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HARAMBEE .15

Volume 1 "Published by the K.U. Black Student Union" No. 1

THIS HANGS OVER EVERY BLACKMANS OR NEGROES HEAD

B.S.U. MEETS
EVERY WED. 7:30
WESLEY FOUN.

"BLACK"

I am a Negro --- and I am ashamed. Chemicals in my hair to make it other than what it is, bleaches on my skin to make it more --- non-black. Cosmetics on my face to be like the "other". Why must I try to be other than what I am?

The French say they are French, from France. The Irish say they are Irish from Ireland. The Italians say they are Italians, from Italy. And I say I am Negro --- from where!!!!!!

Is there a Negro land? The French, Irish, Italians all have a culture and heritage. What is my land? Where are my people? My culture? My heritage?

I am a Negro --- and -I am ashamed. Who gave me this name? "Slaves and dogs are named by their masters ---- Free men name themselves". Must I be other than what I am?

I am Black. This is a source of pride. My hair is short and finaly curled. My skin is deep-hued from brown to black. My eyes are large, open to the world, my lips are thick, giving resonance to my words. My nose is broad to breath freely the air. My heritage is my experience in America. Although not of it.

Free from pretense; open to truth. Seeking freedom that all life may be free. I am Black, America has cause to be proud.

*KING ALFRED**

In the event of widespread and continuing and coordinated racial disturbances in the United States, KING ALFRED, at the discretion of the President, is to be put into action immediately.

PARTICIPATING FEDERAL AGENCIES

National Security Council — Department of Justice

*849-899 (?) King of England; directed translation from the Latin of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

Central Intelligence Agency — Department of Defense
Federal Bureau of Investigation — Department of Interior

PARTICIPATING STATE AGENCIES
(Under Federal Jurisdiction)

National Guard Units — State Police

PARTICIPATING LOCAL AGENCIES
(Under Federal Jurisdiction)

City Police — County Police

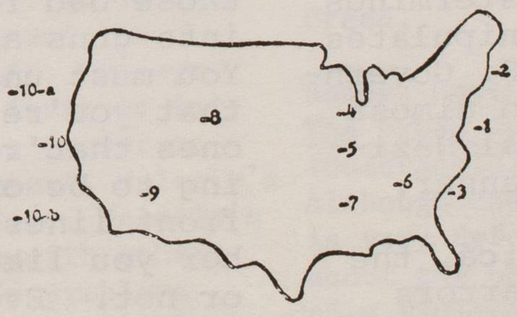
Even before 1954, when the Supreme Court of the United States of America declared unconstitutional separate educational and recreational facilities, racial unrest and discord had become very nearly a part of the American way of life. But that way of life was repugnant to most Americans. Since 1954, however, that unrest and discord have broken out into widespread violence which increasingly have placed the peace and stability of the nation in dire jeopardy. This violence has resulted in loss of life, limb and property, and has cost the taxpayers of this nation billions of dollars. And the end is not yet in sight. This same violence has raised the tremendously grave question as to whether the races can ever live in peace with each other. Each passing month has brought new intelligence that, despite new laws passed to alleviate the condition of the Minority, the Minority still is not satisfied. Demonstrations and rioting have become a part of the familiar scene. Troops have been called out in city after city across the land, and our image as a world leader severely damaged. Our enemies press closer, seeking the advantage, possibly at a time during one of these outbreaks of violence. The Minority has adopted an almost military posture to gain its objectives, which are not clear to most Americans. It is expected, therefore, that, when those objectives are denied the Minority, racial war must be considered inevitable. When that Emergency comes, we must expect the total involvement of all 22 million members of the Minority, men, women and children, for once this project is launched, its goal is to terminate, once and for all, the Minority threat to the whole of the American society, and, indeed, the Free World.

Chairman, National Security Council

Preliminary Memo: Department of Interior

UNDER KING ALFRED, the nation has been divided into 10 Regions (See accompanying map).

In case of Emergency, Minority members will be evacuated from the cities by federalized national guard units, local and state police and, if necessary, by units of the Regular Armed Forces, using public and military transportation, and detained in nearby military installations until a further course of action has been decided.



1—Capital region
2—Northeast region
3—Southeast region
4—Great Lakes region
5—South Central region
6—Deep South region
7—Deep South region II
8—Great Plains, Rocky Mountain region
9—Southwest region
10—a, b—West Coast region

No attempt will be made to seal off the Canadian and Mexican borders.

Secretary, Department of Interior

Combined Memo: Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Central Intelligence Agency

There are 12 major Minority organizations and all are familiar to the 22 million. Dossiers have been compiled on the leaders of the organizations, and can be studied in Washington. The material contained in many of the dossiers, and our threat to reveal that material, has considerably held in check the activities of some of their leaders. Leaders who do not have such usable material in their dossiers have been approached to take Government posts, mostly as ambassadors and primarily in African countries. The promise of those positions also has materially contributed to a temporary slowdown of Minority activities. However, we do not expect these slow-downs to be of long duration, because there are always new and dissident elements joining these organizations, with the potential power to replace the old leaders. All organizations and their leaders are under constant, 24-hour surveillance. The organizations are:

1—The Black Muslims
2—Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
3—Congress of Racial Equality
4—Uhuru Movement
5—Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL)
6—Freedom Now Party (FNP)
7—United Black Nationalists of America (UBNA)
8—The New Pan-African Movement (TNPAM)
9—Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
10—The National Urban League (NUL)
11—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
12—Committee on Racial and Religious Progress (CORARP)
13. Black Panther Party

NOTE: At the appropriate time, to be designated by the President, the leaders of some of these organizations are to be detained ONLY WHEN IT IS CLEAR THAT THEY CANNOT PREVENT THE EMERGENCY, working with local public officials during the first critical hours. All other leaders are to be detained at once. Compiled lists of Minority leaders have been readied at the National Data Computer Center. It is necessary to use the Minority leaders designated by the President in much the same manner in which we use Minority members who are agents with CENTRAL and FEDERAL, and we cannot, until there is no alternative, reveal KING ALFRED in all its aspects. Minority members of Congress will be unseated at once. This move is not without precedent in American history.

