04 [Editors' Notes]

Dr. Kwame Nantambu
Terrence Shropshire
Kellea Tibbs
Mwatabu S. Okantah
Andrea L. DuVall

Audrey "Bunni" Sommerville
Kimberly L. Kennedy
Adisa A. Alkebulan
Jinida Ojiwawh
Kirk Noden
Muhammad Ahmad

06 African 21st Century Survival Strategy
08 The Negro Preacher
10 The Black Church
12 Endangered, or Not To Be Endangered
14 Portrait of a Black Woman: Camille’s Story
16 The New Agenda: Interview with Chavis
24 Surviving Revolutionary Suicide
28 May 4th
32 Annihilation of the Non-White World
36 Bridging the Gap
38 The American Vacuum of Cultural Identity
40 Points of Self Determination: By Any Means Necessary

20 Kuumba
It's 1995! That there is an undertone of racism at Kent State University, in Steel Valley, Ohio, in this nation, is no longer a point of debate, but a redundant discourse; and while the discussion of whether there has been, or can be, a change in the "mainstream majority" towards any semblance of humanity is one that needs to take place (in some strange quarters), there comes a time at which the primary hope of a subjugated people should no longer be to inspire a change in the oppressor, but rather to set in place the proper strategies, mechanisms, and practices necessary for survival, and proliferation. In short, IT'S NATION TIME!...And the implications, while massive, are at the same time very simple...

The survival of a people besieged is contingent upon their cohesiveness, which, in turn, dictates that they be culturally intact. To the degree that the African diaspora lacks these faculties—due to forces externally and internally—we perish...with much haste.

The time is NOW to step up pro-active measures of self defense! As of late, there has been a renewed tide of aggression directed towards our people, be it through bullets, through the passing of bills and resolutions, or through unwittingly dangerous notions held by individuals who may not even see themselves as enemies. The ends, regardless, are the same! Effects have been seen in Haiti, in Angola, in the inner-city U.S.A., in our prisons, in cemeteries, on our jobs, in our very own taxed and frustrated minds. The causes: shenanigans which we may not see, or to which we may not attribute much weight; devilry transpiring on Capitol Hill, in court rooms, on the second floor of the KSU library, and sadly, nowadays...again, in our very OWN taxed and frustrated minds. Among the oppressors' most efficient weapons against us are our own disillusionment, vices, and self-destructive undertakings. Devilry, indeed, comes in all guises...this is no secret. Now, from what angles shall we finally KILL this beast?! This issue of Uhuru delves into the midst of this discussion.

At this point, I wish to thank our supportive community in Northeastern Ohio, and beyond; and all students, faculty, and administration who continue to show their love and support, making my time with Uhuru truly an electric one. My elders, friends, and experiences have taught me well...rest assured, you'll not soon be forgotten! I'll be around.
Uhuru Magazine is still celebrating our 25th year of Afrikan expression. Our previous issue, which began our celebration, was received with great support and admiration from the Afrikan community, in light of controversy and accusations hurled at our publication. Uhuru would like to thank our community for their much appreciated support and encouragement.

The editors of Uhuru recognize the impact of racism on American society. We have, in the past, acknowledged the effect of racism on the lives of Afrikan people in America, and undoubtedly will continue to do so. However, the editors of Uhuru also realize that many of the wounds suffered by the Afrikan community are self-inflicted.

This issue of Uhuru will deal with our community, our highs, our lows, how we interpret our own reality, and what our responsibilities are in how to heal our wounds. The theme: "It's Nation Time!" We have come to the time in our existence here in America that we re-evaluate our struggles and movements, our failures, and our successes. We must determine what has worked and what has not worked, so that we may shape our destiny, not let someone else shape it for us. This is a family matter, and this issue of Uhuru addresses that matter.

Afrikans in America know all too well the evils of racism and/or white supremacy, but that is only part of our problem. Most of us recognize racism and bigotry, or at least know that it exists. However, we must stop trying to change "the white man," and start trying to change ourselves. The Revolution must begin... the Revolution within ourselves, the Revolution within our community!

It is time to do some serious house cleaning. Afrikan America, because IT'S NATION TIME!
As this century comes to a close, Afrikan people must realize that ethnocentrism, etnocentrism, and xenophobia have not only fashioned, conditioned, and characterized European policy mindset toward Afrikan people, but has also imbued in them a paranoid albeit deleterious determination to secure their global survival in the 21st century.

The fact of the matter is that by the year 2000, Europeans will constitute about 20 percent of the world’s population; by the year 2025, they will make up 16 percent; and by the year 2050, Europeans will comprise only less than 10 percent of the world’s makeup. As a consequence of their progressively dwindling global numbers, Europeans have issued a declaration of war against Afrikan people, falling under the rubric of the “new world order.” In reality, then, we are living in the geo-political survival play offs of the 1990s. It is, indeed, survival time!

In terms of European supremacy, everything has to be done now to annihilate, decimate, and destroy the global majority Afrikan people, particularly, the Afrikan male. As an erudite, Afrocentric historian, Dr. John Henrik Clarke warns:

"...the major problem facing the European of the future [2050] is that the European will ask himself: “How will I walk this earth in peace and security when I am no longer its master; when I am no longer in power?” The European assumes that he cannot walk the earth in peace and security unless he is the master of all of it; unless he is the master of its mineral wealth, master of its labor supply, [and] master of its land...

Afrikan people must face the stark reality that since Europeans are using any and all means necessary to decimate us, then we must do the same to secure our survival. We must realize that though we may have come from the “Old” World (Afrika) to the “New” World (Europe) in different European slave ships, we would achieve total liberation only in the same Pan-Afrikan Nationalist freedom boat! First and foremost, then, Afrikan people must recognize that we are dealing with European supremacy, and that the only way we can challenge European Nationalism cum supremacy is as Afrikan people, not as African Americans, Jamaicans, Nigerians, Brazilians, etc. We are an Afrikan people... period!

As a result of 500 years of Eurocentric global miseducation, Afrikan people have been dislocated, misdirected, and disoriented. As we approach the 21st century, we must engage in Afrocentric global re-education through a curriculum of inclusion in order to cure Afrikan.
people from the deadly disease of Afro-sclerosis that Eurocentric global miseducation has inflicted upon us.

Through the process of Afrocentrification, African people would be imbued with a positive subconscious sense of self-confidence and self-empowerment, and thus be more fully equipped to permanently eradicate the mental paralysis, induced collective historical/cultural amnesia, collective lobotomy, and psychological genocide crafted by Eurocentric global miseducation. Afrocentrification teaches that the blood that unites us is thicker than the diasporan water, cultures, and accents that separate us.

Afrocentrification enables African people to de-Europeanize, deprogram, de-mystify, and detoxify their subconscious mind of the Eurocentric garbage value system and modus vivendi that has been imposed upon us. While Eurocentric global miseducation has made African people culturally comatose, Afrocentric global re-education reinvigorates and redirects African people to their original home—Mother Africa, specifically Nile Valley, Egypt in the B.C. era. Upon internalizing this proper reference point, we could view ourselves and treat each other as the original people with original ideas. This bears profound implications...

Once African people acquire this Nile Valley, Egypt mind-set, this will force us, among other things, to dismantle, close down, or divorce ourselves from all Eurocentric ahistorical and dysfunctional Greek fraternities and sororities. We must face the stark reality that we cannot afford to be bicultural. We cannot claim to be fighting for our African survival in the 21st century and at the same time use the Greeks as the mechanism or frame of reference. This is a flagrant contradiction. Our Nile Valley, Egypt locus will tell us that our ancient Egyptian ancestors educated and civilized the Greeks—the world's first Europeans. The Nile Valley reference point will inform us that the Greeks (Europeans) are a global minority people who inherited, and transmitted to Greece, all the education, philosophy, psychology, political organization, spiritual ethos, mathematics, medicine, masonry, architecture, physics, astronomy, etc. that they studied at the feet of our ancient master thinkers at the University of Luxor in the Nile Valley of the B.C. era. The historical reality is that the concept of "Greek" fraternities and sororities is AFRIKAN (Egyptian) in origin; and as we just cannot have two historical reference points in the 21st century, African people must deal with and confront that reality—membership by African people in Greek organizations is a sellout, and an overt rejection of our original African spiritual heritage!

Subsequently, our Nile Valley reference point would propel us to regain in every aspect of our daily lives our original spirituality, based on the Principles of Maat, the Admonitions of Maat, or the 42 "Negative Confessions," and the Egyptian Mystery System. This is of paramount importance, as we must regain our spirituality if we are to survive in the 21st century. Our historical reference locus in the Nile Valley serves as a permanent and constant reminder to us that Afrika— or "Alkebulan"—was originally known as the "Land of the spiritual people."

With this, African people must reject and cease the worship of white (European) gods under the guise or subjugation of Christianity. Again, we cannot afford to be bicultural. African people cannot claim to be fighting for their survival in the 21st century and yet simultaneously continue to worship our European oppressors' god. In this regard, we must divorce ourselves from the European Christian-derived Holy Family (Trinity) or the (blond, blue-eyed) Jesus, (the blond virgin) Mary, and (the white-bearded) Joseph. Modern day Christianity is a religion crafted by Europeans for Europeans, and this Christian religion is now a major potent weapon in the armory of European supremacy, representing the delusion of the Europeans' politics and global power intent.

The Nile Valley reference point will inform us correctly that the original so-called Holy Family was the Afrikan triad of Heru, Aset, and Asar. The Greeks worshiped these Afrikan (Black) gods in the B.C. era and initiated their renaming, first as Horus, Isis (the Black Madonna), and Osiris.

In fact, the very first gods of the Greeks, Zeus and Apollo, were Black. Herewith, it would seem to me that it is totally ridiculous and asinine for African people to ask their oppressors' gods to liberate them from their own acolytes. This does not even compute! Our survival dictates that we go back, recapture, and practice our original worship in its spiritual form, instead of fooling ourselves with a racist, historically-derived worship in its Eurocentric religious form. We have no other choice!

The Nile Valley reference point will additionally propell us to regain our African extended family modus vivendi, the only mechanism to consolidate ourselves and thus save our present and future generations. Our philosophy must be based on the concept of Afrikan communalism in which we must inculcate a "WE" value system among ourselves. We need to Africize our homes with Afrikan motifs, particularly to impart correct priorities and values on our youth. This will also involve screening violent, divisive, and denigrating Eurocentric TV programs.

Finally, the establishment of Afrocentric Study Groups is needed so as to engage in critical thinking and analysis from our own perspective and frame of reference. This is a vital strategy for our survival in the 21st century.

In all these ways, we may quicken our return to being Afrikan-centered, with the acquisition of a new, particular mind-set that posits the human being as the totality or centrality of all existence.

As we move toward the 21st century, Dr. Clarke's advice is that "We have to understand [that] we have to make certain radical changes in our lives and our attitudes." We have to build from within. We have to reach out to Africa, and Africa has to reach out to us. His poignant message is simply, "We are African people— one nation, at home and abroad! Only through Pan-Africanism will the African Nation be redeemed." Or in the words of the late Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, "...All people of African descent, whether they live in North or South America, the Caribbean, or in any other part of the world are Africans and belong to the African Nation..."

