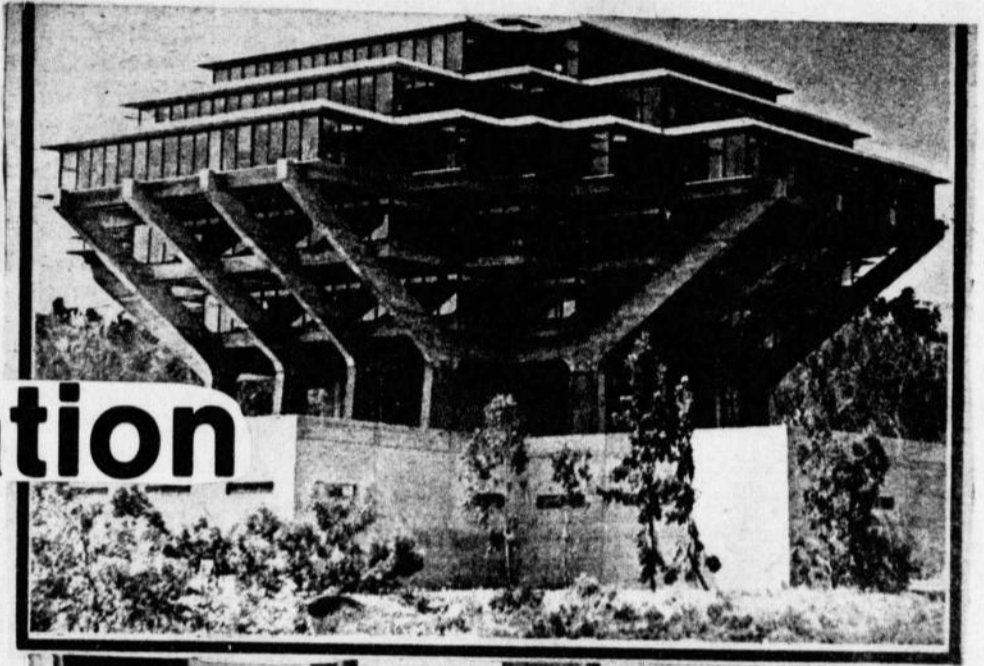
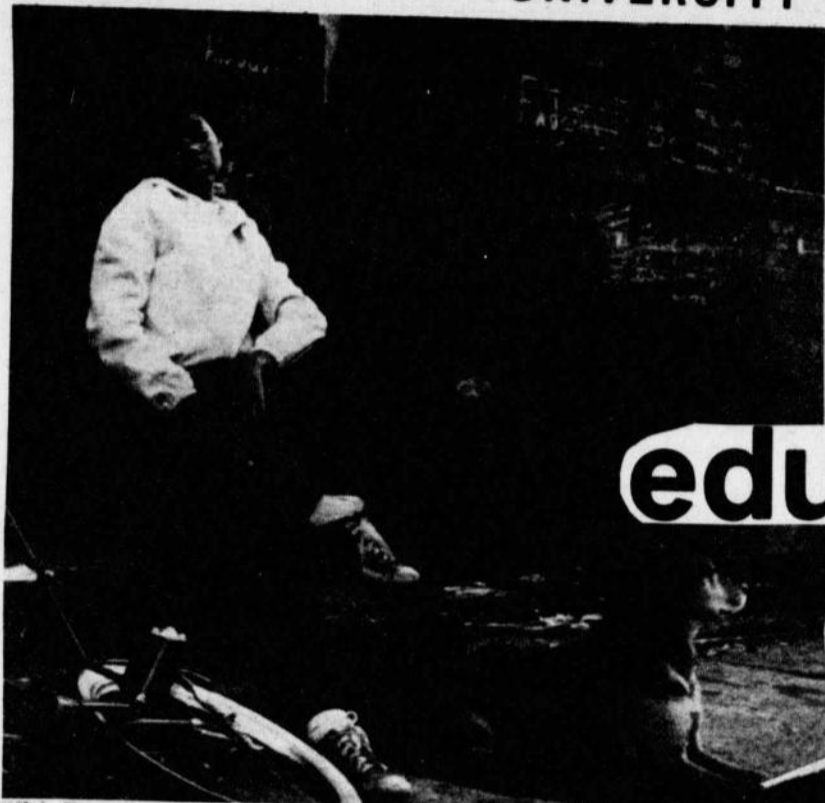


THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

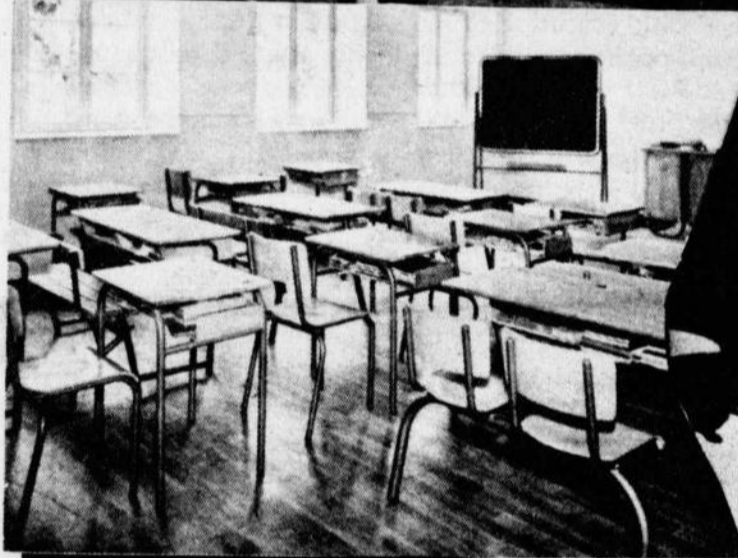
VOLUME II NO. 2

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

DECEMBER 5, 1978



education



and

the



future



where do we fit in ?

EDITORIAL OPINION: THE TRIPLE THREAT

What does the future hold for Blacks in the area of education? In California at least, it would take the most stary eyed of optimists to project anything but hard times ahead. Facing a triple threat from the Bakke decision, Proposition 13 and the revised admission standards for the University of California, unless action is taken we will again see educational exclusion which we have met and fought in the past. This new wave of exclusion is much more difficult to overcome, for, while our exclusion in the past was due primarily to bold-faced racial discrimination, now it is in the names of 'equal opportunity for all, special privileges for none', 'fiscal responsibility' demanded by the mandate of the voters and 'maintaining the high standards of the University' that we face that we face exclusion. In the face of these new challenges, new tactics must be developed, for no matter how the reasons are dressed up, they still have the same thrust and effect as outright racial discrimination. At the core of each of these new threats are fallacies upon which they are built. One of the tasks facing us, then, is to expose those fallacies in order to reach the heart of the threats and eventually defeat them.

First and foremost of the fallacies upon which rest the cases of the excluders is that affirmative action programs are 'reverse discrimination'.

True, this is not the letter of the decision handed down in the Bakke case, however, it is the message, fostered by the mass media, which most Americans have received. Rather than discriminate, the affirmative action programs have introduced an additional factor to be considered in admissions policy; that of disadvantage due to systematic, historic discrimination be it due to race, culture or sex. If, on the other hand, these programs were discriminatory, then we would be witnessing the exclusion of those who have had historically encountered favoritism in educational opportunities, i.e. White males, on a grand scale, not the slight opening up of opportunities for the so called 'minorities'. The greatest danger of this fallacy is that it opens wide the door for the excluders to insure that opportunities are never made equal, for if the only criteria for admissions to institutions of higher learning are those based on opportunities which have been available only to those who have not been systematically excluded from the mainstream of society, how are others to make their ways in?

The second fallacy or misconception that lies at heart of the threat facing the future of Black education in California is that of what is the meaning of the overwhelming victory of Proposition 13 at the polls as far as to how the necessary

budget cuts are to be made. To hear Governor Brown tell it, it means that the people want the fiscal belt tightened at the whim of the Governor. The whim of the Governor at present is to cut the budgets of all state departments by 10%. Furthermore, these 10% cuts are not to be across the board, but rather should target 'programs of lowest priority'. In the educational system the programs which have been chosen as having low priority and thus, being ripe for extinction are the very programs which need to be expanded to insure quality education, that is relevant to the needs of our communities. The crucial question, then, is, "Was the message of Proposition 13 one of budget cuts with a look to the future and societal needs, or one of budget cuts at whim with unequal burden on important programs?" While this question was not dealt with at the time of the vote, it must be addressed now.

At the heart of the recent change in admission standards, lies a problem which runs rampant in this society, namely what it is that makes one 'intelligent' or in this case worthy of admission to the University. With increased reliance on the Scholastic Aptitude Test, we are being told that it is a certain pattern of socialization that makes intelligence. To be considered for admission without special action anyone with a grade point average less than 3.00

must perform perfectly on the SAT. This requirement, as well as being a ridiculous criterion, is one that puts cultural minorities at a great disadvantage. It is the verbal component of the SAT which is particularly discriminatory towards cultural minorities as it requires the knowledge of obscure vocabulary and equates this with intelligence. Is one not intelligent because (s)he does not know the meaning of obfuscation, pejorative or pulchritudinous? Here the assumption of the excluders is that "Our (the excluders) values and orientation are proper and necessary for intelligence." This too we must fight, for we know that intelligence is not the ability to use an esoteric vocabulary with facility, but rather the ability to manipulate the environment to one's best advantage.

Recognizing problems is a great deal easier than proposing solutions, which in turn is much easier than execution of the solutions. Certainly precious little can be done about the Bakke case, other than education of the general public as to both the necessity of affirmative action programs and the actual decision in the Bakke case which did not strike down affirmative action programs, but rather stated

Look, we in congress are all for real school integration, but bussing is an artificial means that doesn't solve the problem!



