

Perspective

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Free at Last But where do we go from here?

by Craig Freeman

The myth has been made a man again; Nelson Mandela has been set free.

But now what happens? After twenty-one years in prison, what can this 71 year old legend do to change South Africa's future?

The answer lies at least partially in the hands of Mandela's emancipator, F.W. deKlerk. So far, deKlerk has lifted the 30 year ban on the African National Congress (ANC), stopped hangings, and released 120 political prisoners. Unlike 21 years ago, deKlerk provides Mandela with an ear in the government. This change is what may lead to the demise of the last bastion of white supremacy in Africa.

Before even looking at Mandela's possibilities, one must consider that the Afrikaners still control the government and the mili-

tary. There has been a rise in white supremacy groups, most notably the All-White Brotherhood (AWB). With plans to "restore law and order with force and create a state for the *volk*," the AWB could thwart any plans for the re-enfranchisement of blacks.

Less radical whites in South Africa still are wary of Mandela. Many insist on the protection of minority rights, citing the political system of the newly-independent territory of Namibia as an illustration. In Namibia, minority parties are given strong roles in legislation, but open elections are still held. Even more pressing in the eyes of many whites is the ANC's threat to nationalize the economy. The threat of losing independent wealth could be a swing factor that pushes affluent Afrikaners over to the side of the white

supremacists.

Right now, however, the promise of open elections seems far off. Mandela's greatest effort will surely be to quell black uprisings and get the state of emergency lifted. Mandela's saving point in the eyes of conservative whites is his ability to lead blacks peacefully into enfranchisement

in South Africa. The threat of a bloody "Armageddon" will give Mandela a bargaining chip to take to the negotiation tables.

Mandela will most likely use this chip to get amnesty for political prisoners. With black leadership restored, Mandela can bargain for black voting rights or at least leadership posi-

tions for blacks. deKlerk has not ruled out the possibility of black members in the cabinet; the newly freed ANC leaders would be the perfect candidates.

Mandela's freedom has posed more questions than it has answered. The old legend has been restored, but the future of South Africa is far from clear. ■

Illiteracy, Scourge on Society

by Dana Trammell

Twenty-three million American adults cannot read or write. This accounts for about 1 in 5 Americans who are functionally illiterate, meaning that they lack basic reading and computational skills. For many, reading the newspaper, a medicine bottle, or making correct change is a difficult task. The situation is getting worse: each year about two million more adults join the ranks of the illiterate. This increase has been linked both to the increase in

immigrant population and high school drop out rates.

44% of African-Americans over 18 years of age are functionally illiterate compared to 56% of Hispanics and 16% of Whites. Some of the reasons for higher rates among minorities are ineffective schooling, negative social attitudes, parents with low literacy levels, the limited availability of bilingual education, and lack of positive role models and support.

Illiteracy extracts a high cost from society. There has been a correlation

found between the levels of illiteracy, and crime and unemployment. Six billion dollars is spent annually on welfare and unemployment compensation, while 6.6 billion is allocated to prisons in which 50% of the prisoners are functionally illiterate. Illiteracy is a liability at home and in the work place as well. It creates a multigenerational problem when the stigma of illiteracy passes on to the children. It hinders productivity and the overall economic development of society. The personal costs

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What the U.S. Public Doesn't Know About George Bush Is the media at fault?

by Lorin Engquist

Presidents are hounded daily by the press. Everything they say or do is news and is seen as having national importance. John F. Kennedy was shocked to find out how interested everyone was to learn that he had a cold; in fact the story made news across the country. Jimmy Carter

found it impossible to take his daughter Amy to the Washington Zoo without reporters close behind. Gary Hart was secretly followed by two reporters from the Miami Herald, and what ensued is well known.

However, the press isn't always as vigilant when it comes to matters that really do have national or even international impact.

It seems that they would rather report on Carter's zoo excursions than on George Bush's political record, a depressing viewpoint considering the fact that most Americans are entirely dependent on mass media for information they need when selecting a president.

Little has been made of Bush's ideological "flip-

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INSIDE

■ Do you think the *Cosby Show* is a portrayal of a typical black family? Are there fundamental differences between black and white families? See *The Modern African American*, page 3.

■ What was the U.S. doing in Panama? For a discussion of possible reasons, see *Viewpoint*, page 5. Also in *Viewpoint*, what criteria do you consider when deciding which electives to take here at Hopkins? Do skyrocketing tuition costs factor into your decision?

■ Dynamic, Grammy award-winning a capella group *Take Six* comes to Shriver Hall for Black History Month. See *Entertainment*, page 8.

ILLITERACY, from page 1

and losses resulting from illiteracy are immeasurable. It is a weight that lowers social status, limits job advancement opportunity, and eliminates self-respect.

Baltimore City has one of the highest illiteracy rates per capita in the country, with the number of

adults who have not completed high school estimated at between 125,000 and 200,000. Accurate statistics are hard to establish because many do not admit to being illiterate. These statistics, therefore, have been estimated on the basis of the number of people that have not completed high school. Due to lack of

resources, only eight thousand of these adults are being helped.

