



TIGER PAPER

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MANHATTAN COMMUNITY COLLEGE

APRIL, 1972

IRIZARRY FIRED—APPEAL DENIED

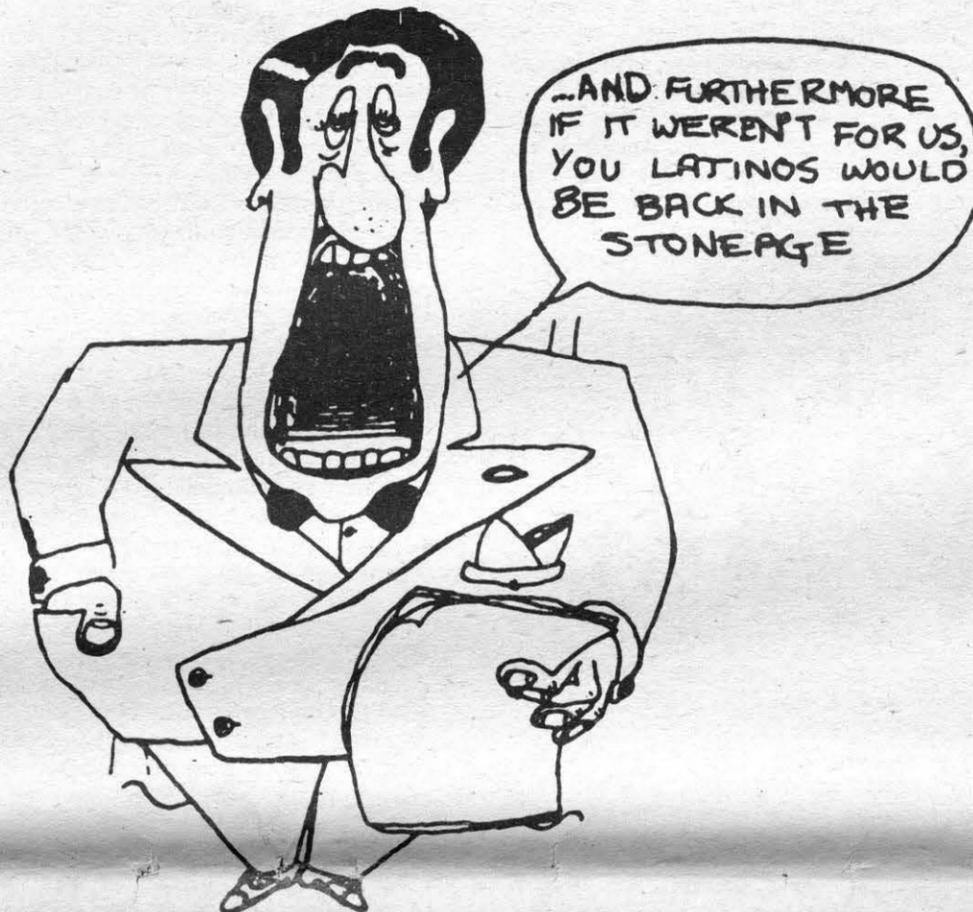
Racists Triumph At M.C.C.

comments at college-wide p.&b.
appeal hearing:

— *I Don't Care If Students Kick My Door Down*

— *We Can't Afford The Luxury Of A Teacher Who Speaks Only Spanish*

— *We Won't Go To The Ghetto, The Ghetto Has Got To Come To Us.*



From the beginning, the people who struggled to build the Black and Puerto Rican Studies Program understood the need for autonomy. They knew that if it was to be a force for their liberation it would have to be controlled by those who participated in it.

From the beginning, the administration, which had fought against the creation of this program, understood the need to keep Black and Puerto Rican Studies under its thumb. It made clear that such a program would be tolerated only if the administration could manipulate it for its own colonial purposes.

From that day to this, the administration has seized every opportunity to retake the program from its creators. It fired the first Coordinator of Puerto Rican Studies, Migdalia de Jesus Torres de Garcia. She was too independent. It removed the first Coordinator of Black Studies, Onwuchekwa Jemie. He was too independent. It tried to fire Sonya Sanchez. She was too outspoken. And now the administration has struck again. Jose Antonio Irizarry, one of the most respected faculty members in the program, has been notified that as of September he is "free to look for another job". This, despite the fact that Puerto Rican Studies will have three new teaching slots to fill in the Fall.

In every instance the motivations of the administration have been political. Not once have the academic qualifications or performance of the people involved been questioned. But in each instance their refusal to suck up to the administration has been a source of administration anger and reprisal.

Take the case of Jose Antonio: In his four semesters at Manhattan he has received uniformly enthusiastic evaluations of his teaching. Ironically, his performance has been given high praise even when the people who observed him could not understand Spanish, the language in which his courses are taught. And yet at the end of December he got his pink slip. The administration disdained to offer any explanation.

Recently the situation took a new turn. On April 5, sixty students and faculty members appeared in President Draper's office. They demanded that:

1. Control of hiring and firing in Black and Puerto Rican Studies be given to the students and the faculty in the program itself.
2. The administration give reasons for the dismissal of Jose Antonio Irizarry.
3. The administration reinstate Jose Antonio Irizarry immediately.

The President was given one week to reply. A meeting with a committee from the Puerto Rican Studies Program was scheduled for 11 A.M. on April 12, in the President's office.

At the meeting, the President refused to grant any of the demands and talked vaguely of "due process" and "going through established channels". Rebuffed and angry, the committee reported its dissatisfaction to a mass meeting of Black and Puerto Rican students then taking place in the "A" auditorium. The decision was made to move en masse to the New York Hilton where a faculty meeting on the nature of teaching effectiveness was in progress.

Just as a guest speaker from the Board of

Higher Education was concluding an address on the reasons for student distress with the quality of teaching in the universities, seventy-five to one hundred students filed quietly into the room holding aloft placards explaining their cause. Coincidentally, the students were expressing precisely the sorts of grievances the speaker had alluded to.

The President expressed his "delight" at their presence but refused to acknowledge the relevance of their demands to the question of teaching effectiveness. While he permitted Sylvia Curry, the President of Student Government, to say a few brief but effective words, he tried to deny the floor to others. A number of students and faculty nevertheless managed to express their outrage at the high-handed manipulation of the program by the administration. Sensing that the faculty and students were about to take control of the meeting, the President—just as he did last May when faculty wanted to bring up new business—hastily adjourned it and left the room.

This kind of action is one of the reasons why the Legislative Conference (one of the faculty unions) has demanded an investigation of governance at MCC. President Draper digs himself in deeper all the time.

FREE LEGAL SERVICES

Student Government—Third World Coalition has contracted with a lawyer to provide free legal advice to any student who wants it. The lawyer will be available for consultation in the Student Government office off the "A" lounge between the hours of 5 pm and 8 pm on Mondays and Wednesdays. In a week or two, Student Government—TWC hopes to provide the same service in one of the buildings uptown. Posters will announce the time and place.

Students should not hesitate to use the service. The lawyer will advise any student on any legal problem that he or she may have.

MONEY,

MONEY,

MONEY

We desperately need money. Each issue of the paper costs more than \$400. We still haven't paid for the last issue. Please make checks out to Bill Friedheim, A 331.

REGISTRATION EXPOSE:

The following article was written by an individual well placed to discuss the insane manipulations that go on behind the scenes at registration. For obvious reasons, the author wishes to remain anonymous.

* * *

As most of you through bitter experience know, something is rotten in the Registrar's Office. The problems date back many years, but did not become critical until May of 1971 when various incidents converged to create a crisis which became apparent during last September's registration.

In May, Mr. Gerald Cote, the then incumbent Registrar, resigned his position after nearly four futile years of fighting the upper administration for adequate support and the staffing he needed to run his office as he saw fit. (He is currently Registrar at Queensborough where, with full administrative support, he has speeded up registration by half.) Coincidental with this, the administration did not renew the contract

always had to depend on the help of eight to ten student aides per semester to do some of the daily alphabetizing, filing and other drudge work necessary to keep large masses of paper in order.

In May then, understaffed and overwhelmed, Manhattan Community College had no registrar, no associate registrar (although an opening had been available for a couple of years; but the upper administration had never seen fit to fill it), no manager in its chief supporting unit, and no student aides.

All this followed immediately upon President Draper's unilateral decision to eliminate the Evening Division (a few personality conflicts there, too) and consolidate the college into his much-vaunted "single school" concept. As is usual with such decisions, he set a plan into motion before any of the attendant critical details were worked out or even considered. President Draper's decision effectively eliminated an Evening Division staff of about ten people; he set up no mechanisms to fill the vacuum thereby created; and, by default, the Admissions and Registrar's Offices were expected to absorb work previously handled by the Evening Division. All this with no registrar, no associate registrar, no lab manager, and no student aides.

One of the important side effects of President Draper's decision was that it confused the general fee structure. The Board of Higher Education, which has the sole authority for determining fees, ruled in the summer of 1970 that all day students pay a \$47 general fee, and all evening students pay a \$17 general fee. Since MCC is now a "single school" the day-evening distinction is no longer operative. The question arises as to how the college should administer the general fee. No official decision has been made—a critical detail left unattended which affects us all.

Registrar's Office cannot finalize or "lock in" a schedule until all departments submit their lists of classes which are arranged like a master jigsaw puzzle, given all the rooms and times available. Throughout the summer (in fact, right up until a week before classes began) departments submitted and resubmitted schedule changes. In addition, the space committee (chaired by Prof. Kushner) which helps to determine what rooms are available, submitted its report in the middle of August (best rooms going to Data Processing), taking away rooms in which classes were already scheduled. This meant that the Registrar's Office could not put together a final schedule until the very last minute.

During the summer of 1971, the Department of Student Life held freshman orientation during which entering students indicated their class preferences for the Fall. This was to help "block program" them; that is, set up their schedules. The Registrar's



1 of Mr. James Anastos, the manager of the Data Processing Laboratory, which is the chief supporting unit of the Registrar's Office. (What is fed into the machines and what comes out pretty much determines what your semester program and semester grades are. The machines are only as good as the information fed them; the information fed them is only as good as the programs which interpret it; and the programs are only as good as the programmers who write and organize them.) Mr. Anastos was a fine organizer and programmer who stayed until his job was done and who delivered on time. He was the first man to bring order to the D.P. Lab, but he didn't get along with Prof. Marvin Kushner, the Chairman of the Data Processing Department, so the college did not renew his contract. (It later turned out that because of a technicality in timing, the administration had to rehire him for a year. But such are the jungles of petty bureaucratic power that the administration prevented him from returning as manager of the D.P. Lab, instead placing him in the Dean of Administration's Office for the past year where he does random makeshift assignments which do not utilize his programming skills. In the meantime, morale and efficiency in the Data Processing Lab have deteriorated.)

Shortly after Cote resigned, through some mixup or miscalculation work-study funds for student aides were cut off. The Registrar's Office, because of critical understaffing, has



2 President Draper allowed the Registrar's Office to function without an active head from May until August. At the beginning of August Donald Makuen, Dean of Students and with no registrar's experience, was named Acting Registrar, and Mr. Harold J. Hope was hired as Associate Registrar. Between them, and acting on orders from above, they began setting up the disaster that was the Fall 1971 registration.

ORGANIZED CONFUSION

Hope and Makuen inherited a certain amount of confusion. For example, the college was supposed to print schedules in June for mailing to all students. The



3 Office block-programmed students considering English Composition I as four credits. Then in July, President Draper for financial reasons (to get the same number of English instructors to teach more sections) unilaterally and without consulting the appropriate committees changed English Composition I to three credits. Not only did this vitally affect all curricula, but it invalidated all the block-programming done during freshman orientation. All this work had to be redone, and the administration assigned Dean Sample Pittman to do it.

Dean Pittman began the job of programming 1000 entering freshmen but in the meantime, departments were still submitting schedule changes, cancelling out the block programs as soon as they were done. As a result many freshmen entering in Fall 1971 received a block program riddled with conflicts and errors which the college told them they had to follow.

TO THE TOILET

Then acting upon the recommendations of the space committee, the administration began rearranging rooms and offices a week before classes started. So when the semester began, no one knew what room or office was where, and one class reputedly met for its first session in a toilet.

When Fall registration began, final schedules and room assignments were still in chaos, and even though the school's "chief reorganizer" had merged day and evening, he neglected to schedule any administrative staff



THIS IS PURE VULGARITY:

THE INSIDE DOPE

to work at night until well over a month after classes began. It was decided to hold the registration in both the A and B Buildings, with a labyrinthine physical flow that would do honors to a psychologist trying to drive white rats bananas. The Business Office, afraid of losing money from "resourceful" students who would slip through without paying, decided that students would pay before registering, then take their chances. This meant that students paid \$47 ahead of time to register for 12 or more credits, only to go through, find classes closed, and end up taking nine or ten credits. They still have not received their just refunds.