Also, redrawing of school boundry lines is phony and doesn't get at the problem!



that admission policies can not be structured along lines of numerical quotas. The solution for the problem of the University of California's change in admission standards is much more problematic, in that it is an internal matter of the University to set up standards. In the third matter, that of post-Proposition 13 budget cuts, the best manner of dealing with the problem is to become aware of what is happening and involved in making the political structures become responsive to your will. This is done through action. The state budget proposed by the Governor is received by the legislature upon their return in January. Before then the legislature must be made aware of our desires in the distributing of the funds that remain in the state treasury.

The solution of the problems facing Blacks and other groups who face discrimination is not so easy as influencing state legislators. It is the task upon which all of us must concentrate our efforts. The knowledge we gain at the University is of no value if not used to insure the progress of the society in which we live. This progress must be such that the need for

And rezoning the suburbs is just another superficial gimmick that skirts the problem!



The problem is how to achieve real school integration in an orderly, natural fashion while keeping the races separate.



- STAFF**
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travel across a metropolis when there is something exciting and beneficial awaiting them on the other end. Something that will give them a choice. Something for the artists, the athletes, the dreamers, the schemers. Something for the poets, the singers, the musicians, the dancers. Some place where people can sit down together and seek answers.

San Diego, I want to be part of your city. Do you want me? I am hard to achieve, but I am worthwhile if society is to flourish cooperatively. I am integration.

The following piece was written by Ernest Charles McCray, Principal of Muir Alternative School in June 1977 when he was charged with submitting a plan for the integration of San Diego city schools. He has consented to allow us to reprint it here.

"I AM INTEGRATION"

I am integration. I am a creation of people. Usually I am a figment of people's imaginations. I am never complete and I doubt seriously that I am sincerely desired. I am hardly ever allowed to happen naturally. Let me cite an example. An example that has occurred many times across this nation. Occasionally minorities in my name move to neighborhoods inhabited by not-so-silent majorities. This could be my beginning in the simplest of forms, but soon these neighborhoods are noticeably minus whites. People who are black, who are brown, who are red, who are yellow, or who are of any societally unpopular hue find themselves shrouded with diminishing hopes of ever realizing a society where they will be appreciated for their

San Diego is the most recent city that has undertaken the task of creating me, integration, in its school system. I would like to assist San Diego's commission and school board. Here is my message to San Diego. San Diego, no one wants to attend a school that offers no stimulus for personal growth. No one wants to attend a school that does not meet his or her needs. No one wants to attend a school that cannot accept one's unique racial and ethnic background. And, most assuredly, no one wants to spend an hour or more on a bus that will abruptly deposit one on the sidewalks of these schools. San Diego, you must create a system that will make each of your schools unique and attractive to some segment of your society.

unique cultural differences. Their presence is acknowledged by screams of fear. "My kids will be beat up!" "Property values will go down!" "What's the world coming to?" "I'm leaving this town." The latest fad in a string of attempts to create me, has been to relegate this responsibility to the courts. The courts have been inclined to relegate this responsibility to the schools. A much-overlooked factor is that the school children are sons and daughters of the people who hastily fled their "dream" homes that had become "nightmares" overnight. The school children are the sons and daughters of those people of color who experienced the emotional insult of seeing people flee from them. People are more inclined to

Dr. M. Ron Karenga On Black Politics in 1980



Dr. Karenga is a lecturer in Pan-African Studies at CSU, Los Angeles, Ca. He is also a leading theorist of the Black Movement and the ideological architect of Kwanzaa, an ideology of cultural revolution and profound social change. His book, *Afro-American Nationalism: An Alternative Analysis*, will be published in the spring of '79 by Third World Press.

The essence of politics is power - how to get it, keep it and use it. All else is mystification and misleading, usually by the opposition to increase its power. An essential problem of Black politics is that they are based on influence, rather than power. Influence is the ability to affect, but power is the ability to realize one's will - even in opposition to others. Put another way, power is the ability to define, defend and develop one's interests. But what are the interests of Afro Americans as a people? Who will define them? And how will they be realized and maintained? It is a classical question of what is to be done and how and with what will it be done? In other words, it is a question of strategy and structure, a question which stands at the heart of Black political efforts in 1980 as well as beyond.

Since Roosevelt's New Deal in the 30's, Blacks have aligned themselves with the Democratic Party. This alignment has seemed so total and unshakeable that the Democrats have historically taken it for granted and the Republicans have written off Blacks as a hopeless cause. Such a state of things lessened in a significant way, Black political leverage. For it denied them a necessary option and forced them to stick with the Democrats regardless of the disadvantages and disillusionment.

It was a core concept of Malcolm X's political thought that there was more power and political wisdom in Afro-American non-alignment than alignment with either the Democratic or Republican Party. He urged that Blacks never let Democrats think that they had them in their hip pocket or Republicans think they were unreachable. Like the majority of concepts

Malcolm advanced, this one eventually became a central point of discussion without due reference to the one who advanced it. In January of this year, Jesse Jackson, national president of PUSH, addressed the Republican National Committee, according to him, as an expression of Black peoples' "right and obligation to expand our political options."

Interested by a possible opening and not to be outmaneuvered on the Black leadership stage, Benjamin Hooks appeared before this same body in July. After his characteristic moral message, Hooks proceeded to inform the Republicans that there were indeed areas and problems "that shape a possible necessary and realistic program of cooperation between Republicans and Black people." Both Jackson and Hooks felt that it was important that they not be taken for granted by the Democrats or written off by the Republicans. Neither, however, addressed himself to the problem of creating a strategy that would effectively accomplish this and at the same time benefit Black folks as a whole.

The recognition and announcement of the need for such a strategy grows logically out of Black dissatisfaction with the Carter Administration's policy and the new Republican thrust to take advantage of this dissatisfaction and turn it into power at the polls for them. Carter's performance in relation to Blacks has been even by the most objective observer, inadequate and negative. The Republicans, seeing this and evaluating the level and extent of dissatisfaction among Blacks because of this, have decided to venture in the Black community and test the

winds and waters of change.. For the first time since Roosevelt's New Deal coalition of Blacks, liberals and labor, the Republican Party has begun a serious effort to win Black votes. Their strategy has two basic aims: 1) to win a significant share of the Black vote in various elections and failing this; 2) to minimize the size and effect of the Democrats' share. As Bill Brock, the chairman of the Republican National Committee observed, "if Republicans can get the Black vote down to where it does not come in overwhelmingly for the Democrats, it might just help Republican candidates win some close races."

Naturally, the question becomes one of can the Republicans succeed in capturing the Black vote and whether their success will be of mutual benefits to Blacks? Whether the Republicans are successful or not depends on two basic factors: 1) how much they are willing to invest, i.e., money, labor, concessions etc. to achieve this goal, and 2) whether a certain set of conditions will occur that would convince Blacks they need to redefine their enemies and friends and look beyond the Democratic Party for allies.

The Republicans have already begun to show the seriousness with which they have approached the task of winning allies and votes in the Black community. They have: 1) appropriated \$640,000 for recruitment and campaign finance for suitable Black candidates; 2) hired Wright-McNeil and Associates, a Columbus, Ga. Black political consulting firm, at a cost of \$275,000 last year and \$550,000 this year, to advise GOP candidates how best to appeal to Black voters; 3) built a new Black Republican organization, the National

Pan-Afrikan Secretariat Holds Conference

On October 27, 28 and 29, the Second Annual Conference on The State Of The Race was held in Compton, California sponsored by the Pan Afrikan Secretariat. The theme of this years conference was: "Moving Towards Self-Reliance: Organizing in Our Communities." Highlights of the conference included the opening address by Queen Mother Moore and the keynote dinner speaker, Ambassador Paul Bomani of Tanzania.

The conference began with an explanation of the purpose of the conference "...to assess where we are as a people, what are the major problems that we face and to lay out what kinds of things are going to be done after this conference is over..." It was also stressed that the sponsors, coordinators, facilitators and speakers had just as much to learn from those in attendance as the people had to learn from the conference organizers and that although the conferences were very important, it was in work with the community that emphasis should lie. The Pan Afrikan Secretariat holds conferences yearly as a means of exchanging information and meeting people concerned and involved in the areas of education, community work, communications, political activity and the advancement of Black people.

She spoke of earlier struggles against the breaking up of Black political power by gerrymandering and mentioned that Blacks in Brooklyn were facing this sophisticated form of oppression again. "Until we get that key (to self reliance) we will be forever retracing our steps, we're gonna go over and over these fights", she told the audience. She warned that while we were out dancing and having fun 'the man' is working. "When you talk about self reliance" she further counseled, "you must realize it requires very

Until we get the key to self reliance, we will be forever retracing our steps.

The opening address was made by Queen Mother Moore, who's activities on the part of Black people have spanned more than sixty years. Born in 1898 and raised in the backwoods of Louisiana. She has been the guest of various African nations at many Pan African events including the Festac and meetings of the OAU (Organization of African Unity) as well as being pronounced Queen Mother by the Ashanti of Ghana. Her address entitled "The Keys to Self-Reliance" covered topics as diverse as her life itself.

She began by telling how she had attended school only through the third grade and had been trained on the streets in the struggle, "I got my Ph. D. on street corners" she said "speaking in defense of our people." Her activity was awakened by Marcus Garvey, who she saw speak in Louisiana when she was a young woman. She saw the

Black leader at the Longshore Hall, which she took great pride in pointing out belonged to the Black trade union of longshore men, the oldest trade union in Louisiana. Before seeing Garvey, 'Mama', as she likes to call herself said she had no sense of culture. But after hearing him and his principles of self reliance has not ceased in her struggle. She told of some of the movements she has been involved in, a list which reads like the history of the struggle of Blacks in the past six decades; protests over the 'Scotsboro Boys', the Emmett Till case, anti-lynch legislation, abolishing the poll tax, social security and unemployment insurance. She has worked with the labor movement and trade unionism throughout this time as well.

astute political understanding, a new mind." She stressed the historical role rebellion has played in the development of Blacks in this nation and cautioned the crowd not to "...remain passive and stolidified" and to "come into the newness of yourself." She further stressed that Blacks "...have a rich tradition which you can't allow to die or be distorted and to be usurped by the people who taught you to sing 'We Shall Overcome'."

Mother Moore ended her talk with her rewritten version of 'My Country 'Tis of Thee' which went: "This country 'tis to me/ A land of infamy/ For which I sing/ A land that they stole with pride/ From which their fathers died/ But from every mountain side/ Justice fails to ring/ Black fathers died here too/ For their red, white and blue/ Black mothers

DROUGHT HITS ETHIOPIA FAMINE THREATENS



Ethiopian farmers using camel to plough fields because cattle have died due to lack of water.

Ethiopia is facing what is considered to be potentially the worst drought and famine in its history, with more than two million people claimed to be near starvation. The crisis spot is in the North-Central Tigre province, where more than 98,000 people are in need of relief.

Radio Ethiopia reported the future of the Afar tribesmen in the area is endangered due to their cattle -the principle means of support for the Afar people- having little grazing land remaining. The League of Red Cross Societies stated that the spreading famine was approaching the dimensions of the 1972-73 famine when as many as

-cont. from page 9- as a Communist threat to Western Civilization is being widely disseminated. The African nations by the U.S. African nations have been historically, non-aligned, but the alienation of these nations by the U.S. and her allies may cause Black Africa to become closer to the Soviet Union, warned the Ambassador, for "Africa will find it difficult to ride two horses at the same time."

The Ambassador further stressed that the issue of Southern Africa was of great import for the African people. He stated that the people of Africa want peace in South Africa based on ending the conditions there without war. He concluded, that "...if it (a peaceful end to the situation in South Africa) can be secured now, no one will be happier than the people of Africa".

The Second Annual Conference on The State Of The Race was a highly successful convocation of people from across the state, nation and globe interested in the African people of the world. It focused on one of

250,000 people died. It was that famine which helped lead to the downfall of the late emperor Haile Salassie in September 1975. During the 1972-73 famine the army angered at the official indifference of the Ethiopian government began a "creeping coup" which eventually resulted in the end of the monarchy.

Foreign relief officials had praise for the relief efforts of the present Marxist military government of Ethiopia but noted that the famine is beginning to overwhelm the resources of the Addis Ababa government, which will require foreign assistance to meet the threat of the death of many of its people.

the greatest priorities facing Africans throughout the world; organization of communities and self reliance. For those of us who were not able to attend the conference or were not aware of its existence it would be wise to remember that, as was pointed out in the opening remarks of the conference the most important thing is not attending conferences, but rather what is done in the communities. However we should also keep in mind that another conference will be held next October.

For further information about the conference or the Pan Afrikan Secretariat write:

Los Angeles Secretariat Chapter, P.O. Box 78663, Los Angeles, California 90016

Tanzania Pan Afrikan Secretariat, P.O. Box 5129, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania



Black Politics

Black Economic and Political Action Committee (NBEPAC) for recruitment and fundraising and strengthened the existing National Black Republican Council in the area of training campaign organization workers; 4) proposed minimum social welfare legislation in the area of jobs, business incentives to set up in the urban areas and capital access for Blacks in an effort to change their image, and; 5) invited leaders like Jesse Jackson and Benjamin Hooks to open the dialogue on a possible mutually beneficial cooperation.

Conditions which will enhance Blacks' receptivity to the Republican drive include: 1) further alienation from Carter and the Democratic Party through their failure to offer real and effective programs in the areas of social welfare and urban reform; 2) the increase in the political maturity of the Black

political leadership as expressed by their ability to harness the electoral energies of the Black national community and develop the appropriate structures and strategies and use them effectively for collective gain; 3) the Democratic Party's failure to produce a respected liberal link to the Black community similar to Humphrey, and 4) the growth and consolidation of a Black middle class sharply divided from the Black masses, more insensitive to collective Black interests and more willing to pimp the Black masses for essentially personal gains.

However, there are still formidable problems to Blacks voting Republican and accepting new allies. Among these are: 1) the historical tendency to vote Democratic regardless; 2) the ideological orientation of the Republican Party, which stands for objectives and principles opposite to Black interests, i.e., its stands against social welfare

government intervention, African liberation movements; and 3) the conservative internal resistance to courting Blacks and making the kind of concessions this requires with no guarantee of positive results. The benefit of such an alliance, if it is successful, is questionable for several reasons. First of all, like Roosevelt's New Deal, the Republicans' "Newest Deal" is essentially a broker affair; a deal being struck, not with the masses, but the brokers of the middle class. These brokers are professionals, motivated not by any sense of nationalism or collective need or interests, but by the chance of huge personal gain.

Secondly, the masses of Blacks not only don't have their real interests represented in the newer arrangement, they also don't have the structural capacity to check and penalize the brokers for the political pimping of them and their interests.

-cont. on page 12-

HELL NO, THEY WON'T GO! Zimbabwean Students Issue Statement of Draft Resistance.



These young guerrillas show that their fight is for freedom, not against it.

Hundreds of Black university students signed a petition rejecting the government's decision to conscript young Africans into Rhodesia's overstretched armed forces.

At the same time the government said a record number of whites left Rhodesia in September and the military command announced an escalation of military activity on the Zambian border where a major frontier post came under heavy mortar and rocket fire for the third straight day.

"Our participation in your army is immoral," the students petition said. "We are in no position to reconcile our conscience with the idea of fighting for a minority government against the majority of our country."

Prime Minister Ian Smith meanwhile virtually ruled out Black majority rule in Rhodesia by 1979 and claimed he won what amounts to recognition of his government by the United States.

Hundreds of students signed the petition on the campus but there were no

incidents. Tens of thousands of Blacks were likely to be affected when the government begins conscription next year.

Although two-thirds of Rhodesia's army is already Black, those African troops were volunteers.

"We will not, willingly or under force, expose our families, the majority of whom are in the operational areas, to the dangers of being killed by the nationalist forces because we, their sons, will have turned to class traitors to the cause of the masses of Zimbabwe," the petition said.

DIG DEEPER

*Black Sister may I borrow your ear?
These words deserve to be listened to.
I see you everyday walkin' around here with your
pressed hair and your ass on your shoulders.
You can't see nothing for the monkey's hands in your
face.
Did you listen when we told you that time would pass
quickly?
Did you listen when we said we would lend you a
hand?
Didn't you want our knowledge of how to play in the
snow?*

*Well, Sister, now take heed to what I say.
They didn't stop makin' Brothers when they made
him.
My Brother may also be trying to see through the
muddy water.
But Sister, I'm here and you see me everywhere.
You see me as my Brother.
You see me as my Sister.
You see me everytime you smile at me.
I'm there!
Right on, that's me.
Dig deeper - That's me.*

-Sister Nadine-

POEM FOR CHE

*I look at you and I feel I know.
I'm not sure, you understand. I guess I'm never sure
... really ... of anything. Still, I look at you and I feel
I know.*

*The eyes I use are not these that you usually see, the
ones that sparkle and dance in a deep brown
liveliness that belies my cool exterior, for those are
the eyes of the flesh, of matter, of the stuff which
makes me hurt so.*

*No, the eyes I look at you with when I feel I know, are
the ones of my heart. The ones that you see only at
times ... those times when the other eyes recede. As
much as you like the other eyes, I know you like these
better. Rarity makes preciousness.*

*I look at you and feel I know ... and I want to ... I
desperately want to, you know.*

*Help me.
You do anyway, without me asking.
Help me feel the feeling is right.
I look at you and I feel I know ... what love is.*

-Brother X-

The People's Voice is recognized as an official print medium by the UCSD Media Board and derives the University and local community. We are an independent organization working in cooperation with the UCSD BSU. We encourage the submission of material, it may be dropped by our office in the Media Center Building A of the Student Center or mailed to:

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UCSD
La Jolla, Calif.

When the Dust Settles Down For Angola: A Song of a Coward

by Tepilit Ole Saitoti

*When the dust settles down and war cries
When the dust settles down and war cries cease
When irregular winds of
Messianic wars stop indefinitely
and our continent peace and restoration hold
We will all go under a big tree and
confer.*

*After sentimental tears are off our cheeks
we will breathe heavily and then
calm down*

*We will send a pilgrimage to holy places
within our sacred shores.
We will go to Lumumba, Cabral and Nkrumah
tombs with ever lasting flowers
from Kilimanjaro Summit.
After all is done*

*we will summon our warriors
and give them an oath.
to promise us that what had
happened never never to happen
again*

Tepilit Ole Saitoti is an African scholar from Tanzania and has done graduate work at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. This selection was taken from UFAHAMU: Journal of the African Activist Association/African Studies Center, UCLA Vol. VIII Number 2 1978.

Letters to the Editor

Letters to the Editor are printed as a service to our readers. The opinions expressed are not necessarily those of the staff. Letters must be accompanied by the name of the author, which may be omitted upon request.

Editor:

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, founded in 1906 at Cornell University is the oldest and the first Greek letter organization of Black men in the world. That by itself is a source of pride and overwhelming accomplishment. Being an active member of San Diego's undergraduate chapter, I am well aware of Alpha's deep rooted tradition of striving to improve the way of life for Blacks in America and it's ever continuing efforts to show the importance of academic excellence for Black youths all over the world. Many people associate fraternities only with the image presented in such movies as "Animal House". While social activity on campus is important to the existence of all fraternities including ours, it is by no means the purpose for our existence. One reason for the formation of Alpha Phi Alpha was to give young

Black college men a legitimate sense of belonging and identity. The establishment of an "elite" fraternity, especially a Black fraternity on a campus serves many purposes. For me it's knowing that no matter where in the country I go, in just about every walk of life, there's a frat brother I can call on. And he's really my brother. You see, Alpha's strive is for quality, not quantity, although we have more than 70,000 brothers active all over the world. And we all shared a common experience. The "pledge" process to become an Alpha man. The same sacred pledge process that my frat brothers - the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Andrew Young, Mayor Maynard Jackson, Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, Duke Ellington, Congressman Edward Brooke, and W.E.B. Du Bois went through.

Greg Holmes

of the first" is a precious thing. But the importance of all Black Greek letter organizations serves a real purpose. A purpose that has touched all Black collegians in one way or another since 1906.

Editor:

We would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your first issue of the year. Indeed, from start to finish it was a job very well done.

The content of the entire newspaper was excellent and each article was very interesting. Thank you for giving the UCSD community a paper that is finally worthwhile. We would like to encourage you to keep up the good work. We are looking forward to future issues of such excellent quality.

-James Curtis-
Chairperson, BSU-

And togetherness of real brotherhood and the pride of belonging to this elite "first

Black Heritage Speaks...

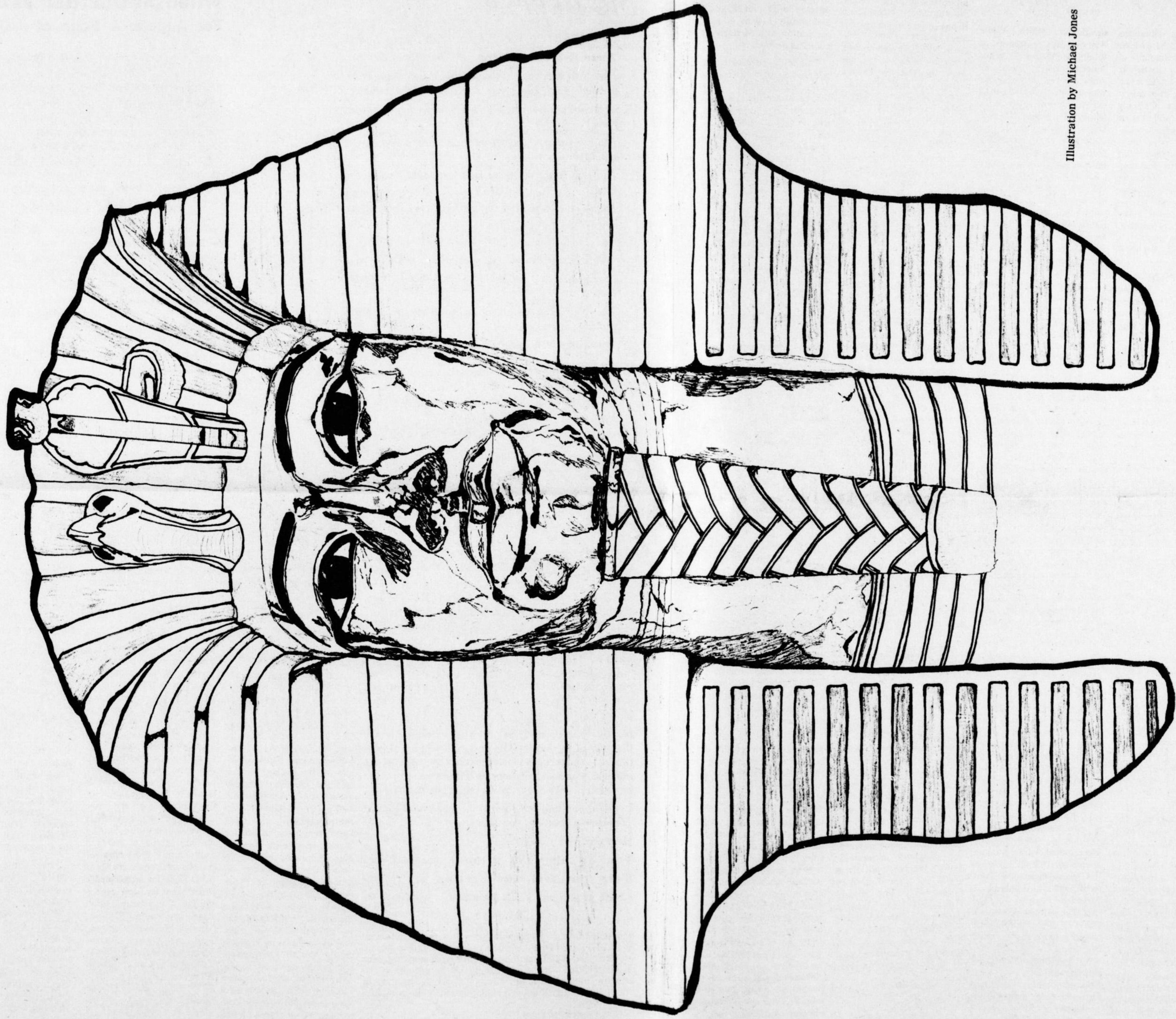


Illustration by Michael Jones

**The Glory Of The Past, The Struggle Of The
Present And The Vision Of The Future In
The People's Voice.**

A Different Perspective of The People's Temple

OPINION

A man can be born again; the springs of life can be cleansed instantly . . . If this is true of one, it can be true of any number. Thus a nation can be born in a day if the ideals can be changed.

-William Jennings Bryan-

What motivates a group of people to mass suicide? These are questions that have to be asked of scholars of Anthropology, Psychology, and Sociology. What are the factors that lead to a causal relationship between the events that shape any segment of society's belief and attitudes? These have been typically areas of concern towards human behavior along a structured frame of reference. Any taken-for-granted, or ad hoc definition towards a causal relation has been overlooked by researchers of empirical studies. The fact that the majority of the victims (from times publications) were Blacks, over 80%. Now more than ever reflects the need for such studies employing this method of inquiry. Collective search for identity, and symbolism are issues that are becoming very prominent matters that affect human consciousness. The Guyana assassins killed television newsmen with deliberate reason, and the mass suicide of more than 900 men, women and children that followed were the logical result of a loss of group identity in an electronic age, according to media analyst Marshall McLuhan.

Identity crisis situations can be directly changed or altered by the amount of mediation of a particular frame of reference. Man is a symbolic animal, when things go wrong with him, it is likely that his symbols will also go wrong—cause, effect, or both. Today's society pays more attention to symbols that represent concerns that they identify with economic, political, and similar practical matters. People grope because they do not really know what is wrong, especially when there is physical prosperity yet a sense of being cheated.

Historically Blacks have been "labeled" and identified so pretentiously as to imagine that in any fundamental sense Black identity lacks any kind of continuity medium of exchange other than what has been projected as the stereotypes of Black people. The three typical stereotypes that has reflected Black identity and what the White establishment considers as a collective group of people has down through the ages been the "Bushman", "Uncle Tom" and the "militant". Who Black people are and what their cultural and ideological perspectives are, has been altogether lacking any historical reflection of a collective search for identity.

Identity seeking movements of modern society, have to have as their major goal an essence. The first historical perspective towards a Black collective search for identity has to have a factual

significance which White America fails to identify or totally overlooks. White America says to Blacks we know who you are, we labeled you, as a group you have to fit our definitions. This is the fallacy of Essence. Essence begins with the old idea that everything has something deep inside it called an essence, some profound inner core of reality. According to this view, facts about a man, a nation an age, a generation, a culture, an ideology, or an institution are significant in the degree to which they display the essence of the entity in question. Identity seeking deals with such things as fashions, fads, poses, ritual, cultic movements, recreation, heroes, and crusades from the point of view of what they tell about the society's search for identity.

The key question now is What is the true Essence of Black identity and identifying it to the society? What is symbolic media? Not lack of factual information, but of kinds of symbolic meaning which make a person's life meaningful and interesting.

Society is becoming historyless and traditionless. History and tradition are becoming less relevant to what we do as people, because of the distinction between knowledge as information and knowledge which identifies. Knowledge and belief, then, must have different objects, answering to their respective powers.

We do know, what we are as a group of people was drastically placed out of proportion at the early turn of the century. Whenever a strong social concern towards Black identity surfaced, it was distorted or showed to lack any true validity. An example would be The "Birth of a Nation" by D.W. Griffin. This is an example where media identified and stereotyped a whole nation of Black people. The psychological effects to its content are still present today. At such an early stage in this nation's development and identity, the influence of electronic media had such a dramatic effect on the public consciousness of Black people.

Modern society suffers a more serious mediation of symbols, including a lack of, reassurance from the gestures of others (that) one is loved, understood needed, being somebody special. Today's media acts as the tribal ritual which gives a person a sense of one's self and fills one's life with valid sentiments. What possibly was the motivation of the people in Guyana could best be answered by *Mind In Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes* by Vygotsky. Vygotsky's notes first suggest mediation as the basis of higher psychological processes. What he observed was first the instrumental method; the functionally different use of two stimuli which differentially determine behavior from the mastery of ones own psychological operations and the assumption of two stimuli. First asking how does one remember stimulus

1 with the aid of stimulus 2 (where S1 is the object and S2 is the instrument). Second, how is attention directed to S1 with aid of S2 and thirdly how is a word association with S1 retrieved via S2 and so on.

This brings us back to the critical identity crisis of a mediated society. The television medium is a tribal medium. It's an inner trip, something that is viewed by all but with subjective interpretation of the individuals that are influenced by its message content, reinforced by all that view it. The critical perspective here is not if its agreed or disagreed with but that one has been exposed to it. An impression has been formed in the mind. Television is addictive and it is like a drug. Cultic movements and collective searches for identity share the same spatial relationship.

Identity is a symbolic matter - a meaning attached to a person, or which he is able to attach himself, with the help of responses of others, as explained by the well-known Theory of George H. Mead. Disturb these meanings and you disturb the men, which no longer gives reliable reference points.

Symbolism by and of itself reflects individual and collective search for identity. Conditions for symbolism is necessary for identity. Symbols add balance to discursive and non-discursive events. The idea is that

Triple Threat

-cont. from page 2-

affirmative action programs, Bakke cases, drastically limited budgets for important programs and worries about cultural chauvinism is obviated.

These three threats to Black education in California is but the tip of an iceberg of reaction to the slight gains we have made in the past few decades. Challenges to affirmative action programs in business are also under way, racial tensions are increasing and once again the spirit of 'benign neglect' is over the land. The days of the past are behind us and if we are not vigilant we will share a similar fate with Sisyphus, the figure in Greek mythology condemned to push a boulder to the top of a hill in Hades. Each time he neared the top, he would slip, the rock would roll back down and he was set to the task again. We must continue our push without slipping until the rock is securely at the top of the hill. Then, may we rest.

-Lennie Edwards-

reach.

5.) Effective change. Networking of resources, development/coordination and co-operations, formation of coalitions... yes/no, where/how, and with whom.

The representatives from each community consisted of Judith Johnson and James Osborne of the Black community. Susan Garcia of the Hispanic community. Vicky Whelan and Brian Welsh of the Pan-Asian community and David Goulde of the Native American community. The conference was stated to be a great success and a total learning experience as stated by its program coordinators.

-Eric Howard-

URS CONFERENCE ON ETHNOCENTRISM

The Urban and Rural Studies Program sponsored a conference on "The Significance of ETHNOCENTRISM) Factors In Community Mental Health". The event was organized by Judith Johnson, conference coordinator, and Prof. Charles W. Thomas the coordinator of Urban Rural Studies Program here at U.C.S.D.

A keynote address was delivered by Shirley W. Thomas, Assistant Professor; Afro-American Studies Department San Diego State University. The event was structured towards the outside community with outlined conference goals and purposes to:

- 1.) Define "Community Mental Health" in its relation to ethnocentrism.
- 2.) Inform and enlighten the general populace to "The Significance of The E(TH-

NOCENTRISM) factor in community mental health. 3.) Recommend new and improved directions/solutions for the "Community Mental Health" services and programs with respect to people of color.

The conference was a class sponsored activity to provide students with various opportunities to integrate the perspectives necessary to bridge between disciplines. Field work and the Senior Seminar courses, in particular, are designed to develop knowledge and competence about unproductive distinctions between scientific activities and professional practices or to demonstrate a mutually supportive multidisciplinary synthesis of theory and action. This was the emphasis expressed by Judith Johnson.

The Plenary session: Panel presentation consisted of the Hispanic community, and the Native American community with representatives of the Pan-Asian, and Black community. There were five areas of concern in relation to the ethnic communities.

1.) The political awareness of effective vocabulary or terminology, what happens when you label a program or service "MENTAL"? Illegal Vs Chicano, Oriental Vs Pan-Asian, and Native American Vs Indian.

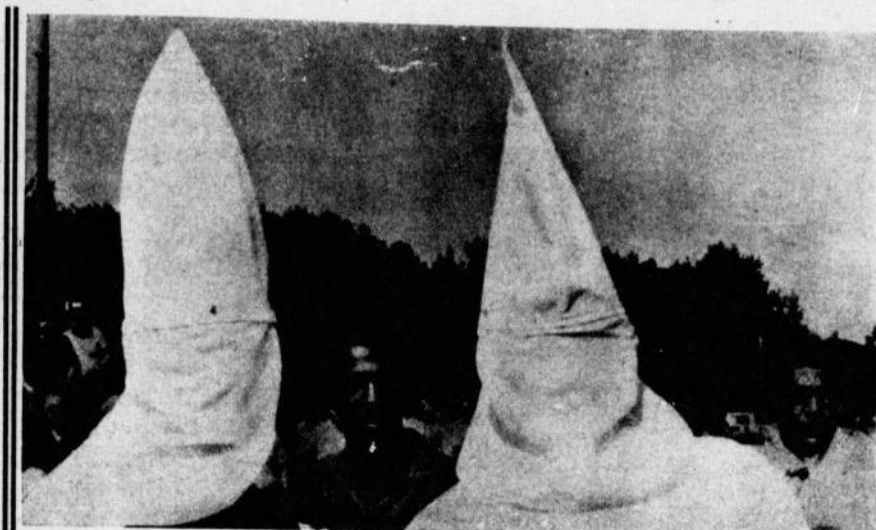
2.) The problem of Identity Crisis. The double-bind theory, language, and education.

3.) Specific problems and their resolutions. Unemployment, Abuse, Drug/Alcohol and family problems.

4.) Existing agencies and support services. Early out

Alabama Trial Brings Out The Klan

Cross Burnings and Bomb Scares Motivated by Rape Case



Klanmen oppose marchers on their way to protest the trial of Tommy Lee Hines

The trial of Tommy Lee Hines has caused a great deal of tension to be generated in Alabama, and throughout the country. Hines is a 26 year old Black man, who was recently convicted of the rape of a White woman and sentenced to thirty years in jail. The furor caused by the Hines case is due to several factors; 1) Hines, who is mentally retarded is claimed by his father and various officials who have been acquainted with him in the special schools in which he has been enrolled, to be incapable of the acts attributed to him, 2) Hines' 'confession' came as the result of his interrogation by a police officer who had picked up Hines asking him "How many women did you rape, two or three?" To which Hines is reported to have answered "Three",

3) During the trial in Decatur, Ala. Ku Klux Klan activity began in opposition to protests by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which included the Klan burning a cross in front of the town's civic center, 4) after Hines' attorney, Henry Mims succeeded in having the trial moved thirty miles away to Cullman, Ala. and the SCLC was marching to Cullman from Decatur to continue their protests, the marchers were met at the county line by a counter-demonstration of Klansmen and police officers. The police permitted the Klan to harass the SCLC marchers before arresting 23 of the Black protesters.

The trial itself was interrupted twice by bomb threats and monitoring of CB radio

revealed conversations calling for the jury to "hang the nigger". The all White jury deliberated two and a half hours before reaching the guilty verdict, despite the expert witnesses for the defense testifying that Hines with an I.Q. of 39 was incapable of understanding his legal rights and could have easily been coerced into confessing to crimes he did not commit.

Defense attorney Mims, who told the jurors in his closing remarks that "The prosecution would have you believe Tommy has had two rational days in his life," the day he allegedly committed the rape and the day he allegedly confessed to the police, says he expects the verdict will be overturned by an appeals court.

Conference

-cont. from page 3- sucked their young/ In this land where we hung from trees/ For refusing to bend our knees/ But now we've mastered the masters' master key/ Our liberty will be rung".

The conference consisted of panels and workshops on such topics as: "Self Reliance in Black Education: Alternative Schools", "Land and Self Reliance", "The Role of Our Elders in the Community", "Organizing in Our Communities", "Cooperation, Not Competition: Alternative Economic Institutions", "Southern Africa: Vanguard of World Revolution", "Oppressive Political Institutions", "Britain and the Struggle for Pan Africanism", "Organizing the Black Mind", "Organizing Our Communities to Save Our Children", and "The Gathering Clouds Over Africa".

Tanzanian Ambassador, Paul Bomani, spoke the

keynote address on the first evening of the conference. Bomani spoke of Marcus Garvey's galvanization of Blacks in the New World. "The back to Africa movement was concretized by Garvey and is not dead", he told those at the dinner. This historical looking toward Africa on the part of Blacks in the Americas makes it so that "we all must agree the time has come for all African Americans...to close ranks and become an integral part of a unified force for international progress, thereby ensuring the kind of relationship that will bring about renewed unity and solidarity among the African people" Bomani said.

He pointed out that movement toward self reliance is happening in Africa as well as here, saying African masses have realized the tricks of the colonists who benefit from exploitation of the masses and are crying 'enough is enough'.

their homes after World War II to find that the Allies' fight for freedom from Fascist tyranny did not translate into freedom for the colonies in Africa. The fight for freedom would have to be taken up by black hands in Black lands.

The Ambassador also spoke length about the situation in Southern Africa, where, after seeing a great liberation of land from the various colonial powers, the continent now looks to the most hard core and oppressive of the colonial regimes, those in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Azania (South Africa). While these nations engage in gross violations of human rights the governments of the Christian West ignore these violations which they all claim to be against. Not only are the violations of the rights of Africans being ignored, by the West, but propaganda characterizing the struggle of the people of Southern Africa

-cont. on page 4-

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT URGES FREEDOM FOR WILMINGTON 10



The mother and children of Rev. Ben Chavis burst into tears when Gov. Hunt declared he would not free the 10 last year.

On Tuesday, November 14, the Justice Department urged a federal judge to free the Wilmington 10 defendants of all charges because of "serious questions" about constitutional procedures at their 1972 firebombing trial.

The government filed a friend of the court brief in Raleigh, N.C., urging U.S. District Judge Franklin T. Dupree to grant a Writ of Habeas Corpus for the 10 civil right workers convicted in the 1971 destruction of a white-owned grocery store in Wilmington, N.C.

The action followed a federal grand jury investigation into allegations that the key state witness was coerced into testifying against the nine young Black men and one white woman.

While the investigation produced no evidence of violations in federal law by state prosecutors, Justice Department officials said there were "irregularities...sufficiently serious" to bring to the attention of the court.

Nine members of the Wilmington 10 already have been released from jail, but they still are subject to parole violations. The 10th, the Rev. Ben Chavis, still is imprisoned and is not eligible for parole until Jan. 1980.

A grant of Habeas Corpus would free Chavis and clear the others of parole restrictions.

The government brief said key witness Allen Hall changed his sworn testimony against the 10 defendants sometime before the trial and became the critical witness. But prosecutors witness.

Hall testified at the trial that Chavis urged the firebombing of the grocery and the "ambush" of policemen and firemen when they arrived to fight the fire.

Hall, who was sentenced to 12 years in prison for an unrelated "violence in 1971, recanted his testimony in 1976.

He said his trial testimony was procured by "threats, factual misrepresentations and promises of leniency by the prosecutor," the 89 page brief said.

The government brief said Hall's attempt during the trial to explain inconsistencies in his testimony was "misleading and possibly even perjurious."

It said the availability of the amended statement to lawyers "would therefore be material for impeaching Hall's credibility," which was "the critical issue" in each of the 10 convictions.

The government said the federal court must determine whether the convictions "rest on a reliable foundation."

"If the court is concerned, as we are, about the reliability of these convictions, and feels that fundamental principles of fairness have been violated, it should grant petitioners' request for Habeas Corpus relief," said the brief signed by Drew Days, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights division.

The Wilmington 10 were convicted of firebombing an unoccupied building and conspiring to shoot at policemen and firemen in February 1971, during racial unrest stemming from desegregation efforts.

Following an outcry from civil rights groups, North Carolina Governor James Hunt Jr., last January, reduced their sentences from minimums of 20 to 25 years to move up the dates at which the 10 inmates became eligible for parole. Hunt rejected pleas that he pardon the 10.

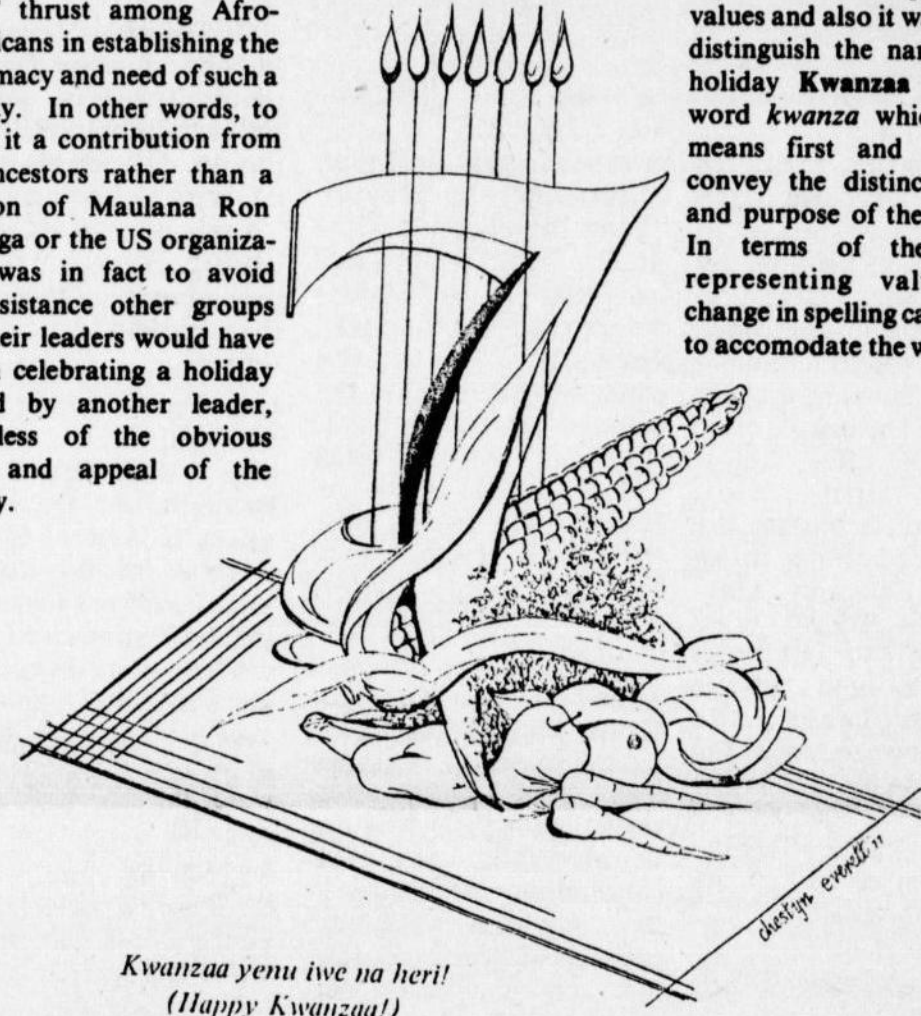
KWANZAA: A Different

The following article was compiled by Brother Tambuzi and Sister Salimu from the booklet entitled *KWANZAA: Origin*, obtained by writing the distributors- New Afro-American Movement, P.O. Box 13643, S.D., Ca. 92113.

Kwanzaa has come from its early origins as a cultural idea expression of US Organization, to become the only nationally celebrated, indigenous, non-heroic Black holiday in the U.S. From the close small celebrations of a dedicated few, it has become the established practice of millions of Black people at various socio-economic levels. Such a growth and expansion represents its critical importance to the people from and for whom it evolved and thus, all praise is due to the masses of Black people for its inspiration and expansion. In 1966, when Dr. Karenga created Kwanzaa, he put emphasis on the African roots of the holiday rather than its Afro-American roots and content for four basic reasons. First, we, Afro-Americans, are an African people and thus, our creations are African both in terms of racial type and historical and cultural continuity. He did not mean to suggest in any way that Kwanzaa was a continental African holiday rather than an Afro-American one. On the contrary, he stressed that although Kwanzaa has some historical roots in Africa, it is essentially a product of the particular social conditions and self-determined needs of the Afro-American people.

Secondly, in the 60's, the general thrust was to demonstrate and defend the historical and cultural unity of Africans on the continent and Africans in the diaspora. Thus, the intent and urgency was to narrow and deny the differences between continental and diasporan Africans, not to admit or critically expound on them. Thirdly the concept of Kwanzaa as a holiday of the "first fruits" comes directly out of the tradition of agricultural peoples in Africa, who celebrated and gave thanks for harvests at designated times of the year. Although Afro-Americans are essentially an urban people and thus have no crops to harvest, the concept of "ingathering and celebration" formed a conceptual basis for Kwanzaa. Thus, Kwanzaa is a time for the gathering in of our people, celebration of ourselves and our achievements and rededication to greater achievements and fuller, more meaningful lives in the future. Moreover, the collective values, spirit and practices which pervade the Kwanzaa holiday, have their historical and cultural roots in Africa.

A fourth reason for stressing the continental roots of Kwanzaa rather than its Afro-American ones was to facilitate its acceptance among the diversity of groups and persons who would eventually accept it. To stress its continental aspects rather than its Afro-American roots and content, was to take advantage of the "return to roots" thrust among Afro-Americans in establishing the legitimacy and need of such a holiday. In other words, to make it a contribution from the ancestors rather than a creation of Maulana Ron Karenga or the US organization, was in fact to avoid the resistance other groups and their leaders would have had in celebrating a holiday created by another leader, regardless of the obvious merit and appeal of the holiday.



Kwanzaa yenu iwe na heri!
(Happy Kwanzaa!)

Kwanzaa is not a Black Christmas or Black Chanukah, and thus is not a time for widespread alienated and expensive gift giving which will impose unnecessary and excessive financial burdens on Black people. On the contrary, one of its main functions is to escape the economic entrapment and alienated gift giving which the Christmas season has come to include and demand. It was in an effort to escape this entrapment and alienated activity that Kwanzaa was established for the days 26 December-1 January. It is economically sound to shop when the after-Christmas sales begin. Moreover, some of the basic operational principles for celebrating Kwanzaa are that gifts: 1) be given mainly to children; 2) that they always be given on the basis of merit in terms of commitment made and kept; and 3) that they not be mandatory, excessive or unrelated to the goals of liberating and rebuilding ourselves as a free, proud and productive people. Since our gifts are purposive and no longer mandatory for everyone regardless of merit

and our feelings for them, we not only save our money, but more important we save ourselves from the crass commercialism and alienated and alienating practices which are rooted in and reflective of it. Thus, to fail to recognize and respect these principles is not only to deform the spirit and purpose of Kwanzaa but also to

disregard the social needs and national purposes of the people for whom it was created.

The name Kwanzaa is derived from the Swahili word, *kwanza* which means first and is part of the phrase *matunda ya kwanza* (first fruits). The extra "a" as added for two reasons; first, it represented an expression of values and also it was done to distinguish the name of the holiday Kwanzaa from the word *kwanza* which simply means first and does not convey the distinct identity and purpose of the holiday. In terms of the change representing values, the change in spelling came about to accommodate the wishes and

(the seven candles). The two supplementary symbols are the *Nguzo Saba* (The Seven Principles) and the *bendera ya taifa* (the national flag or standard).

There are several Kwanzaa activities. The first is pouring the *tambiko* or libation for the ancestors. In performing the *tambiko* the *kikombe* is filled with wine or grape juice and after praising and committing the people to the historical tasks done by our ancestors, there is a call to unity and collective work and struggle, the *Harambee* in which everyone participates. The *kikombe* is then passed first to the *wazee* (elders) in respect and then to others in turn. In the lighting of the *mishumaa* the principles of *Nguzo Saba* are honored and the commitment to them reinforced. Usually it is the children who light the candles. There are seven candles; one black, three red and three green. The Black candle is placed in the front of the *kinara*, the three red candles on the left and the three green on the right of the *kinara*. Each day a candle is lit to symbolize one of the *Nguzo Saba*. After a candle is lit the principle for which it stands is explained and used as the main topic of discussion for that day.

The black candle is in the center because it represents Black people in unity, and unity is a central or foundational principle. Also, the black candle is the first candle lit because it is the first principle of the *Nguzo Saba*. Beginning with the second day, the candles are lit on the left and the right alternately. This is done because the red candles on the left represent struggle which comes before a green future can be assured. This reinforces the fact that there can be no future unless and until there is struggle. Finally, each candle which has been lit is relit along with the candles of the day until the last candle has been lit on the last day of Kwanzaa.

inspire the creativity of our children. At the very beginning of US, there were only seven children in the organization and they wanted to put on a program in which each of them represented and explained a letter of Kwanzaa. The spelling of the word was then adjusted to their wish and in the process, proved at the inception of the holiday where priorities lie and the direction in which Kwanzaa would develop.

Kwanzaa, like all holidays, has its symbols. And like all symbols, Kwanzaa symbols serve as instructive and inspirational objects which represent and reinforce desirable principles, concepts and practices. Kwanzaa has seven basic symbols an two supplementary symbols. These symbols are both traditional and modern concepts which evolved out of the life and struggle of Afro-American people.

These basic symbols are: 1) *mazao* (crops); 2) *mkeka* (mat); 3) *kinara* (the candle holder); 4) *vibunzi* (ears of corn); 5) *zawadi* (gifts); 6) *kikombe cha umoja* (the unity cup); and 7) *mishumaa saba*



VIBUNZI

Kind of Holiday

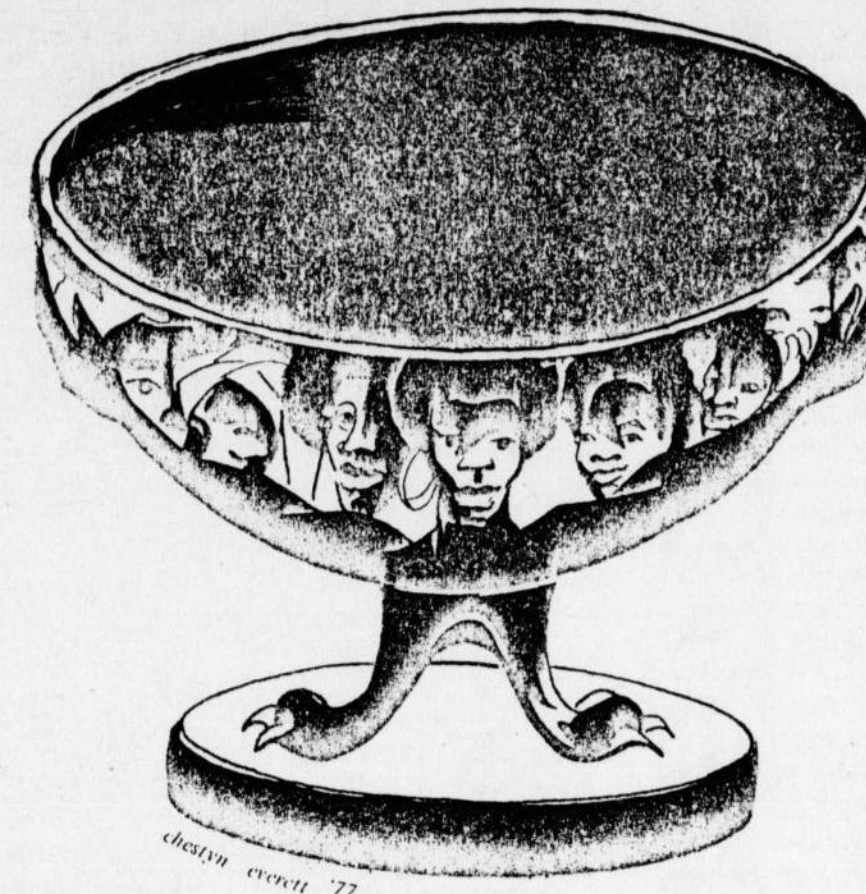
Concepts and Practice by M. Ron Karenga Ph. D. published by KAWAIDA Publishers, 1977, S.D., Ca. The booklet can be Illustrations from the booklet by Chestyn Everett.

said because it is a traditional value to always speak in the collective even when speaking to one person. For communal values mean that a person is always part of a greater collectivity and thus, is never alone or speaking just for her/himself.

December 31, the night of the Kwanzaa *karamu* is a very special occasion because it is a community and cooperative project of ceremonies, *tambiko*, cultural expressions and a magnificent feast of various foods prepared by all attending. The *karamu* (feast) is another of the important reinforcing activities of Kwanzaa. The food for the night is contributed by each participating house (family) which prepares an agreed upon dish or dishes. In this manner everyone participates in contributing to the collective project (*Ujima*) and thus, be and feel a vital part of the collective exchange and enjoyment.

The place where the *karamu* takes place is decorated in an African motif using a red, black and green color scheme. A large Kwanzaa setting is placed in the room of the *Karamu* and a large *mkeka* is placed in the center of the floor where all the food is placed and made easily accessible to all for self-service. Before and during the feast, an informative and entertaining program is presented. Traditionally, the program involves welcoming, remembering, reassessment, recommitment and rejoicing, concluded by a farewell statement and call for greater unity and struggle.

The following explanation of the significance of the symbols of Kwanzaa will better put them in perspective as to their choice and use. *Mazao* (crops) represent the historical root of the holiday as a celebration of harvest or first fruit. As well it stands as a symbol of the rewards of collective productive labor. Just as harvest time is a time of "gathering in" of *mazao* so is Kwanzaa a time of "gathering in" of the community and a celebration and reinforcement of the kinship and unity of our people. The *mkeka* (mat) is the symbol of tradition and by extension, history. It was chosen because it is itself a traditional African item. Tradition and history are foundations for correct knowledge and understanding of self, society and the world. In recognition of this fact, all other Kwanzaa



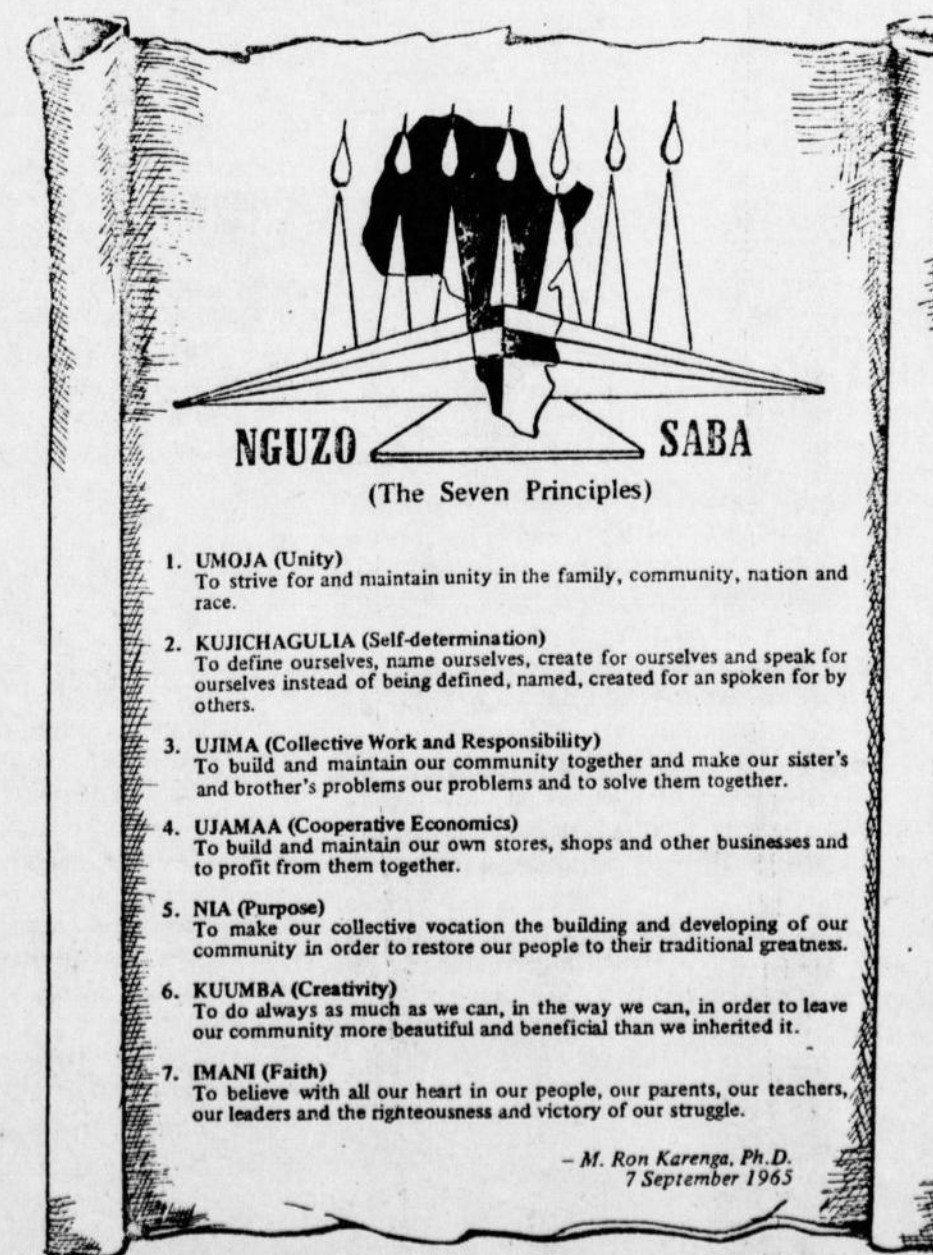
KIKOMBE CHA UMOJA

symbols are placed on the *mkeka* and it too becomes a foundation. The *kinara* is symbolic of our parent people, the continental Africans. Adapted from a Zulu concept, the *kinara* is viewed as representational of the African man and African woman. For parenthood is unalterably linked to and dependent on the presence

and performance of the man and the woman. Or as is maintained in a fundamental assertion of Afro-American folk wisdom, "Without two people, ain't no new people." The *vibunzi* represent our children, thus, each house (family) uses as many ears of corn as it has children. In traditional terminology, the ears of corn represent the

produce of the stalk, and the potential of the offspring to become stalks or producers and reproducers themselves, thus insuring the immortality of the people or nation. In a word, the stalk (*kinara*) and ears of corn (*vibunzi*) are conceptually and functionally linked in the task of establishing and perpetuating the people. The *zawadi* are

symbolic of the seeds sown by the children (i.e. the commitments made and kept) and of the fruits of the labor of the parents. The Kwanzaa gift giving is open and informed, so that parents would receive due credit for their sacrifice and hard work to provide their children with the *zawadi*. This, in fact, also put an end to the negative and demeaning practice of reducing Black parents to the role of mediators and messengers for a mythological elf or a strange European or newly hired Black in red and white promising things that he couldn't deliver and had no idea of whether the parents could either. Such an arrangement not only makes a mockery of reality, but also damages the image of loving and productive parents in the process. After all, are the parents so untrustworthy that a hired White or Black stranger has to be told what a child really wants in spite of and/or in addition to a direct request from the child to them? The answer is obvious and the question and practice would be unthinkable or at least absurd in the context of a Black, self-defining, self-developing value system. The *kikombe cha umoja* (cup of unity), as the name suggests, symbolizes the first or foundational principle of the *Nguzo Saba*, *Umoja* (unity). It is used to pour *tambiko* (libation) for the ancestors and then drunk from by each member of the immediate or extended family in a reinforcement gesture of honor, praise and collective work and commitment to continue the struggle as they began. At Kwanzaa time, pouring *tambiko* and making a *tamshi la tambiko* (libation statement) are key reinforcing gestures. This ceremony, done in praise and honor of the collective commitment to the work and struggle of the ancestors is both instructive and inspirational, as well as mandatory within the framework of a value system guided by *Nguzo Saba*. Finally the *mishumaa saba* (seven candles) represent *Nguzo Saba* which are outlined below.



NGUZO SABA
(The Seven Principles)

1. UMOJA (Unity)
To strive for and maintain unity in the family, community, nation and race.
2. KUJICHAGULIA (Self-determination)
To define ourselves, name ourselves, create for ourselves and speak for ourselves instead of being defined, named, created for or spoken for by others.
3. UJIMA (Collective Work and Responsibility)
To build and maintain our community together and make our sister's and brother's problems our problems and to solve them together.
4. UJAMAA (Cooperative Economics)
To build and maintain our own stores, shops and other businesses and to profit from them together.
5. NIA (Purpose)
To make our collective vocation the building and developing of our community in order to restore our people to their traditional greatness.
6. KUUMBA (Creativity)
To do always as much as we can, in the way we can, in order to leave our community more beautiful and beneficial than we inherited it.
7. IMANI (Faith)
To believe with all our heart in our people, our parents, our teachers, our leaders and the righteousness and victory of our struggle.

- M. Ron Karenga, Ph.D.
7 September 1965

Black Politics

-cont. from page 4-

Thirdly, since the brokers are mainly individuals or small groups of professional dealers, they are grossly unequal to the Republican Party, not only in terms of historical experience in making and handling such deals, but also in terms of structural capacity to act and achieve. They thus, imagine they are using, but end up being used to the further detriment of the Black masses.

Finally there is no clear definition of minimum and maximum interests and no agreement on what is to be done to define and realize them. Likewise, there is no current strategy of how to actually use the Republicans to pressure the Democrats or demand and get from each party a minimum set of legislative and financial concessions.

Thus, as argued above, the question of what is to be done is unavoidably linked to the question of how and with what will it be done. Put in other words, the question of strategy cannot be divorced from the question of structure. And if Blacks are to harness and effectively use their electoral power, they must construct a national strategy and a national structure to do it. *Power, as a collective capacity, is, in the final analysis, a function of structure and organization.* Thus, in electoral politics, it is impossible to talk seriously of power outside a party structure rooted in a recognizable and supportive constituency.

Black participation in the Democratic Party is an expression of influence, not power, a historical arrangement that has effectively outlived its usefulness in its current form and needs to be transformed. Black participation in the Republican Party has been since the 30's marginal and almost meaningless. And the talk of increasing that participation threatens a duplication of the Democratic experience, i.e., being granted influence as opposed to self-conscious assuming effective power.

There is only one serious alternative to such an absorption and historical exploitation and that is to build a national Black party. Such a structure is necessary and, in fact, unavoidable if Black people are going to gain the kind of power in U.S. society they need to define, realize and defend their interests. However, this national Black party cannot

be the typical vote-getting structure in the image of the Republican and Democratic Parties.

Such a national Black party must be a mass grassroots structure which is organized on the local, regional and national level, first around immediate interests of the people involved and then extended to national proportions. In a word, it must engage in mass struggle around daily-life issues in order to root and strengthen itself among the masses of Black people. Once so rooted and strengthened, it cannot only conduct and win elections, but more important, it can act in power on behalf of the national Black community in relations with the established order. Carter can tell Vernon Jordan and the Black Caucus they effectively only speak for themselves, because, in fact, it's true. At best, they only speak for their organizations and on some issues their class, but hardly ever for the masses. A national Black party would eliminate such embarrassing weakness.

Also, a national Black party could effectively penalize enemies of Black interests and reward friends. It could withhold and give, block and give access. In a word, it would enable Black political leadership to move beyond moral appeals and deal from a position of power. Thus, the question of strategy and structure could be raised and answered with one stroke and the fact of tenuous influence would give way to the essence to politics - power.

Namibia Elections Held

As this edition of *The People's Voice* goes to press, 'elections' are being held in Namibia. SWAPO (South-West African People's Organization) as well as other nationalist groups are calling for a boycott of the elections. At present there is no word as to how the elections are proceeding.

SWAPO is calling for a boycott of the elections because of the refusal of South Africa which is in administrative control of Namibia due to a League of Nations mandate, not

abiding by United Nations and Western Nations' demands that open internationally observed elections be held. South Africa is determined to keep control of Namibia both as a buffer against Black Africa as well as the desire to control Walvis Bay, Namibia's only seaport and a desirable military installation in the eyes of South Africa.

South Africa went on with the elections despite international protests and is thus facing the opposition of the movements within Namibia. It remains to be seen, the outcome of the elections and the action to be taken by the people of Namibia.

U.S. Banks Lend Millions to Chile

A number of private U.S. banks have decided to grant \$300 million in credit to Chile. Although the U.S. government has declared economic sanctions against the repressive regime of General Pinochet, due to massive human rights violations, the American banks agreed to extend credit to the South American nation.

Recently a member of the ruling junta was reported to have said that he was not worried about the economic sanctions imposed by the U.S. government as Chile had good credit with American banks. The remark seems to be well founded as the \$300 million was granted. It is to be paid off in ten years with a five year grace period.

According to data from the Central Bank of Chile, since September 11, 1973 when the constitutionally elected, Socialist government of Salvador Allende was overthrown by a right-wing coup aided by the CIA, 51.38% of Chile's credit has come from the U.S. This latest sum will be added to the two million already granted to the Pinochet regime by the U.S. and U.S. controlled international financial agencies during the period 1974-77.

VACATION TIPS: Go Stick Your Head In A Book!

If you have been wondering what you're going to do to keep yourself busy during the holiday break when there will be no O Chem or Physiology Classes to keep you occupied, when you can't look forward to a night at Central cuddled up with a copy of some scholarly tome such as *Scatological Aspects of Mid to Late 17th Century Afghani Throw Rugs* or the like, in preparation for the next days exam, allow me to suggest something to fill up the otherwise wasted hours. Get yourself a copy (or have someone else get you a copy if you want, I'm easy enough to please) of *Things Fall Apart* by Chinua Achebe. While not quite the same fare as the previously mentioned book, you may find it, as I did to be one of the most enjoyable and enlightening books you have ever read.

The action takes place in late 19th century Nigeria in the interior, where White penetration had not yet begun, although, various aspects of the intruders culture have preceded him, such as the gun and curiously enough a bicycle. The action revolves around the most respected man of the village and his reaction to the encroachment of White civilization and the subsequent disintegration of the Ibo Culture.

Although written in the mid-twentieth century, the novel evokes vivid pictures of the Ibo culture both before contact with the Whites and in the transition period. Beyond its cultural value, the novel is also a perceptive delving into the psyche of a man caught up in forces which he does not really understand, yet knows are destroying his world.

When I first encountered the novel in a Third World Literature and Society class, I had never read an African novel. Since then I have taken almost every opportunity I could to recommend it, hoping others would find it the revelation I did, both in terms of a cultural and artistic experience.

If you think you would not be inclined to sit down with a book during the vacation when you don't need to, I would like to insure you that you are missing a valuable experience. If, on the other hand, novels aren't your bill of fare, there's always the more serious sort of work. One which immediately springs to itself to me is *The Choice* by Samuel Yette.

In *The Choice* Yette puts forth very convincing evidence to show that the wheels of genocide are grinding here in the 'Land of the Free'. The Black race, having served its purpose of providing cheap labor and thus, capital for the ruling strata of the society, is now a marginal people to be destroyed. Among the evidence Yette produces are the government contingency plans developed by a Congressional sub committee during the Johnson administration for the disposition of Blacks if armed began or seemed likely. Cordoning off of the Black communities and turning off water and utilities, curfews, passes using photos similar to those employed in South Africa, armed patrols and informers were all to be used as well as the reactivation of the camps used to intern the Japanese-Americans during World War II. Reading Yette's *The Choice* is a very good lesson about the old adage that 'Just because you're paranoid doesn't mean they're not out to get you.'

No matter if you take me up on either or neither of these suggestions, I hope that all goes well and happy for everyone while away from the old school grind, and I look forward to seeing you when we return.

-Lennie Edwards-

People's Temple

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symbolism as a form of collective behavior, is not always expressed, nor is it merely always practical; but it is an effort, more or less to create symbols which give meaning to one's self, hence, on the large scale to restore balance to a society.

-Eric Howard-