Attorney General

Remember Brother Malcolm

born May 19, 1925 - Assassinated Feb. 21, 1965

Managering Editor "FATS"
Writers: Underground
or
Under the Jail

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY******

Many people are wondering what will be the direction in which the Black students will go this year. Last year blacks students had a great deal to do with the turmonl on the campuses. The Press portrayed them as violent, mean, wooly headed beasts, that were always demanding--never asking. In most cases, the people, the people of our community fell prey that what the mass media had to say, and along with the rest of the nation, were quite negative in their trhoughts of Black students.

In the past, the--- black college student are respected and revered in his community. The -- people thought highly of him because through his hard work he attended a college or University. However, the student looked upon the community as a place "he'd been and never wanted to return." In fact, this theory was carried out in practice, as parents of students found that their students ideals and way of expressing their objectives changed parent/student communication was almost impossible.

In all, the attitude of the Black student was one of being a snob. This was due to all of this praise we recieved from our community, this "went to his head", and gave him the idea that he was different or even better than the very people that we have come from.

Black student's have begun to really analize this society, and in doing so, we have also looked at ourselves. What we came up with, in the realization that our committments were wrong. What we were doing was worying about changing ourselves in order to fit in this society while trying to eliminate our past and all that was associated with it. We came to understand that our goal at these big col colleges and universities wasn't to get our education and then enter the competition of the business world, but to bring our knowledge back to our own communities, and use it to better ourselves. This means anything f from teaching in the Black community, to using your skills.

Perhaps the leap was too much and too fast. Maybe as students, we were trying too hard. The press didn't tell this, most of the demands that Blacks presented to their administrations last year, in some way related to the Black community.

Since the realization has been made, that as black students our committment, alligence and basic interests are focused on the black community, our efforts to involve our communities will be intensified. One thing that the campus administrators, mayors, and governor realize is that unless the community supports the Black students, then the black students, then the black students can be considered just out there disrupting campuses/ Campus disruption comes when the students try to implement new programs that will effect and better the black community. Examples of these are Black Studies programs and increased minority enrollment. The community must realize that what the students are fighting for is the fulfilling of the needs of the cummunity, and also feel that they have a stake in the continued disruption until the conditions betters. The people must know that for every class room closed down, it could mean the admittance of one more Black c child that might not have had the opportunity to further his education.

This year beware of what is really happening on the school campuses. Read and watch T.V., but don't just depend on the mass media for your sources of information-actually get our and talk to some students. Give us a chance to tell why we do some of the things that George Putnam terms "flagrant disregard for law and order", don't just accept his analysis of the situation, search out and find your own. Members of the Black Student Union are always ready to serve the people and talk with them. There are many things to be done to change this present society, and only when all people are engaged in-students, workers, rich and poor alike, will those changes come about.

STATEMENT OF INTENT

Black power to Black people, Harembee (meaning "lets pull together") is an organ to express the views of the Black Community. Anyone wishing to have articles published can submitt them to the Black Student Union Office Room 113, Union Bldg., articles from jr. high and high schools are especially welcomed.

We understand quite clearly that the methods used by the fascist U.S. Government are essentially the same as those used by Hitler.

In Germany, Hitler assigned a man named Goebbles to be in charge of propaganda. Geobbles was an expert in tricknology. His propaganda was such that he wouldn't allow any joyful songs to be played over the radios, so that the people would constantly be in a state of mind that was monotonous and supportive of the Hitler Regime. Here in the U.S. we can equate - Goeggles to Vice-president Agnew, who has strict control of the major American news media; and, Hitler to Nixon, who masterminds and manipulates the U.S. Government in almost idential Nazi-like manner.

In Africa, the Zulu warrors each upon reaching manhood would go out into the jungle to kill a lion. He then would take the lion's mane and wear it as a head piece, to exemplify him manhood. In any part of the country, they would go, they would wear this headpiece to show that they were brave and courageous warriors, and they wern't to be f--ed with. This form of propaganda was valid' and authentic. One the contrary, during time of the Roman Empire the Romans would pay men to go into all parts of the continent to lie about the powerfulness of the Roman Empire, about how they had conquered this country or that country, and how beautifully the people lived.

Before long they set an image that was omnipotent, and when countries heard of Romans coming, they were frightened just from the thought of such an army that they would surrender before the battle started. This from of propaganda was deceiving, untrue and invalid. Such is the propaganda of the U.S., and just as the Roman Empire fell, the U.S. Empire will fall-at the hands of the people.

The brothers and sisters in the many communities across the country must stop jiving and start looking into things instead of talking them at face value. All the nickle and dime games that you play on other oppressed people must stop. All the red devils, trues, and drugs must stop. All those El Dorados will have to turn into tanks, and those bad rigs, into guns and ammo. You must understand that you're the ones that're going to be on the front lines, whether you like it or not. Every Black man is a dangerous suspect in the eyesight of the oppressor. You know that as well as I. So right on, BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

NEW CLASS AT K.U.