Chaos ensued. There was no master set of registration programs. So the college passed out changes of program to everyone who asked, compounding the confusion.

Then, as befits the bureaucratic mind, instead of cleaning up the mess, the college set up a committee to plan for the next registration. President Draper insisted on a mail registration over the objections of all the registrar's staff. Professor Kushner came up with a mechanized plan. The machinery was set in motion, untried, and with significant details, as usual, left for further consideration.

The Registrar's Office was still without a registrar.

The first step of the mail registration was pre-registration. The pre-registration would not guarantee anyone any classes; it was designed to give an indication of students' wants. It meant that the entire subordinate registrar's staff had to spend all their time working on pre-registration instead of trying to straighten out the mess that had been the Fall registration.

"YOYOS" AND "TURKEYS"

After about a 40% return on pre-registration, the information culled was fed into the computers to aid in setting up a Spring schedule. Of course, the 40% was meaningless and students were still pre-registering, thinking that they were



actually registering, while the cards they were turning in were simply thrown away. (Mr. Hope, who refers to students variously as "yoyos" and "turkeys" was heard to remark, "This pre-registration doesn't mean anything anyway. It's a Pavlovian exercise in conditioning.")

Then the mail registration proper began. Because of the mess during Fall registration, many students were not on file, so they received no information. To correct these omissions, Mr. Hope decided on a mail audit, with the burden of proof on the student.

Hope, who works in mysterious ways only understood by him, based the audit on information drawn from the already incomplete and partially incorrect files. Quite predictably, then, students who were not on file did not receive a mail audit. Those who did and who returned all materials in sufficient time were still not guaranteed classes. (The alternate course cards were—like the pre-registration forms—for nothing. They were intended for nothing save the appearance of an alternative. They too were thrown away.) There was a "bug" in the untried data processing program, so that a majority of students only received part of the program they had requested.

Further chaos ensued. Many students who had properly pre-registered (only to have their pre-registrations thrown away) and then properly registered by mail received a partial program if they received one at all. No provision had been made to cover these contingencies. The college set up emergency measures (changes of program everywhere



with no organization or central control), compounding the problem.

HOPE AND DESPAIR

In the meantime, the registrar's staff was so tied up processing mail registrants, that it had to fit in the usual end-of-semester work where it could. Final grade rosters were incomplete and incorrect (for obvious reasons the mail audit had been unsuccessful in correcting all students' programs). Mr. Hope handled the processing of final marks. Unfortunately, he did not process about 30 separate sections of grades, meaning that students in these classes received I's (Incompletes). Furthermore, he assigned FA (Failure due to absence) to students who were incorrectly listed on certain rosters and for whom instructors had indicated "never heard of them." The Faculty Council did away with the FA grade over a year and a half ago.

When final marks were run and mailed (late) nearly one in every four students received an incorrect grade report.

Meanwhile, back at Pavlov's laboratory, there was a manual registration consisting mostly of changes of program for those who had already registered, adding another unnecessary 10,000 pieces of paper for an overburdened registrar's staff, who had no say in how anything finally was managed, to process.

Mail registration was a disaster. Final grades were incorrect. Students were furious, turning their anger at the registrar's secretaries who

quite literally had no control, could do little, and whose time was so completely absorbed responding to the students' understandable but misdirected indignation that it was impossible for them to do any other work.

Because final grades were incorrect, the Registrar's Office could not update students' permanent records. This meant transcripts had to be delayed—and are still delayed. Virtually no transcripts have gone out this semester. Grades couldn't be corrected because of the mail registration, plus the 10,000 changes of program that had to be processed.

An insane merry-go-round of incompetence and still no registrar. The college rejected the most competent and experienced candidate because he didn't have the necessary advanced degree.

NEPOTISM

To make matters worse, the assistant registrar who evaluated candidates for graduation was transferred to Academic Advisement and his position was filled unofficially by Dean Makuen's wife (who had no experience with such work) despite City University regulations against such nepotism.

Undeterred by previous disasters, President Draper again decided over the objections of the entire registrar's staff to go with another mail registration for Fall 1972. It will begin shortly.

Finally, a Registrar has been hired. He is Mr. Donald Ferguson, formerly the Registrar at Baruch. Last semester the Registrar's Office at Baruch closed for two weeks because their registration had been so disastrous. Baruch did not begin to send out final grades for last Fall until March because there had been unaccountable errors in processing them in January. Mr. Ferguson's first official action was to issue an edict cancelling all vacation



leaves for people in the Registrar's Office. He made the decision in Rome, where he himself was on vacation. Evidently, his leave was extended, because as this is written, he still has not appeared.



refer all complaints to the registrar

Tiger Paper

Tiger Paper is published whenever possible by an editorial collective of Manhattan Community College faculty.

Tenured members of the editorial collective: Kathy Chamberlain, Bill Friedheim, Jim Perlstein, Mike Rosenbaum, Naomi Woronov.

Untenured Members: anonymous to protect them against administrative harassment.

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EDITORIAL

The sad fact is that over the past few years this faculty has had little to be proud of. As a group, we have swallowed a nauseating dose of administrative manipulation, harassment and intimidation.

Last week it looked as if the administration had another noxious brew prepared for us. The President had called another one of his "faculty meetings". We were to be asked to make a choice: either end Open Admissions at Manhattan, or accept larger classes and longer teaching hours. Once again we were told to pit our interests against those of the poor and the Third World who make up the student body.

The B.H.E. and this administration were telling us to fight each other over the scraps from the table, telling us exactly the same thing the ruling circles tell anyone who expects anything decent in this life: "We wish you well. But you'll have to take what you need out of the hides of your brothers and sisters."

It's a shrewd game, because the administration can't lose. Either we, rather than they, have to shoulder the responsibility for ending Open Admissions, or we impose a "speed-up" and "stretch-out" on ourselves, while they reap the benefits of what they like to call "productivity increases."

But the worst is over. There were strong voices of protest against this cynical administration ploy. And, fortuitously, additional funds from the state and city made the move hard to justify. The "faculty meeting" was cancelled.

The respite, however, is only temporary. We know from bitter experience that the people who make society's decisions put human needs low on the list of priorities. It is only a matter of time before students and faculty are asked to go at each other again.

But the struggle need not occur. Resources are in plentiful supply. Only their allocation is a problem. We can eliminate that problem by drastically reordering social priorities.

A first step in that direction is adoption of a "non-negotiable" demand: Decent Wages, Decent Working Conditions, and Open Admissions!



"It's Phase 2 dinner-leftovers!"

Interlandi, L.A. Times



STUDENT EVALUATIONS

Dissenting Opinion 3/13/72

Recently the Board of Higher Education made a policy change. It wants student opinions of our teaching effectiveness taken into account when administrators make decisions about promotion, reappointment and tenure.

The Faculty Council Instruction Committee is making up a short form that students will use to rate our courses and our teaching.

The form is not finished yet. Some changes in the questions will be made, but as per one written proposal, students will be asked to give their opinions of the following items relating to teaching effectiveness.

1. Instructor's ability to stimulate interest.
2. Instructor's personality.
3. Instructor's knowledge of what he is teaching.
4. Instructor's fairness in rating students.
5. Instructor's preparedness (is he well-prepared for class).
6. Instructor's tolerance of differing opinions.
7. Instructor's rating as a teacher, compared with others.

I feel there are three reasons why these questions are unsatisfactory for measuring student opinions of our teaching. 1) The results won't be well-defined. 2) It isn't a valid measure. And, for these two reasons, 3) students will lose interest in the matter of rating.

Reason 1. The results will not be well-defined. Two different administrators can look at the same results, and come to a different conclusion regarding an instructor's teaching effectiveness.

Administrator 1, seeing that students rate instructor X satisfactory or high on "personality," "knowledge of subject," "fairness in rating students," "preparedness for class," and "tolerance of differing opinions," can conclude that instructor X is an effective teacher as perceived by students.

Administrator 2, seeing that students rate the same instructor low on "ability to stimulate interest," and low when "compared with other teachers," can conclude that X is an ineffective teacher.

The results are open to differing interpretations and for that reason they are not well-defined.

Reason 2. These seven questions are unsatisfactory even if we average them, so that there is a final . . . grade (A, B, C, D or F) that is well-defined.

This is because most of the seven questions do not correlate highly with effective teaching as perceived by students. This makes the seven questions taken together, invalid as a measure. That is, because they don't correlate with what they are supposed to measure, they don't measure it.

Reason 3. Finally, if all of this is true, within a few semesters students will lose interest in the form, because it does not accurately represent their opinions of instructors. As they see ineffective instructors get satisfactory ratings, they will turn off to the whole thing, subverting the intent of the Board of Higher Education in having student ratings in the first place.

I can see two possible solutions to the problem.

Solution 1. Find questions that correlate highly with effective teaching as perceived by students. One study gives the following five items the highest rank:

1. Is a dynamic and energetic person.
2. Explains clearly.
3. Has an interesting style of presentation.
4. Has genuine interest in students.
5. Seems to enjoy teaching.

These five "components of effective teaching as perceived by students" had the highest "factor coefficients" according to one study.

These five questions may not seem satisfactory to some, but there's a lot more experimental evidence behind them than there is behind our seven questions.

Perhaps we should call in statisticians to find what components have the highest factor coefficients with our students.

Solution 2. This is a simple solution. Ask this one question:

"How do you grade your instructor's teaching effectiveness? very high, high, medium, low, very low."

Each student has his own opinion as to what seems like "effective teaching." He may not even know why one teacher seems effective and another not.

But the results of this one question will be well-defined. They will be valid—by definition. And students will take care and interest in filling out the form since it will accurately reflect their opinions.

If we want more information from them, if we want to know why they think we are ineffective—use another short form to gather this kind of information.

C. Sutton

MAILROOM INSANITY

Dean Pittman has decided to save MCC money by making it difficult (and extremely unpleasant) for staff and faculty to Xerox and mimeograph material in the mail room.

When the hapless staff or faculty member arrives at the mail room, he or she is curtly ordered to go back to another building and get the signature of his or her chairman before the copies can be mimeographed. To make Xeroxing impossible, each department has been given an accutron which keeps track of how many copies on the Xerox that department has transgressed. Accompanying the accutron is a letter informing the department that the purpose is to force everyone (except the deans) to use other methods of duplicating materials, and that Big Brother is watching you if you don't. . . .



But aren't there other, more sensible ways to save MCC money? Dean Pittman's salary would pay for a very large stack of copies, and a Xeroxed algebra problem does a lot more for MCC than Pittman.

Name Withheld

U.S. Out Of Indochina Now!

The war is heating up again. Nixon blames the other side and asks us to believe that he is sending bombers above the DMZ solely as a response to the recent North Vietnamese Army (NVA) offensive. Still, the great majority of Americans want the U.S. to get out of Indochina. Nixon says we are getting out. But he's lying. Although some ground troupes have come home from Vietnam, Nixon has been escalating the air war ever since he



Palante/LNS

took office.

Did you know that Nixon has dropped more bombs on Indochina than Johnson? 3.2 million tons since 1969!—more than the entire tonnage dropped during World War II and the Korean War combined. 250 pounds of TNT for every Indochinese man, woman, and child. 22 tons for every square mile of the Indochinese people's land.

And the air war is still growing. In November and December 1971 the U.S. dropped 110,000 tons of bombs in Indochina, more than a ton a minute. During the first three months of 1972, before the current NVA offensive, U.S. air raids over North Vietnam topped the number of raids for all of 1971. In the week before Nixon went to China as a "man of peace" the U.S. carried out the heaviest bombing of North Vietnam in two years. And now the raids are the most intensive since 1968.

Who's Nixon fighting the war for? Not for us, not for the Indochinese people. They've suffered, and we are suffering too—over 50,000 sons and brothers dead, ever-higher taxes, rising prices, unemployment (400,000 Vietnam veterans can't find jobs!), and cutbacks in public services such as education and welfare—cutbacks which like unemployment always hit low-income, Black, and Latin people hardest.

The cost of imperialism has always been borne by the people. Nixon would like to keep us silent so he can have a free hand to continue the air war, a war that is paid for with Indochinese blood and the hard-earned dollars of American working people. We can't



Troop replacements.

let him do it. We must make our feelings known and tell him that we see through his lies.

DEMAND:

1. THE IMMEDIATE, TOTAL, UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. TROOPS AND AIR POWER FROM INDOCHINA.
2. THE RIGHT OF THE VIETNAMESE AND INDOCHINESE PEOPLE TO SETTLE THEIR OWN AFFAIRS.
3. NO MORE MONEY FOR THE INDOCHINA WAR. OUR TAXES TO BE SPENT FOR OUR LIVES—EDUCATION, HOUSING, HEALTH, JOBS!—NOT INDOCHINESE DEATHS.