The only method of creating a more literate society is by a concerted effort in the schools. The potential of education to create this change is known, but the problem is the allocation of resources. Without the combined effort of the

government and community, our once powerful nation will no longer be a world leader, and will fall behind those nations that have placed on education the emphasis it requires. Everyone stands to be hurt by this danger, so please volunteer your time. For more information call 576-READ.

— Sources include:
U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. GPO, 1982.
U.S. Dept. of Education, *A Nation at Risk*, U.S. GPO, 1973.
United Way of America, *Illiteracy: A National Crisis*, Alexandria, VA, UWA, 1987.

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flops". Abortion was a central issue in the 1988 campaign and remains so today, but Bush's strong pro-life position has never been questioned. In fact, he was pro-choice for his whole life and switched in order to secure the vice presidential nomination after Reagan won in the Republican primaries. (Ironically, Reagan himself was a pro-choicer before flip-flopping). No reporter asked Bush whether his sudden decision to oppose abortion came from the heart or was necessary to

get a piece of the White House.

Another huge issue facing this country is the drug problem. While Vice President, Bush, by many accounts, rarely spoke up at cabinet meetings, even on important questions. Perhaps his biggest assignment was to head the drug task force. But not only was George invisible for eight years in fighting the war on drugs, he was ineffective as well: there were huge increases in the amount of illegal drugs coming into America.

Michael Dukakis was

undoubtedly ineffective in bringing George Bush's failure as a drug fighter and vice president to the attention of American voters. It wasn't until the last week before the election that a commercial on drugs was aired, and by then it was too little, too late. However, the media didn't do its job either. George Bush, like any politician (or human being for that matter), is not going to give speeches about mistakes he has made in the past. But in a situation where regular citizens are deciding which of two people is going to hold the most powerful office in the world for four years, somebody has to give them enough facts so that they can make an informed choice.

George Bush claimed that his foreign policy experience and leadership made him a better choice for president than Michael Dukakis. Dukakis ineffectively countered with the comment that it's not how much foreign policy experience you have, it's what you did with it. Neither he nor anyone else cared to tell the voting public what George actually did. Shortages of time and space prevent a complete account of George Bush's record, so here's just a taste.

Slipping out of the Iran-Contra scandal was an incredible feat, but George couldn't have done it without the media's help. As has been well documented, the United States, despite promises to the contrary, sold arms to Iran in exchange for Iran's help in freeing hostages. These



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arms were used to kill many people in Iran's war with Iraq, and sent a strong message to potential hostage takers: grab an American and your country will get rewarded with munitions. Although American taxpayers paid for the production of these armaments, they did not share in the profits. Instead, a group of people that the American people had clearly shown their disdain for — the Nicaraguan contras — received the profits, and used the money to attempt to overthrow a legal government that was voted into power in the fairest election in Nicaraguan history, according to Amnesty International. One would think that anyone supportive of such a policy would have difficulty winning an election, provided the voters know of all the facts.

Bush, then Vice President, now says that he cannot remember attending any NSC meetings when the arms sale was discussed.

The evidence shows Bush to be a liar. Shortly before Admiral John Poindexter was about to send Bud McFarlane and Oliver North to Iran to sell arms to the Ayatollah, Bush sent him a memo asking him to delay North and McFarlane's trip. (The reason Bush requested a delay was that he was scheduled to travel to Saudi Arabia at the same time to help in resolving their oil pricing dispute with Iran). How could Bush have them delay a trip that he didn't know about?

Furthermore, the secretary of Donald Gregg, Bush's national security aid, once typed up an agenda for a meeting May 1, 1986 between CIA agent Felix Rodriguez, who was involved with the contra supply effort, and Bush. The agenda was initiated by Gregg. What did Bush and Rodriguez talk about in this meeting? Oat bran muffin recipes? The assertion that Bush didn't

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THE MODERN AFRICAN AMERICAN

How do Racial Slurs Affect Us?

by Craig Warren

"Nigger, get out of my way." If you are black, how you respond to this command will in all likelihood, depend on the race of the speaker. If the speaker is black, you will probably smile and move out of the way, but if the speaker is white, you might become offended and take issue with the use of the word. At this point many of you are probably nodding your heads in agreement, but think about what you are agreeing to. A rose is a rose is a rose, and "nigger" is still a derogatory term, whether it is used by blacks or any other race.

One of the major problems within the black community today is a lack of self-esteem, and this is why I find it interesting that the current conflict in the black

intelligentsia is over whether blacks should be referred to as blacks or African Americans, when the whole issue is moot if we continue to refer to ourselves as niggers. It is my opinion that one of the roots of the lack of self-esteem among blacks is the fact that we often feel comfortable referring to each other as "nigger." In no other race do members refer to their counterparts through the use of a derogatory term coined by others for that race. For example, when was the last time you heard a caucasian refer to another caucasian as "honky" or "ofay?" On the other hand, it is with increasing frequency that I hear blacks refer to other blacks as niggers.