In the final analysis, African people must live in the hope that in the process of time, our turn will come, when we will once again occupy a prominent power position in the world's history, and when we will hold a voice in the global council of nations, as we once did in the B.C. era. Life began in Mother Afrika and it will end in Mother Afrika. We are the people of yesterday and tomorrow; Europeans are only a people of today. Historiography proves that for the first 110,000 years of human existence on this planet, only Afrikan people existed, with Europeans having not yet created. We are the ancestors/predecessors of the European, and it's time that Afrikans realize this reality.

Indeed, the Europe of today is but a progressive replica, derivative, and mutation of the Afrika of yesterday—not the Afrika of 1619 A.D. and the Afrikans who landed as slaves in Jamestown, but the Afrika that flourished and blossomed in the Nile Valley, Egypt during the B.C. era. The Nile is known as the "world's first cultural highway," a phenomenon uniquely Afrikan.

Once we reorient ourselves along the Nile River, we will be able to cross the timeline into the 21st century as a united, solidified, and empowered global majority people. "Afrikans of the world unite; we have nothing to lose but our minds."

Shem Horep (I go in peace).

Dr. Kwame Nantambu is an Associate Professor in the Department of Pan-African Studies at Kent State University and author of Decoding European Geopolitics: Afrocentric Perspectives. New Expanded Edition (1994).
This article is neither an indictment of all Black churches nor all ministers. There are strong-minded, intelligent African men and women who are authentically concerned about the welfare of our people, and who continue to fight and strive towards our legitimate aspirations of freedom, justice, and equality. But their efforts are too often eclipsed or overshadowed by those who parade around as concerned Black preachers, exploiting us in ways Caucasians never could.

In years past, the Black Church was the most relevant institution in our culture. Today, the Black church runs the risk of being rendered culturally irrelevant. There is a Negro preacher with a Negro church on every street corner in many of our communities, seducing the minds of our people into believing that they will receive some pie in the sky when they die. Meanwhile, African people live in hell (surrounded by death on two feet), live in poverty-stricken communities, live in drug-ridden neighborhoods, live in dilapidated facilities and homes, live with police brutality, live with judicial mistreatment, political disenfranchisement, and we could go on and on... Worst yet, we are told by these Negro "men of the cloth" merely to accept such horrible conditions, as "God will take care of it all later." Many churches have people who don't know from where their next meal is coming, yet these Negro preachers live in the exclusive sections of the suburbs, drive the latest model Cadillacs and BMWs, wear the most expensive suits, and showcase so much jewelry that they look like walking gold factories (I wonder if these Negroes know that an average of 33 Africans died daily in mining the hills and valleys of South Africa for the gold and diamonds that they now wear all over their bodies); all this while they admonish the masses to suffer quietly.

It is very frustrating for African people to sit in these fly-by-the-seat-of-your-pants entertainment centers that we call churches and listen to Negro preachers give every justifiable rationale as to why they have not, cannot, should not, or will not be more involved in the surrounding communities. Our children are committing crimes against one another that have never been committed in the history of the world, and the Negro preacher, while he may say much, does nothing. Our people are being misused, abused, miseducated, and are dying in record numbers, and the Negro preacher remains impotent... as our children are left alone on the front lines.

The modern day Negro church resembles nothing more than muck and mucus that stinks in the nostrils of God. It has become a place of mass confusion, of jealousy, of backbiting, of infidelity, of hypocrisy, and deceit. Instead of being the place where one may come to receive blessing, and hear the true word of God, it has largely become a club; a fashion show, where one may see the latest line of Gucci bags, crocodile shoes, fake eyelashes, hair weaves, and car phones. People can't wait to get to church to hear the latest gossip about sister Jane Shmoe and Pastor Shmuck Luck... and to a large extent, the Negro preacher is the facilitator! It seems that nowadays, any low form of creature with some "get up and go," a $2000 suit, and a Ph.D. in street knowledge can occupy the slot behind the pulpit. We have entirely too many self-proclaimed "men of God," who, Sunday after Sunday, preach an empty, rhetorical doctrine that does absolutely nothing to strengthen and empower our people, and has failed to be the glue to hold together the nucleus of the African family... therefore, our community... and therefore, our culture. The Negro church now serves as little more than a multi-million dollar eyesore in the midst of rubble, broken lives, and broken dreams.

Many hold that one reason these Negroes continue to have decreasing relevance in the African community is because, to a large extent, they do not come to the pulpit armed with an accurate interpretation of Biblical history. The more our people realize this and bear witness to the hypocrisy of the Negro church, the more disillusioned they become. These Negro preachers walk proudly to the pulpit with a message that they received from these white racist Christian theological cemeteries — uh... seminaries— where they were indoctrinated in the demonic misrepresentation of Biblical and historical facts. Basically, what they are being fed is just a platter of European world supremacy, and perpetual obedience to its order. After being denatured and mongrelized, bowing down to their white, blond-haired, blue-eyed, image of "God," these Negroes return to the African community to preach these white-inspired sermons to our people... with catalogue and disastrous effects.

What these Negroes fail to realize, or don't want to come to terms with, is that these institutions (just like the educational system, the political system, the judicial system, and the social systems) were configured, and are run, for a singular purpose: to establish, maintain, and perpetuate white supremacy. As Gunner Myrdal states in An American Dilemma, and Albert Cleage states in Black Christian Nationalism, the Christian religion, as it was expounded, suited the racist, maniacal, and bloodthirsty Christian slave owners' interest in keeping the slave humble, meek, and obedient. Myrdal states that the idea of free worship, and the advantages of having a slave "work off" his frustrations in religion were too strong to pass up, even after the spiritually-inspired slave revolt led by the Honorable Nat Turner, in 1831. Consequently, after slavery, much remained the same. What's even worse is that too many of these Negro preachers (and, as follows, their congregations) have very little knowledge, if any, of the history of the religion to which they have supposedly devoted their entire lives (and beyond)...

These Negroes leave their congregations clueless as to when, and by whom, the first Christian church and empire were established. They never speak of the subsequent councils that were convened to craft the precepts of the modern version of Christianity, and to "screen" the canonized sacred text, nor do they know what took place at these councils. Additionally, Negro preachers avidly speak mostly from the King James version of the Bible, yet, have no idea who King James was, or what he was about. Ironically, if they studied, they would have some idea that the foundation of the three major western religions— Judaism, Christianity, and Islam— all share a common origin in ancient African civilization.

As it is, the same interpretation of Biblical history and religion that saw Europeans slaughter one another in abundance during the Middle Ages; the same interpretation that was used by the European to suck down one culture after another around the globe, murdering millions of men, women, and children all in the name of "God"; the same interpretation that saw them enslave tens of millions of Africans for over 400 years; the same interpretation that saw Hitler butcher millions of Gypsies, Jews, Slavs, and others during World War II; the same interpretation that saw South Africaners relegate the African to a near permanent posture of servitude is the same filth, vile, and revolting tradition that was given to the Negro on the plantation, and continues to be preached every Sunday morning to our people. What we are subtly being taught in church is little more than white supremacy disguised in religion.

The modern day Black church has tremendous—monumental—potential to play a significant role in our liberation struggle, and to be the vanguard and protective shield for the masses of our people. Historically, any effective movement that we have ever had, has had its foundation in the progressive Black church.

As it is, we must begin to hold today's Negro preachers accountable for their actions and inactions. We must discard the Eurocentric interpretation of Biblical history (along with the blond, straight-haired, blue-eyed, geographically incorrect, Caucasoid Jesus concept), and then disseminate and disseminate our original philosophy of African theology and African political thought. We need to use these multi-million dollar churchies for things other than Sunday morning entertainment. We have to use them to lay down strong and stringent disciplinary and moral guidelines to which we must adhere and pass to our children. We need to build structures to begin the restoration and resurrection of the African family— the most important institution in our culture. Anything less would be exceedingly unacceptable.

The day of reckoning is near. Certain circumstances always force the Negro hypocrite to prematurely bare his true nature. Either these Negroes will rid themselves of the life-sapping, and false messages they spew, or we will rid ourselves of these messages... and the Negro with it.
Negro Preacher
Terrence Shropshire
Even in today's hectic world, the Black church remains a place where African Americans may go to perhaps relieve stress and strain from a hectic work week, hear an inspiring sermon that would help them through the next week, or listen to the choir sing praises unto the Lord. Whatever the reasons for attending church, African Americans are carrying on a tradition that goes back hundreds of years. Also a tradition is the fact that dating back to the 1700s, the Black church remains a strong political force within our communities. Historically, nearly all communities were attached to some spiritual affiliation. For the enslaved Africans, there were no buildings, per se, but present definitely of need for general leadership. "He (the Black minister) has always been seen as God's representative," said Dr. Garrison; and while work for the minister has become greatly overwhelming, even in today's society, they are able to perform in traditional capacities. Of course, however, help is needed. "The ministers and layleaders (those other than clergy, who have influence) have to come together in cooperation in order to deal with the problems facing the community," says Garrison. They have a great task. In contemporary society, the needs of the community are so great, in fact, that there has been a breakdown in some areas. The youth of today do not feel that the church is recepive to their needs; even amidst the turmoil of the 1960s and 1970s, there were no drive-by shootings or hand guns in the schools, for example.

was a spirituality that maintained no separation from the secular or "real" world. This is an idea that followed them from the traditional African society.

Dr. George Garrison, chairman of the Department of Pan-African Studies, suggests that the Black church and the Black community are "inseparable." "The organized Black church," he states, "has a major impact on the community, and the social and political aspects of African Americans." By extension, the Black church has also had an influence on the nation as a whole in that it has played a major role in almost every era of the Black struggle for freedom and equality. Early on, "Black America began to establish churches, and organized associations through the church." said Dr. Garrison. From the Abolitionist Movement, backed by the A.M.E. (African Methodist Episcopal) Zion Church, to the Civil Rights Movement, backed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference), the Black church has always been in a leadership position for the community.

The earliest known Black Baptist organization in America was founded in 1750. The A.M.E. Church grew out of this, along with several other well known branches of the Baptist Church, such as the Missionary or the Primitive Baptist Church.

According to Rev. Dr. Larry L. Macon, Sr. of the Mount Zion Baptist Church in Oakwood Village, Ohio, "The role of the Black church in the Black community is to serve African Americans in all aspects, whether politically, socially, or economically. It provides a religious role, a religious training, and a religious place of worship." He continues, "Historically, Black pastors have [often] taken leadership roles in the Black community. They have been the spokespersons on issues such as Civil Rights, and are called upon when new issues arise." Some examples of Black ministers in leadership positions are Rev. Adam Clayton Powell and Rev. Floyd Flakes of Detroit, he notes out. Also, interestingly enough, ministers have historically been among the most educated components of the Black community. It has been either Black ministers or Black teachers who are looked upon in times
As early as 1903, in his classic, *Soul of Black Folk*, W. E. B. DuBois wrote, "Between me and the other world there is ever an unasked question— unasked by some through feelings of delicacy; by others through the difficulty of rightly framing it. All, nevertheless, flutter round it… To the real question, how does it feel to be a problem? I answer seldom a word." Instead, in his seminal collection of essays, he spoke eloquently of the tortured "double consciousness" of being an American of African descent.

This century has almost passed, and Americans of African descent remain more a problem than a people in the eyes of most in this nation. America still wonders, "What is to be done with Negroes?" Recent public discussion has been framed within the idea of black men as an "endangered species." On a personal level, I resent the not too subtle implication. I find the notion objectionable. It seems everyone is talking about black men, while few have taken the time to talk to black men. Fewer still are those who genuinely listen when real black men speak.