M.C.C. VETS SPEAK OUT

Members of the Tiger Paper collective recently tape recorded several conversations with veterans of the war in Indochina who are now attending MCC. The vets were asked to talk about how their experiences changed their views about the war, the Indochinese people, themselves and their country.

SKEETER BIBB

I had funny feelings about the war. Deep down inside I felt that it was incorrect for us to go over there and fight the Vietnamese people. But I didn't think there was a chance



that I would escape the draft and I wasn't ready to dodge it, so I went in hoping that I might be lucky and that I wouldn't have to go to Vietnam and serve in the infantry. Part of me, then, was against the war before I went in.

After I got in, I became convinced that the military was a racist institution. When I first went in, the lieutenants and the sergeants,

who were mostly white, made racist remarks against Black and Latin veterans. I also experienced racism through the special privileges that whites had over Blacks. They got the best jobs. My friends and I were on constant KP and doing all the dirty work. . . .

In the service, I received a very heavy propaganda thing about communism and about the Vietnamese people. After I went through my training, even though I felt that the United States was bad, I felt that communism was even worse. So I went to Vietnam thinking I was doing myself and my country a favor.

But I went there and the same stuff was happening. Most Black and Latin GIs were in the field. They had the worst jobs. Most of the clerks there who had it easy, who stayed on the base, were white. It was very hard for a Black dude to escape going into the field.

After six months, though, and a lot of senseless killing, I began to question myself. Bloods around me were questioning themselves. So we used to get together and talk about the war. We realized that what the Vietnamese people were going through was similar to what we were going through in our lives in our communities at home. It was a gradual thing, but it built up and built up.

In the middle of my tour, after about six months, I decided not to fight in the war any

more.

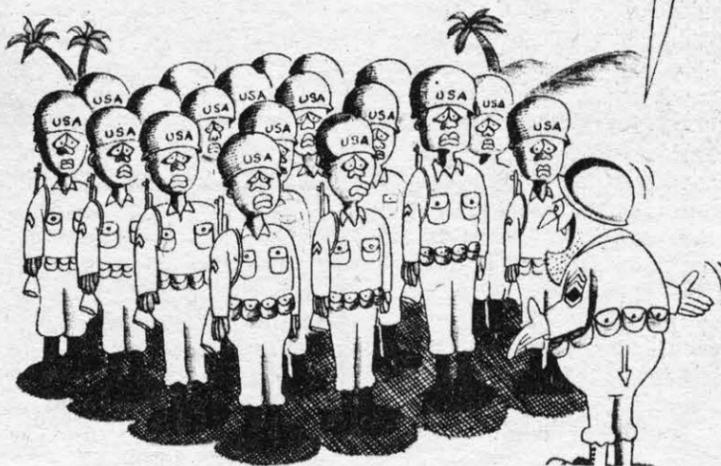
One of the things that touched that off was that my company was in a fire fight. We were supposed to protect a woodline. We had a lot of planes and a lot of artillery going in there attacking this village. So I was given the order to fire on these people, who were mostly women, old men, and kids. Like my whole platoon refused to fire. Like we had big machine guns and whatever, so we could have wiped the people out with no problem. So it became clear to me what was happening.

Myself and a lot of other guys refused to fight in the service. That's when the bulk of the trouble came down from the military. I was put under confinement awaiting a court-martial for refusing to fight. . . .

I was lucky enough to escape the service with just a reduction in grade . . . and lucky enough to get an honorable discharge. The key reason I wasn't court-martialed was because a lot of guys were doing the same thing I was doing and it would have looked bad if a whole company was court-martialed for refusing to fight. . . .

That was the beginning of my militancy and radicalism. The Army and Vietnam cleared up a lot of things about who the enemy really was. And after I got out I began to see the connections between the war, imperialism, racism and capitalism. It was all related.

BACK HOME IN THE STATES, NEGROES ARE AT THE END OF THE LINE, BUT HERE IN VIETNAM IT'S DIFFERENT—WE PUT YOU RIGHT UP FRONT!!



M.C.C. VETS SPEAK OUT

FAREL JOVARD

By accident, my unit killed eight GIs in Cambodia. The NVA [North Vietnamese Army] kicked our ass the same night, so we got pulled out of the shit for a while. On the way back to the base camp we stopped in an LZ [liberated zone] for a hot meal and some reporter was asking whether it was worth it. The question made no sense to me.

I spent eleven months in Nam, nine months in line batteries (mobile artillery) as a medic. The attitude that I found in my situation was to be good to yourself and go home; do whatever is necessary to avoid death, injury or bad time. I don't recall much hatred, even when shooting or getting shot at. Mostly fear. I was pretty embarrassed about my situation, the jobs we had and the way people would look at us sometimes. Wearing a uniform makes you an accomplice to anyone who brings pee on these folks.

I like the country maybe more than I do this one now. Sometimes I feel like the war is coming home. If there is a next time, I want to know who the real enemy is, then work it out one way or the other.



FELIX VELAZQUEZ

I joined when I was seventeen. I quit high school to do so. I went to Great Lakes for training, and I was stationed in Rhode Island and Japan before I went to Vietnam. In Japan they asked for volunteers and since nobody volunteered I was one of the ones who was "volunteered."

I experienced racism in the army even before Vietnam. I saw the division of labor. I saw who the shit jobs were given to—mostly Blacks and Puerto Ricans. I saw the favoritism in terms of who was selected to go to certain types of schools. It usually depended upon your petty officer and the kind of reports he filled out on you.

When I got to Vietnam, the racism was clarified. There was out-and-out racism by the U.S. servicemen. I can't blame it all on them. We have to understand that orders came from the top and feelings came from the top.

Vietnamese were called gooks and they were always goofed on. Their language was made fun of. They always took it kind of cool. I always thought that they were a bunch of fools, until I began to see how the whole Vietnam war operated.

The Vietnamese are not, like everybody thinks, in a civil war. It is not north against south. They are not fighting one another with the U.S. on one side. They are both, south and north, fighting the U.S., trying to kick the U.S. out of there the same way they kicked the French out.

I began to understand this as certain things happened. I can recall a particular incident when I was stationed in Danang, on hill 327. We guarded a fuel dump. There was a Marine base next to ours that gave us most of the protection for this fuel dump. We had JP4, jet fuel. A gallon of this is equivalent to 25 pounds of dynamite. We had 55,000 drums with 55 pounds in each drum, so you can see all of the power that was concentrated in this small two-acre fuel dump. Surrounding the fuel dump were a couple of companies—

Marines on one side and Army on the other.

One of the Marine camps, one night, got attacked and while those mortars were being fired, five Viet Cong were inside the fuel dump planting bombs. They were all killed . . . when they tried to get out, they were spotted and they were killed.

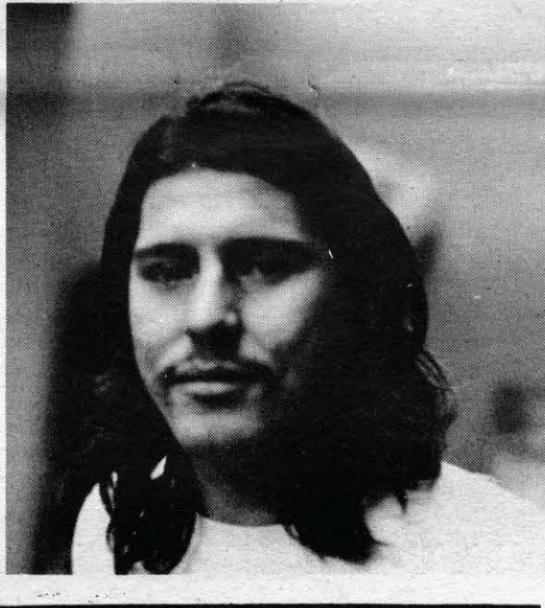
Two of these people worked in there. To this day, the Marines cannot figure how the other three got in. Of the two who worked there, one was the barber and the other did shit jobs, like cleaning plates and picking up garbage.

You begin to ask, how many more Vietnamese are like that. You begin to listen to what they have to say about the war. And you begin to realize that what they are saying is true—they are fighting for the liberation of their country, to get their country back. . . .

The majority of the people, the women, the children and the men that work in the fields, that work every day, are Viet Cong. They are the ones who are fighting this war.

Vietnam is nothing but the extension of a worldwide war that is going on right now in South America, Africa, Asia and Europe by people trying to rid themselves of exploiters. . . . The U.S. is in Vietnam because it is very rich in natural resources and because it is a strategic point, right next to China.

Another thing I learned in Vietnam is to understand my country, my history. I began to relate the war to what is happening in Puerto Rico. I began to realize that if it is happening in Vietnam, it is going to happen some day in Puerto Rico. I began to understand the independence movement—something that both my mother and my father talked against, as a bunch of crazy nationalists—I began to understand what that was.



Instead of calling the Vietnamese fools, I began to admire them. The Vietnamese people know who their enemy is. In Puerto Rico, we still have to tell a lot of people who the enemy is.

I began to realize how clear those people are, how brilliant those people are, because the U.S. is powerful—it does have a lot of planes and a lot of guns. But it is very beautiful to see these planes and tanks and guns useless. It is very good to see what power to the people means.

I want to point out that I didn't see all of these things right there. But a seed was planted. Things didn't click until I got back to the States. I was on drugs for a while. I went through a lot of changes before I realized how the Vietnamese liberation struggle had changed my life.

DAVE SAUNDERS

(Dave was stationed with the United States Air Force in Okinawa, a point from which American bombers flew sorties over Indochina. During the interview, he documented in great detail the racism he personally confronted in the Air Force. His experiences forced him to raise serious questions about himself and his country. At the conclusion of the interview, he made a particularly moving statement about how the U.S. was treating the Okinawans.)



When I was over there, the government said that we were there to protect the Okinawans. But before we were there, before World War II, the Okinawans had a culture. They were happy. They were close to the land and to nature. They had a community. They did not have any syph or gonorrhea or clap until America stepped on her soil. The Americans said you were to think like Americans.

I used to cry. Here were the Okinawans, happy, peaceful people. Our country said we were there to protect them, but the Okinawans didn't want us there.

I'll tell you, brother, anybody who has been overseas and who has dealt with the Orientals, they are the most peaceful, lovable people you'll ever want to meet. And America says we are over there to protect them. I didn't see nothing wrong over there. The only thing that was wrong was America.

If those N. Vietnamese commies don't release our shot-down pilots...



We'll send the bombers over again...



And if they won't release those pilots...



We'll.....



HOUSING

The cost of one aircraft carrier would pay for public housing for 270,000 people. The price of the four aircraft carriers now stationed off the shore of North Vietnam would cover the cost of housing over 1,000,000 people.

OBA BABATUNDI

I was in the Marine Corps. The Marine Corps radically changed my outlook on the situation in America. Before I went into the service, I was not that patriotic but I still thought that in going to Vietnam I was fighting for America and even Black America, but I was quickly disillusioned by the fact that when I entered the service it was a cesspool of racism, oppression and discrimination. . . .

When I went to Vietnam, my M.O.S., my military job, was as a cook; I was told when I got there that there were no cooks needed, that all they needed were infantry men. In the infantry, I found that the overwhelming number of Marines were Black. We did the fighting and the whites did the back-up work—I am talking in terms of numbers and percentages.

You had certain requirements there. For example, you had to be wounded three times before you could cut your stay in Vietnam, Of course it is utterly impossible to sustain

three wounds without coming back in a box. This was one of the oppressive requirements to keep you there. . . .

There was racism in terms of rank. I stayed in one rank for two years. . . .

From the service, I can now clearly see what direction this country is going in. If we as Black and Third World people and whites who are sympathetic to our cause do not mobilize against the imperialism and expansionism of the United States, we will find ourselves being engulfed in this society and . . . being used as weapons to defend the white ruling class. . . .

Realizing this also changed my attitude to the Vietnamese. My reactions to them were very negative in that I still had the programmed view of what America had thought of the Vietnamese: as weak and as inferior. . . . It really didn't change until I got out of the service and realized that these were brothers and sisters that were fighting for the liberation of their land as other oppressed people are fighting.

It only heightens my determination to be



involved in straightening out American society, because I realize that I did a lot of wrong in Vietnam in the name of America.