Throughout the history

of blacks in America, whites have used the word nigger to refer to blacks in an unfriendly or downright hostile manner, so why is it that the black community has taken this word and made it a part of its cul-

tural lingo? If blacks want to earn the respect of other races, they must first respect themselves. You cannot respect yourself if you refer to yourself or your brothers and sisters as niggers. Brothers and sisters, WAKE UP! By calling your fellow blacks niggers you are confirming

the negative impressions that whites have of you and are promoting a low opinion of yourself and your people. If whites hear blacks referring to other blacks as niggers, they will think that is what they want to be known as and called.

What really disgusts me

See SLURS, page 8

What TV Says about the Black Family

by Trudy Thornton

Since establishing residence in Baltimore, I have come to realize that the "Charm City" is indeed truly unique. Frankly, my realization had little to do with the charming people, the Inner Harbor or the curious mixture of old and new, things, which, among others, are usually billed as the city's distinguishing characteristics. Rather, my conclu-

sion was based upon the unusual programming of a local TV station, WBFF (channel 45). Where other stations in other cities across the country might find it impractical to do so, FOX 45, to the delight of of my roommates, shows repeats of "Good Times" three times a day, every day.

"Good Times," a show which first aired during the seventies, portrays a

black family's daily struggles in a Chicago ghetto. Presumably, the Evans family is meant to illuminate the typical plight of African Americans. In the presentation of the program, viewers are kept constantly aware that the Evans family is different from other ghetto dwellers. That their family has remained intact is unusual enough in itself;

See FAMILY, page 8



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Editorial

The issue of racial awareness is one that has been pushed under the rug here at Johns Hopkins University. Though we don't all belong to exactly the same social stratum, we do have to pay the same tuition costs, deal with the same people, and in many cases take the same classes. These facts provide equalizing factors

which help marginalize discussion about the issue.

As a matter of fact, my experience with other members of the Hopkins student body has been just about entirely free of racial tension; whatever few incidents have arisen can, perhaps, be chalked up to ignorance of the African American race, a situation which is not

always the fault of the ignoramus alone.

As African Americans we have been taught by parents and teachers not only what the history books say, but also what their lives have been like. We have been told of their struggles, of their setbacks, and of the difficulties they had—difficulties unique to us as a people. They have had to

make it anyway. We have been proud of them, of their efforts, of their successes and failures, and of their refusal to give up.

In a sense, we ourselves are the culmination of much of the effort of their lives. After all, it is we they have struggled for, as much as themselves. As young African Americans, soon to become the leaders and shapers of America and the world of tomorrow,

they have poured out their love, strength, and concern on our behalf. They have imbued us with the spirit and confidence to succeed.

We, therefore, have a responsibility, first and foremost to ourselves, but also to those who have been through it all before us. We must step forward boldly and confidently—united. Together we can make a difference, for the better. ■

About the Perspective...

African American culture is today and always has been a central feature of American society. Whether as slaves, victims of oppression, or as successful businessmen, musicians, and athletes, the struggles of these people in a society which has never placed undue importance on their success form an integral part of the saga which is our American history. Today, African Americans exert an influence on society which in a certain sense far outweighs their representation in the population. Through the media, as musicians, actors, comedians, athletes, and, yes, sometimes as criminals and under-

achievers as well, their influence cannot be ignored. Consequently, it is important that in our attempts to become educated individuals and to make positive contributions to society we understand and appreciate these people and their culture as much as possible.

African Americans have not attained proportional representation at Johns Hopkins University so it is doubly important that here there exist a medium through which they can express their opinions and feelings. In the first place, as a people that form a small minority on campus, their is always a danger that they may be ignored,

whether intentionally or not. Secondly, by exposing their viewpoints and feelings on issues, they can do their part in helping to change America for the better—namely, by educating others in this community.

These are the goals I have for the *Perspective* magazine. It will serve as a forum of discussion, a means of communicating opinions and viewpoints which might have difficulty finding public voice elsewhere—at times, even as an instrument of protest, if necessary. As the Black Student Union's magazine, this paper has a particular responsibility to the members of its sponsoring organization to represent their opinions. Consequently, this will be one of its main functions. However, this magazine will certainly not limit itself to "black issues." Individuals of any organization or of any background are encouraged to use this medium to share their views on any issue. The extent of our commitment not just to subjects of African American interest, but of interest to all kinds of people will begin to be evident in this issue and will continue to be so as time goes on.

-The Editor

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know of the contra supply effort, which was illegal under the Boland Amendment, is simply absurd. But Bush still insists that he knew nothing about the whole operation. As Christopher Hitchens has sarcastically pointed out, "George Bush was one of the few top policy-makers eligible for jury duty in the Oliver North trial."