Public talk is rarely concerned with the names and the faces of the black sons who did, and do, rise and shine. The public posturing is never correctly framed to make the reality we see nightly on the television news more understandable. If black men are, indeed, an endangered species, who, then, is the predator so bent on our eventual extinction? What happens to a people when a systematic attempt has been made to murder their collective group spirit? How many more of our fathers will have to dream their "American dreams" in a bottle? How many more sons, before they become fathers, will smoke their dreams through a glass pipe?

If there is a problem with black men in this society, it is a homegrown American problem. African American people are descended from the one African in ten who survived the infamous Middle Passage phase of the Transatlantic African Holocaust. The inference today is that black men in America are endangered because of some innate flaw in our collective racial character. This nation's history, however, suggests otherwise. Black reality in America continues to be shaped by those same historical/social forces that worked to alter, forever, the African presence in the so-called "New World." Our condition of being endangered has been endemic to our American experience. Put another way, black people are not responsible for the general conditions under which we live in this society.
I say it is time for black men to speak out, and to speak up in a rousing chorus of diverse, full voices. No single person, or leader, can speak for all of us. Rather, we have a virtual symphony of stories to tell. It is time for black men to say an emphatic and categorical "NO!" to being permanently rendered a chronic problem for Americans to dismiss, discuss, or resolve according to their own whims or discretion. We have always been so much more than the "other world" has given us credit for being. DuBois correctly pointed out the reality of our collective black soul. We have managed to reclaim our very humanity as a people in the face of this society's prescriptions and manipulation. Battered black men and women continue to give birth to sons—broken and unbroken men, grandfathers, fathers, uncles, husbands, boys, brothers, lovers, friends.

The public talk is rarely about real black men. I remember my maternal grandfather, Joseph Huguenin, who chewed cigars and drank homemade wine from grapes picked out of his own backyard; who brought his family out of the white hot South Carolina of 1925, and raised seven daughters and three sons in spite of the New Jersey hard time urban earth. I am my father's son. My father: Wilbur Smith, Sr., a World War II veteran and one of the black soldiers who made up the historic "Red Ball Express," who wanted more for his son than 33 factory years, the obligatory gold watch, and the ever-present bittersweet memories.

The public talk, though often sanitized and nearly impersonal, strikes into many black men with a decidedly personal impact. I remember seeing the film, *The Color Purple*, that first time, and wondering why Alice Walker and Quincy Jones allowed the film-makers license to dehumanize "Mister," and to render the remaining male characters no more than foils or buffoons? In Walker's novel, Mister is there, on the front porch with "Miss Celic" when she is finally reunited with her children. Walker redeems him in her novel. He had even become Miss Celic's sewing partner. One must ask, then, *whose agenda made it to the big screen?* Is it not easy being the subject of public discussion when so much of that discussion routinely ridicules, questions, and belittles. All around us, public talk rages—on TV and radio talk shows, on the lecture circuit, on the big screen, in everyday conversation, even in state-sanctioned commissions. One could be led into thinking that failure and dysfunction are somehow pathological symptoms in the collective behavior of black men, but public talk often reveals more about the talkers than it does about the subject of all the talk.

During the 1960s, Daniel Patrick Moynihan anointed himself national authority and interpreter of the American black family. He gave government sanction to the popular myth of the dysfunctional black family. Now, in the 1990s, the talk is focused on the dysfunctional black man. Black women and girls can only be next in the analytic firing line. That all of this discussion takes place in a virtual reality vacuum, though, is too easily and too readily ignored.

In this society, the power to define whole peoples rests in the hands of a select Euro-American elite whose basic agenda has not changed since the first arrival of English settlers along the banks of the James River in Virginia in 1607. In American social terms, this ability to define connotes power, a power that is absolute in its implications. American racial stereotypes shed more light upon the more sinister underlayers of the collective white American psyche than they do about African American reality. Likewise, "the black man is an endangered species" public talk presupposes a legitimacy and standard of excellence vis-a-vis Euro-American society that is dubious at best. American institutions are in jeopardy today, because they are built upon tragically and fundamentally unstable foundations.

It goes without saying that as black men, we must take a hard look at ourselves collectively, and as individuals. We must be honest with ourselves, and when necessary, we must be strong enough to forgive ourselves. That we have problems and must struggle to begin changing negative ways is not open to debate. In the words of Mali's Yaya Diallo, I, too, am "a fool who is healing." In his book, *The Healing Drum*, he writes, "The fool is content to be himself; to be what he is today. He has ceased dreaming of what he ought to be and will never be. I am a fool who is healing. In Africa, when a fool is healed, he is called a former fool. So, having been a fool, I will always find this term attached to my name."

For my own part, I have failed once at marriage, and have suffered the instability of fathering a child out of wedlock. I have two children I do not see, because I am engaged in draining psycho-battles with their hurt and angry mothers. I am a black man who is healing; a former fool blessed to have been saved from giving in to my own foolishness. I know now that the price of indulging in one's own foolishness is too great. In old, traditional Africa, the measure of a man was seen in his ability to maintain and raise his children. Status in the community was derived through the successful rearing of one's children. Men and women cannot participate in governing the society if they cannot maintain their families, and govern their own homes. The public behavior of one's children is the indicator of the quality of an individual's parenting skills. In African, or Afrocentric, terms, then, I am no more than "a fool who is healing."

Those fools who remain blind and foolish are doomed to be forever victims of their own ways. Foolish nations suffer the same fate as foolish individuals. For black people, the 1990s are a most critical decade. Which way will we choose? Will we choose to redefine and heal ourselves, or will we continue to degenerate along this nation's path of moral and spiritual bankruptcy? America has become a willful, decadent society that is soullessly turned in on its collective self. It is a still divided house that is burning. Who will respond to the alarms? Who will step forward to put out the flames?

American people—black, white, and other—too often mistake crass illusion for truth. This patronizing discussion of the state of black men reveals the extent to which truth has been stood on its proverbial head. I call it, "mainstream white America speech." Some black people even speak this language well enough to convince themselves their so-called thoughts are their own. Enough "official" African American leadership has mastered the terms of "mainstream white America speech" to such a great degree that the cult of victimology has been successfully passed off in the guise of civil rights strategy. In the final analysis, if there is a genuine crisis facing black men in this country, it means African American people are in crisis. If Americans of African descent are in crisis, it suggests the nation-at-large is, indeed, in crisis. Given our historical circumstance in America, crisis merely visits the smaller African American community, first, before it seeps into the larger society. The interrelationship has always been both symbiotic and dialectical. America is an endangered society. Who is to say just what the future holds?
Calm darkness dictated the mood of the room. It could similarly describe the character of the young woman with one leg folded underneath her, and the other brown leg dangling over the edge of her bed. Camille was not what one would call “quiet” by any stretch of the imagination. However, she always seemed to be ever-so-slightly self-aware at all times. It was as if she was surrounded by a thin casing of glass faintly reflecting her image for her own eyes to see. It was this small self-alienation that made Camille more comfortable recording her thoughts on paper rather than on the phone with a girlfriend.

Well, today is another day. I talked to Terrell. He was trying to be sooo nice. I thought maybe he realized how bad he messed up last week and was trying to make it up to me. Anyway, he told me he was going to come over after class, and we would rent some movies and chill, or whatever. Well, that was at 4 o’clock, it is now 9:45! I’m really getting tired of the same sh-- week after week! It’s getting to the place where I know which excuse he’s going to use! I don’t know why I stay with him-- I guess eight months is a long time to spend with someone, and I keep hoping things will work out, or I’ll have to admit I’ve wasted another year of my life...

...Terrell is the same and I guess I’m still stupid. He came over on Tuesday-- and stayed the night. I don’t know if maybe that’s why I stay with him. I mean, there are some things he does well-- real well. But anyway, I wrote to tell you some good news! Surprised? Well, I got an A on my sociology paper, a B on my calc test, and I met this guy. I know what you’re thinking, but he seems really nice. His name is Daryl. He’s a transfer student from Alabama A&M. He doesn’t know a lot of people here (good) and so he wants to hang out or study or whatever. I don’t know. I’m kind of confused, because I know I can’t go out with him while I’m still with Terrell. I don’t want to risk losing the man (or piece of man) I have, and then wind up with no one. Ya know?
I know you won't believe that I finally broke things off with Terrell. I'm glad it's over. I mean, I'm not trying to front like it didn't hurt, because I did/do love him. But damn, I mean, how much can someone take? I feel kind of scared because it seems like it always turns out the same. It just gets to the point where I just want to be like forget it! Then again, nobody wants to be alone.

I talked to my brother and everything is pretty cool with him. His letter took two weeks to get here. I worry so much about him. I don't like the idea of my brother being in the service--or any brother for that matter. But there's really nothing I can do about it if that's what he wants to do... I went out a couple of times with Daryl. I had so much fun. I'm really starting to like him, even though I know I haven't known him that long. He doesn't smoke, he drinks sometimes, he likes hip-hop and jazz, etc. I was surprised when he told me he didn't have any children. It seems like every brother has a baby nowadays. I really don't mind; it's just that it seems like there's always a "baby's mother" that's trippin'. I ain't got time for all that. Anyway, so far so good. Oh, also, Terrell called. We got into an argument. I guess he thought I was going to want to get back with him, and when I didn't, he got all mad. Oh well...

As usual, I did something I should not have done... You know what that is. Well, I still think things are going to work out between me and Daryl, we get along real good. But it was still too soon. One day I knew I'm going to wind up getting myself in trouble that way, or getting hurt, or both.

I really feel up this time! I mean for real. I found out I'm pregnant! It's Terrell's. I just kept hoping that it would have been Daryl's if it had to be at all. I cried so hard. I told my parents and had to hear their speech and everything. It was really bad telling my father. I thought it couldn't get any worse.

I talked to Terrell, I couldn't believe it. He was like, "F-- you! You didn't want to be with me! You thought you were all that, and now you need something from me! You better come up with a couple hundred dollars!" I just couldn't believe it. It's been a couple of days since Daryl and I decided to go together!

I have been avoiding Daryl as much as possible. I know he knows something is wrong, but I'm not ready to deal with it yet. I feel so embarrassed. I knew I was going to wind up messin' up one day. I know I don't have anyone to blame, but myself. It's just so much harder than I thought it would be to try and plan for this. This past week seems like it has been forever! I hope it's not going to be like this the whole way through. This is the most alone I have ever been. I even thought about lying and telling Daryl that it was his child, but I have never had no respect for sisters who do stuff like that. However, now I know the temptation...

I finally talked to Daryl. He really didn't say much. He just listened, and I was crying and sh--. He tried to console me and everything, but I could tell he was upset. I just kept thinking about being alone, having to drop out of school, etc. All I can do is keep praying and doing what I need to do...

...For the first time since I first told Daryl, we had a real discussion about everything. Before then, we just sort of made small talk or watched TV or something. When we talked, he told me he would be lying if he said it didn't bother him that I was carrying someone else's baby, but he knows that it happened before I was with him... I was shakin' so bad. I realized that I really cared about Daryl. He supported me in everything I tried to do and I know when I see him it just isn't about sex. I know if he said he wanted to come over and study, that's what he wanted to do. All this was going through my mind as we talked. I was so surprised with what he said next, even more surprised than when Terrell said what he said. Daryl told me, "Camille, I thought about all of this over the past few days, which is why I really wasn't calling much or anything. Anyway, I decided that if our relationship ended, it will end because of us. I will help you as much as I can at least as a friend. We'll take the rest as it comes." I just laid my head on him and cried. I felt so relieved and happy. I felt like I had another chance. From all I ever saw, heard, or read, I never knew that a Black woman's story could have a happy ending.