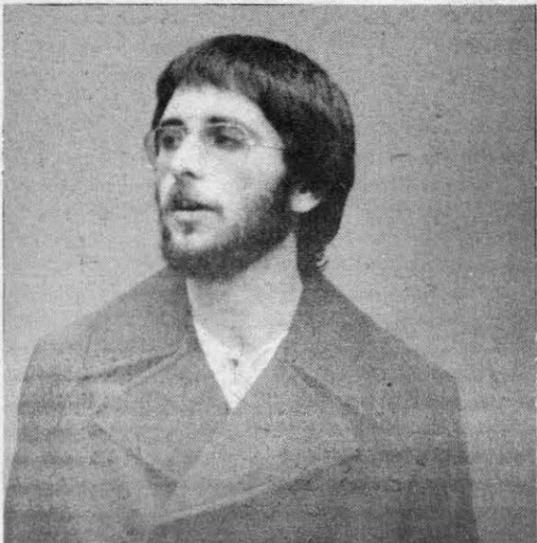
RICHARD McGRADE

Down South, I was having a whole lot of problems with the officers because I didn't hate the Black guys in my unit. I thought about all the pressures I was getting from other people but never realizing how to deal with them, or why they even existed in the first place. So it wasn't really until after I got out of the service and I started talking to a lot of my friends that we started to get our heads together and do some research and some reading.

First, I was recommended by a student who used to go here to read *Soul on Ice* by Eldridge Cleaver. He said it was a Black book, but it was a very different Black book from the kinds of things that had been written. So I read it and like, it just blew my mind. I followed the Panthers a lot. I used to buy their papers religiously. And from there it was going to demonstrations and talking to different people and going to meetings of different organizations. And then I would relate them back to my army life.

To put it very briefly, I think anyone who is not in the ruling class and who is in the army, he is serving like in complete contradiction to his own needs. Because the army is only responding. They are a tool of the ruling class. We can't tell the army where to go, or what to do—but they can! So like, if workers were on strike, the army could be brought in to stop them from picketing, to do their jobs, whatever—like the post office strike. And you know, I realize that could be my father. You know, who feeds me? And it's just against your interests to even serve in the army at all.

Well, actually they're police. They're just like a gigantic police force and they police the world instead of a particular city—I mean in the interests of the rich. If you've ever seen



like Nixon passing by, he has like ten thousand guards around him. People in the army. And we're paying them to guard Nixon. And why are they guarding Nixon? They're guarding him against us. Because he's so fucked up anyway. Somebody here might want to do a job on him the way he does on all those working people in Vietnam.

But all over the world they're just policing people. That's all they do. They're corralling. They're keeping them in line, 'cause once they get out of line then they're a threat to the ruling class, and they just can't have that.

KENNETH BRENNAN

I was drafted in September of 1967. I was 18 years old; I boosted up my draft—went down to my draft board and told them I wanted to be drafted, because I felt I was going to be anyway. I wasn't prepared to go to college, at least I thought I wasn't; I figured I'd get the Army over with. Quite a few of my friends from my neighborhood in the West Bronx went into the service right away to get it over with.

I really didn't think too much about Vietnam and the war until I got into advanced training where all of us talked more about it. Some hoped we wouldn't go to Vietnam; some wanted to go, couldn't wait to go. A lot of them, the main reason they joined the Army was to go to Vietnam—I think because they were young. I was young too. I guess we were a little gung-ho; there were 500,000 men over there and we felt we'd like to get into it and fight, too, but we really didn't know what fighting was all about. . . .

A lot of being gung-ho, though, had to do with the fact that you really had no choice. I mean, you had to do what they told you to do, so you sort of made yourself gung-ho; otherwise you'd be stepped on by the sergeants, the drill sergeants. You had to be gung-ho in your performance with weapons, and then it sort of grew on you, and all of a sudden you were John Wayne. . . .

But as soon as I got to Vietnam my attitude began to change, not about the war itself, but about me in it. In basic infantry training, you were just a soldier, and only once in a while you'd be called by your name. When I got to Vietnam I found out it was even worse; you were just a number. They gave you a number the first day in Vietnam, and for five days you were that number—you felt like you were just a number on a piece of paper. That affected me and a couple of fellows from basic training that went over with me. To us it felt like, "What are we doing? We're just numbers here. What if we get blown away here, will they just write off a

number?" . . .

While I was in the Army, from 1967 to 1969, I agreed with the war. But right now I don't agree with it at all. At the time I was in the service, I guess I was brainwashed. In basic training we were told the "Charlie's gonna get ya," Charlie Cong, Viet Cong, and that he was after us, because we were Americans and lived in the U.S., and that we had to kill Charlie before he killed us. We were trained just to kill, to kill the Viet Cong, or the North Vietnamese soldiers, and that's really all I had on my mind. I was put in a situation where I had to fight; you know, you had to fight, or get killed and go to jail or whatever. You had to do what you were told to do. When I came back from the service I guess I still saw it that way. Then little by little I began to see the light, and then I saw that I didn't really feel



we should be over there. I think we're just there for monetary reasons. Big business more or less runs this country, and what are they going to do if they can't produce two tons of ammunition every day? There are people making money on the war, and that's one of the main reasons we're in there right now. Like I said before, I was sort of gung-ho, but now I see the light, and I wouldn't want anybody to go over now. We should get out, just pack up and go.

HEALTH CENTERS
The \$52.5 million worth of helicopters lost in the 1971 Laos invasion would have paid for seventeen local health center, each treating 40,000 patients a year.

ON CHINA: Interview



Susan Warren, the head of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association, is a noted speaker, teacher, and writer on China. In the 60's she spent a year and a half traveling widely in China. She returned there in September 1971 for a three-month visit.

Because "so many deeds cry out to be done" in our own problem-ridden country, the Tiger Paper staff thought it would be valuable to interview someone with knowledge of the ways China solved—or is in the process of solving—some of its problems. We also asked her to answer some of the typical questions that Americans have about China.

Some good reading on China: Jack Belden, *China Shakes the World*; William Hinton, *Fanshen*, and "Fanshen Re-examined in the Light of the Cultural Revolution" (a New England Free Press pamphlet); Dr. Joshua Horn, *Away with all Pests: An English Surgeon in People's China*; Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China*. A longer, annotated reading list is available for 20 cents from the National Peace Literature Series of the American Friends Service Committee, 160 N. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

友

ARE VISITORS SHOWN ONLY WHAT THE GOVERNMENT WANTS THEM TO SEE?

TIGER PAPER: There are a lot of misunderstandings about China. For instance, some people said after the Nixon visit that travelers to China only see what the Chinese want them to see, that there are probably all kinds of things—like colonies of people who all have venereal disease—hidden off someplace away from the public eye, so how can anyone get a really good picture of China?

SUE WARREN: Well, I think it's true that very often they take you to places that are advanced in some ways. That's quite natural, and something that we would probably do too; we show visitors certain things we're proud of. But in China there have been so many visitors who have gone to so many different kinds of places! I myself went to places in 10 or 12 different provinces—in the northeast, in central China, in western China, in Szechuan, in southern China, in Canton—and I doubt very much that they would be able to make up all of that. And, also, when you're in the streets, there's no one who bothers to steer you to this place or that. You can wander, you can talk to anyone in the stores and shops and so forth, though generally—partly because the language is such an obstacle to most people who come—they will take you to places of special interest to you. They *ask* you what you want to see, and they're very good about filling these requests. But it's very rare that they won't take you to

a place. There's such a wide range of places that you go that I don't think one need fear getting a distorted picture.

VENEREAL DISEASE ERADICATED IN CHINA

You said something about venereal disease. Now that's something I happen to know something about because I know one of the doctors who was very deeply involved in initiating and carrying out the anti-venereal-disease campaign in China—Dr. George Hatem, known also as Dr. Ma Hai-Teh, an American doctor of Syrian descent who went to China in his 30's. Edgar Snow writes about him in *Red Star Over China* and *The Other Side of the River*.

He told me personally how widespread venereal disease had been. Take a city like Shanghai, for instance. The prostitutes in Shanghai had a 70 percent venereal disease rate! This is just the rate for prostitutes; it was of course much more widespread in the population as a whole.

The situation now is that medical students have a very difficult time finding specimens of venereal disease so that they can study it. This is a fact. And it's something that nobody, whether friendly to China or not, denies anymore.

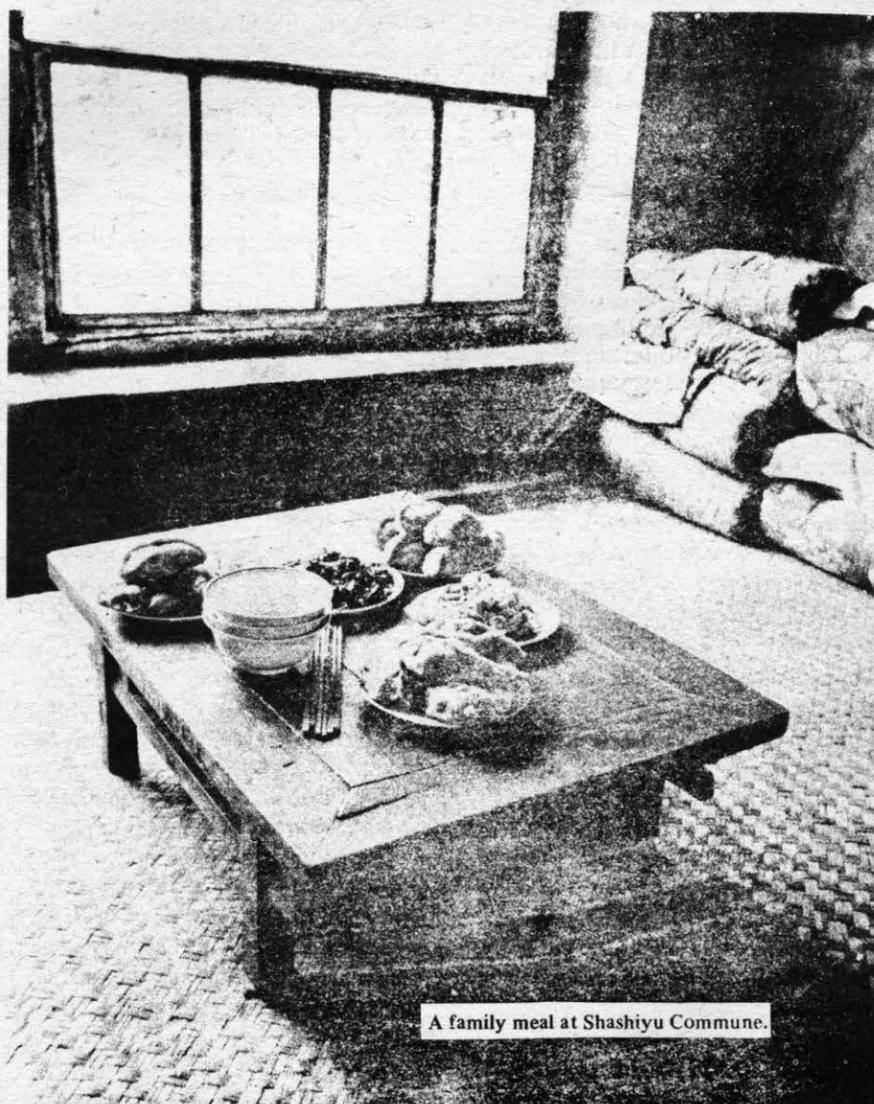
IS THERE FREEDOM IN CHINA?

TIGER: Another common idea Americans have is that there's no freedom at all in China—that people have no freedom to choose their jobs, that the government manipulates the people to keep them doing what it wants them to, and they have nothing to say about the way they live.

WARREN: Well, I think you first have to say something about the fundamental question of the relation of people to their government. Here in the U.S. the government in essence represents only a small minority, and acts only for the benefit of a very small group of powerful financial interests. So the large majority of Americans really cannot and do not look at the government as theirs and actually don't participate in making the kinds of decisions that affect their lives—and I mean those really very down-to-earth decisions, in the factories, in the universities.

In China the people's feeling that the government is theirs is extremely strong. Whoever goes there can't miss it. The fact is that the Chinese leadership, the Chinese Communist Party, in the whole course of its revolutionary struggle has based itself on what is called the *mass line*. The mass line in essence means a closeness to the people and a listening to their expression of their own needs, and then generalizing these needs expressed by the people themselves, and then once more bringing ideas back to the people for carrying out in practice. So the people feel the government is theirs and is acting in their interest. . . .

You could say a number of things about the question of, let's say, a person being forced to stay on a job, whether he or she likes it or doesn't like it. One thing is that one's liking or not liking particular work very often is affected by an understanding of what the work is for, what it contributes to the total picture. If you're dedicated to the total advancement and progress of the country and agree that it's necessary, it has some effect on your attitude toward the work. But it isn't true that an individual's particular capabilities and desires aren't taken into account at all. They are to some extent. But the social interest comes first. And the people as a whole accept this.