Political Science 164, taught by Brother Leonard Harrison is the most "dynamite" course offered at this "citadel of racism" this semester. Brother Leonard "Shubydo" really comes from a Black perspective 100% and Black Revolutionary Thought is expounded upon in a very articulant manner. The Bibliography for the courses is one of the finest listings of Black Revolutionary literature available. "Shubydo" being a veteran of the Black liberation struggle can expound upon Professor Cleaver, Professor Carmichael, cultural nationalism, revolutionary nationalism, etc. It was a vigorous screening process the Brother went through to teach at this citadel of racism. Which was very similar to the ordeal Eldridge Cleaver went through at Berkely. Lawrence, Kansas being the pseudo home of John Brown probably had some bearing on the decision. In so much as the spirit of John Brown prevailed over the R.R. (Racist Regents) on this particular issue.

So Right On Shubydo, continue to expound upon Black revolutionary thought in a manner that only you can deal with!

"negro"is a dirty dirty, word. THINK "BLACK"

INDICES	THE NEGRO COLLEGE	THE BLACK UNIVERSITY
Historically	unchained slaves house niggers became Tom's to survive appealed to white conscience substitued oppressor's values for own viewed Lincoln as savior	chained slaves field niggers "played" Tom's to survive appealed to Black consciousness rejected oppressor's oppression viewed Lincoln as honky
INDICES TARGET POPULATION GOALS	THE NEGRO COLLEGE BLACK BOURGEOISIE integration intra-nationalism one world	THE BLACK UNIVERSITY BLACK MASSES Black control Black nationalism Third World
SELF-CONCEPT CONCEPT OF POWER	effective U.S. minority bestowed freedom white-bestowed superior to Blacks: inferior to whites "whites on the mind"	effective world majority self-earned liberation Black-achieved equal to occasion "Blacks on the mind"
CONCEPT OF EDUCATION	Compete with whites inter-disciplinary tool to "make it" use to manipulate others	Cooperate with Blacks intra-disciplinary tool to liberate and survive use to liberate others
SETTING FORM	college campus bureaucratic and formal college degree	Black community natural and informal undying love of Black people
REWARDS	rationalizing white oppression	alleviating the Black condition

READINGS IN BLACK

H. Rap Brown, Die Nigger Die, (Dial) $3.95
This is a political autobiography of Rap Brown, chronicling his experiences in the movement and his growth into a full-time revolutionary. The book is written with the style and tone that gave Rap his nickname and therefore may be offensive to some people. Don't be misled by white reviewers and bourgie (boozie) Negro reviewers who really ripped the book apart. It's available at Oread Bookstore and the Hub in Kansas City.

Julius Lester, Look Out Whitey: Black Power's Gon' Get Your Mama, (Grove) $.95 or (Dial) $3.95
Brother Lester describes the development of Black Power from the perspective of a SNCC organizer. He also chronicles the historical conflict between white liberals and independent Black men. This book is very pleasurable reading; Lester is one of the only Black writers who can put soul into his writings. Available at almost any bookstore.

Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual, (Apollo) $3.50
Brother Cruse has written one of the most important books ever published for Black people. It is the first complete analysis of the Black Struggle from Booker T. Washington to Black Power. Cruse, formerly a member of the CPUSA, has some very important things to say about Marxism. The Black Panthers might learn from Cruse's analysis.

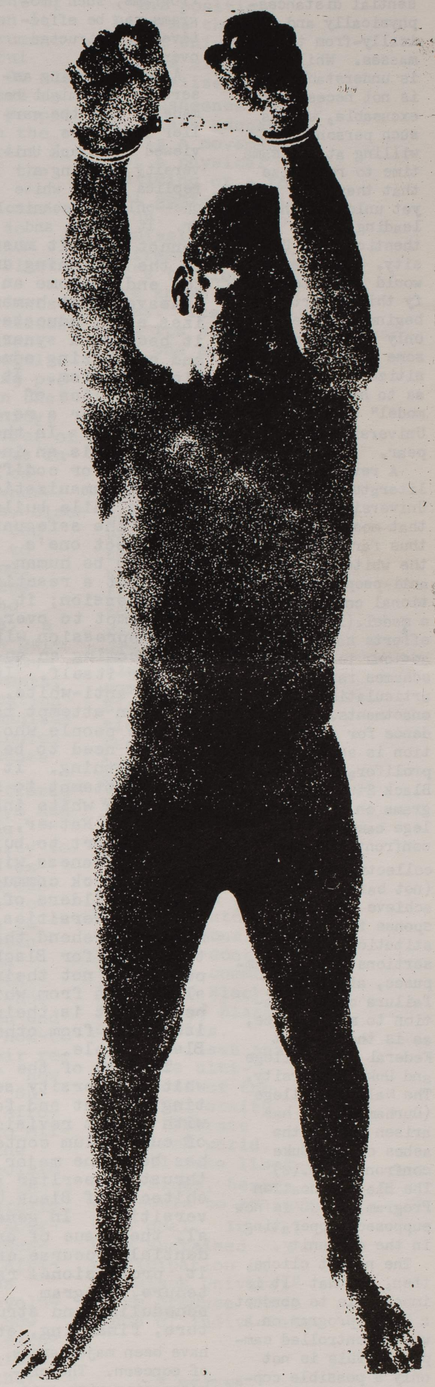
John Henrik Clarke, ed., Malcolm X: the Man and his Times, (Collier) $1.95
The Brothers have at last awakened and begun to recreate the lives of their own heroes. The legend of Malcolm X has been snatched from George Breitman and the white left. Essays contain insights into Malcolm's impact on the movement, Malcolm's personality, Malcolm's dialogue with others, Malcolm's problems with the establishment and its Negro lackeys, and Malcolm's own speeches. Available in almost any bookstore in town.