Upon accepting the job as CIA director in 1976, Bush commented that we have learned a lot about what an intelligence agency must do to maintain the confidence of the people in an open society. Apparently what he learned was not to tell the people anything, or more accurately, to tell them that you're doing one thing when you're actually doing the exact opposite. But who can blame George for not turning himself in? In today's world, it's too much to ask any person to sacrifice his career in the name of honesty. Democracy cannot work unless the public is at least mildly interested in having a government that supports the ideals that they hold, such as justice, fairness, and obedience to law. In addition to this desire, the public needs to know what their government is actually up

to. Most Americans know more about the sex life of Donald Trump than they do about America's foreign policy record. This ignorance starts with non-coverage by the media.

This article could go on forever, but the point has been made. George Bush's polled popularity rating is based upon what people think of his performance as a public servant. Until they know all of the facts, any argument alleging that such polls show that most Americans approve of his actions is specious. We can't depend on the politicians themselves to tell us of all the bad things they have done, and as Dukakis showed, we can't even depend on the opposition party to perform this task. It's also unreasonable to expect the average person to spend hours in the library digging up information on the candidates from little known journals. The mass media, especially television, has to do its job. ■

— Sources include:

"Witness: Contras Got Drug Case," *Knut Royce New York Newsday*, June 6, 1987, pg. 4.
 "The Contra Drug Stink," Mary McGrory, *Washington Post*, April 10, 1988, pg. B1
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VIEWPOINT

What Were We Doing in Panama?

by Lorin Engquist

Asking why the United States invaded Panama might sound like a rhetorical question. I mean, everyone knows that Noriega was a ruthless dictator, a thug, and a drug runner. And he was ugly besides. However, the reasons behind the invasion are not entirely obvious, even to the dove or left-winger who deplored the attack.

One way to determine the real reasons for the invasion is to eliminate the non-reasons from consideration. Let's start with the government's version. (It's difficult to put these explanations in any particular order because the Bush administration could never make up its mind on which factors were the most important).

Justification #1: Americans had been killed in Panama and American soldiers and civilians still in the country were in danger.

The United States has soldiers stationed at military bases throughout the world. The reason for this, whether it be America's desire to protect the "free world" and to deter the spread of inherently aggressive, militaristic, expansionistic, communist dictators from effecting their design of world domination, or else to dominate the world itself and keep the avenues of exploitation and imperialism open to American multinational corporations, is not the central issue in this particular analysis. The fact is that American soldiers die all the time in incidents unworthy of news coverage. The incident in Panama that supposedly precipitated the invasion was no different.

One might point out that just because Americans die abroad at a regular rate

doesn't make it right. True enough. But in this case the death may have been more understandable. If a foreign soldier, or anyone for that matter, went down to Fort Bragg and barged through the entrance, it is likely that he would be shot. From many accounts, this is exactly what happened in Panama, but the incident was blown out of proportion to drum up public support for the invasion. Compare this to El Salvador, where many Americans, including priests and nuns, have died as a result of actions by the military. No invasion has occurred there. In fact, the U.S. has responded by aiding the government. Finally, a full scale invasion that results in the deaths of two dozen Americans and hundreds of Panamanian civilians is just not the best way to save lives.

Justification #2: Noriega was a drug runner.

It's funny how this fact became so troublesome to the United States government all of a sudden — they've known about Noriega's drug running since 1971, when Noriega was head of military intelligence. U.S. drug agents, trying to fight the "war on drugs" declared by President Nixon, indicted Panamanian President Omar Torrijos' brother for heroin trafficking and were just about to arrest him. Under orders from the State Department, the U.S. ambassador to Panama, Robert Sayre, warned him of his imminent arrest. Torrijos avoided capture. Federal drug agents also obtained hard evidence of Noriega himself acting as a go-between in a drug transaction, but Noriega wasn't indicted. John Bacon, a former CIA agent and Bureau of Narcotics worker at the time, thinks

that the failure to indict Noriega was due to pressure from the CIA. Years later, when the Panama Canal Treaty was up for ratification, several senators (including Robert Dole) who opposed giving the canal to Panama wanted to see the Noriega drug files. The files suddenly disappeared. On another occasion, the U.S. attorney's office sent an indictment of Noriega to the State Department, where it sat for months. Finally the U.S. attorney's office called up the department and asked what the status of the indictment was, and why it hadn't been acted on. The reply: it was lost. So another indictment was sent. Again, no action taken. The case was subsequently dropped.

By the 1980s, the Reagan administration had decided that not only wasn't Noriega a drug runner, he was actually helping fight Nancy's war on drugs. At one point, Brad Mullen, director of

the DEA even sent him a letter thanking him for his support.

Judging by the United States' treatment of other drug runners, Noriega's drug activity would hardly appear to be one of their actual reasons for overthrowing him. The Nicaraguan contras have been running drugs for years, and U.S. policy has been to aid them with guns and money.

Justification #3: Noriega was a thug.

