPIE MURDERIN THEIVES RIOT ON AMERIKA'S HIGHWAYS ... YOU JUST 40 WE GOT AHEAD & THINK IT! PLACES FOR YOU COMMIES! WE CAN OPEN UP THE CAMPS, YEAH CALL THE MCCARRAN AT INTO EFFECT! I KNOW MY LAWS! AND THAT CHES MY FAVORITE! THROW EM THE CAMPS! THAT'S 12 RIGHT! FAR RIGHT!







THE WELL CHARACTURE BRING CIBERLY" TO S.I. GG. AND RESURES THE WIESURE STERILE CHARACTER STERN ON ERONF OF THE SERVER WITH HER! AND ARE THE CROSS ONTO THE SERVER TRUING CENTRESEWAY THE AREA OF THE PROPERTY OF THE STRUES OF THE PROPERTY.





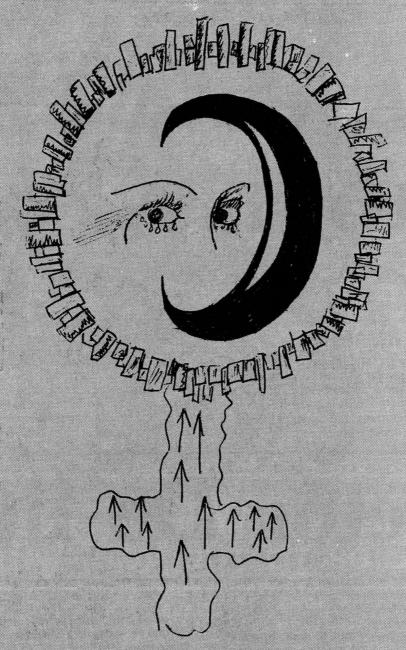
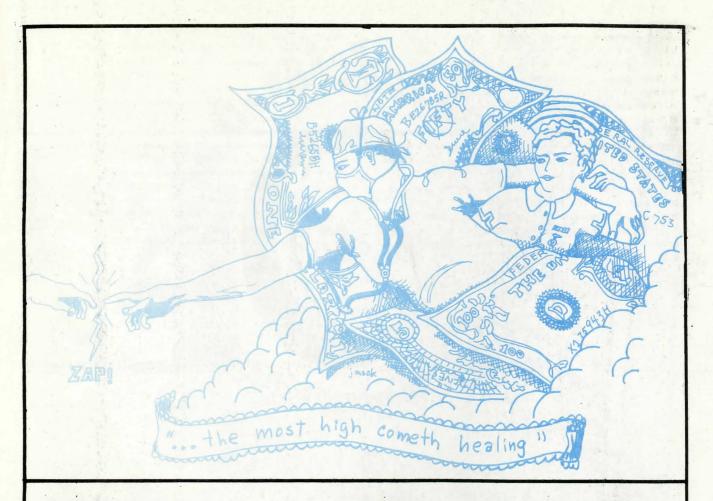


illustration by nancy grotts

It seems pretty clear to us as women that from the moment we're born, we're treated differently from little boys. Our toys are different. Dolls instead of chemistry sets. Our clothes are different—little dresses to be kept clean instead of sloppy pants. And slowly, over the years, a distinction is made between boys and girls on every dimension. We're emotional, they're intellectual. They're clumsy; we're graceful and dainty. They're going to go on to become doctors and business men. We're going to get married. The most ambitious among us dreamed of nursing. They're athletic. We're domestic. They have an easily wounded ego. We're good at something. In short, men were socialized to think of themselves as intellectual, aggressive and creative, while women are molded as passive, gentle, and emotional. OK, you say, that's not so bad. Separate but equal characteristics. We don't think that's true, We think we've suffered by this characterization of us as passive creatures, noticeably in relation to our sexuality. We're not supposed to be interested in sex—that's for men. We're not supposed to admit it if we are—that's dirty. The ideal woman responds, she does not initiate. Men will act aggressively towards us sexually, and we must worry about how to set the limits on the sexual encounter. We're always so busy setting the limits and holding off this powerful sexuality coming from him, that we never get a chance to explore our own. Our bodily functions and our own sexuality are always something of a mystery to us.



# Doctor Do-little

by boston women's health clinic

Marcuse says that "health is a state defined by an elite." A year ago, few of us understood that statement. What does he mean? We believe that all people want to be healthy and that some of us are more fortunate than others because we have more competent doctors. "Now you should go to Dr. A. Man. He's my doctor and he's just great!"

Today we understand the stark truth of Marcuse's statement. We have not only started to look at health differently, but have found that health is one more example of the many problems we as people, especially as women, face in this society. We have not had power to determine medical priorities; they are determined by the corporate medical industry (including drug companies, Blue Cross, the AMA and other profit-making groups) and academic research. We have learned that we are not to blame for choosing a bad doctor or not having the money to even choose. Certainly, some doctors have learned medical skills better than others, but how good are technical skills if they are not practiced in a human way?

We as women are redefining competence: a doctor who behaves in a male chauvinist way is not competent, even if he has medical skills. We have decided that health can no longer be defined by an elite group of white, upper middle class men. It must be defined by us, the women who need the most health care, in a way that meets the needs of all our sisters and brothers—poor, black, brown, red, yellow and pink.

#### THE IDEOLOGY OF CONTROL AND SUBMISSION

Perhaps the most obvious indication of this ideology is the way that doctors treat us as women patients. We are considered stupid, mindless creatures, unable to follow instructions (known as orders). While men patients may also be treated this way, we fare worse because women are thought to be incapable of understanding or dealing with our own situation. Health is not something which belongs to a person, but is rather a precious item that the doctor doles out from his stores. Thus, the doctor preserves his expertise and powers for himself. He controls the knowledge and

thereby controls the patient. He maintains his status in a number of ways: First, he and his colleagues make it very difficult for more people to become doctors. (For instance, for thirty years the AMA opposed the expansion of the existing medical schools, primarily to protect their enrepreneurial economic privilege.) Second, he sets himself off from other people in a number of ways, including dressing in whites. (In fact, in most hospitals there is a rigid hierarchy which is demarcared according to dress: doctors wear whites, nurses wear white with a cap donoting what school they attended, nurses' aides wear another color uniform, and housekeeping women still another color. The implication being, of course, that it is very important not to confuse one group with another.) Another much more important way doctors set themselves off from other people is through their language. Pseudoscientific jargon is the immense wall around that body of imformation, experience, etc., which they consider as medical knowledge. (Epistaxisnosebleed, thrombosis-blood clot, scleral icterus-yellow eyeballs, etc.)

Thirdly, doctors insulate themselves from the rest of society by making the education process (indoctrination) so long, tedious, and grueling that the public has come to believe that one must be superhuman to survive it. (Actually, it is like one long fraternity "rush" after which you've made it and can do what you like. Only members of the club get to learn the secret, which is that doctors don't know much to begin with and are bluffing a good deal of time.) Thus, a small medical elite preserves its own position through mystification, butressed by symbolic dress, language, and education.

It is important for us to understand that mystification is the primary process here. It is mystification that makes us postpone going to the doctor for "that little pain", since he's such a "busy man" It is mystification that prevents us from demanding a precise explanation of what is the matter and how exactly he is going to treat it. It is mystification that causes us to become passive objects who submit to his control and supposed expertise.

#### **OBJECTIFICATION**

We know that we as women are objectified as sex objects in our society. Any woman who has walked alone at night knows the feeling of vulnerbility and helplessness that accompanies our wareness that we are being perceived as pure sex objects. The medical setting further objectifies a person. The patient is assumed to be an object on which one can "objectively" and "scientifically" perform certain operations. The patient is merely the vehicle which brings the disease to the interventionist (instrumentalist). The outgrowth of these assumptions is that the best place for a doctor to act on a patient is in the hospital, i.e. when the patient is horizontal, passive, most like an object. Finally, that part of a person which is considered sick is further separated and removed. "The ulcer in 417." or "we did a gall bladder today." For us as women, the treatment of any gynecological or obstetrical problem thereby results in the alienation of us from our own body, from our own genitals. **ALIENATION** 

Naomi Weisstein, in her essay on women "Psychology Constructs the Female", has outlined very well how the society has caused the alienation of a woman from her body. Freud's impact cannot be overestimated, we have interalized the notion that woman is incomplete, that something is missing. This alienation leads to a condition which is epitomized by the middle class woman, who, whenever she feels ill, goes to see her gynecologist. The implication:

whatever is the matter with her has to do with her sexuality.

Alienation is also what makes it hard for us to talk about sex. Our sexual experience is so privatized that we never find out that other women have the same problems we do. We come to accept not having orgasm as our natural condition. We remain ignorant about our own sexuality and chalk it up to our own inadequacies. And if we should be so bold as to go to a doctor—and if we should summon up the courage to ask him about our common problem—chances are he will know nothing about it, althought he will never or rarely admit this and will probably laughingly dismiss our questions. Doctors in general are as ignorant about sexuality as the rest of the men in society.

Doctors' blatant ignorance about sex stands in stark contradiction to the fact that they are considered the only legitimate person to consult about any sexual problem.

Thus, we bring all our awkwardness and ignorance about sex to a doctor who cannot understnad that he own ignorance and arrogance are the epitome of male chauvinism. (Add any man's standard portion of male chauvinism to the whole mind set and life style of the man who controls knowledge and thereby people "for their benefit" and we come up with the doctor of our society.)

Which brings us to preventative medicine. We as women are made to feel uncomfortable about going to a doctor in the first place. If we cannot feel comfortable going to our doctors normally, then to go for preventive reasons will be all the more difficult. Thus, while the medical profession has come out in favor of massive screening of women for cancer of the breast and cervix (the cervix is the neck of the uterus, or womb), their practice, their approach, their manner—that is to say, their ideology—all works in the opposite direction. First, our complaints aren't important enough, since we think that we aren't important. (A man is made to feel uncomfortable in a different way; he is made to feel that it isn't masculine to admit to a minor ailment, since he should be tough and not feel it.) The net result is that both men and women postpone seeing a doctor whom they regard as too important to be bothered. And when the visit involves a pelvic examination, it is even less likely a woman will go through with it. Small wonder that only 12% of the women in this country who ought to have "Pap" tests (short for Papinicolaou, the guy who invented it) for cervical cancer get them. This is one of the very concrete chauvinist medicine means poorer health care and health protection for us.