LeRoi Jones and Larry Neal, ed., Black Fire, (Apollo) $3.50
This book is the most important book ever published in Black Literature. It contains essays, poems, short stories, and plays from some of the baddest muthafuckas on the scene. This is the first comprehensive development of the Black aesthetic. Available in Oread.

Masotti and Corsi, Shoot Out in Cleveland (Bantam) $.95
Brother Ahmed Evans masterminded one of the first nationally publicized departures from self-destructive uncoordinated urban rebellions. This book throws some doubts on the official (pig) view of what took place. Available in Oread.

Robert Oppenheimer, The Urban Guerilla, (Ouadrangle) $5.50
Although the writer is very defeatist about the prospects of a violent revolution in ameriKKKa, this book is good for getting some kind of grounding in revolutionary thought. Available in Oread Bookstore.

"An unarmed people are slaves, or subjected to slavery at any given time."



QUOTATION:
HUEY P. NEWTON

ON THE BLACK

UNIVERSITY

I. Earlier Attempts

Discussions and writings on the Black University reflect the difficulty which Black theorists face in overcoming the impact of Western thought and their essential distances-physically and dynamically-from the Black masses. While this is understandable, it is not necessarily excusable, unless such persons are willing at the same time to recognize that they have not yet unlocked the door leading to the authentic Black University. This reporter would like to qualify this effort at the beginning. He can only hope to offer some clues, some sensitizers, if you will, as to how an "ideal model" of a Black University might appear.

A review of the literature on Black Universities suggest that most proposals thus far, have used the white-controlled anti-people educational construct as a model.(1) Such efforts have been reactions to white schemes rather than articulation of Black enactments. The evidence for this assertion is seen in the proliferation of Black Studies Programs on white college campuses; the confrontation and collective begging (not bargaining) to achieve a genuine response from such institutions; and desertions of such campuses, after the failure of negotiation to materialize, as is the case at Federal City College and Duke University. The Malcolm College (Durham, N.C.) has arisen out of the ashes of the Duke confrontation.(2) The Black Education Program at FCC is now supposedly operating in the community.

The newest cliche, then, is that "It is impossible to conduct a Black program on a white-controlled campus." This is not only a possible copout but essentially an appeal to the white conscience for legitimitation of the Black conscious.

Such a position assumes that the majority of Black students have engaged in their own prior self-liberation before the confrontation. It also is based on the assumption that, if white institutions approve the establishment of autonomous Black Studies Programs, such programs can be effectively constructed overnight.

A second waning assertion that might be made is that the earlier innovators viewed the Black University as being a replica of the white one--only in technicolor. It is not, and cannot be. It must, in the beginning and the end, become an endeavor that humanizes as it educates; it becomes a synergic and hujanizing educational system. It is not a replica of whiteness or a reaction to it. In the least, it is an instrument for codifying the humanization process while building in the safeguards to protect one's right to be human. It is not a reaction to oppression; it is an attempt to overcome oppression without becoming an oppressor itself. It is not anti-white. It is an attempt to produce people who have no need to be anti-anything. It is not an attempt to compete with white institutions. Rather, it is an effort to build cooperativeness within the Black community. Builders of Black Universities must comprehend that the issue for Black people is not their alienation from white people; it is their isolation from other Black people.

The use of the white university setting, format and form with slight revisions of curriculum content has been the major thrust of earlier architects of Black Universities. In general, the issue of credentials, course credit, professional rank, tenure, program scheduling and structure, financing, ets. have been major areas of concern. The preoccupation with gatekeeping rather than with removing the gates altogether reveals a heavy Western influence.

Another point that might be made is that W. E. B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington are viewed as being the essential prototypes to follow. Either one chooses to de-racize and decolonize white sources (Du Bois) or else one agrees to master them in order to later subvert them (Washington). This observer would submit that few of the legitimate architects of the Black University were fully educated within white institutions. They were educated at Selma, in Birmingham, in Watts, in Harlem, in Newark and in Detroit-during the rebellions. Few of them ever sought white-bestowed freedom. Rather, they liberated themselves-even as they were locked behind bars.(3) Few were willing to negotiate their own liberation with whites or even believed that formal education alone was the gateway to freedom.

This statement may be read by some to suggest that this observer is against formal education; That is a damned lie! This statement is not about formal education; it is about how-to-learn to create a Black University.

II. A Beginning Definition.

The Black University already exists; it awaits expansion, deepening and codification. It exists on street corners, in narcotic and alcoholic self-treatment groups, within liberation schools, with Black theater and political action groups-and within the minds of all Black people. It is the underlying revolutionary zeal embedded deep within every Black man. As Malcolm X puts it:

> You show me a Black man who isn't an extremist and I'll show you one who needs psychiatric attention.(4)

The Black University is distinct from the white university; is distinct from the Negro college. It is a reaction to neither; a replica of neither. It is a synergic and natural social institution that arises out of the bowels of the Black experience. Its most cherished reward: the undying love of Black people. Its ultimate goal: the liberation and meaningful and collective survival of Black people. The ultimate test of validity: its impact on the lives of the Black masses.

In an earlier statement, this observer made a distinction between Negro and Black history. He wrote:

> 'Black history, as I see it, takes a look at the revolutionaries, those who rejected with their bodies and their minds white oppression. And Negro history is about those who tried to accommodate themselves to it.(5)'

The relevance of this distinction is that it forces one to look at the targets of such an endeavor and its multi-dimensional and historical aspects.

James Boggs has developed a useful formulation for comparing Black and white educational programs. (6) Sidney Walton, Jr. has recorded in a challenging document (The Black Curriculum) what Black people must begin to learn how to perform, think and feel in order to achieve the desired goals. (7) Stokely Carmichael Black Power Thesis is worthy of serious study and investigation. (8)

James Forman's "Black Manifesto" articulates a new socio-economic contract between Black recipients and white donors. (9) And already, in several places, efforts have begun to create embryo Black universities. (10) The diagrammed table attempts to put all of these ideas together as a means to pose some questions-and to suggest some guidelines for defining the ultimately desired product.