It is certainly true that Noriega wasn't, and I'm sure still isn't, the nicest person around. When he raped and beat up a prostitute at about 20 years of age while working in the National Guard, his commander got him out of trouble. Shortly thereafter he did the same thing to a 13 year old girl, then beat up her little brother as well. Again his commander saved him. His commander was General Omar Torrijos.

Later on in life, Noriega

was troubled by a man named Hugo Spadafora, who was giving information about Noriega's drug dealing to newspapers. Spadafora's beheaded body was found dumped in Costa Rica, near the Panamanian border. Witnesses verified that the Panamanian government performed the killing.

None of these facts were found offensive by the U.S. government until recently. How curious. Did Bush develop a sense of moral outrage all of a sudden?

Also, the United States has supported thugs all over the world. For example, the government in El Salvador has killed over 100,000 innocent people in the past two decades. Again, the U.S. responded not with an invasion, but with military aid. After overthrowing a democratically elected leader in Guatemala in 1954, the U.S. installed a government that has wiped out 662 villages and killed over

See PANAMA, next page

A Sense of History

History will remember Roy Wilkins as one of the great leaders of the twentieth century, for the story of the civil rights movement in America and Wilkins's life story are inextricably linked. Born in St. Louis in 1901, Wilkins was sent to St. Paul with his brother and sister four years later, when his mother died, and was raised by his aunt and uncle. He attended the University of Minnesota, working as the night editor of the school paper as well as writing for a local black weekly and participating in the local chapter of the NAACP. After graduation he moved to Kansas City to work for the *Kansas City Call*. His outspoken campaigns against the continuing humiliation of Jim Crow brought him to the attention of Walter White, then director of the NAACP, who offered him a position with the national office of that organization. Wilkins moved to New York in 1931, and for nearly half a century—first as assistant secretary, also succeeding W.E.B. Du Bois as editor of *The Crisis*, and finally succeeding White as Executive Director—he served that organization, and all Americans.

Wilkins was a relentless pragmatist who advocated progressive change through legal action. He participated or led in the achievement of every major civil rights advance, working for the integration of the army, helping to plan and organize the historic march on Washington, and pushing Presidents from F.D.R. to Carter to implement civil rights legislation.

Roy Wilkins died in September 1981, soon after finishing [his] autobiography. His life's work stands as his best monument.

—Roy Matthews
Senior editor, *Newsweek*

from the jacket flap of *Standing Fast, The Autobiography of Roy Wilkins*

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100,000 civilians. The Shah of Iran maintained power for 27 years because of U.S. support, and killed thousands of Iranians during his repressive reign.

Justification #4: Noriega was a dictator.

The United States has never based its support of governments on the degree of democracy they practice. It has backed so many dictators in the last 50 years that asking anyone to believe that Noriega's status as a dictator was a reason for the invasion is either an insult to their intelligence or an attempt to exploit their ignorance. Perhaps Bush subscribes to the motto, "You'll never go broke underestimating the intelligence of the American public." Just to name a few U.S. backed dictators: Marcos in the Philippines, Batista in Cuba, Somoza in Nicaragua, Botha in South Africa, and Syngman in South Korea. I could go on. Even today, the U.S. backs Pinochet in Chile and the ruthless Chinese government.

The U.S. has also overthrown democratically elected leaders because they put the needs of their people above those of U.S. based multinational corporations (or, in presidential lingo, "U.S. interests"). For example, Iran in 1953 (Dr. Mohammed Mossadegh was thrown out of office), Guatemala in 1954 (Jacobo Arbenz), the Dominican Republic in 1963 (Juan Bosch), Chile in 1973 (Salvador Allende), and so on. The U.S. then tried, and is probably still trying, to overthrow the Sandanistas in Nicaragua, who were elected fairly (according to Amnesty International) in 1984. All of these leaders were then replaced with U.S. backed dictators. According to the former president of El Salvador, Jose Napoleon Duarte, who died recently of cancer, the United

States' policy in Latin America is designed to maintain the "Iberoamerican countries in a condition of direct dependence upon the international political decisions most beneficial to the United States, both at the hemisphere and world levels. Thus [North Americans] preach to us of democracy while everywhere they support dictatorships." In light of these facts, it is hard to believe that Noriega's status as a dictator had anything to do with the invasion.

Now that I've tried to dispel some of the Bush administration's explanations for the invasion, let's explore some of the more believable and less propagandistic theories. Unlike the first four excuses, these interpretations of the invasion take into account America's post World War II foreign policy. What was it that made Noriega different from other dictators, thugs, and drug runners?

Theory #1: Bush invaded Panama to shed the "wimp" image he's built up by being a follower, rather than a leader, for so long.

This sounds plausible. What better way to show your manhood than to take down a ruthless dictator like Noriega? Problems with this theory involve the relative sizes of the two combatants. The United States is a military giant with the most powerful armed forces in the world. Panama is the size of Massachusetts. It would take a warped understanding of the word "courage" to think that Bush showed bravery by sending in 40,000 well-armed U.S. troops to attack a few thousand Panamanian soldiers. Apparently, some people do have warped minds: one U.S. official said that the invasion was necessary to "restore U.S. dignity." Not only does such a blatantly bullying attack in no way restore dignity, but con-

sidering America's foreign policy record over the past 45 years, I don't see the dignity that was allegedly "restored."