We cannot begin to write here about capitalist forms of medicine per se; that is to say, the prohibitive cost of medical care, the racist and inferior treatment of poor people and black people, the profit and prestige-making institutions of the "health industry" (hospitals, medical schools, drug companies, etc.), the total neglect of the public or preventive protection, or the fee-for-service, pay-as-you-die economic base upon which most medical practice is based. This is an important and extensive issue which must be dealt with elsewhere. Suffice it to say that capitalism is incapable of providing good health care, both curative and preventive, for all the people. Cost to the people of private, patch-up medical care. The capitalist medical care system can be no more dedicated to improving the people's health than can General Motors become dedicated to improving the people's public transportation. Our difficulty in perceiving the similarity between the health care system and any other corporate capitalist enterprise in the society results from our acceptance of the rhetoric that medicine helps people.

#### There's Gold In Them Thar Pills

#### by loretta argue

This article is based on a personal experience I had with a Planned Parenthood Clinic on Station Island. I believe the clinic represents a microcosm of the health care system in this country and in particular of the attitudes women are confronted with.

I went to the clinic seeking information on birth control. I had never been to a clinic before and did not know what to expect. Upon entering the office I saw a nurse sitting at the front desk. I told her I was looking for some information on contraception and was promptly told to sit down. Obviously she was busy, so I sat down and waited. About a half an hour later, I was called to the desk and asked some questions about my medical history. This took about five minutes, it was one of those rapid fire yes and no questionnaires.

I was then told to sit down and wait for the doctor. A couple of hours later the doctor arrived, and my name was called again by the nurse at the front desk. I was then told to go into a dressing room, to take off my clothes and put on a paper gown and wait for my name to be called to be examined. After sitting around for about an hour in this paper gown that felt like it would rip apart, my name was finally called. I entered the doctor's office, was told to lie on a table and was examined, after this took about five seconds. The doctor then said something to the nurse, which I didn't hear, and I was told to get dressed and wait outside. After another wait, I was called into an office with some other women. A nurse explained various methods of contraception and we were asked what we wanted. By this time I just wanted to get out of the place. I had been there since early in the morning. It was now about three in the afternoon. I chose oral contraceptives, was issued a six month supply and was told to come back for another "examination."

I was just another body that had been successfully processed through and could be forgotten about. I was treated, like all women, with complete indifference and detachment. I was passed from one person to another like a product on a conveyor belt. Each one fulfilled his own specific assigned duty and nothing more, there was no personal interaction between myself or any member of the staff. I was given an incomplete medical examination, which did not even include a blood test, and was not told of any possibly dangers of taking the pill. Contraceptives were explained in terms of their effectiveness, not in terms of possible dangerous side effects, despite the fact that severe side effects such as blood clotting can occur from taking oral contraceptives. As a result, women are forced to make important medical decisions based on incomplete information.

Decisions as to what information is to be release concering contraceptives remains the perogitive of the doctor and the drug companies who are considered the "experts." These "experts" are part of a vast medical industrial complex which is composed of an alliance between the providers of health care—doctors, hospitals, clinics, medical schools and industry—drug companies, hospital supply companies and health insurance companies.

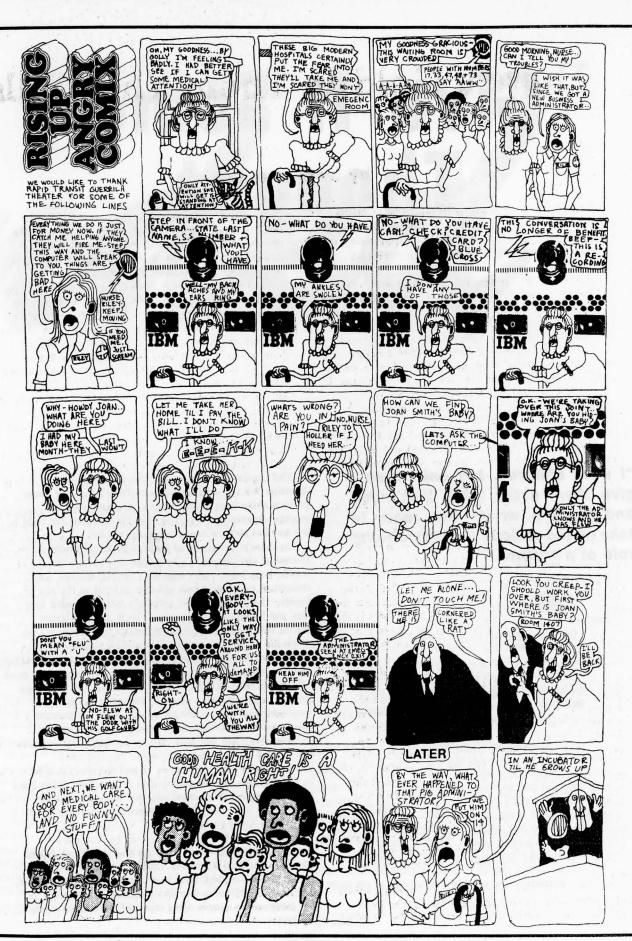
The health care system operates on the same principle as business, on the basis of profit. The number of doctors is controlled by medical schools which impose unreasonable standards for admission. The purpose is to create an artifical shortage of doctors so that those that do practice are in a position to charge whatever fees they desire. Likewise, hospitals are operated on the basis of profit with the result that routine hospital costs are more than \$300 a day. Of course, most people cannot afford such exorbitant costs and are therefore forced to take out expensive health insurance policies. Such organizations as Blue Cross gross millions of dollars in profits every year. Those that cannot afford insurance policies and are unable to pay for hospital care are sent to clinics and run down city owned hospitals.

Drug companies also amass huge profits by overcharging and advocating the use of many drugs that are unnecessary. Thus patients are awakened in the middle of the night to take sleeping pills. Their executives sit on hospital boards and determine hospital policy with the result that hospitals are run in a manner which maximizes the profits of the drug companies. Clinics are operated in a similar manner as hospitals. It is no wonder then that women are not fully informed of the dangers of oral contraceptives. The drug companies have made millions from the pill and do not wish to reduce their profits.

Conditions in the clinics and hospitals are identical to those in the factory and the business office because they are the result of the same economic system. Under Capitalism, the worker, whether he labors in a factory, business office, clinic or hospital, is reduced to an unthinking machine who works merely for a sum of money and has no role in decision making. He serves merely as a tool for carrying out the decisions of the boss and is therefore often detached and alienated from his work. Work becomes merely a means for earning a living and nothing more.

To justify this the worker is portrayed as being uncapable of making complicated decisions. All decision making is concentrated in the hands of the boss who is considered the "expert." Of course, this is merely an excuse to justify a system based on inequality and the subservience of the worker to the boss.

This situation can only be rectified through socialism where the people directly control the institutions of government, business and medical care. Decision making must be taken out of the hands of the "experts" and placed in the hands of the people. Only then will the interest of the people be put above the interests of profit.



# Give It Some Thought

by annie errico

"I want children, but only when I give them every thing they need and deserve, when I feel ready to take on the difficult and demanding role of a mother."

The Legislature will reconsider the fate of the present Abortion Bill this coming January. They are acting under pressure in the form of the Right to Life Committee, a wealthy organization declaring that the fetus has the right to live and that abortion is a synonym for murder.

The thought of an end to legal abortions frightens me because if abortion hadn't been legal last year, today I would have been a very unhappy, uptight mother. The thought of marriage struck me like arthritis at the age of twenty. I didn't know if I loved the father, or what love was, and I didn't feel like gambling on it. Being pregnant elicited both happy and depressed feelings in me. I had a new life in me, but realizing this new life, I also realized the seriousnessof the decisionIwas about to make. Having the baby meant a rearrangement of my whole life. one I would have made with the thoughts of a fat, cuddly baby. But I was able to see beyond those initial few months. The baby was going to grow and need more time and money, it was a constant thing. My whole life would work around this new person, and I was still too selfish to give up my future for someone else. I want children, but only when I can give them everything they need and deserve, when I feel ready to take on the difficult and demanding role of a mother. What right did I have to bring a person into this world under such unprepared, unwanted circumstances? Abortion was my only reality.

I called an abortion agency sponsered by Womens Lib and it was arranged for me to visit a doctor on Long Island. The price was \$100.00 making it a light burden. The office was in a clean, modern brick two story building and was run by a doctor and three or four young women. There were a few other women in the waiting room and I wondered if they



were all here for the same reason. We were called one by one into a little glass enclosed office, and answered some social and medical questions while the woman filled out our form. The questions were clear and to the point, but not intimidating. She also explained the operation and its procedures which I was very thankful for.

After donning a white paper smock, I was lead to the operating room, which was small and had a gynecological chair in the center, a funny looking machine and other equipment. It was bright and had a fish tank by the window. Because I was less than twenty-one weeks pregnant, I received a vacuum aspiration abortion, which took less than fifteen minutes and the only pain was an uncomfortable feeling of pressure on my stomach. The doctor, a pleasant middle aged man, gave me a novacaine in my cervix muscle to prevent any pain. The actual abortion was painless, but a very strange feeling. The machine makes a horrible noise and works like a vaccum cleaner. The nozzle of the rubber pipe connected to the machine was inserted into the womb and removed the fetus.

During the operation one of the women stayed with me and held my hand, made me laugh and feel relaxed. It had been a long time since I had grasped another woman's hand in fear and anticipation. Afterwards, I was taken, feeling weak and relieved that it went so well, to a room where I was able to lay down as long as I felt necessary. Here I was able to talk to other women who also just received abortions. The overall feeling expressed by my peers was one of relief and we all agreed that it was the necessary thing to do. I had no after effects, I just cried a little.

It was all over. I was undamaged, a little more responsible and wiser. To make this procedure illegal would only be another act of illogical justice. To my knowledge, no physical repercussions occured during any of the abortions committed during the bill's short life. Yet, there are quite a few sad horrible stories concerning women and illegal abortion.