One of the most interesting formulations was developed under the leadership pf M. Lee Montgomery, Dean of the Black University convened in Atlanta, Ga. by the National Association for African American Education between August 20 and August 24, 1969. Montgomery sought to fedefine the concept of Black education from the traditional age-levels guides: from pre-school, elementary, and secondary and college to childhood, youth, young adult and adult. His position was that Blacks must be educated for life, not just school attendance and jobs. He believed that Black spiritually was an all-encompassing concept. It embodied science, reason, culture, politics, economics, physical and social issues, and the like. It could not be submitted to analysis by westernized tools. The critiss of the "cultural revolution," then, not only were applying a westernized analysis to an Africanized model; they also revealed their inability to understand it. To understand the Montgomery paradigm was to be Black.

The paradigm was completed by connecting the age-levelsguides, listed above, to the family, the neighborhood and municipality-and to the Black nation. It included everything since the Black nation exists only as a part of the Third World. (11)

III. Learning-How To-Do-It.

It would be less than anguine to suggest that the above statement is completely intelligible to all who read this. Neither would it be fair to suggest that, even if understood, the beginning concept lends itself to easy accommodation or attainment. It will largely be misunderstood because it destroys the concept of rewards as understood by whites. Also, it asks Blacks to do what whites have planned not to do: to view the Black masses as being educable, human and worthy of superior effort and attention. Importantly, it asks Blacks to utilize themselves in helping the Black masses to achieve their own goals. The usual pattern has been for Black educators to achieve their own goals at the expense of the Black masses.

The challenge within this statement rests on one's willingness to surrender his own goals of Western vintage. The challenge offered is to urge Blacks to link their destinies to those of the Black masses. This point is made with the full understanding that most of my readers are following the guides listed in the "Negro College" column in the diagram. It further recognizes that Vincebt Harding's now famous letter to Black college students will go largely unheeded. (12)

The hope, here, however, is that some suggestions can be made that will initiate a learning-how-to-create-and-participate-in-a-Black University process. In the last analysis too few of us know what it is to behave, feel and think authentically Black so that a willingness and investment in how-to-do-so can lead to revolutionary consequences.

The following suggestions are being made with the recognition that most Black students will have to undergo a de-westernization, de-niggerfication, de-colonization, re-humanization process as they seek self-liberation.(13)

These then, are beginning suggestions:

A. Independent Black Study Project

Every Black student should involve himself in a self-directed, non-accredited independent study effort of an issue of importance to Blacks. It should be of an historical, scientific, political or cultural nature but it should be engaged in as a means to having one's mind for use on Black issues. No such intelectual tradition exists in this country.

B. Service to the Black Community

Every Black student should be involved as a member(consultant, researcher, etc) with an indigenously-based Black organization throughout his college career. Black students do not have to leave the Black community to achieve in the white world. If they do, they will only have to learn how to come "back home."

C. Writing Papers on the Black Condition

Black students should find themselves writing papers on Black-oriented issues no matter what courses they are taking. Lists of prospective assignments should be developed for circulation to Black students. There is no course which cannot be made relevant to the Black condition.

Scientific colonization can be replaced by scientific humanism, i.e., science can be applied to humanizing the Black condition. One could assert that the Blackness of Charles Drew and George Washington Carver were important determinants in their choices of scientific preoccupations. A white doctor has no need for blood plasma; A Black doctor concerned about his Black brethren would have such an interest. Nutritional uses for peanuts, other than economic profit, would be a natural concern for a Black scientist whose people were starving. (Carver probably refused great economic rewards for his discoveries because he probably understood the westernized interpretations of such behavior: money is much more an instrument of control than it is an instrument of meaningful survival. Or else why are there so many Black people starving in the richest nation on the face of the earth?)

D. Use of Student Funds to Purchase Land Within the Black Community

Black students should be residing in, paying rent in, or collectively purchasing property within the Black community.

As the number of Black students increases and cooperative ownership expands, Black communities can move closer to total control. Black athletes should demand "reparations," a share of the gate for Black Communal developments.

E. Codification of Black Humanization Technologies

Black students should be engaged in efforts to codify ways and means for the Black community to humanize its existence. How can Blacks learn-how-to engage in cooperative socio-economic relationships with each other? How can Black men and women learn-how-to humanize their relationships? How can Negroes, Super-Blacks, Afro-Saxons, Negro Militants and the Black bourgeoisie learn-how-to relate meaningfully to the Soul Bourgeoisie, authentic Blacks, African Americans and Black revolutionaries? How can Blacks learn-how-to negotiate with each other and monitor each other as a means to building a collective action effort? How can Blacks learn-how-to negotiate and when not-to negotiate with' whites? How can Blacks extricate themselves for a need to be annoited as being "human" by whites and incorporate a need to convince each other each of their essential worth?

IV. Summary

The position here is that the Black University exists without the generalized consciousness of it by Black educators: It is a movement, not a physical building or a formal social institution. It has no admissions requirements for Blacks. It's tuition fees are known as dues. Its faculty and its students are one and the same. It exists where ever Black people are. It's not a replica of the white university-nor does it discourage Blacks from attending such. On one level it is the transformation of the Black world from oppression to liberation. It requires reason, effort, imagination, skill and commitment. Black men, authentic ones, are teaching and learning in the Black University wherever they are. They are converting white entrepreneurism into Black economic cooperation; white competition into Black communalism; and white-controlled Negro communities into Black-controlled Black communities.