Theory #2: Noriega lost the support of the U.S. government because his drug running became known to the public.

This is possible, as drugs have become a much greater threat in the minds of most Americans in the last several years. Also, Bush's relationship with Noriega could easily have cost him the presidency had he been unable to deflect attention to other (non)issues and had he been faced with a compe-

tent opposing candidate. On the other hand, many people knew that Bush had a relationship with Noriega and voted for him anyway. Secondly, the U.S. could have suppressed information regarding Noriega's actions and kept the public in the dark about it, rather than playing up Noriega's dictatorial rule and informing the American public that he was a menace that had to be exterminated.

Theory #3: Noriega stopped being a "yes man" to the U.S., which then, by overthrowing him, decided to send a message to all those Third World leaders

that dared consider putting their own needs or the needs of their country ahead of the needs of the United States.

For years, Noriega was an American employee, eventually getting paid \$200,000 a year for disclosing information and providing military training and supply stations for the CIA and the Nicaraguan contras. By the time Noriega was in his early twenties he was already spying for the U.S. He joined a socialist youth movement and passed on information about its members. In 1958, at the age of 25, he

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The Money Issue at Hopkins

by Richard Anderson

Sometimes, life here can get to be quite a drag. The endless round of tests, studying, and pressure—sometimes it seems as if the four years of torture can't end too soon. All around you people are in a terrible hurry to get out, whether it is to go to medical school, find a job, get married, or just plain get the heck out of here. You've heard of the pre-med or the BME geniuses who escape in three years or the ones who get the Master's in four. Many of us consider them very fortunate to have been able to do that, and, perhaps, would do it ourselves if we could. Why? Why is it that school is such a darn pain that we are so reluctant to sacrifice a mere four years of our lives to "find ourselves." Why such a big rush to get out and begin doing what we will be doing for the remaining fifty or sixty years of our lives. Or, for those of us who aren't in a hurry, why does it sometimes seem so unbearable?

Certainly, one of the important concerns must be the issue of money. For many of us, affording to come to Hopkins is a ter-

rrible financial strain on our families. It can be difficult to relax if you know that your parents are sacrificing to send you to school and that failure on your part would mean that your parents' money and sacrifice have been wasted. For the past several years, tuition here has been rising at the astronomical rate of \$1000 per year. For the current year, it actually jumped up by \$2000 for entering freshmen, a sixteen percent increase. At this rate some of us will be paying \$17,000 a year for tuition by the time we graduate, not including the five or six extra thousand for additional yearly expenses. Looking down the road twenty or thirty years to the prospect of giving our kids a quality college education, one visualizes a scenario in which no one but the extremely rich will be able to afford to do it. It can be extremely difficult to see beyond the this tremendous barrier. Perhaps the issue of money is the governing criteria that many of us consider when planning our academic careers here.

Consider the pre-med student who, aside from the core of courses in

chemistry and biology, takes the minimum number of challenging courses necessary in his or her opinion to ensure acceptance to medical school. Or the international relations major who takes "college math" instead of calculus. Or the engineering student who avoids the humanities like the plague. Certainly, the IR or pre-med major may not be as proficient in some of the more technical fields or the engineering student in the less technical, but isn't that what school is for? To become well-rounded? To expand your capabilities? No? Then consider this question. Who do you believe is going to be most likely to make the greatest contribution to his or her field throughout his or her lifetime? Will it be the medical doctor who has not learned to use mathematical principles to solve problems, or the professor of history who is afraid of computers, or the engineer who does not know how to write? Unlikely. How can one hope or even desire to jump out into life without some basic understanding of how the great modern technological ad-

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attended a military academy in Peru and provided information concerning his fellow students to American military intelligence. By the 1960s, Noriega was a lieutenant, and he sold information to the United Fruit Company on people involved with a labor movement that worried the American owned business. In 1967, he was chosen for advanced training at the United States School of the Americas, where he took three intelligence courses. His work in this area was considered "outstanding." In his non-espionage classes he didn't do quite as well, finishing 59th in a class of 60. On one test, he

got lost in a jungle and received 5 points out of a possible 100. Apparently he improved in this area, as he was able to escape capture for days following the U.S. invasion despite never leaving Panama City! In 1968, he helped Torrijos fight off a military coup and was promoted to head of military intelligence as a reward. After Torrijos was killed in a mysterious plane crash in 1981, Noriega maneuvered his way to power with U.S. support.