To keep the right as women to make decisions about our bodies and lives, this Abortion Bill must be kept alive. No one is forced to undergo an abortion—the right to life is still there. For women who have had abortions and would like to speak out either for or against the issue, there were hearings held by the NY Womens National Abortion Action Coaliion (WONAAC) on Oct. 21st at NYU's Law School. The purpose of these hearings, internationally arranged, was to build testimony for an International Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception, and Forced Sterlizaion scheduled for March '73. Its purpose will be to take the testimonies of different women who used abortion, and show the need for legal abortions. The problems of continuing abortion restrictions will also be an issue discussed at this international women's conference. The pro-abortion feeling is gradually being accepted by many people and sects. Even the Pope is having his silk robes rumbled by the Catholic Women for the Right to Choose—a Catholic pro abortion committee based in Connecticut.

In different states petitions have been signed, enough so that in some places the petitions have grown into issues on local voting ballots (NOTE: Both Nixon and McGovern have taken anti-abortion stands on the issue.) To some this abortion dispute may seem blown out of proportion. Maybe, but it must be viewed as a part of a whole, something else called change, a small step in the direction of giving people back their rights, to make this earth ours again. Give it some thought.

## Please God



yourself pregnant with an unwanted child. What eludes me is that birth control is so available, and nowhere near as expensive as an abortion. The reasons for not obtaining birth control are many: "It's too expensive"; "My family might find out"; "It's so messy", "It's too much trouble"; "The Pill isn't safe"—have you heard most of these? Or are you one of the people using these reasons? There's an article on abortion here, I'm not going to tell you more about that. I'm going to tell you how to avoid the expense, trouble, and possible traumas of abortion.

The methods of birth control that need no prescription are:

Rhythm: For this method, you will need a year's record of your menstrual periods, a record of your body temperature, and the help of an experienced doctor. As you can see, this isn't going to do you much good right now. In addition to all this preparation to practice rhythm, the fact remains that ovulation cannot be predicted exactly. To emphasize the falliability of this method, may I inform you that I am a rhythm baby, one of the many results of playing "Vatican Roulette". Belief in this method has caused much anxiety and a lot of prayers around the 28th day of one's cycle.

Withdrawal: This method needs no preparation, only quick reflexes on the man's part. When the man feels that he is going to ejaculate, he withdraws his penis from the woman's body, so that no semen will enter. However, while making love, it is very easy to forget-and even if he makes it out before he comes, there is a very good chance for the few drops of precoital fluid produced before ejaculation to get into the vagina and send several million sperm swimming up to the uterus. This method has a very low record of success.

Vaginal Suppositories, Jellies, and Creams: The supositories are supposed to dissolve with body heat and release a sperm-killing agent. They usually don't dissolve. The creams and jellies also contain a sperm-killing agent, but these creams and jellies are designed for use with other contraceptive devices, and are not effective on their own. They're also kind of messy by themselves.

Vaginal Foams: These foams, such as Delphen, have a pretty high rate of effectiveness. The woman squirts the foam into an applicator, and then places it in her vagina and presses the plunger. This places a barrier of sperm-killers around the cervix. This is sometimes called the "hurry-up" method, due to the fact that this method must be used no longer than half an hour before intercourse. It's not too much trouble, there is no need to douche afterwards, and if you have no other method available to you, it's better than relying on the other methods mentioned above.

The Condom: This is a skin, put on the penis while erect, designed to hold the sperm within itself and keep it from entering the vagina. The problems entailed are possible breakage, caused by putting the condom on too tightly, and the loss of sensation due to the fact that this is a physical barrier, and it dulls feeling in the penis. Many people call the condom unaesthetic, believing that it detracts from the pleasure of love. This may be true, but it is, nevertheless, a highly effective non-prescription method.

The condom and one of the vaginal foams, used in conjunction, form a very strong barrier against pregnancy. In fact, when a method of birth control such as the Pill or the IUD is chosen at a Planned Parenthood clinic, the patient is given Delphen foam and a supply of condoms, to use until it is safe to rely on the other method.

The methods that need a doctor's prescription are:

The Piii: This is the most wanted form of birth control, by what I've seen at the PP clinics. It's so aesthetic, and very removed from the act of love: a pill is taken each morning, along with your vitamins, and you are protected against pregnancy. The Pill is unsafe for some women, though. Your doctor will study your medical history, and then judge if you will have any problems with the Pill. Commonly reported reactions are headaches, backaches, gain of weight or water retention, spotting through the month, and loss of menstrual periods for awhile. However, some women never have a history that determines this, so don't go to the doctor with your heart set on ONLY the Pill.

The Diaphragm: This is a rubber shield, shaped like a semi-circular cup. Cream or jelly is put inside the cup, and around the rim, and the whole thing is inserted into the vagina, up to the mouth of the uterus. Your doctor will measure you for the size diaphragm you need (so don't go borrowing your mom's), and then instruct you as to how to insert it. It can be inserted a few hours before intercourse, and the only thing that you have to do is remember to apply more cream or jelly in the vagina before each time you make love. Some people think this is messy; well, if you choose to think this way, then it probably is, but I have found that it's a quite simple method. You can insert it in the morning when you take your shower and forget about it. The diaphragm cannot be felt at all after insertion, and you don't have to worry about painful side effects. I think it's a very natural form of birth control, with no chemicals to harm your body.

The IUD: The IUD, or interuterine device, is one of those risky things. Though Planned Parenthood doesn't go by this belief any more, it used to be said that only a woman who had been pregnant could get an IUD. They come in different shapes, and there are special ones for women who have never been pregnant. However, a woman who has never conceived will have a harder time becoming accustomed to the IUD. She may expel it spontaneously, and will have more pronounced problems with it. Even if you have conceived, the side effects are heavier periods, more craming than usual at that time, and spotting throughout the initial few weeks with it. Once the problems subside, or if you have no problems with it, this is a great method. You only have to check for the string attached to it, to make sure it's still there. This device must be inserted during your period. Expect some pain.

#### Planned parenthood

The above three methods are very effective against pregnancy, and they are very easy to obtain. All you need do is contact Planned Parenthood. The phone number for the main office is 677-3040. They will give you the number of the Family Planning clinic nearest you. Just tell the secretary that you want birth control, and she will schedule you for an appointment. Make sure you won't have your period on that day, since you will be getting a pelvic examination and a Pap test.

The doctors, nurses, and aides at Planned Parenthood are all efficient and friendly, to my experience. When you come for your appointment, you will have to wait a while in a cheery, nicely furnished waiting room. Then your name will be called, and you and a bunch of other women will go to another room, where an aide will explain the methods of birth control available to you, and answer all your questions. After another wait, you will have a conference with an aide,

who will help you choose **your** method of birth control. Then, you will have your pelvic exam and Pap test, and you will get your device at that time.

If you are under 18, no hassle. You will have a conference with a social worker, who will act in loco parentis (in place of your parents), and authorize you to receive birth control devices and information. You pay according to what you can afford. If you prefer that Planned Parenthood not get in touch with you at your home, they will not do so, except in the case of an emergency. If they must contact you, they will do so as discreetly as possible.

You have absolutely nothing to worry about when it comes to Planned Parenthood. Their personnel are friendly, informative, and expert in their field. No one desiring birth control is turned away. I've even made friends during my visits there. I hope this article has helped you—and I hope

you won't be praying for your period any longer.

Post script:

After the writing of this article, I was made aware of some information that should be imparted to you, the reader:

- 1. Recent studies imply that women with sickle cell anemia may develop blood clots if they take the Pill. Black women should bear this in mind when they choose a birth control method.
- 2. I have been told that some women have not had the same pleasant experience I have reported, specifically at the Richmond Family Planning Clinic. My visits to the Boro Hall (Brooklyn) and Second Avenue (Manhattan) clinics have been, as I've told you above, pleasant, albeit lengthy. When you call the main number mentioned above, you can ask to be referred to Boro Hall or Second Avenue. Peace!

### Alternative Clinic

#### by pat mc fadden

This past summer, I had an opportunity to spend time at the Los Angeles Womens Self Helf Clinic. Not only was I very impressed but was very excited by the concept. The L.A. Clinic has been working with self help techniques for over a year. Countless articles have been written on what these woman do, But to see and experience it for yourself is very different. In all my visits to a gynocologist, I never knew what he was looking at, or how he diagnosed what was wrong with me. I just felt shame and embarrasement as I lay semi-naked with some nurse leering at me. I swore I wouldn't let myself become intimidated again.

Reading about my body helped me to understand, but "cervix", "uterus", these terms were vague. I wanted to control my own body. But how? In L.A. I saw a cervix, and understood for the first time how a diaphragm actually works, also the cervical canal (birth canal), and marveled at how magnificently women are made. I also realized women long ago should have been able themselves just to unders-

tand how their bodies function. By looking at your own cervix regularly you can diagnose many different things.

If you're pregnant as early as 3 to 4 days after conception, you notice the change in the color (pink to bluish). You'll know if you're getting a vaginal infection before it drives you crazy. A great discovery of the Self Help Clinic was that of monilia, a common yeast infection spreads to the external vulva and causes itching.

The concept of self help is giving myself and other women peace of mind and much more confidence to demand better care, answers to our questions, and to begin to rid ourselves of the fears we carry in us as women. Since most of the knowledge is still in the hands of professionals who begrudge us the little information we have, we must come to each other and explore and talk. If anyone would like to talk or see some self help literature, contact:

Pat McFadden
Advocate C-115

Pregnacy Testing Nurses Office Friday 9-12

Family Planning Clinics Richmond Family Planning 61 Stuyvesant Pl. Sa 7-6000

Jamica Family Planning 90-37 Parsons Blvd. (OI 8-6600) (658-6627) Planned Parenthood Clinic 380 Second Ave (22th St) N.Y. 10010 (677-6476) (777-2002)

Neighborhood Maternity 466 Prospect Ave 991-5300 Red Hook Maternity & Family Planning 250 Baltic Street 643-5819 643-5814

### Media Messages

#### 7.V.: From Wasteland to Desert

#### by bob levine

Les Brown, television and radio editor for Variety, the weekly trade paper of the entertainment industry was asked recently on David Frost's talk show how he would sum up the state of the broadcasting business. He summed it up in one word—

The word was "Fear."

He pointed out that a TV executive was not going to risk a \$200,000 a year salary by climbing out on an unknown limb. And this, Brown imp licated, explains the incresingly tame and bland programs offered by the commercial networks.

He didn't elaborate, probably because David Frost gave him a short quarter hour after that, most of which David filled with his own anecdotes.

But for us listeners, Brown's remark was the clue to the mystery of the murder of television drama in the U.S.A. Mammon is the murderer in this whodunit.

The cost of a TV situation series of 39 weekly sketches has been estimated at \$3,000,000 from advertisers. With so many millions at stake, would the nervous networks take chances on any flights of the imagination? If any of the high-salaried bigwigs ever were so inclined they have changed their ways or have vanished from the scene, and is evidenced by the declining level of each new fall season.

As a matter of fact, the past fall season looked like one vast rerun of the worst of the last five years.

It isn't that the script writers lack talents. But after their offerings are laundered by committees and bluepenciled by vice-presidents sensitive to sponsors, little remains to divert the viewer's attention from the soap and toilet paper and dogfood commercials.

Nor do the actors lack talent. Shirley McLaine is dissipating her bright gifts in ABC's "Shirley's World."



illustration by annie errico

Tony Curtis talks thieves grimly in "The Persuaders."

Herschell Bernadi carries on from last season as the irrepressible Arnie, which in the interest of his artistic career he should have had the courage to repress.

James Franciscus, who once gave up pleasure as a high school teacher, has sunk this season into chasing insurance crooks though, in his case, something new has been added. James is a blind detective, which is supposed to heighten all his other senses. In

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this, by the way, may lurk a moral. We may learn from this the superiority of radio over television as a vehicle for drama. Perhaps the radio broadcasters may take up again the playwriting which television has deserted.

But why continue the litany of dreary sitcoms and westerns and homicidal plots in which the pistol is more prolific than the pen?

Nor is the deterioration confined to the drama. Documentaries are fewer, and if we get an occasional "Selling of the Pentagon," the outraged cry of a Spiro Agnew, though answered with bold words by CBS executives, have had their effect on this season's documentaries.

The TV wasteland of more than a decade ago has been turned by private enterprise into a desert.

The dessicating process was inevitable, given the profitmaking inentives of the private networks. Once the golden shower started from the sale of advertising space in the skies, nothing could withstand laws of capitalist accumulation.

This was not the original intention of Congress that first passed the acts granting franchises in the 1920's to radio broadcasters. Nor was it even the original aim of the broadcasters who, being radio manufacturers, had first thought of their stations as promoting the sales of radios. That is why the early radio programs, and even the early TV programs in the years after 1949 which marked the "Golden Age" of drama, provided pleasure and some instruction.

But the decades brought increasing commercials and actors and the best writers and the brightest tunes are diverted more and more to the comercials, while the programs wedged into the narrowing spaces between them are kept to a contrasting gray. (TV, continued)

"The bourgeoisie," says the Comunist Manifesto of Marx and Engles, "has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science into its paid wagelaborers."

The private networks, we can say, have converted TV sets into sales machines, and our playwrights into salesmen.

The Federal Communications Commission, established by Congress in the 1920's as a watchdog to see that the broadcasters fulfilled their public service obligations in exchange for their monopoly franchises, could not stop this trend. Most FCC members shared the capitalist ideology of the industry. Congressmen, to whom the FCC owed its life, often had their own financial interests in broadcasting stations. President Johnson, for exam through his wife's holdings owned an Austin, Texas, radio and TV enterprise. And Nixon's appointent of Dean Burch, manager of the 1964 Goldwater campaign, as FCC manager showed what little reliance can today be placed on FCC regulations.

Only the voice of Nicholas Johnson, youngest of the FCC members, has been heard loud and clear for viewers' rights, so much so that demands for his dismissal have come from broadcasters. But Johnson has few allies on the FCC. Nevertheless, he has not lost hope that viewers will be roused from their living room couches to fight for a better broadcasting world, and this hope he has set out in his book, "How to Talk Back to Your Television Set."

Recent developments show there is some foundation for hope.

The most visible of these on a growing national scale is non-commercial television.



# Record Review Black Kangaroo by irving sealey

I'm not sure whether anyone knows it or not, but Jorma Kaukonen, lead for The Jefferson Airplane, has a brother. His name is Peter and he is also a guitar player, and I might add just as good as his relation. For anyone not acquainted with the work of Peter Kaukonen, he's been on a few albums of the Airplane. If you're familiar with the LP "Jefferson Starship," (the true acid trip of '71), check out the cut "Mau Mau", it's the first one and the heaviest on the album. Peter played lead on that track. He's also made an appearance on the "Sunfighter" LP by Paul Kantner and Grace Slick. As you can see, Jorma's brother has made the rounds with some pretty heavy sound men in the business already, considering that on both of those LP's there were also people like Jerry Garcia, David Crosby and Graham

He's now branched out on his own with his first LP entitled "Black Kangaroo", a strange name for an album. I don't know whether kangaroos are on the verge of extinction due to the wastfulness of man or whether Peter just got this thing for kangaroos, so if anybody hears anything on this matter, inform me. I haven't been keeping up with the latest development of kangaroos these days. (Sometimes, I feel I'm just so out of it.)

Otherwise, the LP is a fine piece of musicianship. I'm glad to see that Brother Peter has not copied the successful style of Jorma, to try to make a name for himself under the guise of a herald for the Airplane, (even though he has Joey Covington playing drums on a few cuts). On the contrary, his playing is thoroughly inventive and his own, it verges on the sound of old Jimi Hendrix's

(Continued on next page)

#### Movie Review

#### by gayle kearns

J. W. Coop gives the moviegoer a close look at what can develop when the writer-director of a film also stars in his own work. Cliff Robertson is the writerdirector . . . and Cliff Robertson is J. W. Coop, an ex-con who has just finished serving ten years in an Oklahoma prison for passing bad cheques. Robertson cast himself well for the part of J. W., a cowboy rodeo rider who is really "out of it" after a ten vear imprisonment. He literally cannot comprehend talk about unions, hippies, job situations, and the war. His only aim is to make up for the past ten years and become number one in the rodeo circuit. Unfortunately, like so many other things spoiled by

technological advancement and money hungry tycoons, the rodeo is not J. W.'s rodeo of ten years before. This basic point of the film is good, as well as some of the great directing by Robertson—the scenes of the rodeo competition and the direction of himself. But after this the film is on the decline. The basic flaw of a writer-director who also plays the main character shows itself clearly; he tends to focus on himself too much and ignore the background and development of the other characters.

"Bean" (the co-star) a 1964 flowerchild hippie character comes on the scene to show J. W. "where it's at", which only points out to the viewer that Cliff

#### Out Of It

Robertson doesn't know where it's at outside of the film industry. Like too many others he has stereotyped the American youth's lifestyle as traveling across the country shouting "free love" and motioning peace signs at everyone he meets. This aspect of the film detracts from the main theme—the development of a character who has been out of touch with society for the past ten years. The changes of the character are seen outwardly through his materialistic surrounding, but any further exploration of the inner changes of J. W. is lost in ambiguous terms.



# Jethro Pullat the Garden

Jethro Tull continues to amaze people. This fact was made even more evident last Monday, evening at Madison Square Garden. Finally getting the acclaim that they deserved, Tull, who had been criticized in their earlier years for soloing too much limited this practice and gave the people a solid two hours of continuous free flowing flawless music.

Lead by the infamous Ian Anderson, Tull had the crowd of 20,000 in a trance throughout the concert. Their music, which is "classical rock" is what the rock world definitely needs more of although I don't think there are as many musicians who have as much class as they do and who could express themselves through it more than Tull.

As they entered the stage pandemonium broke out and they went into a song of the THICK AS A BRICK album. Anderson starts it off on flute and acoustic guitar for about 5 minutes and the rest of the group quietly sneak on stage and proceed to turn his quiet lyrics into a powerful tight tune which typifies their style of music. I don't think one of them mis-timed anything all night.

With all the color and attractiveness that goes with Tull I seem to get into Anderson most of all as he dances around, continually psyching up his partners while playing his flute. He was in fact introduced as the world's greatest one-legged flute player. But indeed his presence means more to this group than any other member. He' has class and attractiveness in his style—he is what brings you to Tull.

Also featured throughout the

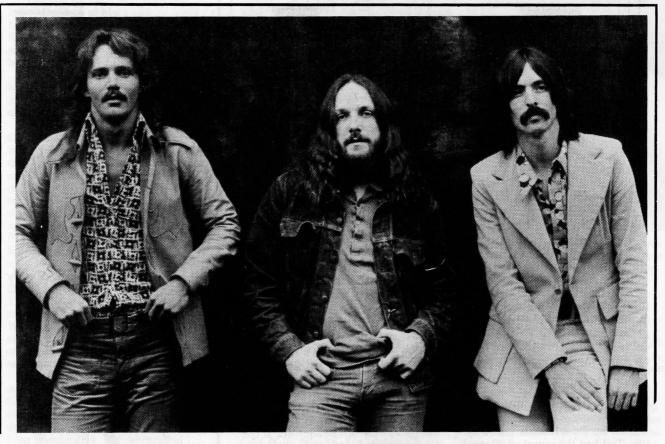
evening were: Martin Barre, lead guitar; Jeffrey Hammond Hammond, on bass; John Evans, who is rapidly turning into a first rate pianist and organist; and Barrymore Barlow on drums. Each one in his own a fine musician but once again their ability to play with each other in such perfect accord makes them seem infallible.

One criticism I have of the show is not on Tull but on the audience at the Garden. In days of old a Tull concert at the Fillmore East was sort of an intimate gathering of Tull and the solid Tull freaks. Since those times and especially since the release of the AQUALUNG album, which was not their best release, Tull has thousands of the A.M. crowd. These people are comprised of mainly teenie boppers and the rest are made up of the faithful Cousin Brucie crowd and they haven't any concept of music appreciation. Throughout the night if you were sitting in various locals you had to put up with enormous amounts of screaming and in particular requests of songs from the AQUALUNG album, which were the only songs they could get into. But luckily getting into Tull can alleviate these problems greatly and almost make you forget them.

Their next performance in New York will also be at the Garden which even without the annoying groupies is not a good place for concerts. Because of its enormous size and acoustics the echoing makes you lose some of the tightness. Yeah, its fine for the hard rock group who blasts you to pieces. But for a delicate machine such as Tull—well bring back the Fillmore.







#### by irving sealey

It's very rare that I find myself indulging in the sound of three man rock bands, unless there's something unique about them such as a guitar player, a singer or just a combination of the two. The combination of guitar, bass and drums is such a bleak and straightfoward sound that in this ear of rock it takes something other than just the volume to

#### Black Kanga—continued

"1983." Outside of this minor defect the music is rugged and he gets on with a sound of funky guitar with a bluesy voice to match.

All of the tunes were written by Peter, and for a first effort LP, it's good. Songs of this calibre like "Prisoner," "Postcard" and "Up and Down" should make him almost as popular as Jorma, a superstar in his own right. Peter has also gathered with him a fine set of musicians to help him get his LP off to a good start, from promo copies to actual sales results. His name should help him out for a while, but soon it will come down to how well the public digs his sound. After that Peter Kaukonen should have no trouble being a superstar in his own right.

### Ursa Major

entice an audience. There are many three man musician bands which fill this requirement. (The biggies I need not have to mention)

A new three man band has entered upon the scene with that straightforward sound, not altogether different but very intriguing. The band name is Ursa Major and like the star constellation their sound is truly spacy. They have a new LP out under the same name. The music is basically a hard, raunchy type of rock with basic beats of heavy drums piercing and electrifying guitar riffs and throbing bass. In some instances I notice the bass being used as a rythm instrument, a quality varied in most hard rock bands. There are also fine mixtures of accoustic guitar, which tend to give the song a twang of expressiveness and creativity, and if occasionally the atmosphere of vitality fills with violins, listen well for they're there for the express purpose of mixing in with the harmonious vocal renditions on all songs.

The trio which makes up: Ursa Major consists of Greg Arama, bass vocals. Greg is a man who has been classified as on of the finest rock bassmen in the field. After recording four albums, when he was seventeen, with the

Amboy Dukes and performing gigs with such notables as Jimi Hendrix, Byrds and Vanilla Fudge, it's easy to see why he's rated so highly. His bass strokes are fluid and individual which truly adds to the overall conglomeration. Ricky Mangone, percussion and vocals and Dick Wagner, who not only writes all of the material, but happens to play very fine guitar. His long list of credentials are an emphasis of his talent. Dick has played with people like Joe Cocker, Three Dog Night, Faces, Mountain and Jethro Tull.

The songs which I found stood out the most were "In my darkest Hour", and "Back to the Land," a song with a great blend of guitar, bass and a bit of moog with some hidden piano played by Al Kooper. It's a shame that a sound as good as Ursa Major's will rarely move past the premiere stage. The music is excellently played and anyone hearing it would get off on it as well as any of the superstar heavies. But the band is new, the sound is similar and in most cases that equals going nowhere. Personally after hearing their album I felt I should give them credit for a fine first effort and hope they do break out for the stars, Ursa Major.

# INTERVIEW: Filmmaker Emile de Antonio discusses his past, his progression to political filmmaking, and his latest documentary - "Milhouse- a white comedy

Liberation News Service

(Editor's note: In the middle of April, as President Nixon crossed the northern border of the U.S. to visit Canada, the Canadian government closed down a movie theatre in Ottawa because the film they were showing was "disrespectful" and "insulting" to the President. The film? Emile de Antonio's "Mithouse: A White Comedy"—a documentary about Nixon

Despite the fact that documenaries don't usually do well in the United States, the film has played from coast to coast ever since it come out in the spring of 1971, in small towns, big cities and on college campuses.

Emile de Antonio's other films have also done well, even though they are all documentaries which don't claim to be "objective" the way television documentaries do.

His first film "Point of Order" (about the hearings held in the 50's by Senator Joseph McCarthy to investigate the army for comunist infiltration) is just about the only film to be made of that period.

"Year of the Pig", a film about the Vietnam War is still being played all over the country and one of the North Vietnamese negotiators in Paris said it was the best film made about the war.

De Antonio also made "Rush to Judgement", a film about the Carren Commission's investigation of President Kennedy's death and is just now completing a film about the U.S. art world post-World War II to the present.

De Antonio got into films later in life compared to many political filmmakers; he can remember the stagnant fifties and the "Old Nixon" and knows the "New Nixon". In the following interview he talks about McCarthy, Nixon, the 50's and the 70's.)



A Liberated News Service

HOW DID YOU GET INTO FILMS?

That is a question that I've been asked a lot and I'm always embarassed by it. I wish there was a clear straight-forward truthful answer about why I got into films. But there isn't. In a sense I almost backed into it. I went to the movies very rarely. I suppose I got inerested in films as I got interested in politics again.

I had once, when I was very young, been a communist, at Harard. Then I became apolitical. At the same time I was backing into film by mistake I started becoming interested in political events. And these things fused in "Point of Order." But even that's not the truth because it was not that clear. It took a long time; it was comlicated.

I worked on the docks when I got out of Harvard. I worked on the docks for 8 or 9 months in Baltimore which was a very rough waterfront. I became a longshoreman because I decided since I was preaching left wing theory as an undergraduate I ought to find out what the hell it was like because I hadn't really done it.

#### WHEN DID YOU BECOME APOLITICAL?

Well, the military during World War II tended to have that effect on people. First of all in the military you were totally isolated from anybody who was political. Where I was and what I was doing, there were almost no people who were even liberal. When I got out of the military I went to graduate school and there was that period of readjustment and disillusionment and a period of my life took place largely in Greenwich Village. There were a lot of people who were like me. I had to do with a lot of drinks and trying to make up for that three years lost. I may sound

dramatic but it was a simple fact.

As the cold war started the government at this point was very efficient at supplying large chunks of cold war rhetoric. One thing that people forgot, when you get into the early '50s is that it's not just Sen. Joseph McCarthy. There already was HUAC (The House Unamerican Activities Comittee) going full blast. The government was producing the whole rhetoric of the cold war.

There were so few voices, there were so few people who you could turn to in the year 1952 because this country was very frightened. The war in Vietnam made everything much more clear—the issues became clearer. It's too bad it took a lot of dead Vietnamese and dead Americans too to make those issues clear but the conflicts in our society obviously became more apparent in the '60s than the '50s.

They were there in the '50s but there was no organization, there were no magazines, there were almost no writers, there were almost no films. There wasn't any places where ideas and people could meet. The cloust of the government was enormous. In universities that was the beginning of the great CIA takeover. There were a lot of guys who were pigs and did the takeover but I knew a lot of guys who were OK people who were taken over and didn't even know they were taken over. The campuses-instead of demonstrations, they had panty raids.



WHAT DID YOU DO DURING THE '50s?

Nothing.

WHAT WERE YOU THINKING
ABOUT?

In my mind I withdrew. I became apolitical. I didn't believe in what was going on. I was outside the system but I was outside by myself—there was no com-



munity. You saw the thing happening and you were impotent. The feeling of impotence is finally the most devastating of all feelings. You saw the trade union moveent, which I helped to organize when I was 16 years old, becoming racist, elitist. You saw a union like the printers union already setting it up so that sons would get jobs-exluding not just blacks but other ethnic groups too. There was no voice raised against this. YOU'VE MADE TWO MOVIES ABOUT TWO REACTIONARY POLITICIANS—"POINT OF

ORDER", ABOUT SEN.
JOSEPH MCCARTHY, AND
"MILHOUSE" ABOUT NIXON.
HOW WOULD YOU
COMPARE THE TWO MEN?

If anything I developed a slight sympathy for McCarthy because of the way the system was railroading him. Don't forget that McCarthy was railroaded. When McCarthy was useful, the system used him. McCarthy was given the chairmanship of a major senate committee—that never would have happened to a junior senator unmess his machinations as a chairan of that committee would have been helpful to the Republican Party.

But he started to run crazy. He started saying that the government was full of communists—and it was his own party that he was attacking. His own party was, in 1953, running the country—they were in the White House and had a majority in the House and Senate. That's when he was crushed.

This is the fundamental thing about Nixon. Nixon and McCarthy were very close. They were very dissimilar in style but when we were working on Milhouse we tried to find the famous speeches that McCarthy delivered in California in 1950 for Nixon when he was running. The film clips show McCarthy coming to California to speak in Nixon's behalf in Nixon's congressional campaign yet Nixon was part of the team that dumped McCarthy.

There was a group that met in the White House that included Nixon, William Rogers, who's now the Sec. of State, Henry Cabot Lodge, who was the U.S. Ambassador to the UN, and Clark Clifford who was a Democrat. These people got together and said, McCarthy is wrecking the country, McCarthy is wrecking the army, McCarthy is wrecking the administration. It was they who decided to run the Army-McCarthy hearings (which led to the exposure and downfall of McCarthy).

McCarthy was done in because he broke the rules of the game, the rules of the establishment. And this is one reason why, though McCarthy stood for Facist ideas, he himself was a drunkard, he had no party, he had no group around him. When you think of a facist you immediately think of cliques and organization. Though McCarthy was power-hungry; he was money-hungry; he stole; he was supported by all the facist elements in the country including President Kennedy's father, and the Texas millionaires, he represented facism more than he was a facist.

He and Nixon did the same things (like running for office on anti-communism) except that Nixon did them first. Nixon did it in 1948 and McCarthy started in 1950. Nixon did it better, Nixon did more intelligently. The one thing I feel strongly about is that Nixon is the most intelligent creature this country has produced in the 20th century. I may find him personally and politically repellant and abhorent, but he is somebody who was down and out in 1962 and who is now in the White House and who has managed to pull off all the things he has pulled off without doing anything. He is killing more people in Vietnam yet many people in the U.S. feel the war is winding down.

What he was able to do in the Alger Hiss case for example, is the

key to what Nixon is all about (Alger Hiss was a State Dept. official who was charged with passing State secrets. He was finaly only convicted of perjury.) He took one case. This is what we wanted to get into the film but couldn't. (There is no footage of it). This is the one case where Nixon is caught redhanded in an outright lie. Not an equivocation—a real lie in its literal definition. He says in Six Crises in talking about Hiss "on August 17,1948 when Whittaker Chambers went before HUAC, the names Alger and Donal Hiss were mentioned. That's the first time I ever heard them mentioned."

Whereas for one year Nixon as a congressman had been getting secret information about the Hisses from a Catholic priest in Baltimore who was in with the FBI.

For one year he had been preparing his case. That's the difference between Nixon and McCarthy. McCarthy shot his mouth off. McCarthy said all those things that were so crazy that people stopped believing him. McCarthy said of Eisenhower, "We had 20 years of treason under Roosevelt and Truman and now under Eisenhower, 21". McCarthy was saying that the CIA was full of communists, that the hydrogen bomb plants were full of communists. Whereas Nixon just said Alger Hiss and fingering Alger Hiss he prepared his case very carefully; he did a brilliant job. He got Hiss sent to prison and he himself into the White House.

A LARGE PART OF
MILHOUSE FOCUSED ON
HOW NIXON USED
MEDIA—WHICH HE DIDN'T
AS WELL AS KENNEDY FOR
EXAMPLE. WHY DIDN'T YOU
TRY TO MAKE THE POINT
ABOUT KENNEDY, WHO WAS
SO MYTHOLOGIZED?

The answer to that question is in your question. Kennedy used the media in a much more subtle way than Nixon. Also there was much less media coverage of him than Nixon. If you're making a film in which you use found material like stock footage—there simply isn't much stuff about Kennedy because film libraries didn't have anything. Nobody filmed Jack Kennedy untill almost 1959. He was just another senator and not a very distinguished one. He was just a good-looking young senator.

The film libraries weren't even created except CBS;s until after

1963. There just isn't the material.

There's a second question in that Kennedy was superficially such a likeable man. He was smoother, upperclass. The reason why Nixon is such a brilliant politician is because he's so unlikeable—he doesn't look like anything. His manner is so jerky compulsive, nervous yet still he's able to win an election. The myth—the Kennedy image of Camelot—that's what's left in the film libraries. There's nothing left in the film libraries that could enable vou to pinpoint—that's a book not a film.

One of the reasons Nixon was of interest to me personally was because there has been only one major figure in American life who runs the whole length of the Cold War and ends up in power. Nixon ran for congress in 1946 for the first time on Cold War issues. He charged that the guy who ran against him-Jerry Voorheis-was a Communist. He started all the smear techniques. He ran on the Cold War in 1948, the Hiss case. In 1950 he said Helen Gahagan Douglas was a Communist; in 1952 Eisenhower was forced to choose him because he was the choice of the extreme conservatives in the Republican Party. He was a hardliner on Communism, he was a hardliner on China, Korea, the Soviet Union and later because he was a hardliner on Vietnam and everything else.



And he's smart—the Checkers Speech was taken out of circulaion by Nixon-it was surpressed. (In which Nixon explained away his suspicious campaign conributions by pleading poverty and talking about his "little dog Checkers".) We got it from the movement. That's the only reason it's in the film Milhouse. Nobody has seen Checkers from 1952 to 1971, because Nixon bought it up. I tried to get it in 1968. When I called the networks and asked, can I get a look at Checkers. And they said oh, sure, we'll send it over.

Then the guy called the next day and said you can't have it—it turns out a client owns it and nobody can look at it. I said who's the client? And they said the Republican National Committee so I called the Republican National Comittee and they said you can't have it, Mr. Nixon owns it.

I think Nixon is going to be a lot different the next term than this one. I think that Vietnam proves we can be Nazis without jackboots. And we have our conentration camps in Attica and San Quentin. And what we're going to do is vote Nixon in and we're going to become the first nation in the world to vote facism in. I think that when Nixon apointed Rehnquist and Powell to the Supreme Court it was a glimpse of what the future holds for us.

IF YOU FEEL THAT WAY DO YOU THINK YOU WOULD DO A MOVIE ABOUT THE SIGNS OF COMING GREATER REPRESSION?

No because those are vague ideas in my head. I don't know what those signs are.

WHAT ABOUT A FILM WITH FOOTAGE OF REHNQUIST AND POWELL FOR EXAMPLE?

There aren't that many film clips of people like Rehnquist. The reporters couldn't even find enough of the words, enough of the witnesses when Rehnquist was trying to keep blacks from voting in Arizona. They couldn't even find enough people to which this had been done even. There's no film of Rehnquist and Powell and now that they're there, they're not going to talk to anybody. They'll give a formal interview to CBS on "My Legal Philosophy" which just makes them look good.

The real history of our times is on film, on tape-the words just don't do it. I think there should be a national electronics archive financed by the three networks that make such a profit off our air. And anything that's in it should be made available to everybody at cost. First of all the networks are destroying what they have. Tape is expensive but they keep I Love Lucy because they can peddle it but they will wipe tapes, they will destroy footage. There are comittees at each of the three networks who once a month decided what to throw away. And what they're throwing away is the raw history of our country, and our world and our times.







business groups built the Office of Strategic Services which evolved into the CIA, and staffed it, at the top, with scions from the business groups

In 1970, Hunt reputedly "left" the Agency. He surfaced in 1971 as a part-time \$100-a-day White House consultant to Charles W.Colson. "One of the original back-room senstive ultra-secret business and political assignments. He worked with Peter Flanigan, better known as "Mr. Fixit," and the ubiquitous Murray M. Chotiner in the "dirty tricks" department (intelligence parlance for covert action). Hunt's tasks includedwork on "Operation Intercept' (an antimarijuana campaign along the Mexican border that increased the use of heroin) and declassification of documents following the Pentagon Papers revelation. He also spent some time in Henry Kissenger's office on international narcotics traffic, a subject in which he is a reputed expert.

The other key slush fund organizer, G.Gordon Liddy, operated in a more public capacity as finance counsel to the CRP. A former FBI agent, he was originally hired in 1969 by the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Eugene Rossides. In late 1971, Liddy was shipped over to the White House to work on Operation Intercept (alongside Hunt). When probing the publication of the Pentagon Papers, Liddy reportedly asked Justice Department attorneys to bug The New York Times' offices to discover who had slipped the secret documents to the newspaper.

According to the Washington Post. Liddy was the chief adviser to the Nixon campaign staff on the new Congressional statute requiring stricter reporting of campaign contributions. In the eyes of some people on the campaign staff and others close to the investigation of the Watergate incident, Liddy was probably the secondranking policy-maker in the Nixon fundraising effort, next to finance chairman Maurice



Stans. In effect, a division of labor existed among Hunt, Liddy and Stans limiting possible embarrassent to high Nixon official in case of public exposure. The dirtiest and most controversial contributions passed through Hunt's conduits; Liddy tried to coortinate this activity with Stans' more public collections.

With this intricate structure at their command, Hunt and Liddy went after Humphrey backers to finance anti-McGovern political espionage. The fund provided a means through which they could secretly contribute to the Nixon effort, solidifying their membership in the bipartisan coalition, while simultaneously preserving their power inside the Democratic Party.

Key Humphrey fat cats from Minneapolis and Texas were quietly approached by slush fund agents and simply asked to demonstrate their loyalty to the plan in the form of cold cash. Dwayne Andreas, the Minneapolis soybean magnet and the most important financial power in Humphrey's career, forked over \$25,000. Another \$89,000 was collected from four Texas Democrats and was laundered through the bank account of a Mexican lawyer with a big U.S. cororate clientele. Simply enough, as demonstrated in Robert Winter-Berger's Washington Payoff, you pay for what you want and everything is for sale, so long as it is not in conflict with the overriding interests and priorities of the dominant and senior members of the bipartisan business coalition.

The cash traveled through the secret fund to the Miami bank account of Bernard L. Barker, an old CIAside-kick of E. Howard Hunt, Jr, Barker, a Cuban-born Florida real-estate broker served as paymaster in the Bay of Pigs invasion under the code name "Macho' Together, the two spooks have inested in unsuccessful real estate ventures in

Nicaragua, Puerto Rico and the Domincan Republic. This was all part of the murky CIA-business-right-wing network deeply penetrating the Caribbean. Barker's other business associate is Miguel A. Suarez another guasano lawyer, who represented the exile community (which includes Nixon's business pal.



Eugenio R. Martinez, an employee of Barker's real estate firm, was brought in. He had operated a weapons shuttle to Cuba and, with Barker, at various times was active in undercover work for the Defense Intelligence Agency and the CIA.

MAssociated with both Martinez and Barker was a Miami locksmith, Virgilio R. Gonzales. As a friend of Angel Ferrer, president of the Cuban exile group. Ex-Combatientes de Fort Jackson. Gonzales moved freely within the CIA-backed counter-revolutionary network

Rounding out the raider quintet was Washingtonian James W. McCord, full-time security chief for the CRP and the RNC (Republican National Comittee). A former Air Force Lieutant, McCord was employed by the CIA since 1951. He was in charge of security at the CIA's super-secret Langley headuarters. "Retiring" in 1970, he founded his own Maryland-based security consulting firm, McCord Associates, Inc. (his retirement date closely parallels that of our other leading spook, E. Howard Hunt, Jr.). It turns out that his frim's only "clients" were the CRP and the RNC. Like other members of the Watergate team, he particated in the Bay of Pigs invasion and maintained associations with exile groups which desperately need a McGovern defeat to survive.

McCord's close ties to the CRP and the RNC immediately distinguished him from the other members of the Wategate Five. His strategic position in charge of security for the Republican Convention, makes it highly likely he was programmed for the most drastic contingency plans described by Tackwood, such as the major Convention disruptions. Another important piece of evidence also suggests his involvement in these plans. As a member of a special 16-man Military Reserve unit under the President's Office of Emergence Planning & Preparedness, McCord dealt with the specific steps for rounding up radicals in a national emergency. In all likelihood, when disruption plans were placed on the back burner, he was switched to the espionage operation.

There is reason to believe, though still no conclusive proof, that this commando team carried out its first job on the night of May 16th in the law office of McGovern's eventual running mate, R. Sargent Shriver, and the Democratic Party's credentials comittee chief, Patricia Harris. Although nothing was stolen documents might have been photographed and the office, located across the street from the Watergate, could have been bugged.

Ten days later, on May 26th, five men checked-in at the Watergate Hotel for the Memotrial Holiddy under now famous aliases. During that time, there were two attempted break-ins at the Democratic National Committee (DNC) headquaters and according to Lawrence O'Brien, an aborted attempt to plant an eavesdropping device in Senator McGovern's preconvention headquarters. Film processed in a photo shop on June 10th for Baker and Sturgis showed correspondence bearing the DNC letterhead and the signature of Lawrence O'Brien.

McGovern's chances vastly improved on June 6th when he won the winner-take-all California primary. Another wave of anxiety must have passed througi the bipartisan business coaltion. Probably at this point, the CRP, through Hunt and Liddy, ordered a major raid to get the goods on the Senator from South Dakota.

The June 17th break-in reads like a cheap pulp mystery novel. Its author, Hunt is, in fact, a profile writer of just such material, producing 42 titles in his life-time. After several secret meetings and telephone calls as well as the acquisition of money and espionage equipment, the four Miamians flew to Washington on that day and, with McCord, registered at the elegant Watergate Hotel, all using aliases out of Hunt's books.

Finishing off a hearty lobster dinner, they proceed to break on to the DNC headquarters to repair already-planted bugging devices and rummage the files to photograph key documents. The group was equipped with walkie-talkies set fo frequencies assigned to McCord by the FCC and transmitting to Hunt and Liddy, reported to be somewhere inside the Watergate complex (across the street, a suite of rooms in a Howard Johnson's motel had been rented to serve as a listening post). But, an alert Watergate guard, spotting tape on the doors, notified the police who, at gunpoint, apprehended the Watergate Five inside the DNC headquarters. Hunt and Liddy, forewarned in time by a lookout, fled into the night.

The cover-up began almost immediately when a lawyer friend of Hunt's, Douglas Caddy, showed up at the jail. However, the Five's cover aliases were quickly blown and the unraveling of their connections to the top Republican leadership began. Address books of two defendants listed Hunt's name along with the notations "W.H." and "W. House." McCord's employment by the CRP and the RNC definitely blew the whistle. Needless to say, he was fired immediately. A large amount of cash in consecutively numbered \$100 bills was traced first to Barker's Miami bank account, then to CRP fund-raisers, including finance chairman, Maurice Stans, and from there to Democratic fat cats.

More firings and resignations ensued. Liddy came next-dropped by Mitchell on June 28th, for failing to

answer questions from his former employer, the FBI. Martha Mitchell freaked out, apparently over her husband's role in Watergate and his less than gentlemanly associates. On June 22nd she phoned a UPI reporter saying, "Politics is nothing but a cops and robbers game," "I saw dirty things," and "I am not going to stand for those dirty tricks that go on." John resigned on July 1st, for "personal reasons;" more likely, he needed an excuse to step down from public position before a full disclosure unmasked his role. In searching Hunt's abandoned White House desk, FBI agents found a loaded pistol and a walkietalkie.

Recently, Attorney General Richard Kleindienst, an important figure in the 1964 Goldwater campaign pledged "the most extensive thorough and comrehensive investigation (of Watergate) since the assassination of President Kennedy." The reference to JFK's assassination is ironic. The Warren Commision Report raised more doubts than it dispelled. Some counter-Warren Commission studies implicate Bay of Pigs-related Cuban exiles in the actual assassination, asserting that the job was done by a CIA-trained commando team bearing an unmanny resemblance to the Watergate Five. Furthermore one of the Five, Frank Sturgis, was "among those questioned by the FBI after John Kennedy's assassination because of his activities. At one time his Miami house was an arsenal, complete with 20 millimeter cannons.

The whole Watergate fiasco suggests a continuity between physical and character assassinations two options with the same objective—the elimination of charismatic candidates or president outside the bipartisan business coalition.

Despite this failure, the Nixon-Humphreyforces did not terminate their Machiavellian ploys to stop McGovern. The battle front shifted to legal maneuvering inside the Democratic Party credentials committee and the courts. Humphrey's chancesnow rested on expropiating delegates pledged to McGovern from California, Illinois and several other

states. But, McGovern's California votes were restored and the challenges were beaten back. Early floor votes left no doubt about HHH's defeat.

On August 10th, the most recent contigency plan was unveiled by Texas-Democrat-turned-Nixonite John B. Connally. The oil company lawyer and LBJ protege announced the formation of Democrats for Nixon. The big coalition Democrats behind Humphrey who, en masse had pledged their fortunes to Richard Nixon even before McGovern was nominated, surfaced. Now that an insurgent had seized the Democratic Party, to win the election it was imperative to unite behind the only coalition represenative. Long-time Minneapolis Humphrey campaign organizer and topfinancialbacker Jeno F. Paulucci served as the committee's vicechairman. John M. Loeb, Sr., unofficial overseer of several New York banking houses (Lehamn Brothers; Goldman, Sachs; Lazard Freres and Loeb, Rhades) and Johnson-Humphrey fundraiser, threw his weight behind Nixon. In short, most leader of the business groups backing Humphrey scurried into the Nixon camp.

The enormous concentration of business power presently arrayed behind Nixon is truly frightening. Even more frightening is the fact that this coalition will do whatever is necessary to maintain its control over the federal government. In the process, it will try to preserve certain functional myths about a two-party democracy; but, where myths stand in the way, goon squads are unleashed to wreak havoc on the body politic.

What then are thedangers" McGovern represents to elicit such actions as those seen in June? Obviously, McGovern speaks to real social discontents. The mood of restlessness and cynicism prevalent in the country was, and is, very strong. Nixon, in spite of his words, has not gotten us out of the war. Racism is becoming more overt through Nixon's policy of "benign neglect." The Nixon Adminstration seems dedicated to obliterating commitments which would pay for the social overhead, poverty and wealfare programs. Drug usage, particularly of heroin, has



"Our thinking (behind the slush fund) was that we had to fight selling with selling; and for that job, Dick Nixon seemed to be the best salesmen against socialization available. That's his gift, really—Salesmanship."

-Diana Smith Pasadena Lawyer Head of Nixon's Slush Fund 1952



escalated. The economy is in bad shape. Growing unemployment and inflation continue to hurt the working man. Economic threats from abroad, the monetary crisis and the inability to compete on favorable terms drains funds ear-marked for other sectors. More people than ever need welfare assistance. Economic measures are immediately seen as a form of favoring the rich; welfare for the rich. The tax structure is more and more inequitable. The young remain discontented and a potential source of revoluion, obviously looking for a new leader, if not yet a new system. Scandal after scandal affects the Nixon Adminstration; ITT Lockheed, Litton, the wheat deals, cost overruns, outright graft. Because of the reduction of commitments to the social overhead, law seems in danger. Workers, especially young workers are discontented. In some plants, they are challenging the very system of production

And these discontents at home can be taken advantage of by any charismatic figure who speaks to them, including thoses not controlled by the bipartisan coalition. And, perhaps, the coalition is, after all, haunted by the possibility that, in terms of the election, it does not, in fact, have the mumbers to put its man in office. Possibly given the election of a McGovern, enough reforms might be instituted not necessaroy to change the system, but to threaten the power of the bipartisan business coaltion.

1. Louis Tackwood, The Glass House Tapes as quoted in Mae Brussel, "Why Was Martha Mitchell Kidnapped?", The Realist, August 1972. There were also rumors circulating in 1969 of a secret RAND Corporation study on various ways of cancelling elections during times of social unrest.

2. A slush fund, that old U.S. political institution, is composed of secret contributions from fat cats given to a particular candidate for past and-or future business favors involving government regulations and contracts. This untraceable money is then used for shady activities, including pay-offs and planted publicity to aid the victory of the candidate.

3. "The Watergate Issue," Time August 28, 1972.

4. The firm had done some PR work for Nixon in 1968, handles a few lucrative accounts, like General Foods, and is headed by Robert F.Bennet, son of a late Morman Republican senator from Utah.

5. Hunt was born in 1918 and received his A.B. from Brown University in 1940. During the World War II, he served in the OSS in China for which he won a presidential citation and the China Star. His career continued with screen-writing stint in Hollywood until one of his stories, published in The New Yorker, caught the eye of Alfred Friendly. In 1948. Friendly hired Hunt to work in Paris in the Public Information Office of the Economic Cooperaion Adminstration (ECA) at that time, under the direction of Averell Harriman. Hunt left to join the CIA in 1949, moving on to stations in a number of locations, including Paris, Vienna. Mexico City and Montevideo. Years later, Friendly (who had once become a managing editor of the Washington Post saw Hunt "on the lobby of the National Press Building where he blandly denied his identity." (Washington Post, June 22, 1972



The goverment bureaucracy being a fairly small world, in 1949 it happened that Friendly served in the same ECA information department as RobertR. Muellen, founder of the Washignton PR firm which Hunt used as a fund-raising front.

6. Richard M.Nixon, Six Crises, pp.378-384.

7. Revelations about the CIA's domestic operations came to light in 1966-67 and showed that it penetrated and manipulated several aspects of the student, cultural and labor world. But these revelations merely scratched the surface.

8. "Ken W. Clawson, current White House aide who until recently was a reporter, wrote in February, 1971, in The Washington Post that one source described Colson as one of the 'original back-room boys... the brokers, the guys who fix things when they break down and do the dirty work when it's necessary." (Washington Post June 20, 1972).

Colson was an active member with Hunt in the Brown University Alumni Club in Washington.

9. Several business scandals involving Flanigan have surfaced, including the ITT affair. See Tom Kelly, "Power on the PotomacPeter Flanigan: Mr. Nixon's Mr. Fix-it," Washington, June 1972 Nixon's longest political crony, Chotiner, quietly surfaced after the 1968 victory and joined the Adminstration. He had gone into hiding back in 1956 after a Senate rackets committee tagged him with influence pedding and cozy organized crime connections.

11. Given the evidence uncovered recently by Alfred McCoy on the CIA's involvement in heroin traffic, some legitimate questions could be asked about Hunt's narcotics work for the CIA and the White House See Alfred McCoy, Politics of Heroin (Harper & Row, 1972). It should be note that Kissinger is also a spook dating back to World War II when he served in the Army Counter-Intelligence Corps. In the early to mid-1950's, he served as a consultant to the top White House Intelligence coordinating boards. Later, his famous Harvard seminars were secretly funded by the CIA. Kissinger. of course, enjoys a very close relationship to the Rockerfeller group having served as foreign political advisor to Nelson for many years.

12. Liddy, a New York City lawyer from 1962 to 1965, served as assistant district attorney in Dutchess County, New Yorkfrom 1965 to 1968. He ran for Congress against Hamilton Fish, on a law-and-order

platform. losing by 1,000 votes out of a total 70,000 cast.

13. Rossides was a partner in Secretary of State William P. Roger's law firm, Royal, Koegall, Rogers & Wells. His Treasury duties cover the areas of customs, engraving and printing as well as law enforcement.

14. "Raid Figure Wanted to Bug The Times," New York Post, August 31, 1972.

15 "Watergate Questions Abound," Washington

Post, Sept. 3, 1972

16. The \$25,000 in cash was passed on April 8th to Kenneth H. Dahlberg, a Minneapolis hearing aid manufacturer and regional finance chairman, . Anreas, head to Archer-Daniels-Midland Co., also donated at least \$75,000 to Humphrey's primary campaign. New York Times. August 25, 1972

17. Wealthy 55-year-old Barker, the son of a Cuban mother and American father, grew up in both the United States and Cuba. Before the Revolution, he served in Cuban dictator Batista's secret police. Reported to be well versed in plastic explosives and other undercover operations, he has since helped would-be-exiles "escape" from Cuba.

18 "Barker-Hunt Links in Latin Deals Cited." New

York Times, July 2, 1972

19 Literally meaning a worm, a derogatory terms used by the Cuban government to describe those who left their country after the Revolution.

20."5 Held in Plot to Bug Democrats' Office

Here," Washington Post, June 18, 1972

21 Curiously, Sturgis has served as an informant for columnist Jack Anderson, who offered to vouch for him after the Watergate arrests.

22. Ferrer was also registered at the Watergate the night of June 17th. An added note of interest four days earlier, a class of Ex-Combatientes graduated from a refresher commando paratroop course in Florida (El Tiempo, June 14, 1972)

23. There actually may have been earlier action on the weekend of May 13th to 14th when the chancery of the Chilean Embassy was burglarized. The job bore

the same trademarks as later actions.

24. Shriver and Harris are partners in the Washington law firm of Freed, Drank, Harris, Shriver & Kampolman. The last partner, Max Kampelman, probably Hubert Humphrey's closest adviser is according to Washington ADA lawyer Joseph Rauh, a "CIA agent" (Robert Sherrill, The Drugstore Liberal, p. 113). Rauh's statement is supported by Kampelman's involvement in several CIA-funded outfits, including Operations & Policy Research in Washington. Through the good graces of Humphrey, Kampelman has also been involved in several shady business deals. He serves as Humphrey's main link to the bi-partisan business coalitions intelligence community.

25. "The Spies Who Came in For the Heat,"

Newsweek, September 18, 1972.

26. Political conservativism is reflected in some of Hunt's detective, sex and science fiction novels and short stories. They range from lurid sexual scenes to behind-the-scenes Washington political life and they include a number on Latin America. (Washington Post, June 22, 1972). Hunt uses at least three pen names

(including John Baxter, Gordon Davies and Robert Dietrich). On the inside of one of his books, A Gift for Gomala (1962), we are informed that Baxter (Hunt) joined the "Foreign Service" in 1949 and "resigned" in 1960. Given that recent new dispatches report his resignation as taking place in 1970, we have an indication of what CIA resignations really mean.

27. The Capitol's most In address, the Watergate complex was erected by Italy's largest real estate firm. Societa Generale Imobiliare. The Vatican owned 15 percent of Imobiliare which it sold to Michele Sindona in 1969. Watergate's tenants include former Attorney General John N. Mitchell, Madame Anna Chan Chennault (hostess-queen of the China Lobby and head of Asians for Nixon) and several other prominent Nixonites.

28 Preparatory information gleaned through their previous break-ins and the bugs gave them a good idea of where to look for the most inflammatory material. It was imperative that this be photographed and that their mission be accomplished, in the shortest period

of time possible.

29. Caddy was the first executive director of the ultra-reactionary Young Americans for Freedom and a former leader of the Youth for Goldwater movement. With the Washington law firm of Gall, Lane. Powell & Kilcullen, Caddy served as liaison between Robert R. Mullen & Co. and its client, Gerneral Foods. At this PR firm, Caddy shared an office with Hunt. Nixonites seem to have a real propensity for General Food. In September, Attorney General Kleindienst, campaigning for Nixon, gave a major address at General Food's Westechester. N.Y.

30. There is a chance that Martha's actions were a sincere reaction to the Watergate operation. Whatever her state, however, John Mitchell obviously used the situation to minimize the upcoming scandal. But, his formal resignation as chairman of the CRP did not remove him from the campaign, which he now handles through the Washington law offices of Mudge, Rose, Guthrie & Alexander, located just one floor below CRP headquarters.

31 "Soldier of Fortune Held on High Bail,"

Washington Post, June 25, 1972.

32 The list of Johnson and Humphrey supporters now behind Nixon is staggering. W.T.Duncan of Bryant, Texas an oil and real estate operator who gave \$300,000 to Humphrey during the 1972 primaries is now shelling out to Nixon's campaign, Stanley Goldblum, chairman ofthe Los Angeles Equity Funding Corp. gave \$50,000 to Humphrey "In an attempt to stop McGovern." He is now making "substanial contributions to the Nixon campaign." (New York Times. August 8, 1972) Ex-Johnson Adminstration officials John T Conner, C.R. Smith, Leoanard Marks and George Christian are all members of Democrats for Nixon along with Sammy Davis Jr., Frank Sinatra, Mickey Mantle and the mayors of Miami and Houston.

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#### **Beware of Imitations**



phony label

**UFW** label

Apparently lettuce growers have hit on a new tactic to stop the lettuce boycott and hold off unionization--phony "Union" labels on their scab products. The phony label is a near copy of the Farmworkers' Thunderbird eagle symbol. The real UFW label is a graphic of a flag, with the eagle in the center, and the legend "Farmworker-AFL-CIO." Make sure your support of the boycott counts--check for the real union label on grocery store displays.

Did You Know?

You may have noticed the turnstile and gate at the entrance of the Library. This extra added expense is to deter the unauthorized migration of books out of the library. In fact, there has been some 6000 books missing over the past four years. No wonder I can never find what I need. Who is it that steals from a free store?

Brooklyn-Staten Island hitchiking is getting less popular as the cold weather sets in. Drivers can't be bothered breaking their embrotic seal by opening the door. Heat is expensive, but they may have good reason since many riders don't kick in for the toll anymore. Anyway, conversations can be superficial in these chance meetings, ranging from the weather to calculating the most convenient drop off point. But have no fear because the Rapid Transit System still has the R-7 running express at peak hours (To Staten Island: 7:25, 8:25, 9:18 a.m., To Brooklyn: 2:30, 3:30, 4:15, 5:07 p.m.) and you can always get your reading done between bumps. If you miss the express you get an extra 20 minutes of Staten Island scenary included in the trip. For the non-peak hour people - let's hope that the old 'all you need is love" adage comes on the carowner's radios as they start their journey over the longest (span) bridge in the world.

The PCA department in order to promote interest in school activities is sponsoring a one-act play tournament November 11 & 12.

Under the leadership of Professor Cynthia Belgrave (an actress whose credits include The Hospital Twelfth Night at Lincoln Center, The Blacks) the department hopes to start a continuing theatre company that ewill provide oportunity for people to perform.

This a major effort to get a little culture on the Island and add a little coherence to the community at the college.

There is now an Urban Corps representative at SICC on Tuesday from 11-4 in the financial aid offfice. His name is Phil Restarno. This is an attempt by Urban Corp to those students receiving awards for work study.

awards for work study.

The Urban Corbs places students in jobs in city agencies, doing work which is as closely related to their field of interests as possible. This serves a dual purpose; giving the student a valuable educational experience while working in a meaningful job, as well as supplying an understaffed city agency with needed help. For working the student is paid 2.25 per hour. A wide range of jobs are available ranging from engineering to law, to eduction, to art, to social work. Virtually in every agency of the city. If you are interested come in to the financial aid office to talk about it.

#### Groups

Coffee House C-115
Women's Group see Doris Niesi
(C-134) or Joan Bodden (C-115)
Gay Liberation see Dave Doyle T-21
Vietnam Vets Against The War

SDS Joan Bodden C-115 Attica Brigade Lorraine Cohen A211

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#### continued from page 6

recordability of opinions, nor the ever increasing quantity of opinions about alleged fact. It is the function of the library to keep tabs on all this information. It therefore is not the responsibility of the teacher to bombard the student with information alone. It is the job of the teacher to demonstrate the uses of this information or make the student aware that such information exists, not to demand information be memorized since the library already has. Whether the faculty and the students appreciate the significance of the library is questionable.

The library stocks some 40,000 volumes worth about \$400,000. The processing, classifying and physical preparation of a book costs between \$14 and \$20 per volume making the overhaul replacement value over the million mark. Such a value needs protection since the progress of this system is deterred by some 2000 volumes being ripped-off each year.

The rip—offs according to some of the library staff I spoke with occur probably because of inconviences like waiting on a check—out line, being late for class and not wanting to hassle with post—due&date fines. There have also been reports of missing pages in books. Of course, there are books checked-out that never returned. To solve these problems the library has taken several defensive steps.

If everyone were honest and dedicated to the communal use of the material offered by the library it would still be necessary to keep tabs on this wealth of information so that others could have access. This honorable dedication however, is not practical as statistics prove and therefore the elite faculty will also have to have a library card as the peasant students do.

The peasant students should be advised that there are two photo—copy machines on the premises and that for a mere nickel per page one can have his own copy of any printed material. There is a bigger and better machine in order to facilitate the demand. Dr. Vann, the chief librarian, is determined to keep the cost down to 2 nickels which is the lowest price for a single copy anywhere.

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