In the last analysis, the ultimate goal of the Black University is to liberate the Black world. It will take liberated minds, hearts and souls to achieve this goal. It will take sustained participation in the Black University to produce these kinds of individuals.

" SEIZE"
THE
TIME

" THE
TIME
IS
NOW "

Federal Narcotics Agent Reveals Why:

Blacks Are Main Victims of U.S. Dope Traffic!

NEW YORK—It is an established fact that more than 90 per cent of all heroin addicts in the United States are nonwhite: Black, Puerto Rican or Mexican American.

STATISTICS RELEASED by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare show that prior to the craze for LSD and other hallucinogenic drugs, and the sky-rocketing usage of barbituates and depresent chemicals, the major market for illicit drugs in America was among nonwhites.

"If there were not federal, state and local collusion and profiteering in the illicit drug traffic, the problem could be wiped out in a matter of months," states an irate Black federal narcotics agent who recently held an interview with MUHAMMAD SPEAKS. For obvious reasons, he wishes his name to be withheld.

"It is commonly thought that oppressed peoples—Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans—are more prone to seek escapes from the repressive realities of U.S. white supremacy by using various drugs," he said. "But several surveys indicate that even upper-class white youths are prone to 'experiment' with narcotics and are as curious as the nonwhite peoples of America when it comes to 'dabbling in the forbidden."

THE NARCOTICS AGENT pointed out that "fundamental realities" contradict the notion that one or another ethnic group is more prone to experiment with dope and, therefore, become addicted.

"The fact of the matter," he emphasized, "is that there is a direct correlation between the availability of narcotics in a given community and the number of drug addicts in this community."

He said that teen-agers naturally are a curious group, and are somewaht anxious to "take a dare," whether they are white or nonwhke.

"It's well and good for a parent to say that he has brought his child up with the awareness of various pitfalls, including dope," the agent told the MUHAMMAD SPEAKS reporter.

"On the other hand," he continued, "even the parent most confident that he has instilled in his son or daughter a proper sense of values and sense of awareness of the pitfalls of life . . . will be the first one to speak out vehemently if there is even a rumor of a dope peddler around his child's school or in the community."

The federal agent emphasized that no parent wants his or her child exposed to narcotics, regardless of his confidence in his ability to rear the child.

"WE KNOW THAT local police throughout America—especially those assigned to the ghettos—do not care about how many Black youths are captured by the 'drug syndrone,'" the agent continued. "But if a police station in a white community gets the word that a narcotics peddler is in the neighborhood, the station commander will assign three shifts of his best detectives to catch the peddler."

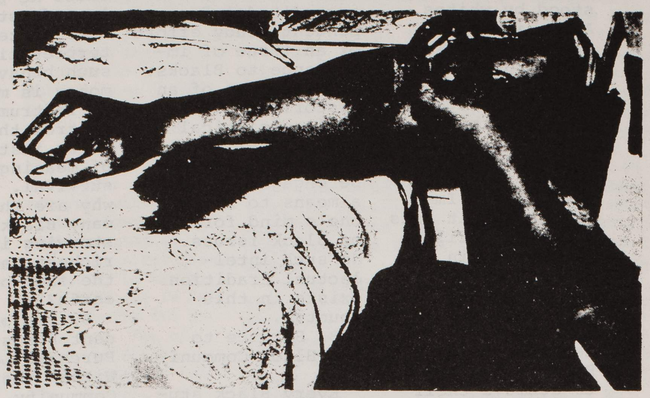
But in a Black community, he went on, "the officers are either apathetic or prone to take bribes from the peddlers.

"After all," he stressed, "It's only Black or Puerto Rican youths that are being exploited —and virtually murdered day by day—by the narcotic traffic."

In New York city, those killed by drug abuse mainly range in age group from 15 to 35. They were found in abandoned buildings, on rooftops, in basements and hallways throughout the city. All were heroin users, and their deaths were causing unusual concern, even in a city where heroin abuse killed a total of 650 persons last year, and more persons in the 15-to-25 age group than did murder or disease or any other single cause, including automobile accidents.

Five heroin fatalities are reported in New York city on an average weekend. During the last weekend in June, the number rose to 24, an increase of almost 500 per cent.

There was no white-Black breakdown on the number of deaths. But since it is a well-America are Black, it can be assumed, with much credence, that about 90 per cent of those killed by the narcotics traffic were Black.



MORE THAN 90 PER CENT OF the users of narcotics in the ghetto-infernos of this pernicious society are Blacks or Puerto Ricans. Here a young Black male user enters needle into his vein . . . HORRORS of dwelling in a spiritually deranged society, have tobogenned the lives of many young Black people to the brink of self-destruction, through the magic-madness of the needle, while the savage white pushers, (the direct liason men to the the Mafia-nazi establishment) lurk in the slum shadows making capital off Black human wreckage like modern slave auctioneers.

Unity Trust and Respect

NO MORE NIGGER WILL I BE

No longer will I slave and toil
My life away on white man's soil.
Breaking my back for nothing more
Then a spit in the face and a slamming door.
No longer will I live or die
In his back alleys under his filthy skies.
Which rats have left and death now crawls.
In tenement houses with gnawed up walls.
No longer will I accept his lies.
Or flee his intimidating spies,
who lurking in the shadows slip
To lash my back with malicious whips.
The white man's fool I'll never be.
Or be tormented by his cruelties.
Instead I'llmar ch with vigor and pride
Until all his evil acts subsides.
Then no more nigger will I be.
My chains will break and I'll be free.
And all my sufferings will be of the past.
I'll be free forever at last.
A free black man forever at last.