Portrait of a Black Woman: Camille's Story
Andrea L. DuVall
On February 22, 1995, Dr. Benjamin Chavis, former Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), lectured to a near-capacity crowd in the Kent State University Ballroom. The lecture, entitled "21st Century Race Relations," was sponsored by the Black United Students. Uhuru Magazine had the opportunity to speak with Dr. Chavis. The interview was as follows:
**UHURU: In what organization were you involved in Cleveland?**

Chavis: Prior to going to the National Office of the NAACP, I was the National Executive Director and C.E.O. of the United Church of Christ for Racial Justice, based in Cleveland.

**UHURU: What motivated you to become a part of the struggle, or to become a civil rights activist?**

Chavis: Well, that's a rather long story. I've been involved in the Movement since I was 12 years old. I was brought up in a small, rural, tobacco plantation town in eastern North Carolina. I knew what the definition of racism was before going into the first grade. So growing up in an atmosphere of overt racism, and severe economic exploitation of the African American community, I, as a child, wanted to make my contribution to alleviating the oppression that was so prevalent among all Americans from all walks of life. My mother and father were school teachers, but even black school teachers in the 1940s and '50s were subject to racism and oppression as were brothers and sisters who may have been less fortunate. In other words, there wasn't a class stratification in the African American community 40 or 50 years ago, as there is now. When I was 12 years old, I joined the NAACP Youth Council, I joined C.O.R.E. (Congress Of Racial Equality), and I joined SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) all at the same time, because it wasn't about joining one organization. You joined as many organizations as possible.

**UHURU: Was that something that you felt you needed to do, or was that something that a lot of people did at the time—join as many organizations as they could?**

Chavis: Most of the young people in my community did the same thing. I mean, we had a Black Nationalist troop of the Boy Scouts (in North Carolina). My father was a scout master.

**UHURU: What were the circumstances that led to your conviction?**

Chavis: The Wilmington Ten—well, that happened when I was already a seasoned organizer. I was 21 or 22 years old, in 1970-71. The whole issue was school desegregation, fighting for the rights of African American school children for equitable education in the public schools. We were demonstrating to protect the educational rights of African American children, and the Ku Klux Klan and other paramilitary white organizations violently attacked us in the local church that we were working out of. The state of North Carolina indicted us—even though we were the victims of violence—and put us in jail. The Wilmington Ten were sentenced to 282 years in prison, so I spent most of the 1970s in maximum security prisons in North Carolina. Later, we got our convictions overturned, and our names were cleared; but it took 10 years of litigation.

**UHURU: I'm assuming that you're not bitter.**

Chavis: That's a good assumption.

**UHURU: I would imagine that it was because of your spirituality, or your religious beliefs.**

Chavis: I believe that it was my religious beliefs, my faith, [my] spirituality—in addition to being involved in the African American struggle for liberation, I think that we must not internalize our oppression. In other words, if something is done wrong to you, or if you are put in a situation of injustice, you have to be careful how you react to that... We must always fight against the forces that might do us harm, so, the reason I'm not bitter is because bitterness only distorts the whole. I didn't like what happened. In fact, I was angry at one time, but I channeled my anger and my resistance to the oppression to something constructive. That's one of the problems that black people face in America... If we could take the [seed] of rage, the [seed] of anger, the [seed] of pain and suffering that our people have already been through, we'd be the most revolutionary people in the world. If we could just channel that to constructive modus operandi for our lives’ course...

[With] the nature of African American oppression in America, sometimes it makes us internalize our oppression, then becoming self-destructive, rather than destroying the forces of oppression. We have to reject self-hatred. We have to reject aiding and abetting our own oppression. I don't want to give you the false impression, faith is important—but faith in the context of struggling for one's freedom; a struggle for one's liberation! That's when faith becomes a shield, or a coat of armor, so you can withstand things. It is important that one uses faith to live one's life to struggle, and not to use faith as some "shell," or some fallow shelter to dig into, and kind of wait for the oppression to blow over, because it will never blow over. You've got to come out and fight! Your faith becomes your armor in the struggle.

Sometimes, people see religion as an escape valve. That's the wrong way to see religion. Religion is supposed to equip you to be a stronger warrior. Faith is supposed to get you to outmaneuver the oppressor; not to fall into the oppressor's hands.

**UHURU: In what direction had you hoped to take the NAACP?**

Chavis: In the direction that we went: To reach out; to broaden the constituency base of the NAACP within the African American community; to, in particular, make a much larger place for African American youth; to make the NAACP more accountable to the interests of the African American community; to broaden the NAACP's perspective more globally from a Pan-Africanist ideology; to begin to posit the necessity for us to deal with our own economic liberation, as well as political liberation. In other words, African Americans, we have to do much more around how we spend this $400 billion that we spend every year. We are one of the few groups in the world [that] fund our oppressor, rather than fund our own liberation.

**UHURU: To what extent do you think you were successful?**

Chavis: I think one of the reasons why I was dismissed was because I was being successful, and pr-
If we could take the [seed] of rage, the [seed] of anger, the [seed] of pain and suffering that our people have already been through, we'd be the most revolutionary people in the world.
CHAVIS: All of them eventually backed away. Everybody eventually backed away... except the youth board. The youth board did not back away.

UHURU: What new advice, if any, would you offer the NAACP?

CHAVIS: I still support the NAACP. I encourage young people to join the NAACP, to get on the local branch level, to offer new leadership, new insight, new energy, and, eventually, restructure the board.

UHURU: What future do you see for African American leadership?

CHAVIS: I am optimistic with what I have seen—since I left the NAACP—in the last six months. There seems to be a resiliency occurring among African American youth. I think that the generation that everyone wants to write off, is really going to be the generation that's going to provide the new leadership. I'm encouraged by that.

UHURU: What should African American youth do to continue the struggle for African American liberation?

CHAVIS: I think African American youth should seize the time, seize the organizations, seize the leadership.

UHURU: What are your future plans?

CHAVIS: For the immediate future, I am going to continue to be the convenor of the National African American Leadership Summits. I am going to continue to support the NAACP; albeit from a distance. I'm going to help promote and nurture a new generation of young freedom fighters. I have not decided, yet, whether or not to start a new organization, [but] I am still contemplating it.

UHURU: What advice would you give African American students here at Kent State in dealing with charges of anti-Semitism from both the European Jewish community, and the European campus community in general?

CHAVIS: I would say, don't get diverted off course and principle. I do not believe that the Jewish community should be the target or focus of our energy. I do not believe that the Jewish community, by and large, are the enemies of African Americans. I do believe that there are some right wing Jews that would like to divert the attention of African Americans away from our primary business of African American liberation and self-determination. What I would say to young brothers and sisters on this campus [is] to study hard, be good students, learn everything you can, but make a commitment to apply that mind to the liberation of our people. We need freedom fighters in the various vocations. What we need is brothers and sisters who are committed to using their skills and knowledge that they learned from universities like Kent State. I see this debate between African Americans and Jewish Americans—as if that is the central debate—as being a total diversion. That is not the central debate, and should not be the central debate. The issue for us is: What is it that we are supposed to do, and will do by all means necessary, toward our long range economic empowerment, political empowerment, African American institution building, African American family building, [and in] raising up a whole new generation of freedom fighters? That's our responsibility, and come hell or high water, don't let anyone or anything get us off our target.

UHURU: How do you think this “Black/Jewish issue” came about?

CHAVIS: I think that's an issue that has been super-imposed on our reality.

UHURU: Do you think by non-Jews and non-Blacks?

CHAVIS: Yes, and sometimes by conservative negroes, who like to lavish themselves in these diversions. I don't see it being [helpful] to our struggle.

UHURU: Kind of shifting gears, how do you think the National State of the Race Conference (November, 1994) went?

CHAVIS: I think the State of the Race Conference was a positive development; a step in the right direction, as was the African American Leadership Summit. Of course, now, we must follow through on the things that we stipulated at the State of the Race Conference... I think 1995 has to be the year of implementing the issues and the programs that came out of both of those conferences. That's why I am working hard now, along with Minister Louis Farrakhan, to organize the One Million Black Man March on Washington D.C., in October, 1995.

UHURU: Are you and Louis Farrakhan good friends?

Chavis: Brother Farrakhan is my brother. I'm a Christian minister, he is a Muslim minister, but we do not let religion come between us. Our brotherhood is ordained in the struggle for our liberation, self determination, and freedom [for] African people.
I GIVE MY PEACE
Jogina Y. Cash

The strong black man,
with whom I wish to be...
with his strong black arms that
belong to me...
with the strong brown black legs
that stand with pride...
To the strong black man,
with whom I’ll spend eternity.
The strong black man,
to whom I wish to speak...
I’ll carry your chest, soothe your
arms, and make your
leg grow weak.
To the strong black man,
I give my peace.
For the strong black man,
is all you need.

Like the tidal waves, earthquakes, and
tornadoes you’re
Looked in at danger.
Like the fire in the forest,
just another rage of anger.

Strong black man,
let me be your strong black love,
for the strong black man,
that strong black woman.
Should be no stranger.

DESTRUCTION
Shelia Wyatt

Sometimes I wonder
Why the willow weep.
Is it the sun
Or is it summer’s grief:
The world is becoming
A darkened moon.
It shines only once
For dreams to bloom.
As I walk, I see the fog,
But no stars in the air.
Could there be a resting place
For stars to flatter?
Days go by, nights stand still.
The seasons will soon dissolve
And leave all creations
Helplessly ill.
Who should we blame
For these sad griefs?
Soon it’ll be a memory.
That willow once wept.

UNTITLED
TJ S.

Breathing deeply in the showery spray of salt-filled air
cleaning my soul with its purifying effect
my mind becomes clear and the oppressive weight of
assumption is lifted
immediately.
glancing up, the night sky, a flawless shade of
midnight blue
is speckled with eyes twinkling down on
me
Adding to the perfection, the moon, full and magnifi-
cent in her nature
studies me back.
calling me to become suddenly aware of her power to
influence the minds of God’s creatures.

Wind
Determined not to be ignored, ceremoniously lifts my
hair and playfully tosses it.
Whispering like a lover in my ear,
I shiver in its boldness, and just as soon as it arrived
it vanishes.

Feeling remotely jilted, I turn my attention to the shadow-
ous expansion before me
moon lit and serene
Inviting me to join them, the rolling waves lap gently
at my feet
daring me to dive in and explore the cloaked riches
of their depths.

Giggling, I step back onto the dry sand
a warm and receiving comfort to the sudden crispness
in the night air.
I realize then, that I could ultimately take my last
breath here.
It would be the most natural thing I could ever do.
I am home and home is now within me.
I make my way, reaffirmed with my soul
back to the world I exist in, taking a rainstucke grain
of
Heaven
along with me.

THE GHETTO IN YOU
Curtis Hall II

I met this girl with lovely eyes, "The ghetto girls are real".
Then she got mad and said, "I hate ghetto, that's it!"
Now, in my mind, I got confused, "Did I say something
wrong?"
I called her ghetto 'cause I could tell how this girl was so
strong.

I saw behind those lazy eyes the pain I felt for me.
Not the ignorance and evil that one finds on TV.
I felt in her touch, the gentleness her speech cannot display.
It made me warm inside, I love her ghetto way.

She was in her the strength in us that made us last this long.
We will last forever and a day, as long as she stays strong.
She’s sweet and mean, rough and soft, clear and unconfused.
The ghetto in her makes me want is much to make her mine.
Here I am in a culture fog. You know how when you've just finished smoking two, maybe three blunts, that stuck feeling? Well here I am, stuck, Stuck at fuck. Stuck in a fog of misunderstanding or maybe as Woodson states, "...a fog of mis-education."
The mis-education of a suburban? Black? girl thrown into reality by a five year stint at a university of Higher...lie? Maybe?
Well on to the fog of this culture. Is it Black?
African American?
Or maybe just African?
Who the hell knows?
Certainly not me.
Do I even have a culture?
Or is it stuck somewhere, lost in the middle passage to Hell?
I keep on thinking that there's a magic book that states my name, rank, serial number, credit history, No Wait!
Culture, that's it, culture.
Tells me who I am, who may people were and are.
They say that you know all that your ancestors knew.
That this is the key to knowledge.
I feel as if they didn't know a damn thing, cause I surely don't.
Well, here I am, still stuck. Stuck at fuck.
To find some kind of path, but a path to what?
For now, maybe more blunts. Cause the stickiness of herb haze is a Hell of a lot better than the sticky haze of REALITY?

Did you...grieve...

for that black you shot out of consciousness murdered for the love of power missed by all he knew and cherished?

Did you...grieve...

for that baby given to the heavens by a targetless bullet guided by an apathy for life?

Did you...grieve...

for that young girl lost on the streets pandering her body for crack searching for an eternal high?

Did you...grieve...

for that intelligent mind contemplating anger and crime oblivious to its own potential acknowledging only its frustration?

Did you...grieve...

for that success who escaped the streets yet never returned again to save the others left behind?

Did you...grieve...

for your own soul as it wandered through the years wanting to make a difference but not knowing how?

Did you...grieve...

And what if you did....

What will you do?
I can smell it in the air. It comes in the wind, so cool and
fair. No! That’s the smell of Grandma pressing my
hair.

But I smell it, and FREEDOM IS COMING
TOMORROW?

What is it? I do not know. I know it’s good, ’cause
Grandma
told me so! She says it’s something our people ain’t
never had.

Then she puts her head down and looks very sad.

Don’t cry
Grandma... FREEDOM IS COMING TOMOR-
ROW?

Grandma puts me on the back and gives me a
smile. “Child, you
better sit down and wait for a while! My dear
grandbaby,
can’t you see... ain’t no such thing as FREEDOM
for you and
me!” But I can see... FREEDOM IS COMING
TOMORROW?"

Grandma’s not here, she’s in her resting place... But
I can’t
forget her laugh, her smile, and her face! Her last
words will
always stay in my mind. She said, “Dear child, let
me explain
one last time...

You can’t steal freedom, or wish it here, you can’t
borrow...
...so stop waiting for freedom to come tomorrow!”

At her everlasting words, I did shed a tear...
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SURVIVING REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE:
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY REVISITED

Aundrey "Bunni" Sommerville

For many of us, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense sparks images of bigger-than-life, pro-black troops of brothers shouting, "By any means necessary," and "Too black, too strong," flanked in their black leather jackets, sporting massive blowout Afros, and toting shotguns, rifles, and revolvers prone and ready for action. Though many of us were still in diapers when the Panthers reached their apex, their philosophy and rhetoric lives on, inspiring brothers and sistas who are eager to master their revolutionary thought.

While the Panther Party's strategy strongly opposed the "nonviolent, cheek turning" techniques practiced by integrationist Civil Rights groups of the 1960s, it strongly appealed to the militant black student populations, who opposed integration as the end to racism in the United States. Also drawn to its realist ideologies were "throwaway" brothers from the hood, who knew first-hand how negligence, police brutality, and corruption rampanty plagued the black community.

Combining common street sense, the philosophy of Black Nationalist leaders such as Malcolm X, and the political ideologies of Mao Tse-Tung and Che Guevara, the Panthers based themselves and their agenda in the struggle of the oppressed, specifically, the black community. The Panthers' primary mission consisted of preventing police brutality against black people in the community, and fostering health, economic, and political development through programs such as voter registration drives, free breakfast programs, and free sickle cell anemia screenings. Eventually, the Party even formed their own tuition-free private school for elementary school-aged children.

The founders of the Black Panther Party, Huey P Newton and Bobby Seale, founded the organization at Oakland City College (now Merritt College) on October 16, 1966, adopting the black panther motif from a Mississippi political group called the Lowdes County Freedom Organization, who were gaining recognition at that time, organizing and arming black voters for defense against violently aggressive whites. Newton explains in Revolutionary Suicide, his first autobiographical work chronicling the origin of the Black Panther Party, that, "...the panther is a fierce animal, but he will not attack until he is backed in a corner; then he will strike out." For Newton and Seale, this image perfectly represented their style, and intention.

In less than four years, the Party explod-
ed into an organization with well over 5,000 members in some forty U.S. chapters based in cities like New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and New Haven, Connecticut. The Party functioned on a fundamental platform that consisted of ten points:

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black community.
2. We want full employment of our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery of our black community by the capitalist system.
4. We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings. We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives, so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history, and our role in the present day society.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service. We believe that black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world, who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people. We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending us from racist police oppression, and brutality.
8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county, and city prisons and jails. We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons, because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.
9. We want all black people, when brought to trial in court, to be scrutinized by a jury of their peer group, or people from their communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace... and as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to hold elections throughout the black colony, and in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

Once labeled by former COINTELPRO and FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover, as, "the single greatest threat to the internal security of the U.S.,” many problems plagued the party internally and externally. The internal factors ranged from alleged drug abuse by Party members, to sexual abuse and misogynistic treatment of the women in the party. Party affiliate, and later chairwoman, Elaine Brown, in her book, A Taste of Power: A Black Woman’s Story, chronicles the abuse she received from male Party members due to factors ranging from her breaking of Party rules, to many brothas’ crazed jealousy of her relations with other men. Brown illustrated the panic and terror under which she lived while touring China with Eldridge Cleaver, another influential Panther leader, who held her under constant intimidation during their travels, telling her that he would kill her before they left China. Brown also tells of her lurid relations with a number of male “philanthropists” with whom she slept to receive money for the Party, and, in one instance, even to fund and furnish Huey Newton’s condominium.

The most destructive element that lead to the demise of the Party, however, stemmed from FBI infiltration and police violence, forces which ultimately led to the murders of approximately 20 panthers, and the incarceration of many others. Party members such as Fred Hampton and Bobby Hutton were murdered by the police; Hampton being murdered in his sleep, and Hutton being gunned down after surrendering to the police.

A most disturbing episode involved bitter confrontations with Maulana Karenga (the father of Kwazza), and his Black Nationalist/US organization. In one of the most explosive confrontations between the groups, two Panthers, John Hutton and Alprentice “Bunchy” Carter were murdered at a UCLA student conference, with many others being wounded. In January of 1976, a Senate Intelligence Committee investigation revealed that the warfare between the two nationalistic groups was encouraged and instigated by the FBI, though a barrage of confrontational propaganda, believed by both organizations to be penned by the other. Apparently, FBI infiltrators also intensified problems between the two groups by—on several occasions—staging and escalating confrontations.

By the late 1970s, the Panther Party had all but dissolved. Internal and external problems led to the bitter departure of Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver, Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture), Party Chairwoman Elaine Brown, and a great number of affiliate members. On August 22, 1989, the Party’s famed leader and co-founder, Huey P. Newton, was shot and killed outside his Oakland, California home, in what some call a “crack deal gone bad.” Subsequently, the cause of the murder is still questioned, and many speculate that his death was yet another FBI assassination conspiracy.

Amidst the much anticipated film, Panther, directed by Mario Van Peebles, and starring Kadeem Hardison and Bodeen Woodbine (of Jason’s Lyric), the politically/culturally conscious songs of such rappers as Digable Planets, Brand Nubian, Public Enemy, KRS-ONE, and Par, and a host of books by former Panthers, Elaine Brown, David Hillard, and Assata Shakur within the past couple of years, many brothas and sistas are curious to know if the Black Panther Party for Self Defense is making a comeback? Just last spring in the South Central Los Angeles area, a local group called the Watta Poets—coupled with a concerned community—held a rally to free Geronimo Ji Jagga Pratt, Black Panther Party Deputy Minister for Defense, who, in 1970, was framed by the police, and is currently serving a double life sentence for two murders he didn’t commit (the brotha wasn’t even in town at the time the crimes allegedly occurred). The rally served to bolster support for Pratt, and to eventually stimulate local legislatures to reopen his case for investigation.

...But the struggle does not end here. In our current youthful actions for justice, a lot can be learned from the Black Panther Party’s achievements and failures to perhaps make a stronger alliance for a new group of fierce, young Black Panthers. To find out more about the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, here are some suggested readings: A Taste of Power: A Black Woman’s Story, by Elaine Brown; Revolutionary Suicide & To Die for the People: The Writings of Huey P. Newton, by Huey P. Newton; Insights and Poems, by Huey P. Newton and Ericka Hutton; Seize the Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party, by Bobby Seale; Assata, by Assata Shakur.

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As the university prepares to put forth a large effort to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the May 4 shootings, I wonder where black people at Kent stand in the midst of it all. Honestly, I wonder if we can relate enough to commemorate.

With the exception of a black man who was called "Brother Fargo" at the time, black people were virtually nowhere to be found at the time of the shootings. This was not a coincidence, but a conscious decision based on historical experience. When the National Guard arrived on campus the weekend of May 1–3, only a few members of Black United Students decided that the smartest and safest thing for black people to do was to keep a low profile, but almost everyone headed the word. Everyone knew that if the government had guns, there was a chance they would use them if provoked—especially if they were provoked by black people.

In addition, the war in Vietnam was not the primary issue for black students in 1970. Many black people did not agree with the war; they knew people who went and were injured or killed, and black men, too, were worried about being drafted. However, for blacks the real war was going on here in America. More black students and faculty, a black studies department, and more scholarships and funding for black organizations were among the issues black students rallied for at Kent State University.

I am not suggesting that black people have no reason whatsoever to take part in the reflection upon the tragedy of May 4. Four lives were lost, and compassion is human. I am saying that white students were traumatized when the Guard fired on them, because it was probably the first time that they had seen white people commit that kind of violence against other white people, publicly. On May 4, 1970, our tears—and to some extent, our anger—became theirs. Black people were not shocked, or amazed; we had endured violent oppression for years.

Each anniversary of May 4 has been commemorated by KSU as a form of healing. But it is also a way of looking at the past to negotiate the
present, and prepare for the future. Dr. Edward Crosby, chairperson emeritus of the Department of Pan-African Studies, said that May 4 is a phenomenon because each generation of students is still interested. Perhaps black people at Kent cannot not directly relate to what happened on May 4, but there is something valuable about making our history a phenomenon; remaining interested in what happened to our people in the past helps us to improve ourselves in the present, and brings us together in the future.

So, as the 25th anniversary of May 4 approaches, I no longer wish that KSU would let it go because we weren’t involved. I don’t want to be asked to simply forget about slavery, the Civil Rights Movement, apartheid, or any other facet of our history. It gives us a sense of mission and purpose, just as I suppose remembering May 4 does for some white people at Kent.
the Annihilation

[Adisa A. Alkebulan]
Ancient Kemet (Egypt) is where the greatest evidence of the earliest cultivators of culture, architecture, engineering, language, writing, philosophy, science and religion is found. These great accomplishments of African peoples contributed to the development of all civilizations that followed. Ancient Kemet laid the very foundation for arts and sciences for its Asian and European successors. This was the Nile Valley Civilization B.C.E. So it is an irony of the most inhumane form, that in modern Kemet (Egypt) A.C.E., the land of our African forefathers and foremothers, there would be a conference held to discuss the annihilation of the world's firstborn (Africans), and other peoples of color.

In Cairo, Egypt, from September 5 through September 13, 1994, the United Nations (U.N.) convened the third International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), which was nothing more than a United Nations "Genocide Conference." It ultimately failed, but it still has astounding implications. The ICPD's "official" plan of action was aimed at stabilizing world population at 7.27 billion people, by 2015. According to the United Nations Census Bureau and the Population Reference Bureau, Africa leads the rest of the world in births, with an average of 5.9 children born to a woman during her lifetime; while at the bottom is North America at 2.0, followed by Europe at 1.6.

The goal of the ICPD is to lay the groundwork for a systematic approach to drastically reduce the population levels of non-European people. The United Nations Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, claims that the main threat to the world is "unchecked population growth." However, in the New Federalist (May, 1994), it states, "The Cairo conference seeks to destroy the institution of the family, the foundation of human society, under the guise of sexual freedom and 'women's empowerment.' It aims to slash population growth rates to zero over the next decades, through rampant spread of abortion, sterilization, and euthanasia." The European (white) power structure through the U.N., is using "buzz words" and code words like "overpopulation" and "population control," but what is really being discussed is genocide. The "white world" is trying to thwart the growth of the rest of the world, and this is the U.N.'s third attempt to initiate such a program. The first United Nations "Genocide Conference" was held in Bucharest, Romania, in 1974. The second conference was held in Mexico City in 1984.

World population is not really the problem. The real problem is that the population of so-called "developed nations" (i.e., European nations, including the United States and Canada) remains stagnant, while those of so-called "developing," or "third world nations" (i.e., African, Caribbean, Latin American and Asian) are increasing. The crisis: Europeans are already the global minority, and the current trend of population growth of non-European nations constitutes a direct threat to global white supremacy. Dr. Kwame Nantambu, author of Decoding European Geopolitics: Afrocentric Perspectives, asserts that by the year 2050, Europeans will represent less than 10 percent of the world's population.

Challenging the conference, the African Academy of Sciences asserts that, "In Africa, population remains an important resource for development without which the continent's national resources will remain latent and unexplored." In most African countries, life is the most precious gift to mankind from God. The ICPD, throughout the conference, had no concern over the spiritual/religious or cultural value that African and Middle Eastern countries place on the family, and their children. The United Nations ignored the religious and ethical concerns about "population control."

The United Nation's population conference was just a last ditch effort to curb the increase of the world's peoples of color. Europeans are arguing that all around the world, sexually "reckless" people are having more and more children, thereby "threatening global resources," and "swelling the tides of immigration." The preamble to the ICPD states that:

"Around the world, many of the basic resources on which future generations will depend for their survival and well being between being depleted, and environmental pollution is intensifying driven by the unprecedented growth in human number... Social and economic inequality, and wasteful consumption... are adding to the threats to our common future. At the same time, there is emerging global consensus (European consensus) on the need for increased international cooperation in regard to population, sustainable development, and the environment..."

The ICPD's assertion is false. In actuality, in almost every country across the globe, women are having fewer children than they used to. Population only continues to climb mainly because of better healthcare, which is keeping more people alive than in years past. In the May, 1994 issue of the New Federalist, it reads:...Even in sub-Saharan Africa... fertility is falling rapidly. Yet here, life expectancy is barely 50 years, and it is the epicenter of the world AIDS epidemic, which kills young adults of child-bearing age. For instance, in Kenya, despite its high fertility, the 1990 level of 163 youths per working adults will fall to 81 in 2025, because of the AIDS epidemic... The women... bear one-half the number of children they did just one generation ago.

Natural resources and immigration are also not the issues in this "European World Domination" game. The nations with the highest population growth rate (so-called third world nations) are not the ones that are depleting most of the world's natural resources, or causing the most pollution. The economies of the "developing" nations are relatively low and unproductive in the European scheme, and pose no threat of making an impact in the near future on the world economy. European and pseudo-European nations (i.e., Japan) are the ones depleting the world's natural resources, not the non-European world (i.e. most of the world!) Europeans account for only 20 to 25 percent of the world's population, yet they consume 75 percent of the world's natural resources.

Regarding immigration, the countries with the highest levels of population growth are not the countries that are the largest sources of global migration. Generally, their people are just too poor to move. In the case of the United States, DON'T BELIEVE THE HYPE! Latinos/Mexicans are not the most numerous immigrants to the U.S., like the media and racist
and Asians are... And of the 1.4 million immigrants to "developed" countries, only 50 thousand, or so, are Afrikans.

Twenty to 25 percent of the population is consuming 75 percent of the world's natural resources—something has to give. It is no coincidence that that same 20 to 25 percent of the world's population is European. The European world power structure is obviously dead set against equal distribution of natural resources. Their ardent support of population control for non-European countries (most of the world) is proof of their racist, white-supremist attitudes toward peoples of color. Racial hatred and fear is the basis of this conference, not population growth, immigration, or the depletion of natural resources.

Since in ICPD and U.N. documents, Europeans have not stated literally, and in absolute terms, that their goal is to annihilate people of color, let us examine some supporters of "population control," in their own words, as quoted in the New Federalist (May, 1994):

• Bertrand Russell, a major 20th century British philosopher, and author of The History of Western Philosophy, says, "The white population of the world will soon cease to increase. The Asiatic races will be longer, and the [N]egroes still longer, before their birthrate falls sufficiently to make their numbers stable without the help of war and pestilence... less prolific races will have to defend themselves by methods which are disgusting even if they are necessary."

• President of Environmental Economics, Michael Soverstein, states that, "If necessary, nations of the third world must be forced to remain poor if their development threatens resources on which all life depends."

• Thomas Lovejoy, Vice President of the World Wildlife Fund, U.S.A. (1984), stated that, "The biggest problems are the damn national sectors of these developing countries. These countries think that they have the right to develop their resources as they see fit."

• In 1981, Thomas Ferguson, from the State Department Office of Population Affairs said, "Population is a political problem... to really reduce population... you have to pull all the males into the fighting and... kill significant
numbers of fertile-age females... [through] famine, like in Africa, or through disease, like the Black Death..." The latter part of his quote is very enlightening, considering the advent of AIDS.

When dealing with white supremacy, or racism, we must understand that white racists implicitly desire "race purity." That is why so much significance is placed on stifling immigration, as with the recent Proposition 187 that turned up in California. The author suggests that since Europeans' genes are recessive to the genes of any other peoples, Europeans fear their global extinction.

In 1991, the U.S. government released, to the public, the National Security Study Memorandum 200 (NSSM 200). The NSSM 200 identified the population growth of 13 large "third world" nations as a national security threat to the United States, to be countered by contraception and sterilization programs. Although the NSSM 200 was not released until 1991, it was adopted as U.S. policy by Henry Kissinger in 1974. Kissinger was head of the U.S. National Security Council at the time. Interestingly enough, Egypt, the site of the third "Genocide Conference," and Mexico, the site of the second conference, were two of the 13 "threatening" nations in the NSSM 200.

In October of 1993, the United States Department of State sent a cable to all U.S. foreign missions, asserting that the Clinton administration supported population control. The cable stated:

President Clinton has committed the U.S. government to active leadership on behalf of an urgent and comprehensive global response to population growth... This administration will pursue a more cooperative policy approach, which stresses the need for universal access to family planning, and related reproductive health services, including safe abortions...

The United States government wanted to spearhead the most recent "Genocide Conference," just as it did the previous two conferences. Incidentally, at the Mexico conference, then president, Ronald Reagan, rescinded the United States' support, because he disagreed with its abortion policy—and for that reason only. Ronald Reagan supported the reduction of non-white people, just as his two successors, George Bush and Bill Clinton, have. After the U.S. pulled out, the conference flopped. The United States is the driving force behind the "Genocide Conferences." The last three administrations of the United States, including the current one, have been involved in several ploys aimed at depopulating the non-white world.

Not only are surgical sterilization, sterilizing drugs, and abortions used to depopulate the non-white world, but according to an article published in Executive Intelligence Review, April 29, 1994, author, Anton Chaitkin, said the genocidal wars overseen by the U.N. International Monetary Fund (IMF) world regime are being used to collapse the economies of these countries. At the second "Genocide Conference" held in Mexico City (1984), an organization called the Club Of Life distributed, against the will of the United Nations, a document called "How to Stop World Depopulation by the Year 2000." The document read:

The world's population is being endangered by the politics of the world's leading financial institutions, which have virtually stopped technological development in its tracks. The cessation of technological progress inevitably brings with it the appearance of a population problem, but this is appearance only. The strongest case to expose this fact is the case of Africa... If anything, Africa has too little population to be able to sustain modern agriculture and industry...

In light of all the information presented here, the question must be raised, why is the European power structure so obsessed with world domination, and the destruction of non-European peoples? In The Journey of the Songhai People, the authors point out here, also, that Europeans, and their descendants, constitute only 20 percent of the world population. Furthermore, "Europeans and their migrant descendants have been involved directly in the slaughter of 95 million human beings out of a total of 125 million humans who have been killed. Europeans... have not only physically slaughtered 75 percent of the total slaughtered, but, in addition, have destroyed every other culture into which they have come into contact, and controlled."

There are several theories on which scholars are divided concerning why Europeans have caused so much death and destruction. One theory, suggested by Dr. Frances Cress Welsing, an accomplished African American Psychiatrist, and author of The Cress Theory of Color Confrontation, postulates that:

Skin pigmentation is normal for humans. The Europeans, upon coming into contact with pigmented peoples, recognized their own abnormality. They therefore projected their own feelings of inferiority onto the people they really regarded as superior. They reinforced their projection to the ultimate, by attempting to wipe out (murder) the object of their projection; of their own inferiority.

Other theories suggest that it is environmental or genetic factors, or the lack of evolutionary development of Europeans, that cause such aggressions. But whatever the reason, the non-white world has been under attack by Europeans for over 500 years.

Fortunately, the non-white world, or most of the world, disagreed with much of what Europeans had pushed for at the "Genocide Conference." What began as a campaign of sterilization, birth control, and other things that outlined the immorality and inhumanity of white supremacy, ended up as a plan to provide adequate information and health care to women. The final "plan of action" conceded that women would have the ultimate choice in matters that affect their personal/individual lives.

In short, women's issues were stressed instead of quotas and control. The final draft of the "Genocide Conference" was very different from the initial plan. But what we must understand, given brutal and inhumane European history, is that this plan of action is only on paper. Although the white supremacist power structure failed at the conference, that does not mean they have given up their fight for world domination and the continued annihilation of non-white peoples. Their numbers are dwindling, and "they runnin' scared!" But what we must do is continue to recognize their little genocidal games.
BRIDGING THE GAP

Jinida Ojiwawh
Back in the day when my mom was coming up, she said that when black folks traveled, it was important to know somebody in the area we were visiting, so that we would have somewhere to stay. Of course, the reason for this was that we were not allowed in hotels and rest stops.

It was always sort of taken for granted that when we traveled, relatives or friends of the family would, without reservation, open up their homes, offer a meal, and somehow make room for a stay overnight. To this day, my mother, and other relatives of her generation, practice this. Hotels are pretty much still out of the question when we travel.

With the growing sense of "me-ism," and the declining sense of extended family sweeping modern society, we as a people tend to forget such values. Not only are we staying in hotels more often when we travel, but we are also less apt to open our homes to distant relatives traveling.

Symbolically speaking, our homes and even our minds are more closed than ever to some quite distant relatives, who have waited centuries to travel across great distances to get here. I'm talking about our brothers and sisters from the great continent of Africa. Why is it more likely for a student from, say, Lithuania—traveling to the United States to study—to be welcomed in the home of a Lithuanian American family (or any white family, for that matter) than it is for a student from Nigeria or Kenya to be welcomed in the home of an African American family? Why is it that I am constantly hearing sentiments of discontent from Africans from the Continent, regarding the strained relationship between "us" and "them," and why, I challenge you, does not the African American student body at KSU in particular (though the problem exists at other campuses, I'm sure) put forth more noticeable efforts to correct this problem?

Fear, misconceptions, and miseducation have played a major role in the large gap that seems to exist between Africans here in America, and Africans from the Continent. On our part, it is fear of associating with a so-called "backward," "primitive," and "abjectly impoverished" people. I can't tell you how many times I've cringed at phrases like "They got cars in Africa!" or "I ain't no African!"

I should insert here that the reality is I've come across quite well-to-do Africans from the continent, whose family lines go back centuries in African royalty.

We all know how powerful media are in persuading the public to conform to certain beliefs. Ask any African American school child to tell you the first image that enters his/her mind upon hearing the word, "African." Ten times out of ten, that child is going to recall images seen on TV, or in magazines, such as starving Ethiopians, or primitive looking black people, swinging from trees with bones in their noses. Who would honestly want to be associated with that? In all fairness, one can somewhat understand our people's reluctance to claim any relation to such an embarrassing group. But that is still no excuse, and Africans in America are not the only ones affected by media images. Neither side is completely to blame; misconceptions and miseducation about one another runs rampant.

I was talking to a young student from Nigeria last year, and I asked him what kinds of images he saw of African Americans back home. I also asked him what kinds of ideas he had in his head about us before coming here. Not so much to my surprise, he said that on the rare occasion that Nigerian television featured any programming in which the majority of characters were African American, movies like Shaft were broadcast. Though the brother did tell me he saw Ricochet, a film starring Denzel Washington as a father, husband to a beautiful black woman, and a brave and brilliant police officer turned District Attorney, he said the only scene he remembered was when Washington was kidnapped, drugged, and forced to have sex with a white prostitute.

...Nor was I too surprised when he told me what kinds of conceptions he had about us. He listed several understandable images, considering the type of exposure he'd had to African Americans. One thing I remember being told of, which still strikes me, was his image of the African American male. Irresponsible fathers, disrespect towards black women, and gang activity were some of the images he said he was sure applied to brothers here, until, of course, he actually met some. Such misconceptions can be hurtful, regardless of which side they're attributed to, and regardless of whether they're negative or positive. Yes, positive misconceptions can be hurtful as well. I am living testimony to that.

At one time, I thought, too, that this young brother's description of African American males was right on time. Not being mature enough to realize that maybe I was making wrong decisions about the type of brothers I became involved with, I became fed up with the whole lot of them, and opted to expand my horizons...

"From now on, I'm only dating brothers from the Continent or the Caribbean; they know how to treat a woman!" was my naive proclamation. So I did... and I enjoyed those experiences. I became romantically involved with a very handsome, seemingly noble, and intelligent brother from Nigeria. I thought maybe one day we'd get married, and I could travel to the Great Continent to walk the soil of my ancestors. Well, we never got married, but we did have a baby together. To my surprise, he behaved in a manner that I would have associated with brothers here! I was ultimately crushed, because I never in a million years would have guessed, or even considered, that he would abandon his child. I had heard, and witnessed, that African men from the Continent held family in high esteem. A man's child is considered his wealth, I was sure. But my expectations of this man based on a preconceived notion was a rube wake up call for me; and so it should be for all of us. But through it all, at least my son will have the advantage that many of us may never claim: knowing exactly from where in Africa at least one side of his family comes.

The educational system in both lands has a lot of catching up to do as far as telling the truth about Africa and her people. I think I was in high school when it first dawned on me that Africa was not a country, but an entire continent! It wasn't until college that I learned about the great dynasties that existed centuries before the presence of a European (or even white Arab) on the entire continent. The same could probably be said about education (or the lack thereof) in many African countries, but I'd bet any amount of money that Africans from the continent could recite all the Great Lakes and state capitals in the U.S. better than one of us with the same or higher degree of education.

In any excuse, though, all of this is still no excuse for the gap that exists between Africans from the Continent and Africans in America. Speaking from my experiences on the Kent Campus alone, it seems that gap, though slowly closing, has been far too wide for far too long. I have to question why the organization which is supposed to serve students of African descent has not made much of an effort to reach students from the Continent. I know it takes both sides, but I think we should make the first move. After all, when a relative is visiting your home, they shouldn't have to ask for something to eat, you should offer.

There was at one time an African student organization, but it has long been dysfunctional for reasons upon which I shall not elaborate. Black United Students has an African Affairs post, which, if I recall the constitution correctly, was meant to serve the needs of students from Africa and the Caribbean. Even though that position was to be chaired by an African student, it still hasn't served its purpose, regardless of who chaired it. I would suggest, among other things, doing what I did during the short time that I held the position some years ago:

1) Contact the Office of International Student Affairs, and request a list of names and addresses of students from the Continent and the Caribbean, 2) include that list on the BUS mailing list, 3) send the same mailings you would send to the rest of the constituency to them, so that they are informed of all programs of interest to the black student population, and 4) sponsor special programs that would promote unity between us (for example, I once organized a special mass meeting to discuss the need for such a concept).

It's not as hard as it sounds. The time is long overdue to form alliances with people from whom, and to whom, a great deal can be given. Somewhere down the line, we may share the same blood line. Even if we don't, we should consider one another "close friends of the family," and, like the folks of our parents' generation did, let's open up our homes and our minds to our distant relatives, who have been traveling for so long, and for whom there may not be room at a local Howard Johnson's.
"[The African American] dilemma rests on the fact that America, which idealizes the rights of the individual above all else, is in reality, a nation dominated by the social power of in-groups, classes, and cliques—both ethnic and religious."

With this, in The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual, Harold Cruse illustrates a reality of American political power which parallels the dilemma of American identity—quite apropos for Kent State University, as the question of identity on this campus, also, is silently burning. It is burning under the concept of "diversity," it is burning under the campus campaign for "civil" discourse; and it is burning under the philosophy of integration.

While the question of identity has long underlined the question of race, Black Nationalists have been historically, and currently, associated with "hated," "violence," "complete separatism," and "reverse racism." These are misconceptions. In its ideal form, nationalism is not only positive, but more conducive to establishing a people's true identity than ideal integration, which serves rather to assimilate people into a single entity; one which in America, is European. In that the Pan-African Movement and the theoretical concept of "Afrocentricty" are both characteristic of nationalistic precepts, if diversity on more than a superficial level is to be found on this campus, it exists in our Department of Pan-African Studies. First, it is necessary to define what identity is, and why many conceptions of "diversity" and "equality" do not serve to accomplish cultural identity for people other than of European descent....

Identity is how one defines and perceives him/herself on a cultural, social, individual, and spiritual level. Identity of a group—ethnic or otherwise—is, then, how that group collectively defines and perceives itself on similar levels. Not unlike individual political power, personal identity does not exist, in any real sense, outside of one's relation to his/her group, class, ethnicity, and religion. America's failure to understand this is the conceptual foundation for what may be contended as its vacuum of cultural identity. The philosophical proposition of equality put forth by John Locke's Theory of Mental Substance and Knowledge is the basis for "equality" in American political philosophy. The idea that all knowledge is derived from sensory data, and that we are all born with "blank slates" has been continually used as justification for "equality" in this country. Upon serious consideration, though, both the theory and the subsequent practice are philosophically vulnerable. All people are not equal in capabilities, skills, talents, or even ways in which they learn. Furthermore, the alleged American ideal entails that "everyone is the same," "we are all born equal," and "everyone is free and entitled to inalienable rights," when, in fact, individual rights, privileges, and even safety are only even sometimes guaranteed depending upon the in-group to which one belongs. Nevertheless, this seems to be the backdrop of the "we're all the same" or "the only thing that matters is we're all human" undertakings of "equality," which, for the most part, translates into "we're all European, regardless of race and ethnicity."

The theory that equality is created by not making ethnic and cultural distinctions, but by viewing people as merely "human beings" is not only negative, but also philosophically vulnerable. The need to do away with cultural and ethnic distinctions gives voice to the negative stereotypes which are attached to those nationalities and traditions. The solution, then, is not in doing away with distinctions, but rather in questioning how a people's identity is defined—and the only people who can create this identity are those groups of people, themselves.

As long as someone continues to define another's identity, he/she undermines the very thing identity seeks to accomplish; so, too, when one wrestles with his/her own identity, one will be lost as long as he/she looks outside of him/herself. These same principles apply to the identity of groups, communities, and social organizations. This is the basic premise of Afrocentricity and the Pan-African Movement. African Americans are defining their own experience in America. Afrocentricity seeks to
people: When we (Europeans) came to this country, we did not ask to integrate into Native American culture; we exterminated over three million people to "build" this nation. It was (Euro-)American Nationalism, the belief in "The New World," which provided the justification for the annihilation of the native peoples of this country. Black Nationalism has never been about the business of converting Europeans to African ways—or decimating them.

In conclusion, the American philosophy of integration which seeks to assimilate people into a European identity is in itself a problem. People on this campus have described it as "diversity" and "multiculturalism," but in reality, it is nothing more than a hollow vacuum of identity for people of color. In Blue Winds Whistling, by Thomas Whitecloud (a Native American), he wrote, "Funny that my people should be ever falling behind. The more they try to imitate whites, the more tragic the result. Yet, they want us to be imitation white men, about all we imitate... are their vices." As Europeans, we need to accept the reality that European culture does not serve all people in this country... not even most of us.

establish cultural identity for African people in the United States, and abroad. Dr. Molefi Kete Asante, who is often credited for building the theoretical base of the concept of Afrocentricity, defines it as:

A frame of reference wherein phenomena are viewed from the perspective of the African person... It centers on placing people of African origin in control of their lives and attitudes about the world. This means that we examine every aspect of dislocation of African people; culture, economics, psychology, health and religion... As an intellectual theory, Afrocentricity is the study of ideas and events from the standpoint of Africans as the key players, rather than victims.

-from Asante's Afrocentricity

From an academic standpoint, the Pan-African Movement is an Afrocentric movement. In another book, Asante describes 'Pan-Africanism' as:

A cultural and political phenomenon which regards Africa, Africans, and African descendants abroad, as a unit. It seeks to regenerate and unify Africa, and promote a feeling of 'oneness' among the people of the African world.

-from Asante's The Afrocentric Idea

Both of these principles are founded in nationalism. Black Nationalists believe only black people can liberate themselves, while being sensitive to the world. Nationalism suggests the establishment of a nation, spiritually and economically. In a practical sense, nationalists want their own land and control over their own economic and political systems. Intellectually and spiritually, Black Nationalists want to define their own identity, and interpret their own history.

Consequently, Black Nationalism is not a recent occurrence in American history. In Black Awakening in Capitalist America, Robert Allen writes, "A glance at history suggests that it would be more correct to say nationalism, and overt separatism, are everpresent undercurrents in the collective black psyche, which constantly interact with the assimilation tendency, and, in times of crisis, rise to the surface and become major themes." The American vacuum of identity; the constant pressure for "minority" groups to assimilate into European culture, is producing a constant crisis in this country. Until Black Nationalism is allowed within the current social structure, there will always be a conflict between European and Black Nationalists.

In a real sense, many Black Nationalists want a nation within a nation, which has been a source of great agitation for American identity, because it is a rejection of European culture. Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism leave Europeans with the reality that there is a large number of people who do not wish to be assimilated culturally or nationally. African Americans have begun to reclaim their African heritage in name, dress, and in consciousness. As a European, I believe this to be one of the most positive intellectual, spiritual, and cultural movements I have encountered. Yet, because the focus of Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism is fundamentally internal, and not directly focused on external issues such as diversity and race relations, the majority of Europeans reject Black Nationalism as "reverse racism." There is no question that all forms of Black Nationalism are a rejection of European culture in some degree. American identity is tied to American culture, American success, and American philosophy, which are all European. The true conflict is that it seems that this rejection of European culture translates into a loss of Europeans' identity...

In Where Do We Go From Here, Dr. Martin Luther King wrote, "To act is to be committed, and to be committed is to be in danger. In this case, the danger, in the minds of most white Americans, is the loss of their identity. The danger for whites in America still seems to be the loss of identity, the inability to accept the reality that white people are not inherently better than other people. The reality is that Europeans in this culture hold positions of superiority because of the in-group they belong to, and because, then, they were not born equal in this society. When we (Europeans) expect that people be assimilated or integrated into our culture, we are essentially contending that their culture, their history, their identity, has no place in America. Real diversity is the willingness to respect a people's need to define themselves. The concept of integration must radically change to mean the ability to co-exist, work, and accomplish with one another peacefully, and truly equally; and for that equality to happen, the establishment of political power within any community has its roots in nationalism.

Now, there is little doubt that nationalism is destructive when imposed upon other people: When we (Europeans) came to this country, we did not ask to integrate into Native American culture; we exterminated over three million people to "build" this
POINTS OF SELF DETERMINATION:

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!

Professor Muhammad Ahmad
Many African Americans became comfortable, and thought the struggle for human rights was over in the 1970s and early eighties. Well, the real fight has just begun. Racist attacks around the country show us that racism is increasing, rather than going away.

The practice of racism must be made a felony, and racist groups must be outlawed. What must African Americans do to stop racism? African Americans must begin, again, to take to the streets, and engage in mass civil disobedience. African Americans must demand that America's politicians act on racism, and that the business community put pressure on racist institutions to stop their practices, or African Americans will begin to engage in mass revolutionary action as an alternative... to finally stop this nonsense.

African Americans have power; we have voting power, we have labor power, we have consumer power... and we have disruptive power!

VOTING POWER

The struggle for self determination is a political struggle for power—the people's power. In locales where African Americans are in the majority, we can and must control the politicians who are elected to represent our communities. African Americans must unite with other progressive forces, and form coalitions to elect candidates from our neighborhoods and cities. While we must build our own strong organizations, these bodies need to develop alliances with Hispanics, Asians, and non-racist Anglo Americans (whites) to promote independent candidates, who will run on platforms representing a People's Party, one which will fight for gains or reforms, while at the same time, educating the masses about the need for a better system.

Politically, self determination entails both utilizing the political system to run our own federal candidates, and, simultaneously, organizing People's Congresses, which would administer/govern the daily lives of the people on a neighborhood basis; in actuality, instituting what is called "dual power."

We will not, however, achieve national liberation under the current, capitalist system. The struggle for power includes taking over our individual cities legally, and governing them, ourselves...

El Haji Malik El Shabazz (Malcolm X) told me in 1963, that while at the March on Washington, the FBI came and picked him up. They asked Malcolm to name his price, and in no uncertain terms made it clear that they would readily offer him no less than $1 million to "sell out." Malcolm would reply only, "I want New York City," at which point they submitted, of course, "We can't talk to you, 'Mr. X.'"

Let's take New York City legally— black, brown, red, white, and yellow!

SELF DETERMINATION BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

This means being flexible, and using all means possible to achieve our objective.

LABOR POWER

There are millions of African Americans working, so we must educate ourselves on the importance of a political general strike. We must be introduced to the importance of race, class, and mass! We cannot, however, become political until we learn what people's politics are all about. Once African Americans become politically re-educated, then we can engage in "new" kinds of action. A mass political strike must be organized through black caucuses, in unions, on the job, through the churches, and via our community networks. A mass general strike requires that we sacrifice for the struggle! It requires that we do not go to work for a period of time... for the cause!

It requires that we fight against sellout union bosses, who don't want their unions to be political! It requires that we, as black workers, choose sides against the enemy, racist, capitalist politicians, sellout artists, and the capitalist system as a whole! It requires that we align ourselves with our freedom fighters (the Black Liberation Movement), and that we stop being passive observers, watching over the TV! It means, essentially, that we stop the system, by bringing it to a grinding halt... until our demands are met! When we do this, we will begin to have bargaining power with the system. Let's use our power, and it will be surprising how we can accomplish what we will. All we need is our will to do it!

My brothers and sisters, you have more power than you realize. African Americans have been on the bottom for so long and told that we were nothing, that we came to believe it. We harm ourselves, fight ourselves, but do not fight our enemy!

Brothers and sisters, if you will, you have the power to awaken the sleeping giant in this country. Who is this sleeping giant? Is it you, or I? No. The sleeping giant is the confused, miseducated, and demounded Anglo American worker. The white worker, too, is blinded by racism, which allows him to be fed anywhere by the capitalist ruling class. All that must be said is, "communism," or "niggers," and the Anglo-American will growl like a rabid pit bull. The white worker must awaken, and find that he, too, is being duped by his class enemy.

CONSUMER POWER

African Americans are among the most voracious consumers in the world. We consume some $400 billion worth of commodities, and about $1 billion worth of drugs every year! Consumer power makes up two thirds of the revenue of the U.S. capitalist system, yearly. Consumer power supports the system. Stop going into debt... it only ties you more to the system! You can't do anything when you are up to your neck in debt! You will have gone from sharecropping to "commodity cropping." You will have regressed from sitting in the back seat, to having credit chains around your feet; and when recession or depression comes, and you can't pay the interest on bills, they will come and take it away, anyway! Learn to use money wisely.

A word to the wise: Stop going into debt, so you can break the chains around your neck! Only buy what you need, and by all means... learn to READ!

Use the economic boycott, and learn to do with as little as possible. Teach and discipline the youth to sacrifice for the struggle. Let's move from accommodation to resistance. Stop merely existing, and learn to RESIST!

DISRUPTIVE POWER

We must combine the philosophies of brothers Malcolm and Martin in our struggle. Martin explained that we are just
as evil as an evil system, if we do nothing to change it. He said we must be committed to civil disobedience to disrupt, block, or stop the system at every case of injustice—and injustice is occurring against our people every second of every minute in America! In the sixties, there was a debate regarding the use of non-violence or violence. While Martin advocated a non-violent strategy, Malcolm complimented Martin by maintaining that we must use intelligence in adapting to situations. It is intelligent, if someone is non-violent with you, to be non-violent with them; but when someone is violent with you, then do that which is intelligent to defend yourself... SELF DETERMINATION BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY! We must be flexible in our tactics, combining more revolutionary tactics with mass civil disobedience. We must move the masses back into the streets. We must move from “We Shall Overcome” to “We Shall Overthrow” We must peacefully disrupt the system, overturn the system, and begin to move to mass revolutionary actions, ramming the system until it comes tumbling down.

MESSAGE TO THE ANGLO AMERICAN WORKER.

The Anglo American capitalist class is using racism to divide white workers from workers of color in America. Racism weakens the working class as a whole, lowers wages, fosters unemployment, causes concessions, and limits benefits. The KKK and the ultra-right is fostering a race war, of sorts, in order to justify a resurgence of fascism in America. First, we say to white workers, don’t be duped by the fascist slogans of “white power,” and “white supremacy.” We, African Americans, and workers of color, are your class brothers and sisters; we are white workers, too, but if you insist on being racist, and continue to attack us, we must defend ourselves. No one will benefit from a race war in America. The only way to keep America from being destroyed is for the entire U.S. multinational working class to unite, and fight for its common interests. We ask white workers to be intelligent enough to turn the ultra-right’s race war into a class war, against the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

TRAITORS TO THE CAUSE:

The enemy will always send spies and traitors into our ranks. Don’t be surprised; this is how we know we’re doing something right! But don’t let the enemy get the upper hand. Stop reacting, and act—this is what revolutionary action means! Additionally, know when to move, and when not to. The Anglo American capitalist class is a master of trickery. They know how to divide and rule.

Everything is built on practice, and scientific practice/struggle will separate the wheat from the chaff. The enemy would never tell you who the real Judases are, because they will use them until the very end.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES:

One very real struggle is against one of the capitalist class’ secret allies that we see everyday. These enemies, who are in our communities, are only committed to themselves, and not to the cause of the advancement of our people. This enemy is the invention and the secret weapon of the police force, the FBI, and the CIA—this enemy is your local drug pusher.

Some time ago, under the leadership of J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI decided to use drug trafficking for counter-intelligence purposes. One cannot destroy an enemy if they have no information regarding them. The FBI sees the black community, and black revolutionaries in particular, as its enemy. This has been proven by history. The government is using drug trafficking and drug pushers to seek information on, and destroy, its enemy! This is one primary way U.S. imperialism continues to control the black community.

Brothers and sisters, stop using crack, cocaine, marijuana, heroin, and other drugs! Let’s unite to re-educate our misguided brothers and sisters who push the government’s drugs to stop selling them... and if they don’t cease after being warned, we have no other alternative, but to use any MEANS NECESSARY to purge our community of these counter-revolutionaries!

AMERICA: THE BLACK NATION’S BATTLEGROUND:

Plainly, the U.S. government is the enemy of African Americans. One patriotic Ollie North, Ronald Reagan’s friend, indeed, was planning to put African Americans in concentration camps upon any significant uprise. We stand for self-determination of all nations, but as long as racism and class exploitation exist in America, African Americans have no business supporting her racist, capitalist, and imperialist wars. The Black Liberation Movement calls on all black soldiers in the racist armed forces to turn their guns on their real enemy if they are called to crush a people’s movement here, or anywhere in the world—like black and progressive soldiers did in Vietnam! The Black Liberation Movement calls upon all soldiers in the racist armed forces to turn U.S. imperialist wars into a civil war... because America is the Black Nation’s battleground!
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