A family meal at Shashiyu Commune.

With Susan Warren

Then there is the fact that a job in China is quite different from a job here. Here it's only very rarely that people are able to do satisfying work. Here a job is mostly for being able to live in a very elementary sense. And very often people here hate the work they have to do and feel that the job has nothing really to do with their lives.

"JOB" HAS A NEW MEANING IN CHINA

In China, a job is not only the work that you do. A worker of any kind is a total person. They're involved in all kinds of projects with the people they work with—in study, recreation, and in cultural activities. What you get from all the people, whether you see them in a commune or in a factory, is the sense of a *whole person*, not just a part of a person whose life is devoted to turning a screw. That is important too, but it's not the totality of the worker's life and not the totality of the worker's job either. In China today there's a great deal of actual innovation and development by workers of all kinds—of the machinery they use, of new ingenious devices that will shorten their labor—in other words, work has a very *creative* aspect. So the word "job" has a new meaning. People who have this kind of job and this feeling for it do not feel forced. They feel that working where they're needed is an added contribution to the whole advancement of the country, and this is what they want.

TIGER: You speak of the worker as a whole person engaged with other people in a whole range of activities. Does that mean that most people who work in, say, a factory or a hospital live near that place? And is there a whole community located around the factory or the hospital?

HOUSING

WARREN: Yes, very often there are housing developments located around a plant or hospital and so forth, although sometimes some workers do live further away; for instance, when a wife works in one place and a husband in another, they have to choose whose workplace to live near. But in general, people do live relatively close to their work. And there's not only housing available, there are theaters, shops—a whole community. Specifically I'm thinking now of an auto plant I visited up in Changchun, in the northeast, the area they used to call Manchuria. There was a very beautiful housing development around that. Of course it's not so near the plant that there's no difference between where you're working and where you're living. But it's quite close to it, within walking distance. And this project had apartments with balconies, and even some Chinese pagoda-type roofs. I also remember down in Shanghai, in one of its so-called satellite cities, Minhong, they had brought a boiler factory from Shanghai, and with it the experienced workers of that factory. There was a beautiful housing development there. I have slides of that, just to prove it's all bona fide!

DRUGS IN OLD AND NEW CHINA

TIGER: Could you explain briefly the history of how old China got involved with drugs? the outsiders who brought in opium, and then how the problem was solved . . . ?

WARREN: Well, in the early 19th century China was selling a lot of goods—fine silks and spices and all kinds of things which the West had to pay for in silver. This became a drain, and the West wanted to find something else to create a balance of payments, so to speak. They did this by bringing opium into China from Western colonies in the Far East.

They sold the Chinese the opium and so didn't have to pay for Chinese goods in silver. They literally forced opium on the Chinese people. This was in the early 1800's—and it resulted in the Opium War of 1840, after which China was forced to have an "Open Door" to foreign exploitation. The Chinese

people and certain Chinese leaders resisted this, particularly a man named Lin Tse-Hshu, a Chinese official but a man with social feeling and consciousness. He tried very hard to stop the opium traffic. But it was too big for him, very big business, just as drugs are here in the West today.

Well, the point is that using opium became more and more widespread as the misery of the Chinese people increased under the onslaught of imperialism. Drugs were probably used more in China than in any other place in the world.

But it wasn't too long after the People's Republic of China came into being in 1949 that opium traffic really stopped. It was dealt with so firmly that it was stopped quite quickly. They simply closed all the areas of possible entry of any opium, and they stopped the growth of poppies. They also, of course, educated people against opium use. A very great part of it was that people's consciousness began to change in this new society. Their material life changed and their confidence in themselves, their belief in their future, grew. All of this, coupled with steps taken by the government, stamped out drug use. It doesn't exist any more in a country where it had been the greatest problem.

TIGER: Do you think it would be possible to eliminate drug traffic here in the U.S. now?

WARREN: Well, I don't think the U.S. government would take the kind of drastic steps needed. In China you have both an economic system, and a government devoted to that system, which excludes profit, excludes the raising of money, the getting of money as the main ideal. Here in the West and in the U.S., while there is much lip service given to doing something about the drug problem, the fact is that people in very high places, officials and others, are profiting by it, in astronomical sums. Therefore, just like every other problem under a system where profit comes first, the chance of really wiping it out root and branch is not very hopeful.

TIGER: What about the rehabilitation of addicts?

WARREN: I think the educational aspect was of very great importance, the actual working with people who were addicted, trying to change their view.

TIGER: Did the new society consider opium addicts and prostitutes shameful people, the dregs of society?



WARREN: No, no. Absolutely not. In fact, they were considered victims, terrible victims, of the old society. Especially prostitutes, because during the frequent famines and droughts, peasants actually sold girls—little girls of 12, 13, 14—for a few handfuls of grain. And as the addicts and prostitutes began to understand what the old system had done to them and what the new system was doing to eradicate it, they began to participate more in their own rehabilitation.

PRISONS AND CRIME

TIGER: China's prison system is another topic that people here are interested in—because of the recent prison uprisings which brought to light the terrible conditions in U.S. prisons.

WARREN: Well, as a matter of fact I visited a prison in Peking on my first trip to China. It's sometimes thought that there is no crime in China. There is some. But there's no doubt that it's very, very reduced. As I recall there were something like 160 people in the Peking prison while I was there, in a city of about 6-7 million, about 10 million if you count the surrounding areas.

歡迎

ON CHINA:

There were some political prisoners among them. The Chinese make no bones about the fact that those people who are enemies of socialism—I mean enemies who actively do things and organize against socialism, not who just have different ideas or thoughts—are considered public enemies. Then there were others in the prison for crimes such as theft—that is, relatively large theft, because if someone stole something like an item from a commune or a factory, that would be dealt with by a talking-to, persuasion, ideology. While it would be considered wrong, it wouldn't be considered a matter for jailing or a trial. I heard of an instance when someone stole a bicycle, and in such a case the collective goes to work: the people where he works or in his commune discuss why he did it, they talk it out with him and try to get him to understand what he did and why it was wrong. It's a matter of education, of understanding, and it's only for larger thefts that you find people in prison. Occasionally there are crimes of violence committed. But this is very rare.

TIGER: In the very large cities, are people afraid to go out at night or in terror of people breaking in or of mugging and rapes, like we are in New York?

WARREN: It's so far from that, that if I say what it's really like people might not believe me—but I'll say it anyhow. The fact is, and it's generally accepted—even people who went over with Nixon wrote about this—that nobody would think of locking doors or, on the other hand, of taking something that didn't belong to them. In fact when I wanted to throw something away I had to make absolutely sure to put it where it would be understood that I was throwing it away; otherwise people might follow me to give it back.

On the streets there just isn't any evidence of crime. The only thing I've ever seen was traffic policemen having a discussion with someone about breaking traffic laws, or a little Red Guard speaking to someone about spitting, saying "It's really not healthy; it's not good for people." There's still a lot of spitting in China!

POLLUTION

TIGER: How do the Chinese deal with questions of air pollution and that kind of thing? I believe that some of the reporters who went over with Nixon commented on the cleanness of Peking, the lack of industrial pollution, of car exhaust, and so on.

WARREN: The cities are very clean. In a city like Shanghai, where the population is something like 8 or 9 million, it's so clean you could almost eat off the streets. But it's not true there's no air or water pollution. For instance, in the Whangpoo River down near Shanghai, and generally in highly industrialized areas, there is water pollution; and you do see factories belching smoke. The Chinese are more and more aware of this as a problem. Because China is not so highly industrialized it's not a major problem like it is here, but it can become one. But more and more the Chinese are taking definite steps to eliminate pollution. Mainly they're using all waste material, for a whole range of different products.

WOMEN

TIGER: Could you say something about the status of women in China?

WARREN: When you talk about women in China, just as with most everything else there, if you're talking about where people are headed, you have to talk about where they came from. You couldn't understand about women in China otherwise. While woman's position has been an inferior one generally, in China it was almost like being chattel, property. Questions of life and death were decided by husband, then by son. Forced marriages, child marriages, beatings, the servitude toward a mother-in-law. (This was one of the ways, I guess, that women got back their own! They waited to become a mother-in-law so they could abuse a new

daughter-in-law.) Life was miserable for everyone, but for women abysmal. Today women's lives have changed completely. They are participating in every part of life in every way: in communes, as teachers, as doctors, and in leading positions in revolutionary and party committees. Yet there is very much further to go toward the full liberation of women. Mao said this in conversation with Snow.

Custom and tradition is very, very strong. In some places there is still unequal pay. These are things that have to be and will be corrected by the women and the men there. The problems are regarded as something to be struggled against. Mostly I think problems remain because of tradition—the hangovers. Women need to come forward, men need to recognize women's abilities.

DIVORCE COURTS

On the other hand, you see what's happening in the divorce courts, for instance. In every single session I attended, the woman wanted to divorce the man, not the other way around. The people who conducted the hearings were always two women and one man. The women, because of the prior oppression and still not full equality, would always lean over backwards to the woman's side of things, although they do try where possible to create understanding between people. If it's not possible in the end and people want a divorce, they get it.



A woman in one of these cases was very avid about getting a divorce. As they were looking into the case and trying to create some understanding of the man's position, she stood up with her hands on her hips and said, "Am I liberated or am I not?" The people hearing the case tried to calm her down and said, "Yes, you are! But still it is required that we understand each other and not be enemies."

ABORTIONS

On the last trip I saw a number of women who were having abortions. I actually was at an operation conducted with acupuncture used as anesthesia for a tubular sterilization. A young woman of 34 had 3 children. Her health wasn't good and she didn't want any more children, so she and her husband decided that a tubular sterilization was in order. Without any fuss or hassle whatsoever, she was able to get the operation in an almost family-like atmosphere, without cold professionalism, and without any psychological damage.

I was at a commune, Hsia Shih-Yu, about 5 or 6 hours north of Peking. It was originally one of those very-poor communes, stony and drought-ridden, where they had terraced the land and created orchards. They were giving me apples all the time, the most delicious apples.

I stayed at the home of a peasant woman. Her neighbor was the head of the Women's Association and she came in too, and there was my wonderful interpreter, Fei Chun. We four women started talking. These women were very down to earth. One was a widow with five sons. She talked about how in the old days she would have starved to death, or at the very least become a beggar. But now she was a woman who had a house and whose sons were working in the commune. She said that before she'd come to this commune, she felt that the sky was closing in on her, the situation was so bad under the old system, before liberations days. She actually became part of the movement then, in the pre-1949 days.

They also spoke about the resistance of the men to women working in the fields. The men actually believed that women coming into the fields would spoil the crops. This was something that they had to work to break down. One woman told me a story of the man who was in charge of collecting manure, night soil, which is a key thing in China. The women wanted to collect night soil, and he was against it. He would drive his little cart through the fields where people were picking up the manure and to prove that the women were incapable of keeping up, he would drive especially fast so that they would have to chase him! This made hard work for them, but they were determined not to be defeated. And they succeeded!

DOES CHAIRMAN MAO LIVE LIKE A KING?

TIGER: Going back to misconceptions, one that you sometimes hear is that Mao lives like a king in contrast to the peasants and workers.

WARREN: Mao is one of the greatest people of our time and is loved by the Chinese people. He has confidence in and love for them and they return those feelings. This is something that you feel whenever talking to the people. Edgar Snow, who has had a number of conversations with Mao, in his book *The Other Side of the River* said that even though the place where Mao lives is within the Imperial Palace, it could be compared to the modest house of an insurance salesman in Long Island. Hugh Sidey, who wrote about this recently in *Life Magazine*, right after the Nixon visit, said the room where Mao works and also sleeps is the simplest, barest kind of room and mostly contains the papers, books and magazines needed for his work. This is the kind of room I saw at the end of October when I was in Chingkanshan on the Kiangsi-Hunan border which was the first Red Base that Mao and the Red Army went to after the 1927 betrayal by Chiang Kai-shek. The room where Mao stayed was exactly the same: just a room with a bed, a desk, places for books, just like what he has now.



PUERTO RICAN WOMEN RAP

ABOUT WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Doreen Alvarez, a student at Manhattan Community College, called together a group of Puerto Rican women and taped their discussion about women's liberation, machismo, racism, the media... The following are excerpts from that tape.

ALICIA: I think the Puerto Rican woman is oppressed in two ways. First of all, she is oppressed economically. And then in Puerto Rico she's got a neo-colonial mind, which is even worse to deal with. In order for her to understand what machismo means, you've really got to hammer it down to her.

EVELYN: But what *does* machismo mean? It's hard to define.

CARMEN: Being a slave... almost a slave.

EVELYN: To what?

CARMEN: To your husband.

JUDY: I can define it. It's really submitting all your beliefs to the man you love... submitting whatever you believe in and letting it go because of the man you love. It's being oppressed and kept down by a man. What that does is just inhibit the whole person as a being, personality, everything.

CARMEN: Like with women who have to go out and work. The men still do not regard the fact they are working women, that they have responsibilities outside of their home and that they don't always feel like coming home to cook and to clean and to cater to him.

EVELYN: And whatever the woman does at home isn't considered work. It's considered her responsibility as a wife, a mother. These are the things she has to do whether she's working or dying or no matter what... she has no way to escape that.

* * * * *

JUDY: I remember when I got pregnant. José and I both went to the doctor. I got examined. Then we went into the consulting room and the doctor said, "You're pregnant." I started to cry—man, I didn't want to be pregnant. José had the biggest grin on his face. He was so happy. And it was just ego inflating. You know, when we came out he said, "I did it! I did it! I got somebody pregnant... I made you produce." He thought the belly was never going to show.

EVELYN: And he's not the one that's going to suffer anything, especially with his parents.

CARMEN: The woman's the one who is always supposed to be the sinner, the enticer.

* * * * *

CARMEN: It's the most gigantic threat in the world to see women as men's equals. The competition would be unbearable! It would be too much! Besides, society has always said that women are nothing... biologically inferior, smaller brains.

EVELYN: "It's probably her time of the month and you know how women get..."

CARMEN: No, men never understand women to that extent.

EVELYN: Yes! a lot of men do use that. Like they say women couldn't be President because they'd have to be out a few days every month. Some women do go through a lot of suffering because of it, but men have their things too.

ALICIA: Hemorrhoids.

JUDY: Hangnails.

CARMEN: Athlete's foot.

ALICIA: But man is the result of what society has put on him. His being oppressed makes him oppress us. But then, if a man really has his head on straight, he can realize that although he's being oppressed by society, that doesn't mean he has to oppress his wife.

* * * * *

1954- Western Hemisphere Conference held in which U.S. tries to hide exploitation and colonial status of Puerto Rico. Puerto Rican patriots answer when Lolita Lebrón, factory worker, and three compadres enter U.S. House of Reps., open fire on legislators, wounding 5 and sending all scurrying for cover. All 4 patriots now serving more than 50 year prison sentences each.



LOLITA LEBRÓN

EVELYN: The beginning of liberation has to be where the woman is aware of her oppression. And that's why the women's movement has a lot of things that I don't dig. Women's liberationists on TV sometimes come across so masculine, so aggressive, just too defensive. If you put these kinds of women on TV, all the women at home who don't know what it is think they're nothing but a lot of screaming *cachaperras*, a bunch of screaming gay women who want to be men.

CARMEN: But the media intentionally portrays that image so that the women on the outside will say, "Why, they're nothing but a bunch of sick chicks." The same way the *Daily News* and all these newspapers exploit women's liberation. The media's run by men and because of the fact that men are threatened by women's liberation, they show a very bad image of it. So a lot of women are going to reject it without even getting into it.

ALICIA: How are they going to support women's lib., I mean real true women's liberation, a people's liberation, when exploitation of women has to do with money? The media's not going to give up their beliefs. They're not going to lose money on us for nothing! You've seen all those stupid commercials: "You've come a long way, baby" and all that shit... and Eve cigarettes.

EVELYN: In magazines, in all kinds of advertisements, the woman is made to look like the sex object. She's the one who has the hot pants and the body...

ALICIA: Do you think that for once they're going to bring out something that's going to be really good for the people? They want to make money. Make money first.

CARMEN: That's why you find that a lot of women's liberationists are getting very political. Also, they can finally see what has been done to us as Third World people.

EVELYN: I always wonder what it is that turns off Puerto Rican women? From the whole movement and from women's liberation.

CARMEN: In *Vanidades*, the Latin American magazine, they talk about how women's liberation is going into different homes. And then they interview various Latin American and Puerto Rican women. One woman talks about how she could never accept women's liberation because it's a complete threat to her marriage; she would never respect her husband if he washed one plate. Do you know why? She believes she can't deal with anything else but housework. So it really is a threat if the man comes home and does something, because then what will *she* have?

ALICIA: We can talk here forever and we can have meetings and films on the streets and leaflets, but when women sit down to watch that stupid *novela*, that soap opera, on TV, there ain't gonna be nothing. And another thing about *novelas* is that they usually have servants who are Black. There are Black

Puerto Rican actors but they don't use them. When they need a Black, they paint him. These programs are like 200 years behind so that Puerto Rican women will get the message 200 years from now!

CARMEN: When you see a *novela* you see shit happening. You think that one day you'll wear glass slippers and you'll have a mink coat and you'll have a Black slave too, honey. They make you think like that. They make you compete against your next door neighbor, who has greener grass and better flowers and the biggest barbecue.

The thing is, that's why machismo affects our men more than others, because of all the oppression and exploitation that has been put upon Puerto Rican men. A wife becomes a piece of property. Because of these times, a woman is all they can show for themselves. So the better a woman performs sexually, householdwise, any-wise, the more a man's ego is boosted. Like the man who brings his fuckin' friend over to show him how clean his house is and how good his wife cooks.

JUDY: Or the man who says, "I go out every Friday and Saturday and she's still there."

CARMEN: After they come back from the factories, these men are a bitch to live with. They come home and they want to feel like they are a boss to somebody, so they kick us around.

ALICIA: This is not done because they don't mean to. They *mean* to do all this shit.

CARMEN: But it's also unconscious. The man doesn't even realize that this is only a reaction to what society is putting on him. Going to the factory, then home to boss his wife, then the wife bitches to the kids: it's a whole continuing process.

And again because of the economy—the bored wife sits home and watches commercials all day long and because she's so bored she's got to go out and buy the new Tide and the new Brillo.

ALICIA: We're going to have to work with women, and the only way we're going to work with them is...

EVELYN: First by writing books, by putting out literature. There's hardly a goddamned thing written by a Puerto Rican woman. Did you know that?

ALICIA: There's a lot of shit written by a lot of older women. You know, all these women who say, well, the only way we're going to get there is by voting.

CARMEN: But you know, one of the heaviest leaders of women's liberation is Lolita Lebrón. She is getting their shit together in prisons. The authorities told her that if she stops politicizing people and trying to get women together as a group of oppressed people, as Third World people, that they will release her from prison. But she would have to refuse to partake in any political action. And she has not renounced her feelings. She has accomplished more in prison awaking women!

WHY NIXON HAS HIS EYE ON FOREST HILLS

Rallies . . . a torchlight parade . . . a bout of rock-throwing at construction company trailers . . . demands for the impeachment of the Mayor . . . charges of racism from the Black chairman of the City Housing Authority, countercharges of bureaucratic bulldozing and scorn for Jewish rights from the white president of a Queens residents' association . . .

The scene, in case you didn't recognize it, is normally peaceful Forest Hills, for the last several months roused to fury by city plans to locate a low-income housing project on its middle-income turf. Far from being a purely local matter, the conflict has reached all the way to Albany and Washington and even to the White House itself: President Nixon, according to his aides, considers what's happening in Forest Hills of "national significance."

FOREST HILLS OF "NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE" ???

Why?

A clue to the answer lies in a statement by Jerry Birbach, president of the Forest Hills Residents Association (FHRA), prime opponent of the project; the fight in Forest Hills, he said in December, is "the struggle of the middle class . . . throughout the nation." Not an isolated fight, that is, and by no means the first. Similar conflicts have broken out in other communities as the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has pursued its "scatter-site" policy of building Federally-financed low-income housing in middle-class territory to break up race-and-income zoning. Birbach's dramatic phrase points to the fact that middle-class resistance against the claims of poor Americans—and particularly non-white Americans—is rapidly stiffening. And that's the process Richard Nixon is encouraging, only waiting to see how far the middle class is willing to go before he jumps in to lead them. For—as his anti-busing and anti-welfare programs make clear—racism and suppression of the poor are key priorities on Nixon's domestic agenda.



THE OCTOBER CRISIS

The battle that erupted in Queens last October has been in the making ever since 1967, when the New York City Housing Authority (CHA) announced plans to build a housing project for 2500-2800 low-income people, many of them Black or Puerto Rican, on 8.4 acres of vacant Forest Hills land. Local residents, eventually organized into the Forest Hills Residents Association whose members and active supporters now number about 2000, tried vainly to stop the project at city-agency hearings and in the courts, citing numerous and familiar reasons: the project was wasteful and poorly designed, would cause overcrowding of local facilities, bring crime and large-scale drug addiction into the neighborhood, lower property values, and destroy the Jewish, middle-class nature of the

community. In November and December, as construction was finally beginning, the FHRA in desperation decided to take to the streets.

They got the public forum they wanted, and then some. The media swarmed around, and a powerful ally came forth in the shape of Conservative Senator James Buckley, who took the FHRA's cause straight to HUD Secretary George Romney in Washington. Romney agreed personally to review the \$29.9 million project, since the bonds for it would be financed by HUD money. When Romney okayed the project in late November, Buckley wrote directly to President Nixon, and in mid-February arranged a meeting between Nixon aides and opponents of the project. The opponents came away satisfied they had received a sympathetic hearing.

In the meanwhile, however, piledriving at the Forest Hills site continued. The FHRA went back to court, and in February it succeeded in having construction halted. State Judge Irving Saypol ruled that the current plan for the 840-unit project—three 24-story buildings—was so different from the original one that the project had to be resubmitted to the City Planning Commission and the Board of Estimate. As of April 9, the decision on the CHA appeal had not come down. If Saypol's ruling stands, the project will probably never be built, at least not in Forest Hills. The City Planning Commission might pass it again, but odds are that the Board of Estimate won't. (With the FHRA outcries ringing in their ears, the Board after two earlier approvals canceled a low-income project for Lindenwood, Queens, to avoid a similar fight with residents there.) If by some fluke the project did pass the Board again, there may be another hurdle to jump: in March the State Assembly passed a bill, made retroactive to cover the Forest Hills case, requiring a county-wide referendum on all low-income projects. Since there are no counties where poor or non-white people are a voting majority, the Assembly clearly intended to give exclusionary power to the white middle class. According to the *New York Times*, such a bill is "probably unconstitutional"—which is perhaps one measure of how far the white and anti-poor forces are willing to go.

RACISM IN FOREST HILLS

The FHRA and its supporters have insisted that their opposition to the project is not racist, and they cite community acceptance of middle-income Blacks to prove it. (Only 393, about 1 percent, of the 38,000 people in the project district are Black. A total of 364 Blacks live in all the three adjacent districts combined. If any Puerto Ricans at all live in or near Forest Hills, the *Times* has not seen fit to print the figures. Since the median rent in the district is \$200-250, the vast majority of Blacks and Puerto Ricans are quietly and legally priced out.)

What many Forest Hills residents have admitted (see *Times* and *Village Voice* coverage) is hostility to Blacks and Puerto Ricans that are poor, particularly in any numbers and more particularly those on welfare. Media interviewers have reported open racist sentiment, including Southern-style expressions of anger at "forced integration," while FHRA president Jerry Birbach has charged the city with "transplanting a malignant tumor to a healthy, viable community." Yet FHRA members also defend their opposition to the project on the ground that project-dwellers will not be integrated into the community; the three high-rise structures, they say, will be an island of poverty in a sea of affluence, and

thus recreate a ghetto situation. District Democratic Congressman Benjamin Rosenthal's description of the project as "fortress housing . . . impersonal human warehouses" is probably correct—but it clearly wasn't a question of design that moved FHRA members into the streets, rather where the buildings would be erected.

In reporting racism—open or hidden, conscious or unconscious—among the Forest Hills opposition, the media have rubbed hard on an old New York sore: the FHRA consists largely of Jews, is led by a Jewish real-estate man, is supported by the 53-group Queens Jewish Community Council, and wants (among other things) to preserve the Jewish character of Forest Hills. A few Jewish groups and individuals have sided with the Housing Authority but not enough to cancel the impression cultivated by the media that it's Jews, rather than the class of men at the head of the capitalist system, who are the enemy of the poor and non-white.

In turn, especially in this period of economic crisis (cutbacks in public welfare spending coupled with higher taxes, inflation, unemployment), Forest Hills residents are led by the workings of the system to see the poor and the non-white as their main rivals for the scarce resources of decent housing, safety, good education, and city services generally.



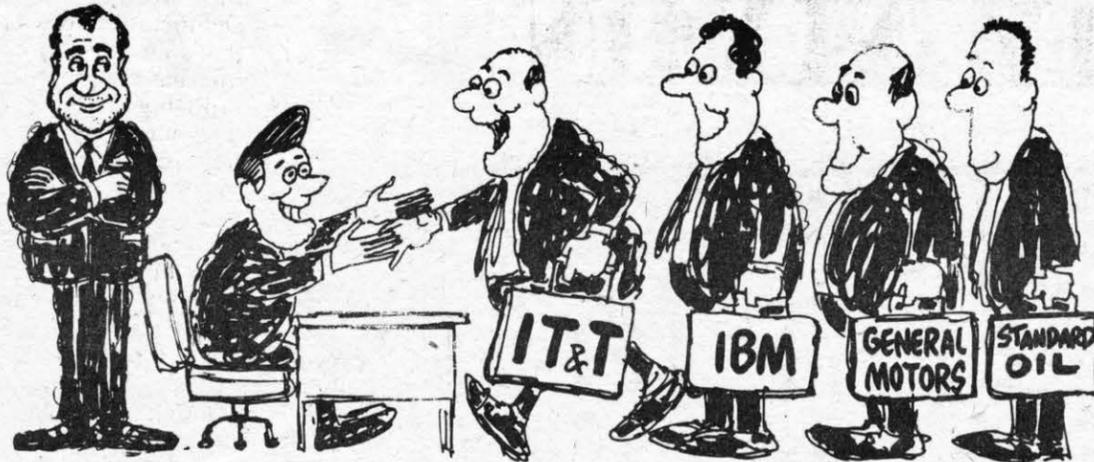
DIVIDE AND CONQUER

Forest Hills, in short, is a tailor-made situation for dividing those who can be divided, along as many lines as possible, in order to let the real enemy escape. In the scramble, no one notices why resources for a decent life are so scarce for so many in the world's wealthiest nation. They are kept scarce by the highly unequal distribution of wealth (income, goods, services), with a handful of men at the top creaming off the largest share and controlling the allocation of the rest. It is to serve the imperialist interests of that handful, whom Nixon represents, that more than half the people's taxes is spent on the war/death machine instead of life needs. (The cost of two of the four U.S. aircraft carriers presently stationed off North Vietnam would have paid to house all the 500,000 people on the waiting list for public housing in New York City.)

MANAGING CLASS CONFLICT

In pursuing a divide-and-conquer policy between classes (as distinct from sowing division within classes, e.g., dividing the welfare poor from low-income workers, and Third World from whites in each group), Nixon has to operate with some caution—at least for the moment. The basic role of the government in a class society is to manage the conflict between classes in order to protect the position of the class at the top. Criticism and rage have to be directed away from the ruling class while maintaining the belief of the other classes that the system can sooner or

NIXON SAID: "A PRESIDENTIAL AIDE MUST LISTEN TO ALL WHO COME TO THE WHITE HOUSE, AS THEY DO IN GREAT NUMBERS..."



... and after taking care of BUSINESS, Nixon aides welcome the FHRA....

later satisfy their needs.

Not an easy task, as was indicated by HUD Secretary Romney after he reaffirmed the Forest Hills project in late November: A successful program must avoid causing the majority of Americans to dig in their heels. If that happens, if they insist on the status quo, then believe you me we're through. On the other hand, there must be sufficient tangible progress so minority Americans, at least most of them, will decide that the problem is going to be solved within our present structure. (*Time Magazine*, 12/6/71)

Translated, that means that the middle groups (including the majority of whites) have to be persuaded to allow some of the scarce resources to be devoted to the needs of the people at the bottom—or the people at the bottom may become disillusioned with the capitalist system and start thinking about alternatives.

In a time when resources are less scarce than they now are, this may be a more or less workable policy. But when the economic

crunch comes, it isn't, and the top-class leaders have to choose which group to cut loose. Nixon has clearly decided to cut off the group at the bottom—the poor and non-white. And precisely because the expectations of this group were raised by the results of the popular movements of the 60's, cutting them off means not only stopping the flow of resources to them, but putting them firmly back in their "place" through social repression.

And that's the national significance of Forest Hills. Ruling-class figures like Nixon and Rockefeller do some of their own dirty work, but they can't do too much or the nature of the system would be exposed. Their main strategy at the moment seems to be to get middle groups to be their stalking horses against the lower ones. Racism and fear of falling down the economic ladder exist to be stirred into motion, and once middle-group fear and hatred come out in the open they can be labeled the "will of the majority" which leaders like Nixon must humbly obey. It's a democratic country, after all—for some of us anyway.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE ?

Many people in communities like Forest Hills will undoubtedly let themselves be manipulated by Nixon and Co. because relative to those at the bottom they do benefit from capitalism. But some may refuse to go along because they see that artificially scarce resources, unequal distribution of wealth and power, and continuous war abroad and strife at home in the end punish all except a very few.

Whether Nixon's domestic strategy succeeds, however, depends mostly on the reaction of the people it's designed to oppress, including the students at MCC. There seems no real choice but struggle—against forces like FHRA, yes, but even more important, against the true enemy, the class system and all of its corporate and political leaders and defenders.

Note: Facts, figures, quotations related to Forest Hills come from the New York Times, Village Voice, Time, Newsweek—the capitalist establishment press.

Notes on Madhatter Community College

by Alice

VERSUS VERSES

THE SHORT, SAD TALE OF CINDERELLA MAKUEN

Dear Fairy Godfather,
You went a bit too far
When you tried to turn my wife into
Assistant registrar.

DON'T I KNOW YOU FROM SOMEPLACE OR RICHARD GONZALEZ, I PRESUME?

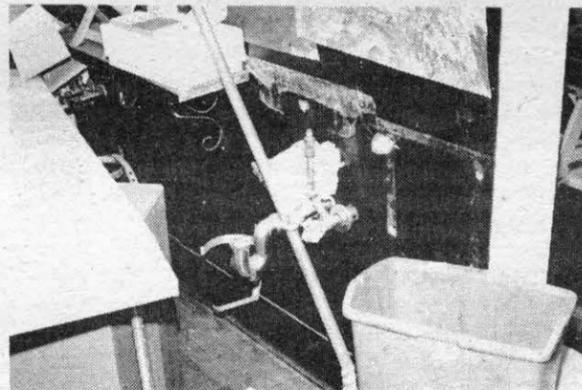
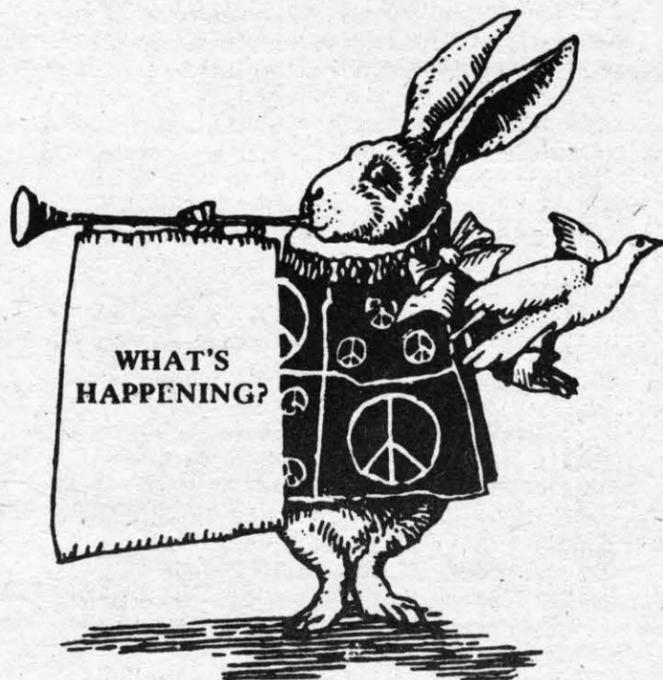
Another dean
Is on the team—
A face we've seen before

So we got back
Another hack;
Now we have fools galore.

DON AND SAM

Don and Sam (the President's man) appear to be having a battle: For Makuen, said Pitt, Likes students a bit, and that's hardly the way to treat cattle!

The Committee on Academic Governance, tightly controlled by the administration since its creation, is almost ready to make its recommendations. The President and the deans selected all of its members; most of the teachers on the committee are full or associate professors; none are lecturers or instructors. The Board of Higher Education, evidently miffed because the committee has taken so long to complete its work, is sending a representative to help it write the final draft. Student members, carefully hand picked like all the others, have stopped attending meetings, obviously aware that someone is pulling the strings behind the scenes.



The administration still has not removed these dangerous, ugly pipes at the Children's Center.

No one should have any illusions about the restraints placed on presidential power. At Kingsborough Community College, the president removed all department chairmen for "the good of the college." To date, Draper has removed three chairmen here at MCC while two others have resigned.

The City university claims that it is strapped for funds, yet it has money to distribute thousands of clove scented (yes, clove scented!) calendars announcing "Happenings at CUNY" for the month of April.

Want to know how to save money by spending money? At the April 12th faculty meeting in the Hilton Hotel, President Draper told us how. He noted that teachers and students shouldn't be concerned because he was renting conference rooms in posh hotels for faculty meetings: the Hilton, after all, was charging less than either the Americana or the Squire Inn. Just think of all the money we could save if he called three or four more faculty meetings this semester.

THE CHILDREN'S CENTER

FROM THE STAFF

The Children's Center, at 1595 Broadway, second floor, has been in operation for almost a year. We have overcome a great many problems and are now better able to serve the students and faculty at MCC.

LAST YEAR: PROBLEMS

We opened last spring with one child, who played with every piece of equipment we had in the space of ten minutes. Mountains of paperwork and red tape piled up on the desk

daily. On one occasion we found ourselves in the halls of the A Building while one administrator ran through the halls with a bullhorn, and another provoked a fight with one of the students. (It was good to see administration and students working so closely together.) On another day we found ourselves without student aides because their Work-Study allotments had run out. So, by taking turns to go to the bathroom, we managed to keep the Center in operation.

THIS YEAR: PROGRESS

We've come a long way since those days. The Center is now open from 8:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M., Monday through Thursday. Breakfast is served every morning from 9:30

to 10:00. We have a heavy parents' session where people get into their own problems as well as their children's. That's every Wednesday at 12:15, and lunch is served. Our educational programs have been greatly expanded, so the children are able to learn in a relaxed atmosphere.

We're still growing and learning from other's examples. Our program is—and always will be—open to all ideas and suggestions. We want you to be a part of us. So bring your toilet-trained children to 1595 Broadway, or come over and check us out yourself. Or call us at 262-2143 just to talk. The children will be looking for you. Don't disappoint them.

Yours In Power,
Dorothy Randall

.....THE PARENTS LIKE IT, TOO.

The MCC CHILDREN'S CENTER was created by long hard effort of MCC students, particularly the Women's Liberation Club and Third World Coalition. The following interview with two students describes what that effort, and the work of the CHILDREN'S CENTER staff, has achieved for MCC women and their children.

TIGER PAPER: Pat, you said the Center is a great experience for your daughter, for all the kids. In what way?

PAT: Well, for one thing, it's not like a school. The kids follow a program, but a schedule isn't put on them, except for things like lunch and naps, because kids don't always feel like doing the same thing at the same time. And at the Center kids of different ages play together. In some centers the kids are grouped by age, with one teacher per group, whereas at MCC, everyone is together, with several counselors at a time playing with the kids.

The people at the Center are great, they're really involved with the kids. You know, you walk in, and if you didn't look at the grown-up's size, you'd think he or she was one of the kids, which makes the kids feel terrific. And they teach them good songs and games.

LARRY: Right, the supervision of the kids is really great. They know the kids need a certain amount of attention, need to express themselves and have someone to express themselves to. At the Center someone's always there so that the kid won't feel out of place. All the kids belong. All the kids get an abundance of recognition. Everyone has a worth, everyone gets treated the same.

PAT: The Center has been good for the kids in other ways, too. Kids learn from each other, that's well known. You throw a bunch of them together and they're bound to learn. For instance, my daughter Debbie talks better now; she's only three, but after being with older kids, she's realized she can't just stand there and mumble. The kids want to know what she's saying, so she has to make herself understood.

LARRY: Another thing: before she went to the Center she was mostly around adults. When she got to the Center she found it wasn't just grown-ups she wanted to communicate with, have fun with. It was really a beautiful change for her to find people her own age that she had things in common with, that she could grow with.

PAT: And being around other kids even affects things like eating problems. A lot of mothers have commented how their kids now don't resist eating what's put in front of them so much, because at the Center everyone eats pretty much the same thing. A kid can't say "that isn't good for me" or "I don't like that" when he see others eating it. Kids are like that.

LARRY: The Center helps with the



discipline problem, too. At home Debbie would say "I want to do this" or "I don't want to do that" and might rant and rave until she got her way. At the Center she can't have her way all the time, and that's good discipline for the future.

PAT: At home it's really hard to explain to her that she can't have everything she wants, that everything isn't hers, because there are no other kids to share with. But at the Center she can't go through that possessive thing, and it's starting to change her at home, too.

LARRY: The Center even helps in things like teaching the use of the bathroom. Most kids go through a stage of fearing to use the bathroom or to speak out about needing to go. The Center staff pays attention to that; if a child hasn't used the bathroom in some time, they'll take him. The kids become thoroughly habituated to using the bathroom whenever necessary, even if they're in the middle of play or an interesting TV program. And that sort of thing really helps in the kid's home life.

TIGER PAPER: Helps the mother and the child both. How else does the Center function for the mothers?

PAT: Well, there are weekly meetings for the mothers, on Wednesdays from 12 to 2, where they can bring up problems about their kids, like eating and discipline. But also some women have started to bring out their own personal problems. That isn't the main reason for the Wednesday meetings, but the people at the Center feel that helping the mother personally also helps the children.

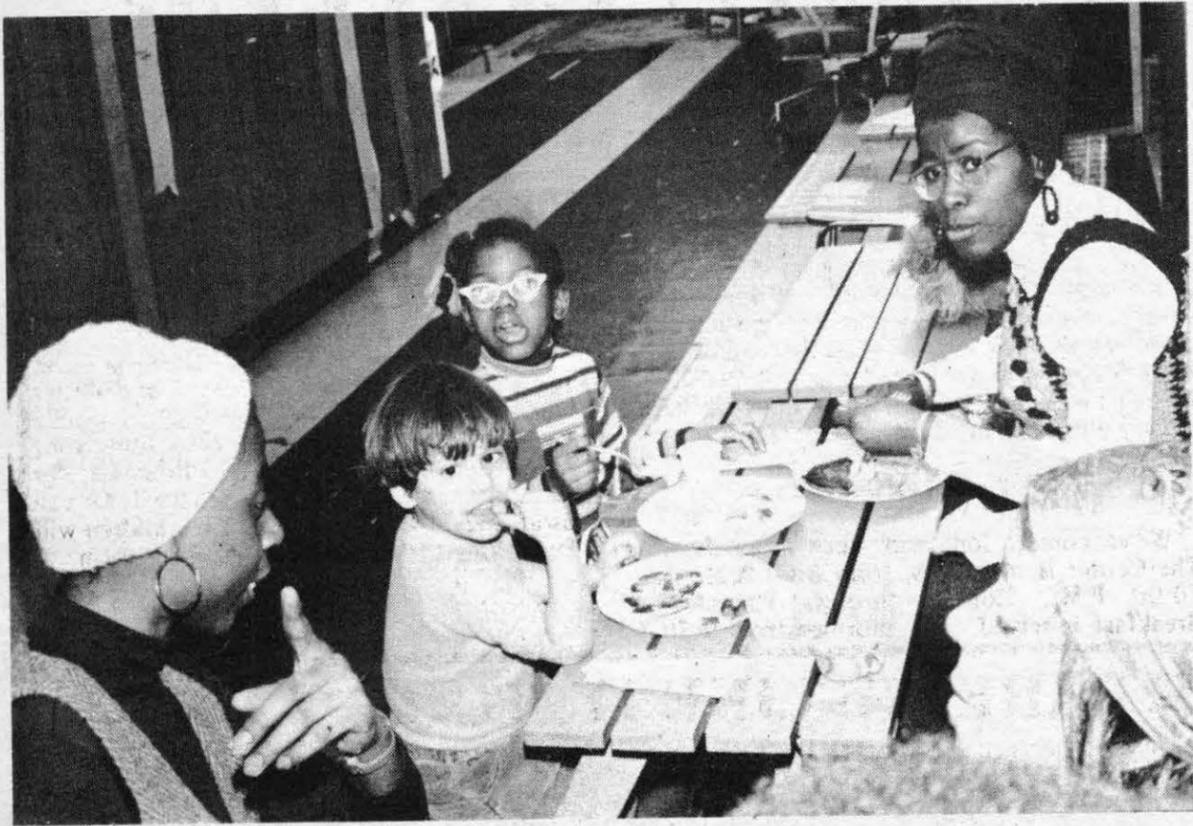
Sometimes when women come out with their personal problems you can actually see a release; just the unburdening helps them, even

if the advice about solutions doesn't. Most women can't talk to their husbands; first of all, a man isn't going to understand because he's not in the same position; and second, a woman thinks, "well, if I talk about this he's going to say I'm complaining, I'm nagging." Many women don't want to talk to sisters or parents either, because they might have to face remarks like "I knew that marriage wasn't going to work." And other housewives and mothers around the neighborhood might think you can't keep your home life straightened out, so you don't want to talk to them either. But at the Center, the workers and the other mothers don't make you feel any of that; they let you know that everyone has problems, that you can really talk about yours, and that everyone really cares about them.

You really get help too. For instance, a person who's having trouble with her husband can get names of places to go. Or you can get advice on a child's dental problem, or about financial trouble. The Center picks up on those individual problems and then does things useful to all the mothers. A few days after a dental problem was raised, the bulletin board had a clipping about a dental discovery, a list of dentists, and so on. And after someone's financial difficulty came out in a Wednesday meeting, the Center set up a list of jobs, part-time, full-time, summer jobs.

TIGER PAPER: And all of this came about because of student effort. Larry, you were here last year. Can you describe how the Center was created?

LARRY: At the beginning of last year, the Women's Liberation Club and Third World Coalition started hounding the administration about a day-care center for the mothers who couldn't come to school because they



couldn't afford child-care. At the first the administration didn't want to have anything to do with a Children's Center; they were totally opposed to it, didn't want to give out the funds. But TWC stood in front of the President's office and *demand*ed it, didn't just ask "Mr. Charlie, please . . ." but *demand*ed it. Even after the Center was agreed to, the administration dragged their feet, just kept throwing curve balls to buy themselves time. For instance, after the charter for the Center was written and all the paper work was done, they'd say something was missing or had to be reworded, and the President would delay signing the papers for a month or two, or the signed papers would sit in the secretary's desk for 2 or 3 weeks. It took a good year to actually get the Center started.

TIGER PAPER: You mean, if the Women's Liberation Club and TWC hadn't kept pushing, there wouldn't be a Children's Center?

LARRY: Right. I don't think the administration would *give* the students anything. If the students want or need something, they've got to go after it.

CAPITALISM:

YOU MAKE IT, THEY TAKE IT



CALL MADE FOR INVESTIGATION

REPRESSION IS A MESSY BUSINESS

Repression is always a messy business and it is sometimes embarrassing. Those who rule our governments, industries and schools would rather govern by "consent" than by repression. But as more and more people become aware that decisions are made against their interests, they become less and less willing to submit voluntarily to authority. Repression becomes authority's last resort.

That's what happened at MCC over the past few years—repression has mushroomed. Some of it has been gross, such as the jailings of dozens of students and two faculty. But much of it involves subtler ways of manipulating and controlling.

Some of our faculty began to see this when, in May of 1971, they requested the University to examine the governance of MCC. Our unions, too, have become aware of escalating repression—especially under the economic crisis which helps to silence dissenting voices on threat of job loss at a time when jobs are virtually non-existent. The Legislative Conference has publicly requested the University to consider the repressive tactics of the MCC administration.

We congratulate the LC on its bold move. We feel that this is a historic moment, an essential first step in helping those in power to understand that we will not allow them to govern against our interests. Today, under a united union banner, this protest is especially meaningful.

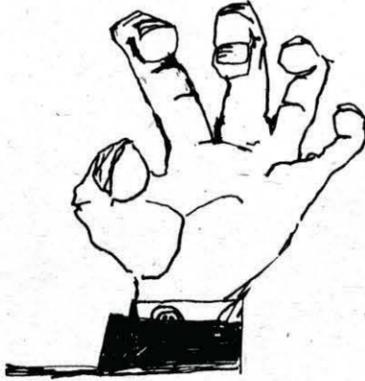
But we must also remember that the University is hardly a disinterested party. Asking the University to examine the governance of MCC is like asking ITT to come to the aid of the workers in one of its hundreds of subsidiaries.

We cannot wait for the University to provide justice; we must struggle together against every incident in which a student, staff or faculty member is touched by the repressive activities of our administration.

Following is the letter from the LC to Chancellor Kibbee demanding examination of the governance of MCC.

The Legislative Conference strongly recommends an investigation into the governance of Manhattan Community College, with particular reference to the following:

1. The resignation of two department chairmen, the disregard of departmental elections in the appointment of three chairmen, and the selection of three other chairmen who are deans, have resulted in



presidential control over the College Personnel and Budget Committee and the abrogation of faculty prerogatives in the selection of department chairmen.

2. Twenty-three members of the instructional staff were recommended by their department and the College P & B Committee for promotion to Assistant Professor this year. Twenty-two of them were promoted. The one who was not promoted is an editor of *Tiger Paper*, a newspaper published by members of the faculty which has been critical of the administration and has been publicly criticized by the President before the College P & B Committee.

3. Without allowing discussion, debate or the opportunity to respond to his charges, at the Faculty Council meeting of February 16, 1972, the President publicly censured two members of the instructional staff for serving on the BMCC Association after they had been duly and legitimately elected to the Faculty Council and by the Faculty Council to the BMCC Association.

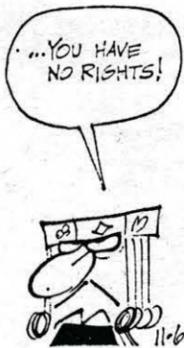
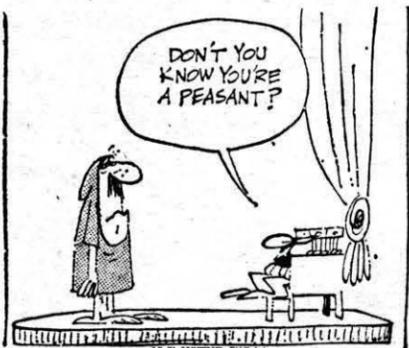
4. In contravention of Article XIX of the LC-BHE Agreement, the administration pressed criminal trespass charges against two members of the instructional staff who are editors of *Tiger Paper*. These charges were subsequently thrown out of court for insufficient evidence after causing great mental anguish and anxiety. Harassment of these individuals has continued.

5. The composition, activities and proposals, if any, of the College's Affirmative Action Committee, which was mandated for each college by the Board of Higher Education, have not been made known to the College community.

6. Dismissals in the Puerto Rican Studies Program followed demands for departmental autonomy and an exposure of the drug abuse problem that exists at the College.

7. The Faculty Council, chaired by the President, does not reflect the will of the College community and does not function as a viable governance body. The Governance Task Force, appointed by the administration rather than elected by the faculty, has failed to revise the non-functioning governance structure and has failed to comply with the mandate of the Board of Higher Education to devise a new governance plan.

A petition signed by at least one third of the faculty asked then-Chancellor Albert Bowker to investigate the governance of Manhattan Community College in May 1971. Since then, the governance of the College has deteriorated further and demands more urgently than ever an investigation by the University.



UNION MERGER: A PLUS?

The Legislative Conference (LC) and the United Federation of College Teachers (UFCT) have announced that if their memberships approve, they are merging.

The new organization will serve as the bargaining agent for all faculty at the City University. It will maintain affiliations with both the American Federation of Teachers (AFT, AFL-CIO) and the National Education Association (NEA).

In May of 1973 the members of the LC and UFCT will elect a single set of officers to head the new federation. Until then, the two unions will have parallel but cooperative structures; the officers will share equally in the governance of the merged organization. At MCC, the officers of the college's LC and UFCT chapters will participate equally in the

administration of a combined campus unit.

Considering management's tremendous power—in this instance the BHE and the college administrations that serve as its agents on the various campuses—a united front of faculty is essential if teachers are to assert themselves as a positive force in the governance of the university. In the past, the BHE not only played the LC against the UFCT, but pitted both against the students. Now, a single bargaining agent can forge the cooperation necessary to counterbalance the power of the massive and organized administrative bureaucracy of the BHE and the chancellor's office. Union meetings, for example, could in essence be real faculty meetings where teachers could gather to discuss their business without having the president chair and structure their

deliberations.

There is always the danger, though, that unless members struggle to make the new union militant and democratic, it could become an institutionalized part of the status quo, stabilizing labor relations for the BHE through formal contracts while creating the illusion that it is protecting the interests of its membership. The ultimate question, then, is not what the union in and of itself can do for its members, but whether faculty have the necessary perception, commitment and energy to transform it into an organization which not only will defend them against administrative excesses, but will also act with other progressive forces to serve the best interest of the students and their communities.