By Ben Greer, Jr.

On Black Students

TO WHOM THIS
MAY CONCERN

Hey, all you
white-cocksuckers
you jive-time
mother fuckers
that call your-
self men.
Yea you,- with
Black skin and
the white chick
dangling from
your arm.
Yea you, the one
who has forgotten
his blackness,
Yea you, the fool
who fails to see
beauty in Black
women--her sleek
skin, and dark
kinky hair.
Yea you, the jerk-
off that puts
anything before
his Blackness.
Yea you, the mother
fucker thats
gonna find himself
offed when the
time comes for the
thing to come down
Bang----------

Recently there has been a falling off in idealogical and political work among students and some new and funny tendencies have appeared. Some Black students seem to think that there is no longer any need to concern themselves with the politics of liberating themselves and their colony. It would seem that study and practice was once all the rage but currently not so much in fashion. To counter these tendencies, we must dicipline our minds. Students should study hard. In addition to the study of their specialized subjects, they must make progress both idealogically and politically, which means that they should study currents events and politics. Not to have a correct political point of view is like having no soul. all Black Studies Classes should shoulder their responsibilities in idealogical and political work

Defining a Need for Violence

By PAT WILMOT

The Role of Violence in Revolutionary Change

Some brothers involved in the struggle (redundant since a brother by definition is one involved in the struggle) are still confused about the correct position to adopt toward violence. On the one hand brothers are advocating the use of violence in all situations. Others still advocate techniques of non-violence and passive resistance.

Judged from the standpoint of revolutionary politics both positions are incorrect, taking as they do a political position that has no relation to political realities.

Advocates to violence, devoid of correct political relations, are generally either romantic revolutionaries or psychopaths. They need violence to satisfy exhibitionistic drives in their own psyches. Besides these two there is a third type, run down by Brother Fanon in **The Wretched of the Earth.** This is the type that needs violence as therapy.

After centuries of suppression the colonized person needs non-directional violence as a means to assert himself, his manhood and his humanity. Although this type may be worthy of sympathy, it is still necessary to organize such potential for violence to move against the power-structure in a strategic manner.

Advocates of non-violence and passive resistance point to Ghandi's India and the early stages of the civil rights struggle in the country. What they fail to realize, or to come to terms with, is that India's "independence" and American civil rights legislation have failed to alter the essential relations of power and caste in either country.

They overlook Ghandi's own statement of principle that given the choice between violence and cowardice one must choose violence. They fail to confront, and **to deal with, the obvious fact that the people in power have organized and systematized violence in the form of the army, the police and the national guard. But, more importantly, they are involved in the contradiction of asserting the legitimacy of the system they're moving against by asking brothers to work within this system.**

The correct approach to violence is the revoltuionary approach. Revolution aims at the seizure of power by whatever means necessary. If non-violent means can effect the seizure of power, then non-violence is a revolutionary act. If violenve is necessary, it must be revolutionary violence — directed strategically at the seizure of power. In the sphere of politics the only correct relation to violence is a political relation. And politics, as Brother Mao emphasizes, grows out of the barrel of a gun.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

PILOTS FOR PANTHERS, AND THE MOLINA- ARTIME PRISONER EXCHANGE

The demand "Prisoners of War for Panthers" put forward by the Black Panther Party can be won. There is a historical precedent for just this sort of exchange taking place.

This writer played a small part in this precedent and remembers it vividly.

The Black Panther Party is demanding that the United States government release Panther political prisoners in exchange for U.S. war criminals shot down while making murderous bombing raids over the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Apologists for U.S. imperialism will say that this sort of thing just can't be done; that people imprisoned under the criminal codes of this country can't be freed in political exchanges. People who don't really want to see the Panthers freed from the pig power structure will point to a lot of legalisms as to why such an exchange can't be made: the Panther brothers and sisters have been jailed on criminal, not political charges; the federal government, which would have to arrange such an exchange, has no jurisdiction over the separate states; the Panthers have yet to undergo trial and sentencing, etc, etc.

But all this is really a lot of baloney. The U.S. imperialist government could free the Panthers tomorrow if they wanted to. Because just eight years ago, under almost identical circumstances, the pigs in Washington did agree to political exchanges. This was in the case of Francisco Molina, who had been sentenced to twenty years, but today is a free man.

Francisco Molina was a young worker who lived in New York City. He was a passionate defender of the Cuban Revolution at a time when both the Cuban Republic and its supporters in the U.S. were up against the most vicious fascist attacks from Washington. Molina was framed up on a murder charge, and for weeks the papers screamed about "The Hook" (the name they made up for him because he had lost a hand working in a Queens toy factory) with the same kind of hysteria they use today against the Panthers.

Like the brothers and sisters today, who are in jail on bails that are impossible to make, Molina was held without bail so that he couldn't get out and rally support. Nevertheless, there was great support for him in the Cuban community and among North ameriKKKans sympathetic to the Revolution.

Like the Panthers in jail today, Molina was held on a criminal charge, but the real case made against him was for his politics. The U.S. Ambassador to the UN lost no time in charging the Cuban government itself with murder. Editorials screamed that the city was in danger from armed Cuban guerrillas. But of course when the time came for his trial, the question of his politics was "irrelevant"--the lynchers wanted to have their cake and eat it too.

Molina was sentenced to twenty years for second degree murder. In the meantime, the real murderers -- a group of Cuban counter-revolutionaries who had come from Miami to New York to start trouble -- were flown to the trial from Guatemala where they were being trained by the CIA. It was their testimony that put the young Cuban worker behind bars for twenty years.