According to John Bacon, a former CIA agent working in Latin America, "presumably it was adjudged that [Noriega] was of such value to the U.S.

government that...his other actions would have to be tolerated." The Reagan administration found him especially useful in helping out the contras. He supplied the contras with guns, ammunition, and money. At the request of the U.S., he allowed the contras to train in Panama. He helped blow up an arsenal of weapons in Managua, Nicaragua in 1985. Jose Blandon, a close associate of Noriega, described the attitude of the U.S. government during this period: "Their policy [was] no matter what must be done, we must back the contras, and if you back the contras, no matter what

you did you were an ally of the United States." Noriega played the game, was paid a hefty sum of taxpayer money, and was able to maintain power through fraudulent elections while ruling with a brutal hand. All with the support of the United States. One former Noriega aid has reported that Bush once sent him a memo that read, "We'll forget about this drug thing if you'll continue your support of the contras." Bush has declined to comment on this memo on the grounds that any comment he makes would jeopardize the fairness of Noriega's trial.

Some people think that Noriega became reluctant

to continue funding the contras, and thus became a target of the U.S. government. Others say his head got a little big and he simply wanted to be his own man rather than a U.S. employee. But Noriega was always a rational pragmatist. In any case, in the minds of U.S. policy-makers, Noriega changed from an asset to a liability. The solution? Get rid of him.

— Sources include: William Blum, *The CIA: A Forgotten History*; Zed Books, Ltd. 1986. The Noriega Connection, "Front Line," February 1990, PBS, Stuart Productions, Inc. Notes and Comments section, *The New Yorker*, January 8, 1990.

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vances are being made? Or how can one think that an escape from having to write now will mean a permanent escape for life? Think of the great inventors and philosophers throughout history. Many of them were proficient in a wide

variety fields. It was at least partially due to their broad base or education and their wide-ranging interests that they were able to make some of the discoveries they did. It would indeed be tragic if it were true that we students would exhibit more wide-

ranging interests if the restriction of money were not a reality.

As a matter of fact, here at Hopkins it is fairly difficult to avoid getting at least a somewhat broad base of education. Even in the various engineering fields, which are well known for

the rigidity of their course requirements, the student is required to obtain a good dose of knowledge in the humanities. Perhaps it was more so in the past, but I don't suppose modern education will ever be a completely enjoyable, stressless process. How-

ever, as they say, anything worthwhile must be worked for. Goodness knows, at Hopkins we will certainly have to. It would be too bad, though, if it were true that issues like money have to be considered when making these kinds of choices. ■

Attention: Members of the BSU

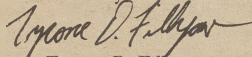
3/8/90

The Program and Research Committee of the JHU chapter of the NAACP has developed a survey in order to evaluate the needs and interests of black undergraduate students on the Johns Hopkins University Homewood campus. This is the first part of a research project designed to assess and supplement current programs on this campus as well as serve as a basis for initiating new programs geared towards maximizing the participation and success of black students.

The survey is set to be released during the week of March 12 to March 16 and will be sent to your respective campus mailboxes. Answering any question in the survey is purely voluntary and your individual responses will be strictly confidential. Completed surveys can be returned to either Dr. Francine Ashby's Office of Minority Affairs, located in Levering Hall or campus mailbox #0954 in the envelope provided.

The JHU chapter of the NAACP and the Program and Research Committee would like to stress the importance of this study and to thank you in advance for your cooperation and participation. We hope you will benefit from this study in a way that will make your stay here at Hopkins more stimulating and enjoyable.

Sincerely,



Tyrone D. Fillyaw
Chairperson,
Program and Research
Committee

Upcoming Activities

- ✦ The next speaker in the annual Martin Luther King, Jr. lecture series, Wallace Terry, will be speaking in the Arellano Theatre at 7:30pm on Wednesday, March 14.
- ✦ Pre-freshmen Weekend is coming up in another month and a half. It will be held on the weekend of April 22. Get in touch with Sherry Stallings for more information.
- ✦ This Thursday, March 15, Dr. Francine Ashby will be speaking in the "Thursday at Four" series on Cultural Differences.

BSU Bulletin

- ✦ The next BSU meeting will be in three weeks, April 1; elections will be held for officers for the 90-91 school year.
- ✦ An important survey will be released by the Hopkins chapter of the NAACP to all BSU members this week. Watch your campus mailbox for its arrival.
- ✦ In addition to those already mentioned in the Black History Month activities calendar, Makeba Lindsay especially thanks the following: The Ombudsman's Office; Student Council; Student Activities Committee; V-P for Institutional Relations, Joseph Hall; the Residential Life Office; Susan Boswell; Dr. Francine Ashby; the *Gazette* Newspaper; the Women's Center; Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority; Jeremy Blynn, Tony Rodgers, and Felicia Thornton.

ENTERTAINMENT

Take Six Comes to Hopkins

by Ada Kanu

In this age of computerized music and voice dubbing, it might appear suicidal for some performers to sing without heavy base or commercialized rhythms to camouflage their mediocre voices. However, during their concert at Johns Hopkins' Shriver Hall on February 20, the members of *Take Six* proved that they did not need the aid of any background instruments to enhance their performance. While some voices falter when exposed in this way, the voices of *Take Six* resonated with force, and, at the same time, maintained an almost bell-like tone. Amazingly, this a capella group was able to use its six-part harmony to impersonate a jazz band with a wide range of instruments, from the brass trumpet to the pulsating bass.

Before *Take Six* performed, Donna McElroy, a contemporary gospel

singer, gave an opening performance. Although she had vocal talent, the "computerized instruments" were distracting and masked her singing. Because she had such a powerful voice, she ought to have sung without any instrumentals that would distract the audience from hearing the quality of her voice. It seemed as paradoxical an opening for an a capella concert as it would be to open a Luther Vandross concert with pop-rock group *Expose'*.

When *Take Six* appeared on stage they were greeted with thundering, sustained applause. Throughout the concert they sang songs from their first album (their only album so far). Their performance of such songs as "Mary," "Get away Jordan," and "Spread Love" revealed their creativity and astounding talent, especially for such young performers. They also

added some variations to their songs while singing by experimenting with improvisational harmonies; this proved to be most successful. Not only were they endowed with vocal talent, but with instrumental talent as well. Cedric Dent performed a piano solo which demonstrated his instrumental genius. The most appealing part of the concert was the rapport that *Take Six* established with the audience. During the concert, they engaged in playful banter with one another. While singing "Mary," they invited a member of the audience, who turned out to be Johns Hopkins gospel choir member John Stanley, to accompany them. He proved to have considerable talent as well.

With style, harmony, and, yes, humor, *Take Six* was able to successfully gain the approval of its audience. Those not present for the concert missed

seeing genuine talent at its best. Those of you who just can't hear enough of the Grammy-award winning group will be able to purchase their new album, to be released sometime this year. The fact that it has not yet been released seemed, in the heat and

excitement of the moment, to escape certain members of the audience. When at one point during the concert, bass singer Alvin Chea asked whether anyone had their new album, some boldly and shamelessly claimed to already have it in their possession. ■

Inspiring Words

The economic philosophy of black nationalism only means that our people need to be reeducated into the importance of controlling the economy of our community, controlling the economy of the community in which we live. And controlling the economy of the community in which we live means that we have to learn how to own and operate the businesses of our community and develop them into some type of industry that will enable us to create employment for the people of our community so that they won't have to constantly be involved in picketing and boycotting other people in other communities in order to get a job.

—the words of Malcolm X

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is that those of us who are supposedly the best and the brightest, including blacks here at Hopkins, often are guilty of this very same act. When I hear Hopkins' blacks referring to each other in this way, I begin to have serious qualms about our future in America. We are the ones who are supposed to be role models to other blacks, and we are also the ones that the world bases its opinions of the black race on. Brothers and sisters, cultural and revolutionary movements start at the top and trickle down to the bottom. WE are at the top and WE must promote black pride by refusing to refer to ourselves as niggers, in the hope that our less fortunate brothers and sisters will follow in our footsteps. ■

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that they do not, like the others around them, sink to the low level of their circumstances, but aspire to become more, is extraordinary.

During the same era, another TV program rose to cult popularity. The "Brady Bunch" portrayed a white family in the suburbs and their daily "struggles." Assuming that the Brady family is also representative of the plight of white Americans undoubtedly makes for a shocking contrast, but also raises some crucial questions about the accuracy and completeness of the two representations. Do black families truly differ in essential, fundamental ways from white families? Or are their differences merely the result of the different economic and

social conditions to which the two groups have been subject throughout American history?

Generally, people do think that there are real differences. While many white students could not accept the "Cosby Show" as a realistic image of "typical" black families, many of them could readily relate to "Good Times." Alternatively, black students tended to prefer "Cosby" to "Good Times," favoring Cosby's show because of the positive images he creates.

Particularly in recent years, the media has gained considerable recognition as a means of mass public education. Indeed, the media is powerful. At will, it seems, a story theme can, and often does, become ubiquitous, assailing your eyes and

ears relentlessly. Tragically, few question the validity of what they see on television (news in particular), accepting it instead as truth. Consequently, the perception of African Americans and their families has been largely determined by those who decide what to put on television. And certainly, there is no dearth of stories, statistics, and studies contemplating the doom looming on the horizon for the modern black family. It is reported that approximately 60% of all black children live in "broken" homes. Statistics that are equally alarming are reported on teen-age pregnancies, mothers receiving welfare, and black men in jails with regularity that defies description. It is no wonder that people, even

those who consider themselves educated, think the way they do.

According to Andrew Billingsley in *The Black Family in White America*, the black family is best understood with respect to its community and the wider society at large. He further asserts that an understanding of the history of African-Americans is essential to understanding the present structure of their families. Throughout their history in this country, the struggle to maintain the family has been a central one. In the face of distressing problems, this struggle continues today. Despite evidences advanced by the media, blacks today do recognize the value of strong families and continue to establish them. ■