But history sometimes has a funny way of setting things straight. The men who helped the U.S. government put Molina in jail found themselves behind prison bars just a few weeks later. Their Guatemalan training had been for the Bay of Pigs invasion, where 1200 counter - revolutionary worms were captured by the Cuban people. Among them were a couple of thugs who had framed Francisco Molina.

The U.S. government found itself in a doubly embarrassing situation. First, the invasion had failed miserably leaving it obvious to the world that the CIA had planned the whole thing. Second, there were now the 1200 prisoners being held in CUBA. The U.S. had to make efforts to get them back.

It had already leaked out that the "leaders" of the invasion had been kept under lock and key at Opalocka Air Force Base by the CIA so that they wouldn't get in the way during the affair. If the U.S. didn't get the prisoners released, other embarrassing details of the "all-Cuban" invasion would surely be told.

The Kennedy Administration began negotiations with the Cuban government for a prisoner exchange. Cuba was asking for agricultural supplies and medicine in exchange for the counter-revolutionaries -- goods kept out of Cuba by the U.S. economic blockade.

The kingpin captured in the invasion was Manuel Artime--the CIA had found him the most "tractable" of the Cuban fascists they were dealing with. Not only did Artime know all the intimate details of how the invasion was planned, but he was an important public figure built up by the CIA, who might be needed for future adventures. The U.S. was anxious to get him back.

BOBBY SEALE AND HUEY P. NEWTON
POLITICAL PRISONERS OF US FASCISM

As Secretary of the Molina Defense Committee, I went in the fall of 1961 to visit Mr. James Donovan, a New York lawyer who was negotiating the prisoner exchange. His spacious office in the Wall Street area showed him to be a man with more than just a "humanitarian" interest in the exchange. I explained to him about Francisco Molina, how his case was definitely political although the charge had nothing to do with politics, and that he had been framed by men who had then gone on to participate in the Bay of Pigs invasion. I asked that Molina be freed in the prisoner exchange.

Donovan's answer was that he could do nothing in this regard, since Molina was under the jurisdiction of the New York State courts and was a convicted murderer.

But cables from Cubans continued to pour into our little office, by the hundreds, showing the extreme concern of the Cuban people for their brother who had been railroaded to jail in New York. And our committee kept up a campaign to free Molina, picketing the court and Governor Rockefeller's office.

Finally, the deal was made to exchange the 1200 prisoners for food and medicine. Donovan signed an agreement in Havana with Fidel Castro. He was supposedly acting for a "private" group of ameriKKKans, but the Kennedy Administration made it clear that Donovan was in reality an official, but secret, representative of the government.

There was one prisoner who was held in reserve by the Cuban government -- Manuel Artime. In exchange for Artime, Cuba demanded the release of Francisco Molina.

From a legalistic point of view, there were more obstacles in getting Molina's release than there are today in the Panther cases. Molina had already been tried and convicted by a jury; he was serving a 20-year sentence in a state prison for murder: it seemed that the federal government had no right to intercede. The Governor of New York State was a Republican, while the President was a Democrat.

But all these legal problems vanished when the ruling class decided that they had to get Artime back. Governor Rockefeller signed a pardon, and within a day Francisco Molina was on his way to Cuba, Free Territory of the ameriKKKas. Rockefellers opponents in the ruling class didn't breathe a word of criticism. All the legal fol-de-rol was swept away because the Establishment decided it was in their interest to carry out the exchange.

The legal complications are not as great in the case of the Panthers, since the trails have not yet taken place. It is not a question of overruling a jury. The Panthers could be released immediately if the federal government urged the state authorities to drop the indictments.

The legal machinery to free the imprisoned Panther brothers and sisters can be found if enough pressure is brought to bear upon the ruling class Establishment. And while such a possibility may seem remote to some, the Molina-Artime exchange is a clear historical precedent.

The release of the Panthers by the pig power structure would certainly be a bitter pill for them to swallow, something they would have to be forced to do. But the determined struggle of the oppressed people has forced such concessions before.

The Molina case is not the only example of this. Who would have thought that the mighty U.S. imperialist government would get down on its knees before the Peoples Republic of Korea and confess to espionage? But that's exactly what happened when the U.S. signed a confession about the spy ship Pueblo.

The U.S. government doesn't want to admit that the Panthers are political prisoners, prisoners taken in the war against Black ameriKKKa. But the demands for "POW's for Panthers" exchange points this out clearly. They didn't want to admit that Molina was a political prisoner, either. And they didn't want to admit their crimes in Korea. But the struggle forced them to free Francisco Molina, confess their crimes against the Korean people -- and the struggle is going to force them to free the Panther prisoners.

By Deirdre Griswold
former Secretary of the Molina Defense Committee and author of "The Case of Francisco Molina, Political Prisoner"

In Nigger Town
In Nigger Town
The streets are
made of mud
Infested with rats
and bats and bugs
In Nigger Town
In Nigger Town
The streets are
made of brick
Ask any swinging
dick that happens
past
Why won't he get
off his big, fat,
black, funky ass
A grumbling snitch
A shot of shit for
a dope fiend bitch
Hid behind the
cemetary in the fog
A leg, a hog, a
short dog of
Elderberry
Misery spreads and
brothers dead
In Nigger Town one
day
Four little chil-
dren kneeled to
pray
---In Jesus' name
Boom!
Four little chil-
dren gone
And Jesus never
came
Now you say,
you're tired of
all this shit
You suck-a-pawed
son-of-a-bitch
If you was, you'd
ball your mitt
Do something
nigger if you only
spit!
Tell the truth
snaggle-tooth
I know you're
scared you mother
goose
With niggers in
Nigger Town
I'm fed up to my
neck
About a drunk, a
thief, a punk
I wouldn't give a
husky heck
In Nigger Town

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS