

Black History Month Issue!!

The People's Voice

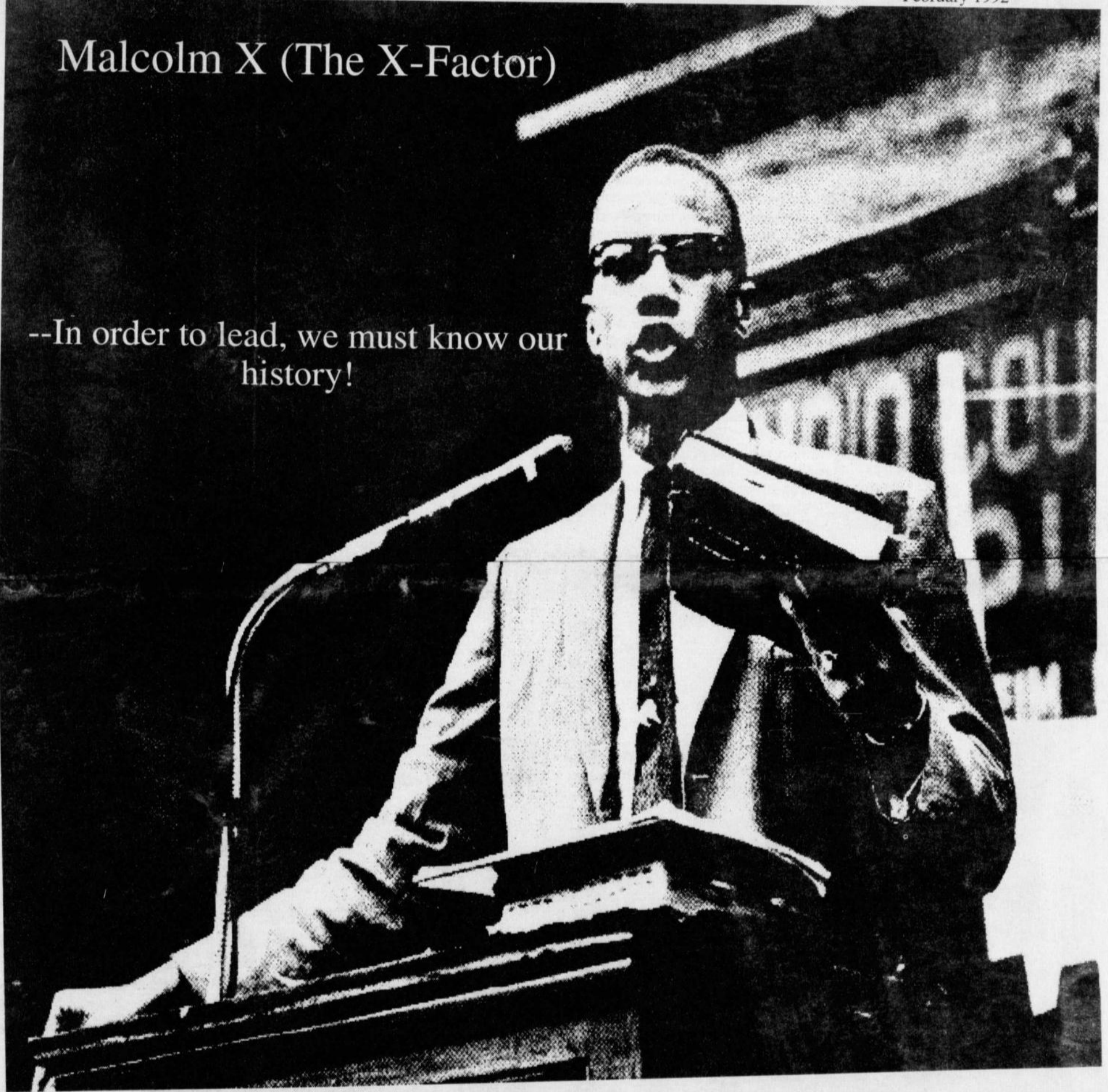
University of California at San Diego

Vol. 15, No. 1

February 1992

Malcolm X (The X-Factor)

--In order to lead, we must know our history!



Are You Down With T.P.V.?

Turn this page and find out what we are down for...

Editor's Notebook

The Peoples' Voice Manifesto

Are you down with TPV?
Before you answer, you need to know what the Peoples' Voice stands for.

Our stated purpose:

(1) To educate, and uplift the African American peoples in general. We plan to report the real news, and offer powerful commentary on the state of African American Affairs.

We are for the uplift of African Americans in general, and for the uplift of African American students on UCSD's campus in particular. In an era of declining enrollment of African American students in general, we are fully committed to increasing enrollment of African American students. We are committed to the retention of African American students. We are committed to uplifting and educating students on their history, heritage, and legacy. In an era of increasing racism, we stand as a bastion against the further spread of racism, and we are fully committed to educating all students concerning the accomplishments and achievements of African Americans.

(2) We are against discrimination in all forms. Primarily, we are against discrimination based on immutable characteristics (those characteristics with which people are born with and have no control over). Those characteristics include race, ethnicity, national origin, sex and gender. Furthermore, we are against discrimination based on lifestyle, preference, and culture.

(3) We are committed to making a real difference in the state of affairs effecting African Americans. We do not intend to be a reflection of traditional news bias, but to be a reflection of the genuine achievements of African Americans. We seek a more positive and authentic portrayal of African Americans, offering alternative interpretations to traditional media.

(4) Understanding that unity is required for any goal involving any group of people. We would like to be seen and used as a tool to accomplish that goal. As campus media representing students of color, African American students in particular, we feel obligated and take pride in amplifying the "Voices of the People".

Not only are we committed to destroying the ignorance which blinds many of us, but we are especially concerned with the plight of African American students. We want to encourage, self-confidence, and self-pride. This requires that you know who you are (where you came from and where you want to go). This will be fulfilling our most important mission.

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We The People of The

(New) People's Voice

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(1) Marcia Strong,

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(3) God,

(9) All the individuals

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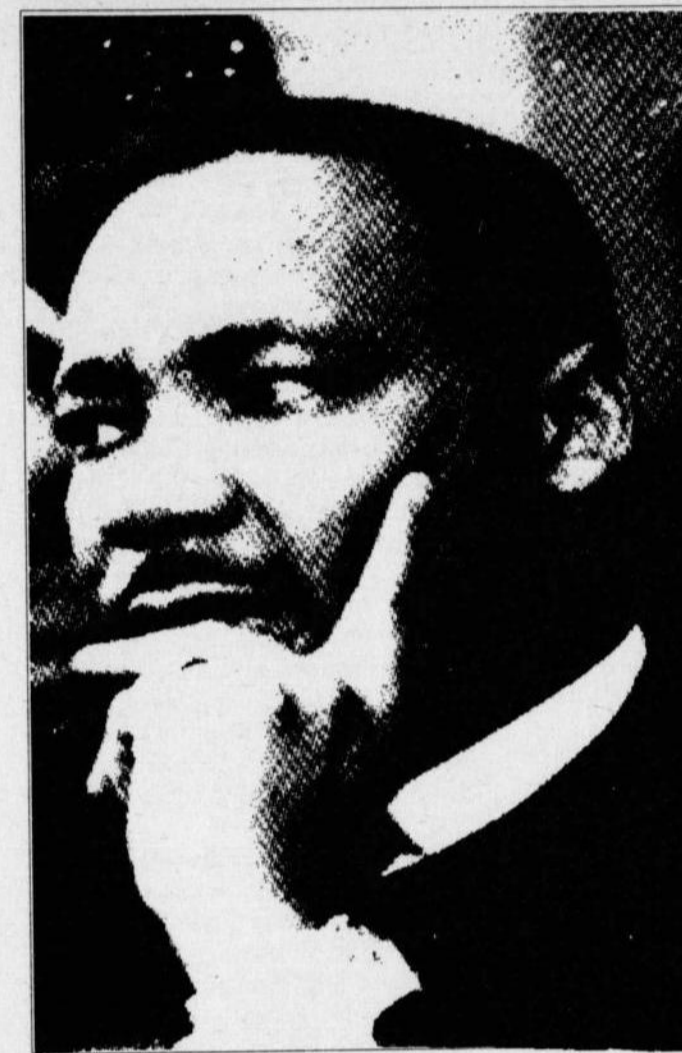
This issue is dedicated to the

memory and work of the late

Dr. Charles Thomas

Commentary

A Message to African American Students



By Gaye Johnson
Inherent sources of happiness and turn to following patterns of pain and falsehood.

altogether knowledgeable in economics, politics, and education, but that doesn't mean we can help the uneducated. It doesn't mean

Self-empowerment and education not only means realizing the way society works to destroy humanity and soul through capitalistic concepts of fulfillment, it also means realizing that the system keeps people down, it makes people keep themselves down. If we are to become successful and first in education, then we must be first in love. In keeping with the teachings of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., it must be remembered that we may be

we are the most qualified to lead. We must know through and through what brings us forward, not only what keeps us down. Love and understanding are difficult virtues to maintain - they sound too idealistic in a world so entrenched in false and destructive ideologies. But as sure as we have come this far, picking ourselves up after every fall, what has kept us going is our connection to the love of our people and our ensuing resilience - through music, church, black writers, family, and countless other channels. The power of this love has kept our survival real and concrete, and I sometimes wonder at the possibilities of such a magnificent virtue - something which our oppressors have virtually forgotten. We cannot afford to succumb to a passive acceptance of what is going on today. Unlike many of our brothers and sisters, who have been oppressed to the point of numbness, we as students must remember that we have an opportunity not afforded to many - and we can be sure of our declining numbers in higher education with policies aimed at the eventual exclusion of students of color by fee increases, cuts in financial aid, and other financial trickery. What matters is that we are here now, doing things that our parents, grandparents, and other members of our

collective family have fought and sometimes died for. So my message to African American students in a system whose intentions are always questionable, is to preserve your resilience, your humanity, your love, your happiness. Yes - using the UC system is one of the most difficult ways to become educated! And we are a group plagued by financial problems and an environment which chooses to misunderstand the history we bring with us to this arena. Yet we have never given up - keep that in mind as you use your peripheral vision to maintain an awareness of the political goings-on of this country. We are a strong people, and our strength stems only from love, who is God, who is us. Happy Birthday Rev. Dr. King.

See page 5 for a Full Feature on Dr. King (1929-1968)

The Misunderstanding of Malcolm X

BY Sudhir Venkatesh

Twentieth century society is forever building on a foundation of sand. Insecurity and self hatred underlie the institution, values and goals projected by society onto the public. Man is constantly placing love through material objects in hopes that love will be granted in return. A man so hard and compassionate as Malcolm X was a thorn to society. Malcolm constantly gave his love to his fellow man unconditionally. However, this love was twisted by society into hate and it resulted in a complete misunderstanding of the man, Malcolm X.

Malcolm X was regarded as a racist, a vigilante, a white hater radical. The majority of people familiar with the name Malcolm X, tend to use such descriptions. Many of these labels arise out of ignorance. Not only is this ignorance derived from a failure to know Malcolm X as a human being, but also from a blind faith in the teachings received from surrounding social institutions. Stating that an individual is ignorant and obtaining personal satisfaction is as much a sin as that of remaining without knowledge. However attempting to understand the reasons why this general opinion is held constructive, and in doing so we gain a better understanding of the man not just the name!

Increasingly, knowledge is being reduced into a familiarity with facts and figures. The philosophy of mass education has rewarded those capable of regurgitating previously given information. The response is of the type he was a fanatic, he was a white hater, and a communist. This reactionary responds demonstrates a false view of

Malcolm X, just as the statement that Christopher Columbus was a courageous, pioneer demonstrates a non-understanding of the atrocious means by which he conquered NEW LANDS. In most institutionalized forms of teaching, history is reduced to meaningless statements, resulting in the student being completely alienated from his past. Taking a view as such in Malcolm X leads to misunderstanding. To know Malcolm X, one must know him as a complete human being, involved in a personal struggle.

Malcolm X's voice was that of the downtrodden, impoverished man in society. Malcolm's words were directed toward the oppressed as well as the oppressor. He attempted to awaken the black man to his present status in society, realizing that only by unification could their problems be resolved. To unify and strengthen black solidarity was his primary motive, not an overthrow of all white individuals. This misunderstanding stems from a lack of understanding the motivations of Malcolm X. His comments against the WHITE MAN were constantly focused on by social critiques and the media. Malcolm saw that the murders, rapes, killing and discrimination committed against black individuals were done by the white race. He never incited a revolution against all white man. Rather, he was appealing to his fellow man to stand up and defend themselves. This was the only way to achieve justice. The peaceful movements were making some progress, yet, they did almost nothing to curtail the day to day acts of violence against innocent blacks. Fighting fire with fire was the only

way to deal with this problem.

Attempting to locate the source of the false view of Malcolm X is a difficult task. In essence, there were many factors that influenced the way in which people view him. However, for most people throughout the world, the media was the main source of information. The media being so powerful in its influence over the minds of individuals, distorted, prejudiced and falsified Malcolm X and his message by rearranging his words to work in their favor. By presenting a one sided view, blacks as well as whites felt hatred for Malcolm X. The task of unifying blacks was even harder for Malcolm and other Black Leaders.

Malcolm X was searching for his identity in an age where man seems to have lost his true self. Malcolm's search was for all Blacks. Not only Blacks, but all non-white cultures are struggling to fight for Human Rights. In this light, one can truly appreciate and

understand the struggle of Malcolm X and other pioneers of Human Equality.



See page 15 for a Full Feature on Malcolm X (1925-1965)



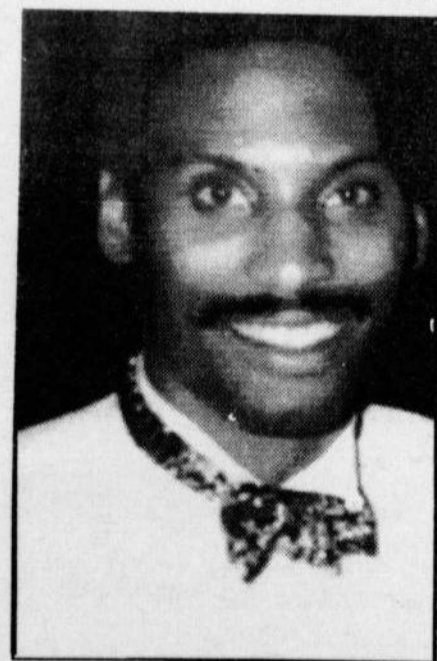
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"Plan your work, and work your plan."

--Dr. Charles Thomas

Educating our Own

By Paul Terry

EDUCATION

All our lives we are taught that education is the key to success in this country. Educational achievement is directly related to income which is directly related to social status. This is to say, educational achievement or underachievement for that matter, can and is used as a discriminatory tool, depending upon the person or groups of persons involved.

According to the July 1991 issue of *U.S. News and World Report*, the average education for White Americans in 1965 was twelve years. The same survey showed that the average for non-Whites was nine years. In 1990, the average education for White Americans was 12.7 years. Once again, the non-Whites' average was lower showing 12.4 years. These statistics clearly show an increase in non-Whites high school graduates—good. The only problem is, in 1990 a high school diploma bought little more than a unskilled minimum-wage earning position—not good. In 1988, the average number of White Americans 25 years or older, with four years of college or more was 23.5%—not bad. In that same year, the average number of non-Whites 25 years or older, with four or more years of college was 16.4%. Does that sound OK?—Not bad, you say. What is significant here is, that these averages include all non-Whites, which places the African American statistics even lower!

Clearly, there is a problem. Perhaps the problem lies in the fact that the Western educational system seldom, if ever, caters to the needs of the African American student. To make such a statement is to suggest that

African Americans have different educational needs—needs which are fundamental to the African American student. African history for instance, is vital in the early developmental stages of any African American child. Yet, this essential (i.e. African history) has been denied the African American child, and in fact, has been falsified. The denial and falsification of African history, an integral part of world history, is as damaging to a student as lack of a mother is to a child. This as we know, does not mean that the child cannot survive. Certainly not, or else African American students in higher education would be nonexistent. What it does mean, is that growth will most certainly be hindered.

Maybe Eurocentric and Afrocentric education do not match. If this is so, then how do we resolve this educational crisis? To make changes in the educational system is definitely achievable; however, total reconstruction of this educational system, on the other hand, is very questionable, especially since students of color in particular, are the ones who gain the least from it.

African American students comprise less than 2% of the total UCSD population, which means that not enough African American students or students of color are surviving the primary educational system. There is definitely a need for a system within a system beginning at kindergarten which could produce college-bound students of color.

THE EDUCATIONAL CRISIS

Among the animal and bird kingdoms, there

are certain species classified as "endangered" by the Department of the Interior. This label has been assigned to these species because they are becoming scarce due to adverse environmental conditions and the insatiable greed of man. In many cities it is a very common practice to spend money on feeding and housing lost or unwanted pets. The African American student, whose numbers are declining drastically, surely fall under the category of "endangered" as well. Are we of no concern?

A NEW DEVELOPMENT

To many of us, the thought of private African American schooling would come as a surprise. But to the person responsible for its implementation it has come as a necessity. Private African American schooling is a wide-spread, but relatively little known phenomenon. This "underground railroad" in minority education allows the "slaves" of failed public schools to "escape" to freedom. America's network of private African American schools can and does offer services to only a small percentage of the population. But news of the network's success, spread by family ties and word-of-mouth, inspire many other African Americans. Just as the Harriet Tubmans of the Underground Railroads pursued their visions of freedom with tireless effort and personal devotion; these African American schools reflect the personality, character, and ideals of a single person or family—frequently the school's namesake. These founders and educators immerse themselves to the extent that these persons and institutions become almost indistinguishable.

Despite the success and reputation that these schools have achieved—exemplified by the nation-wide and even world-wide fame of Chicago educator and school founder, Marva Collins—some educated scholars, public officials, and even civil rights groups (supposed civil rights groups) question this unique and independent school mystique. Some challenge the school's high level of student achievement, low drop-out rates, and most importantly, the impressive college completion rates by denying that it is due to superior instruction, and contending that these are students already destined for success because of family "Blackground" or natural talents.

While these cost-saving institutions, supported largely by churches, take care of not only the education crisis, they also curb the potential African American parole statistic. Many critics state that private institutions with predominantly Black or other minority student populations foster racial segregation and separatism. Those same critics fail to cite the private predominantly White schools. These institutions are accused of countering comprehensive integration efforts in the public schools, and depriving students of what these critics view as a crucial role of public education, that is—socialization of minorities into the mainstream culture of the "United" States...sound familiar?

"Education is our passport to the future, for tomorrow belongs to the people who prepare for it today."

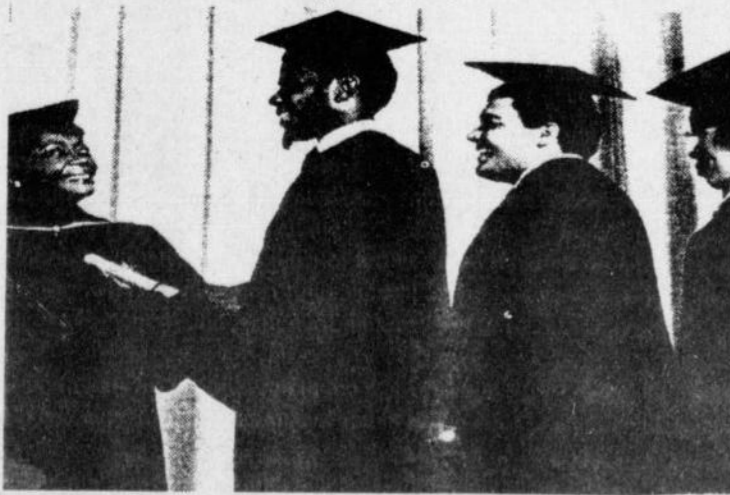
--Malcolm X

HOWARD HUGHES UNDERGRADUATE SCIENCE ENRICHMENT PROGRAM

The Howard Hughes Medical Institute awarded \$61 million in grant monies to 51 universities throughout the United States for the support of undergraduate science education. The grants were given to these universities not only to enhance undergraduate education, but to increase the number of students, especially students of color and women, who pursue science careers. Biology professor, Dr. Chris Wills, is the principal investigator for the UCSD program, which received \$1.2 million.

The Program at UCSD, entitled "Undergraduate Science Enrichment" has three components: 1) a high school science enrichment program, 2) lower division undergraduate academic support and 3) upper division undergraduate research. The program aims to stimulate students' interest in science careers. In the high school component, high school students are provided the opportunity to participate in a year-round science enrichment experience which includes tutorial assistance in math and science classes and help in developing science fair projects. Also, students are

selected to enroll in a six-week summer science camp on the UCSD campus. This effort involves the Elementary Institute of



Science, Lincoln High School, Gompers Secondary School and Morse High School in partnership with UCSD. Statistics show that during the first two years at the university, many students of color and women drop their plans for science careers. The second component of the UCSD program is aimed at preventing this attrition of science majors. Students are chosen through random selection as freshpersons to

participate with a diverse group of undergraduates, which involves academic and peer support in their science and math classes and contact with supportive faculty through seminars and laboratory apprenticeships. Laboratory apprenticeships can lead to \$350 stipends pending completion of lab work with a professor for one quarter. The third component of the program

enables junior and senior undergraduates in the biological, physical and engineering sciences to undertake summer research projects with faculty or industrial scientists, then develop their findings into honors theses. The Summer Research Program offers free on-campus housing with a \$2,000 stipend for eight weeks of lab work with a faculty sponsor. Participation is notched in

the memorandum column of the student's transcript, and can lead to exceptional letters of recommendation for graduate school. The Summer Research Program culminates in an Undergraduate Summer Research Conference, where the students present the results of their eight weeks' work to faculty and other peers. During the following academic year, students are encouraged to continue their lab work to receive an additional \$1,000 stipend upon completion of their Honors Thesis and presentation at the Spring Undergraduate Research Conference. In addition to these three components, Hughes funds are being used to develop an Interactive Videodisc Instruction Laboratory. The laboratory is a pilot program which invites instructors of lower division courses to develop either supplementary or self-contained instructional courses. The lab also serves as a workstation for students in lower and upper division science courses.

For more information or applications regarding the Howard Hughes Undergraduate Science Enrichment Program, contact People's Voice secretary, Marvita Madrid at 534-7761, or Bonnie Schmiege, Program Coordinator.

Dr. Martin Luther King: The Man, The Movement, and The Legacy

By Walter Harvey

THE MAN

Martin Luther King, Jr. was born the son of Martin, Sr. and Alberta Christine Williams on January 15, 1929 in Atlanta, Georgia. His father was a minister and self-made man, his mother was a school teacher. A young Martin grew up in Atlanta where his father was pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia. Although it was expected that he might naturally take over as pastor once his father stepped down, young Martin, at first, did not want to be a minister. However, his burning desire to make a lasting contribution to society, while also breaking the chains of injustice which bound nearly every African American led him down a path which would eventually take him into the pulpit and beyond.

A young Martin attended Morehouse College, a historically all-male Black College in Atlanta. There, in June of 1948, Martin received his B.A. degree, and he went on to acquire his B.D. degree from Crozer Theological Seminary in Philadelphia in 1951. In 1955, King would acquire his PhD from Boston University's Theological Seminary at the fresh young age of twenty-six. During 1955, King was appointed pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. It was here that Martin Luther King met his calling as a Civil Rights leader.

On December 1, 1955, a young lady named Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white, male passenger and was arrested for violating a law which mandated segregation on public buses. Her arrest led African Americans to organize, and they decided that it was time to fight Montgomery unjust segregation laws regarding public transportation in particular, and hopefully eliminate segregation in general. In order to fight this successfully, the African Americans of Montgomery wanted a person who could lead, while also being an eloquent spokesperson. They chose Dr. King as being the most qualified to lead them, and little did many know that this would be the dawn of a new era, taking the Civil Rights Movement to new heights.

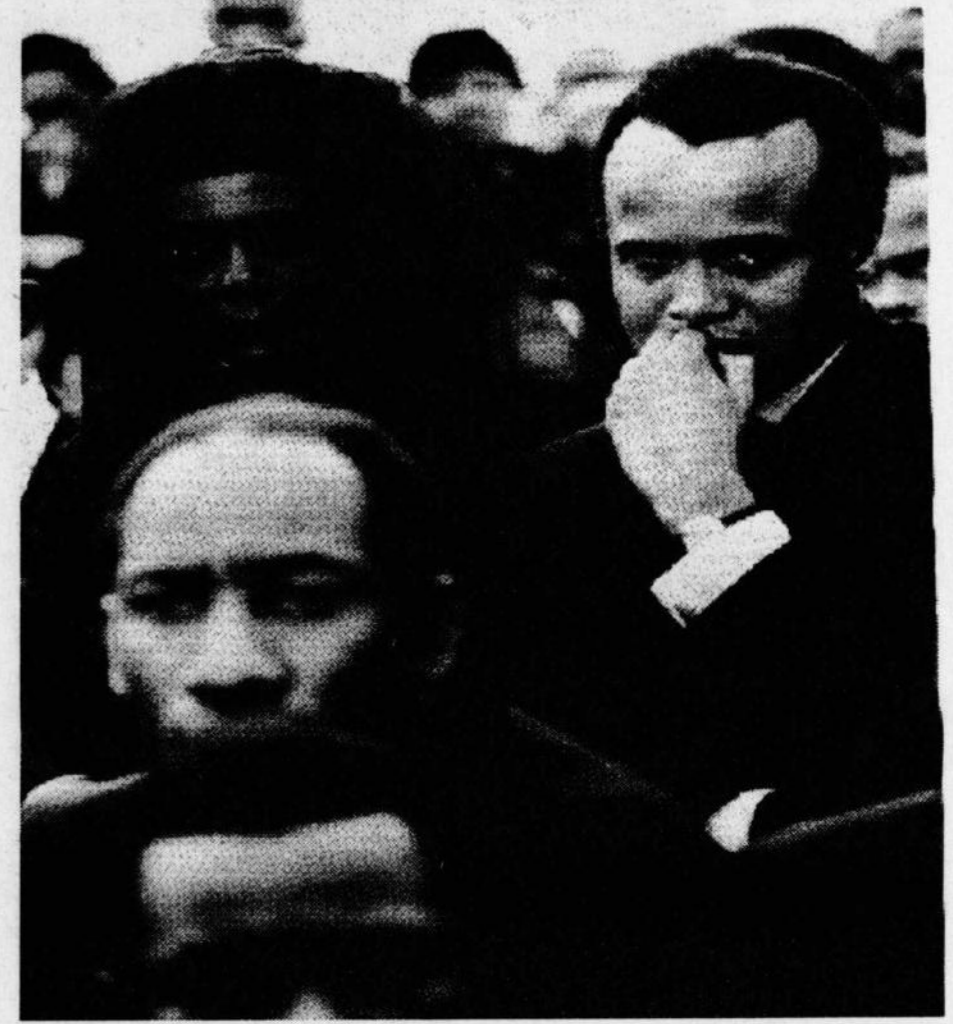
The African Americans of Montgomery had never organized themselves in such a way, and most lived under the oppressive fear of whites. Most were forced to work certain jobs and lynchings were a way of life. However, African Americans grew tired of the oppressive rule of this white regime and they organized to throw off all the shackles of oppressive segregation. They felt that all individuals should have the right to life, liberty, and happiness, not just whites. At this time in our history (only a generation ago), many whites argued that the Constitution did not apply to African Americans in this way. They believed that although all individuals are taxed the same, this country had always been a "white man's country", and that all others are merely "second-class" citizens. Dr. King rejected this; he believed that America had to start anew and renounce the notions of white supremacy. He said that if the Constitution of the United States stands against the struggle, then the Constitution itself is "wrong"—The Courts would later agree with him.

From December 1955 to December 1956, King successfully led a boycott of the Montgomery public buses. During this

period, there were unsuccessful attempts to take his life, but Dr. King did not allow racial hatred to defeat him. Dr. King practiced the techniques of non-violence, inspired by leaders and philosophers like Mahatma Gandhi and Henry David Thoreau. King developed his seven steps for nonviolent social change, and these steps are still taught and practiced here today.

beat, shot at, and stabbed, but he continued his nonviolent protests. King also involved himself with the plight of the working class man in America, as well as its poor and down-trodden. Dr. King was arrested during prayer vigils and peaceful marches; Dr. King was constantly harassed.

In March and April of 1963, Martin



The boycott cost the city of Montgomery dearly, and its public transit went from surplus to deficit. Still, the government of Montgomery refused to integrate the bus. It took a Federal Court decision in November 1955 to end segregation on the Montgomery buses. Therefore, the Montgomery boycott was partially victorious. First, it successfully eliminated legal segregation on Montgomery buses; second, it marked the first major step toward eliminating government-mandated segregation entirely; third and most of all, it gave the public a fresh, new, and articulate spokesperson for the Civil Rights cause. Still, it did not eliminate legal segregation entirely, and for that there would be much work to do. Many would lose their life, and this country would find itself embroiled in hatred and bitterness, nearly causing it to rend at its seams.

King went on further to say, "I submit to you that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and who willingly accepts the penalty of imprisonment in order to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustices, is in reality, expressing the highest respect for the law." King reminded the clergy that "everything that Hitler did in Germany was 'legal' and everything that the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was 'illegal.'" The message of the letter was heartfelt throughout the nation, and King was given worldwide heroic status.

Later that year on October 28, 1963, Dr. King delivered his most famous speech, "I Have A Dream". In this speech, King detailed his vision of a society free from racial, religious, class, and gender hatred. He envisioned a society of universal brotherhood and harmony, and he spoke with such a ringing conviction that he stirred the emotions of all of the 250,000 people that witnessed it. His oratory was so powerful that it has become the speech which we have

come to associate with King and his message. On December 10, 1963, Dr. King received the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway.

During 1964, racial conflicts became more heated and the country seemed to be on the brink of Civil War. Such acrimony reached the halls of the White House, and on March 3, 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson decided to address the nation on the Civil Rights problem. Johnson proposed his version of a far-reaching civil rights bill (which would be signed into law on August 8, 1965). In that speech, Johnson borrowed one of the phrases from the Civil Rights Movement in telling the nation that "we shall overcome".

Dr. King went further to involve himself in the crusade to eliminate poverty, he spoke out boldly against Vietnam, and he led voter registration campaigns as President of the Southern Leadership Conference. Dr. King's efforts were not in vain. By 1967, voter registration in Mississippi was up to 50% of the eligible Black citizens, largely due to voter registration drives by the SCLC. In 1967, King moved the struggle to the Urban North in an attempt to battle de-facto segregation and inhumane living conditions for African Americans living in tenements. He even rented a tenement apartment in Chicago and tried to take it over, but was sued by the owner.

On March 28, 1968, Dr. King led a protest in support of striking sanitation workers in Memphis, Tennessee. On April 3, 1968, Dr. King delivered his last speech, "I've Been to the Mountaintop". In this speech, Dr. King seemed to imply that he knew that he would be assassinated soon. King said, "We've got some difficult days ahead. But it doesn't matter to me now, because I've been to the Mountaintop...And I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight that we as a people will get to the promised land...I'm not worried about anything, I'm not fearing any man, mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord!"

On the following day, April 4, 1968, Dr. King was shot by a sniper while he was talking to friends on the second-floor room at the Lorraine Hotel in Memphis. He died a short time later at the young age of 39.

Although King was taken from us that fateful day by an assassin's bullet, his life and his cause continues to affect us all. To many he is gone, but his presence and his legacy lives on. For his cause, he has become a martyr, and it is up to us to make sure that he did not die in vain.

II. The Legacy?

He signifies a significant break with the past, more than just issues of race. For example, he showed Americans that they did not have to wait for change from above (Congress, the President, or the Courts). We have power to lead change from the grass roots, using unconventional methods not envisioned by the Framers, especially when one's rights are being infringed upon. We do not have to rely on individuals to make changes, neither do we have to await the outcome of single instances or single cases in the courts, we are

We are not paralyzed by inaction, we do not have to wait for anyone to give us anything, because if we wait to long, change (See King, on page 13)

The Spirit of Black Business

By Walter Harvey

The state of African American Affairs makes it necessary that Blacks empower themselves through self-help and self-determination. That requires having African Americans at all levels of the hierarchy, from the plumber to the CEO, from the secretary to the attorney, from the wage-earner to the business owner.

There has been great emphasis placed recently on the need for black business. Many Black intellectuals contend that the only true way for African Americans to gain confidence, dignity, pride, and tradition is through the ownership of the means to production. Others contend that only through self-help can African-Americans improve the quality of their own neighborhoods and compete with the newly arrived immigrant groups. New immigrant groups, like Haitians, Koreans, Vietnamese, and Cubans are turning once decayed and boarded up storefronts into thriving businesses throughout the African-American Communities. These new immigrant groups are evoking comparisons with African Americans and these comparisons have not been based on a true study of American history and American tradition.

New immigrant groups have a tradition in America of being the most enterprising Americans. If one looks at the U.S. Census data from 1870 through 1980, one finds that among the people who owned their own enterprises, they were most likely to be foreign-born. The pattern continues even moreso today, and I expect that the census figures may again reflect this pattern. In the offices of San Diego where business licenses are being filed, foreign-born immigrants flood the lists of new business start-ups. This pattern of foreign-born immigrants dominating the numbers of new business start-ups is also prevalent world-wide. In England, for example, this has been a general pattern throughout the centuries. In the late 1880s, Max Weber, in his influential work titled *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, noted that religious, or national minorities were more likely to be driven into entrepreneurial or economic activity because they were excluded from certain jobs or service to the state. Weber noted that this tendency had been true of Huguenots in France, Poles in Russia, Quakers in England, and Jews.

Immigrants are likely to be considered as "outsiders", and are often discriminated against because of race, ethnicity, or language. They turn to entrepreneurial activity in attempt to prevent themselves from being thrust to the bottom of the economic ladder. Jews in Europe, and Japanese in America at the turn of the century, and the Vietnamese in the 1990s have all followed a similar pattern.

U.S. Census data indicates that by 1977, enterprises owned by minorities had grown to more than 560,000, with more than \$26 billion in gross receipts (money earned). This only represents 5.7% of the total number of enterprises in America and 3.7% of the gross receipts, the number of minority firms in 1977 represented more than a 30% increase over the span of five years. During that same period gross receipts

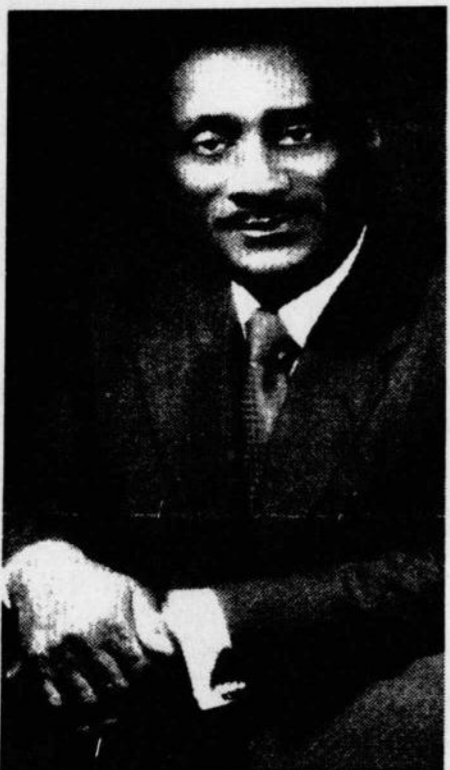
grew by nearly 70%. Asian Americans represented the largest growth in total receipts at 97%, but African Americans still showed growth with nearly 50%.

It is largely believed that African Americans are not as enterprising as most of the new immigrant groups, however, such a belief is not grounded in fact. In 1800, one of the richest men in Philadelphia was a Black man. In 1838, a publication revealed that 656 Black enterprises existed in Philadelphia and a gentleman by the name of Robert Bogle one of the city's most successful catering businesses. After the Civil War, Black business grew by leaps and bounds, and at the turn of the twentieth century, there were more Black businesses than there are today, even though there were less Blacks in 1900 than there are today.

If one ate a meal in a restaurant prior to the Civil War, there was a very good chance that it was owned and operated by Blacks — New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, New Orleans, and Baltimore were full of restaurants owned by free Blacks. Cincinnati was the center of Black economic activity. Prior to the Civil War, nearly half of the Blacks were slaves, but once free, they immediately caught the "entrepreneurial spirit". They soon were buying and selling real estate and even owned large-scaled plantations with slaves themselves.

In other words, Free Blacks were well-established as entrepreneurs throughout the country. It was estimated that the real and personal wealth of this group was well over \$50 million. Even though the North legally won the Civil War, free Blacks largely lost in the entrepreneurial realm. As new immigrants came to America and Blacks were legally forced from operating their businesses in white communities, Black entrepreneurship wondered who really benefitted from the Civil War victory. *Plessy v. Ferguson* gave segregation a legal and cruel foundation, and the results were devastating. This was the first and only time in American history that any group of business owners were forced to restrict the sales of its products to one race. Further, many states began to move to require business licenses for most trades, and on a large scale, Blacks were denied licenses. Further, Blacks were sometimes not even allowed to sell products at all under the oppressive rule of segregation. It was in this context that Booker T. Washington made his famous assertion in the *Atlanta Compromise* that Blacks "pull themselves up by their own bootstraps." When he made this speech, it is interesting to remember the context in which

it was made — Blacks were having their Civil Rights taken from them. Booker T.



Washington's Compromise was to allow for grave injustices and second-class citizenship to continue as long as Blacks were able to have some Black business. This is why many African American intellectuals disagree with Washington, and many go as far as labeling him an "Uncle Tom".

Blacks continued their entrepreneurial tradition under the oppressive hands of segregation. More than 125 banks were started to help finance Black enterprise, and model cities in North Carolina and Oklahoma served to create jobs, scholarships, and a financial base for Black communities. In 1933, C.C. Spaulding in the *Journal of Negro History*, marveled at the achievement of Black Business, asserting that they "stand as imperishable monuments to the Black man's genius in the phrase of human activity." Black enterprise did not survive because of America, it survived in spite of America. Therefore, the history of black business is a long one, and that "entrepreneurial spirit" is being revived.

The modern Civil Rights movement largely ignored the role of business. Traditionally, the Black churches were the spark plug that ignited new business start-ups. However, during the civil rights movement, their support of Black business waned somewhat. Subsequently, the entrepreneurial spirit has found its way back into the Black churches, and now they are once again encouraging Black enterprise. From Oakland, California to Jamaica, Queens, New York, Black churches since the 1970s have started credit unions, nursing homes, banks, and other service related business. This spirit of entrepreneurship and self-help has been revived, as African Americans realize that Black business is the nexus of the black community.

From 1977 to 1982, Black businesses increased by 100,000, and this represented a 47% increase over the earlier figures. Of these firms, over 90% were sole proprietorships, and the overwhelming number of them are service-related industries, as was the case throughout the African American entrepreneurial experience. African American businesses are making a comeback, and they are provided products and services to a wide variety of consumers, just as they did in the antebellum era. Many African Americans are passing up the opportunities to work at prestigious American business firms, and going to work for themselves. Black business is back.

Why we need Black Business

Today many see that integration has not solved the problems of the "Black underclass", although it has been great for

the "Black middle class". With the ascension of Affirmative Action as a political promise, rather than a governmental policy Black businesses must fill the void brought on by devastating unemployment in the African American communities throughout this nation. Blacks still face widespread discrimination in the job market. For example, last year, a federally-funded research institution (whose researchers were all-white), revealed that when whites and blacks of equal qualifications placed applications for job openings, they found that whites were much more likely to be called back for second interviews, and much more likely to get the job offer. This study also showed Latinos to be victims of similar types of discrimination, particularly in California.

In the job markets, no one can argue against racist rhetoric that does not make sense. In all cases, from David Duke in Louisiana, to LePenn in France, to the Neo-Nazis in Germany, they all claim "The Great Contradiction." On one hand, they claim that nonwhites are trying to take "white people's jobs", while on the other hand, they claim that the minorities do not want to work. That is one thing about racism, it doesn't make sense. However, one thing about this does make sense — if you subscribe to both of these beliefs, then you do not want minorities in America to receive equal treatment in the search for jobs.

John H. Johnson: An Example of the Spirit of Black Entrepreneurship

One of the most successful stories of entrepreneurship is that of John H. Johnson, publisher of *Ebony* and *Jet* magazine. John H. Johnson rose from the segregation and poverty of Arkansas, to the highest circles of economic life due to an entrepreneurial spirit which dwells in African Americans. In our revival of our entrepreneurial spirit, it is good to be reminded of the achievements of individual African Americans.

John H. Johnson is one of the richest "self-made" men in America (self-made men of any color are becoming a vanishing breed). However, when I say "self-made", I must qualify this statement. When I say self-made, I mean that he was the one who was motivated enough to carry through with a dream that has made him a multimillionaire. This must be qualified because no one makes it on their own. Everyone needs a little help along the way, and Mr. Johnson had plenty. Among those who helped him were his mother, Gertrude Johnson Williams, and his friend and mentor, Harry Pace, president of Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company.

In his book, *Succeeding Against the Odds*, John H. Johnson details the events of his childhood, which depict how his mother saved him from a flash flood, and how she decided to move her son from the rural, impoverished South to the North. Johnson says that he first witnessed the Black entrepreneurial spirit when he arrived in Chicago in the 1930s. He was (See *Johnson*, Page 8)

THE LEGEND OF PAUL ROBESON



By Walter Harvey

When we think of the greatest African Americans of the twentieth century, we often think of people like Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Jessie Jackson, A. Philip Randolph, Angela Davis, or Maxine Waters; however, there are many individuals who have done as much or even more, and they have received less recognition.

For example, imagine an African American male who stands about 6'3" and weighs 220 pounds. This person has a body like Bo Jackson, has the good looks of Blair Underwood, sings like Gerald Levert, is as refined as Sidney Poitier, and speaks more languages than a foreign diplomat. If you can imagine such a person, then you must imagine someone like Paul Robeson. Paul Robeson was a scholar, an athlete, a "heart-throb", an actor, an opera singer, and a political leader. Everything he did, he was great at; whereas, many men spend their lives trying to perfect one of the areas in which Robeson excelled, Robeson enjoyed the unusual distinction of excelling in various areas and was the personification and ultimate realization of African American malehood. If he had been white, he would have undoubtedly been elected governor of New Jersey and even President of the United States; still, he became a great intellectual and superb entertainer.

Paul Robeson was born in Princeton, New Jersey on April 9, 1898. His father, the Reverend William Drew Robeson, Jr., and Maria Louisa (Bustill) Robeson. Reverend Robeson, was a determined self-made man who could trace his roots back to the Ibo of Nigeria, and his mother, Louisa Robeson, traced her lineage back through the famous Cyrus Bustill (of the Free Africa Society in 1787) and to the African Bantu. Paul's mother died when he was just a youth, but she and her husband instilled the virtues of discipline and a work ethic which carried Paul beyond the limitations of childhood and into the unlimited potentiality of manhood. They taught him to have pride in family and tradition. Here, in the early twentieth century, at a time when most African Americans lived under the most oppressive circumstances, his family taught him that African Americans have always

been achievers, and that he must stay true to that tradition of African American achievement. They taught him that he was no better nor worse than anyone else, and that the sky was the limit. They also taught him to have pride in his bloodline and in his heritage.

Paul played four sports in high school and excelled at all of them. He was the valedictorian of his high school class, and he won an athletic scholarship to attend Rutgers. He would have attended nearby Princeton, but Blacks were not allowed to attend Princeton until after World War II. Paul Robeson did not allow his obstacles to overcome him nor consume him; instead he overcame his obstacles.

Again in college, Robeson played four sports. He was one of the first all-American Black athletes in football, lettered fifteen times, was on the debate team, tutored Latin, and was again the valedictorian of his 1919 graduating class at Rutgers. Paul's father died just prior to his valedictorian's speech at Rutgers, but Paul was a champion and he delivered his speech with the resonant baritone and eloquence of James Earl Jones.

From there, Robeson went on to Columbia Law School in 1920 while also playing professional basketball on a part-time basis. Upon graduating, Paul wanted to practice law, but he was unjustly denied the opportunity to practice law in prestigious law firms—no doubt due to his color. For example, a lawyer noted, "He worked [at his attorney's position] diligently...but not comfortably. His color (along with his prepossessing physique) made him a conspicuous presence in the office, and it was commented on, in unfriendly asides, from the first." He once asked a secretary to take dictation for him, and she remarked, "I don't take dictation from a n---!" The only legal position he was offered was a low-paying position in Harlem. Paul realized that practicing law in racist New York in the early 1920s was not his idea of a rewarding career. It is interesting that society discouraged him from becoming an attorney, but encouraged him to become an entertainer. It's funny how African American history seems to repeat itself today.

Paul excelled at acting and was considered so handsome that many women swooned at the sight of this tall, imposing African American male figure. At his first readings for plays, white stage directors were so awed by his talent and presence, that they would cast him immediately and call off further auditions. Later, at the encouragement of his brother, Paul Robeson would start singing opera, and his voice became world-renowned. Today, in Europe, Paul Robeson records are valuable and considered collectors items. As a matter of fact, Robeson would become loved in Europe, first as an Opera singer.

Later, Paul Robeson joined forces with Larry Brown, a famous Black spiritual composer, and they exposed the world to one of America's first true art forms—the Black spirituals. Paul Robeson's great voice made him a considerable fortune, and his acting coupled with his singing made it possible for him to travel the world in the highest circles, commanding the plaudits of European Aristocracy and African Kings.

Since Paul was humble, he developed a sincere respect for cultures other than his own, and opposed those individuals who he perceived as ethnocentric or close-minded. His devotion and respect for other cultures led him to learn more than a dozen languages, and he was always given warm receptions throughout the world. He discovered that when you speak to another person in their language, you are oftentimes, in some small way, honoring the person's language and culture.

Paul acted in many movies. His most famous was called *Emperor Jones*, the fictional story of a troubled man who becomes dictator of Haiti. Robeson also starred in *Sanders of the River* (with Jomo Kenyatta on location), *Showboat*, *King Solomon's Mines*, *John Henry*, *Big Fella* (with his wife Eslanda Goode-Robeson), *The Proud Valley*, *Tales in Manhattan*, and the list goes on. In all of his films, Robeson did his best to portray African Americans in a positive light, however, this often did not always happen.

Robeson's successes in film paled in comparison to his stage successes. Robeson was one of the greatest stage actors of the twentieth century, opening doors for actors yet to come — like Harry Belafonte, Sidney Poitier, Brock Peters, and many more. His most prominent stage role was that of *Othello* in London, England, then later on Broadway. Prior to Robeson, the last person of African descent to portray Othello was Ira Aldridge in the 1840's in London. However, theatre "buffs" criticized using a Black man in the role. It had always been assumed that Othello was probably Black, however, in an era of oppressive colonialism and racism, it became a very big issue. Robeson's portrayal of Othello dispelled any reservations concerning a Black man's ability to fulfill the role in one of Shakespeare's masterpieces. His depiction of Othello was, in fact, so compelling, that critics had to acknowledge his undeniable talent.

Robeson's "lack of stridency and self-pity in manner allowed [people] to persist in the comfortable illusion that his career proved the way was indeed open to those with sufficient pluck and aptitude, regardless of race—that the system worked." Robeson became one of the world's most renowned stage actors, and it seemed that the world was at his feet.

However, Robeson also had a commitment to the common man, and Robeson was not blind to the lynchings and the segregation which permeated American society. Many great African Americans, like John H. Johnson of Johnson's Publishing Company, often marvelled at how such an imposing, handsome African American male who seemed to have everything, would say, "How can any individual be free, when many of us are being oppressed."

Martin Duberman, a Robeson biographer, commented about Robeson, "Although many white and also Black Americans in 1940 shared a high estimate of

Robeson's accomplishments, their views of what it meant failed to coincide in some important ways. To the white world in general, Robeson seemed magnetic, civilized, and a gifted man who had relied on talent rather than belligerence to rise above his circumstances." Whites vaguely recognized in the 1940 that he was beginning to emerge as a passionate defender of the underclass.

Robeson rose from an artist with a political conscience to an artist with a passion. At the apex of his fame in 1949, Paul Robeson began to speak out in the only ways of which he knew. He took advantage of every opportunity to criticize racism and discrimination. At this time, Robeson became politically active on a global scale, and his views led him to the left on the politics spectrum. Robeson attacked colonialism, fascism, and he even supported the efforts of loyalist troops in Spain. However, it would be his criticism of the U.S. government that would land him in big trouble. He openly criticized the U.S. government and its policies, and on April 20, 1949, at the Paris Peace Conference at the Salle Pleyel, Robeson made his most radical assertion that African peoples were often better off in many Communist countries than they were in America. In translating his speech from French to English, the American press misinterpreted his speech to mean that Communism was better than Americanism, and this misinterpretation led to Paul Robeson's persecution.

The U.S. government called prominent African Americans like Jackie Robinson before the press, and had them tell the world that African Americans were happy to be in America and that racism did not exist (obviously, they went overboard). It is uncertain how the prominent African Americans of that time, like Jackie Robinson, might conclude that African Americans were pleased with their ill treatment in America; Robinson's statements, at best, were not honest.

Robeson's statement, at the Paris Peace Conference, combined with other developments in the United States, seemed to have done a lot for the African Americans in general. America was in the middle of a cold war, and the competition between western and eastern bloc nations for the support of African peoples pushed America into a position of granting more and more freedom to Blacks at home.

African Americans benefited from Robeson's radical speeches, however, it cost Robeson his career. The U.S. government revoked his visa so he could no longer travel abroad. Next, he was barred from speaking publicly, and not allowed to sing or earn a living—so much for "Freedom of Speech." Lastly, he was hounded by the House on Un-American Activities Committee. He once tried to speak publicly under armed guard, but violent mobs prevented it. He even survived assassination attempts. Robeson would spend the 1960's and 1970's in seclusion, and he died on January 23, 1976. He was 77 years old. He may have been controversial about many things he said and did, but he was an influential African American in our era—one who certainly enriched our history. A Black prisoner in Marion Illinois wrote:

"They knocked the leaves, from his Limbs, The Bark, from His Tree, But his roots were so deep, That they are a part of me."

"Buppies" Being Squeezed

By Victor Jones

The current census report estimates the national median family income to be a little over \$35,000 a year, however, most economic experts define the middle class as those earning between \$20,000 and \$50,000.

Yet the median family income for African Americans is just above \$18,000 per year. Where this places Blacks on the economic chain is unclear, however, many Blacks agree that the African American middle class is disappearing.

Economic, job industry, and political experts alike point to the spend happy 80's, the increase of the upper class, our sluggish economy, a lack of quality jobs, and a government that has created a tax system that only taxes the middle class, as reasons for the vanishing Black middle class.

According to economist Walter Causwell, the lavish lifestyles of the BUPPIES (Black Upwardly Mobile Professionals) in the 80's caught up with Black America in the 90's. "In the 80's everyone wanted to be a BUPPIE," said Causwell. "We lived in excess, excessive cars, excessive houses, and we ran up excessive credit card amounts." Causwell said there is nothing wrong with living the "high-life" as long as you have the "high-income" to cover it.

"America, and Black America in particular, did not have money to keep up with that type of lifestyle. A lot of BUPPIES were really just barely middle class, but they got hooked on the glamour and glitz." Causwell said that while we were "partying down" we were quickly falling into debt. Causwell added that while many times we can rebound from financial difficulties, the recession of the 90's made a comeback almost impossible.

"The economy would not allow

Blacks or anyone in the middle class who fell out, back in." Causwell said the massive increase of the upper class or the wealthy, made it even more difficult for Blacks to squeeze back into the middle class.

"The end of the 80's brought hard times to many, but as they say, the rich got richer and the poor got poorer."

A report by Philadelphia Inquirer reporters Donald L. Barlett and James B. Steele showed proof of the decreasing middle class and the ever expanding upper class. The two reported that between 1980 and 1989 the combined salaries of people in the \$20,000 to \$50,000 income group increased by 44%, however, during that same period,

middle class has decreased.

"Many Blacks and people of color in general, reached middle class status by working in large manufacturing plants," said Payson. "However, many of these firms were bought out by larger companies and moved to locations where labor is cheaper," added Payson.

Barlett and Steele in their report sight Universal Manufacturers as a prime example of what Payson is describing. Universal, which was bought out by Magnetek Inc., stopped manufacturing in their New Jersey location. This resulted in the loss of 500 jobs. The company then transferred operations to Blytheville,



million a year increased an incredible 2.184%.

If you look at these numbers on a larger scale, the combined wages of all people who earned less than \$50,000 a year, (85% of Americans), increased an average of only 2% over the 10-year period. Causwell said with those types of numbers "the end of the good life" was obvious.

Janice Payson, a job placement specialist, cited high unemployment and massive layoffs in the manufacturing and labor fields as another reason the Black

company then moved part of the operation to Mexico, where wages are just \$1.50 an hour.

Payson said the Blacks who are losing these types of jobs, which paid between \$14.00 and \$17.00 an hour, are being left with a trade, but nowhere to apply it. "Many had to go to lower paying unskilled service and retail jobs," said Payson. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that as of 1990 there were almost 10 million more lower paying jobs, average hourly wage of \$5.00, than there were of manufacturing

jobs.

Everyone is feeling the pinch (these economically hard times. No one everyone is competing for the same job. Whereas in the past Whites had passed those manufacturing jobs that Blacks were applying for, now both are vying for the same positions. What that means is the Whites are now getting the jobs over Black because generally Whites are in the position of hiring and they more often than not tend to hire their own. Blacks for some reason do not.

For those unable to find suitable work, they must turn to unemployment. The Employment Development Department office in Sacramento reported a record 110% increase in unemployment insurance claim in the month of March alone.

Who is to blame for all this? Our political leaders, that's who. The 1986 tax reform acts alternative minimum tax provision was supposed to be an outstanding new tax law that would not let anyone go away without paying taxes. What did really do? The numbers indicate the opposite is true. According to the Internal Revenue Service, in 1986 under the old tax law: 198,688 families and individuals with income of more than \$100,000 paid alternative minimum taxes totaling \$4. billion. However, in mid 1989, under the new tax law that was supposed to "stick it to the rich", 49,844 individuals and families paid alternative minimum taxes totaling \$47 million, a drop of 75% in the number of people who paid the tax, and a 90% drop in how much they paid.

The Black middle class can rebound, but it's going to take time and planning. No more trying to keep up with your neighbor. We need to set our own Black economic agenda, if we don't nobod else will.

[John H.] Johnson rule number 1: "What can you do by yourself with what you have to get what you want?"

Johnson

(Continued from page 6)

amazed at the number of Black business on Chicago's South Side. He patronized Black business as a youth and got his first real job working for Harry Pace, as successful Black businessman who taught him all the tricks of the trade. Pace showed him the value of networking and mentoring Black youth and Johnson learned his lessons. At the time in which he worked for Pace, Johnson was fresh out of high school and attending the University of Chicago. Pace did not have a job for Johnson, but he created a job for him so that he could watch what was going on and learn about how businesses are run and operated. This crucial aspect of mentorship is vital to the rearing of new entrepreneurs and Black attorneys and doctors and other professionals must be willing to take on the job of training our youth. Pace personally sacrificed himself and created a position for Johnson and paid him so that he could work himself through school. Pace gave him the assignment of reading all the Black newspapers and briefing Pace every morning so that he could intelligently talk about race relations to people who came to visit him at his office. This assignment gave him a command of the issues which made it possible for him to write a magazine.

Johnson would later start his first magazine, the *Negro Digest*, while he worked for Pace. Like all entrepreneurs, he studied

the market (in this case the African American market) and realized that African Americans wanted a magazine describing the positive achievements of African Americans. John H. Johnson was so sure of this that he was willing to take a risk to start one himself. First, he realized that in order to run a magazine, one must have lots of equipment. However, instead of dwelling on the fact that he did not have the equipment, he turned to "Johnson Rule No. 1—What can you do by yourself with what you have to get what you want?" By applying this rule he learned that he had many resources at his disposal. Second, Johnson developed a plan and put his plan into action. Johnson used a list of customers from Pace's insurance company and he made some promises to a local printer's shop. However, he still needed a \$500.00 loan. Even though Johnson had a multi-million dollar idea, no bank would finance his loan. He had to raise collateral and the only thing he had was his mother's furniture.

His mother loved her furniture, had worked hard for it, and did not want to lose it. Every night, Johnson would go home and beg his mother to put her furniture up as collateral on his \$500.00 loan, but each night she hesitated; she said that she had prayed about it and was waiting for God to answer her prayers. She prayed about it and finally she told Johnson that he could use her

furniture as collateral. The sole investor in Johnson's business was his mother, and her original investment has been multiplied by almost 1 million.

The hardest part of starting Black business is start-up capital, and banks are still reluctant to give a Black man a loan. As a matter of fact, Johnson was in business for twenty years, a multi-millionaire, before he got what he considered his first "white man's loan" (a loan based on a signature and a handshake). Johnson's mother believed in her son's abilities, and she encouraged her son to be the best. She was willing to put everything on the line in order to make his life better. Her support was so instrumental in her son's success, that Johnson dedicated most of his life to her. In a tribute to her, Johnson erected a monument to his mother in his high rise on Michigan Avenue in Chicago. The relationship between Johnson and his mother is typical in the African American communities. African American males are usually very close to their mothers, and they love their mothers, and they want to please their mothers. On the other hand, African American mothers are the backbone behind almost any successful African American male.

Johnson started his magazine, *The Negro Digest*, on November 1, 1942. The results were that African Americans were so hungry for a magazine that portrayed them

in a positive light that they responded in record numbers. Johnson soon found that his biggest obstacle to success was not the demand of black consumers, but the obstacles of a Black man trying to run a business on a large scale in white America. Johnson did not allow his obstacles to defeat him. Instead, he used his obstacles to make him a stronger individual.

The outcome of his efforts has been a positive portrayal of African Americans. Further, Johnson created a Black beauty products market by being the first person to market Black beauty products on a large scale. For example, prior to Johnson's "Fashion Fair" make-up line, Black women had to buy make-up which was made for white women's skin tones. Johnson was the first to give Black women a beauty product which suited their specific needs. Further, he opened the door for many African-featured models in the modeling industry. In his magazine he promoted the beauty of African Americans of all complexions, and the eurocentric magazines soon followed suit. Johnson has been a creator of genuine opportunity, and we all can learn a lesson from John H. Johnson. Perhaps, we all cannot be millionaires, but we all can, in some way, support Black businesses and help support those who create opportunities for African Americans.

Note from African American Student Union

Our story not his-story is so dramatic in its occurrence, so beautiful in its revelation, so astounding in its discoveries. We have come from the proud, planted seed of African male through the funky, sweet, regal thighs of the African female to be warriors in the struggle. The struggle that has slashed wide, open the supple skin of our delicate Black humanity. Blood, sweat and tears gushed out of our Black selves to the battleground of illogical hate and even out of the ravages of bondage that left us self-destructive stands our beloved African-American Student Union. Trying tirelessly to respect and utilize our potential. AASU seeks to inspire, to

enlighten, to build unity, to challenge and to perpetuate African-American expression. Keeping our irons in the fire we strive daily to lift up the power of self-definition in the rich, bittersweet language of our experience. Rendering programs that speak to our goals—Health, Ourstory and Politics are the trinity of survival. All of which keeps AASU working in the pursuit of excellence targeting well-articulated response to the crisis of the 90's. Our collective exists as a community within a community present as a force to be reckoned with. Our tradition is rooted in upcoming activities such as, Black History Month, regular general body meetings, issues

of health and so much more. If it is happenin and it concerns you Africano, Africana, the AASU can be a springboard of support and protection. A place of social refuge against the deafening silence of isolation, loneliness and despair that white predominance show at us. Reach for the African-America Student Union and its there not always perfect but humanistic ready to meet the challenge. Will you grab hold? In the sixties, we burned our way into the vastly yellowing pages of history and now we take special pride in proclaiming we have come. Meeting held Thursday 5:30pm Oceanview

Note from Black Graduate Student Organization

The Black Graduate Student Organization is an organization whose members are UCSD graduate students, undergraduate students, post doctoral fellows, and all other interested members of the UCSD community. Our principle members are Peter Stephens, Melissa Lemons, Ian Harris, and Suzzane Barbour. The purpose and goals of the BGSO are to facilitate interaction among Black graduate students, welcome and recruit new Black

graduate students, assist campus and community organizations which provide tutoring, provide information concerning financial, educational and employment opportunities, and to bring distinguished scholars, scientists, and professionals to UCSD. We encourage all students, faculty, post doctoral fellows, and staff to join BGSO. Those wishing information may contact Peter Stephens in his office in the Applied Physics and Mathematics Building

(APM) 2202, or by campus mail at mail code C-012, or by electronic mail at stephens@mathematics.

Note from Royal Brotherhood Of Excellence

What's in a Name?

My brothers, my brothers of The Royal Brothers of Excellence, we call ourselves Royal, we claim to be an organization that achieves Excellence individually and collectively. As your president this year, I would pose a question to you and to myself. Are we living up to the name? If any brother answers no to this question, first take a look at yourself and ask the question of yourself. If your answer about yourself is no, then this indicates to us that we must become committed to ourselves and to each other. Through a strong sense of commitment we

will learn to rise above things needed for success in school and in life in general. My brothers we are a Royal people, but remember it's all about attitude—or better yet—it's the internal perception you have of yourselves. One must feel Royal from the inside out in order to truly be that. My brothers, we were born into a Brotherhood; we only have to acknowledge it. We can't allow negativity, jealousy, envy and a host of other undesirable traits to control how we relate to each other. Be true to your brother. My brothers, our goal of Excellence is within our reach. God gave us the talents to make it

happen. We must build a strong and dependable organization so that those who follow us can see the level of excellence we reach, and continue to take it to new heights. In conclusion, my brothers, with superior attitudes, being true to one another and settling for nothing but the best we most definitely live up to and deserve the name of The Royal Brotherhood of Excellence. Peace!

Phillip Harris

WRITE OUR OWN HISTORY!

UCSD People's History study group

Tuesdays 8:30-9:30pm
Room 211, Student Co-ops Center.
(above the "Student" Credit Union)
Current Topic:
CO-OPS HISTORY
and review of sources

We the People Experimental Publishing Co-op will
publish group findings in June. Call 534-2016
(ask about academic credit for research/writing)

RIGHT OUR OWN HISTORY!

"Black [people],
you were once
great; you shall
be great again.
Loose not
courage, loose
not faith, go
forward."
--Marcus Garvey

W.E.B. DuBois The Father of Pan-Africanism

By Darron Dorsey

"When once the Blacks of the United States, the West Indies, and Africa work and think together, the future of the Black man in the modern world is safe."

These are the words of the great Pan-Africanist, W.E.B. DuBois. Dr. DuBois, for over seventy years of his life, served the cause of Pan-Africanism in both his theory and his action. This brilliant African scholar wrote countless volumes of books, novels, short stories, poetry, and articles on Africa and her scattered and suffering people in the noble struggle to awaken a giant yet sleeping people.

DuBois was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, on February 23, 1868. He received his university training from Fisk, Harvard, and the University of Berlin. He also held honorary degrees from Howard, Atlanta, Fisk, and Wilberforce Universities. Dr. DuBois taught Greek and Latin at Wilberforce from 1894 to 1896 and at the University of Pennsylvania in 1896 and 1897. From 1897 to 1910 he was professor of economics and history at Atlanta University.

One of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), DuBois was a member of its staff as director of publications and editor of *Crisis* from 1910 to 1932. In 1933, DuBois returned to Atlanta as chairman of the University's sociology department, where he remained until 1944, when he rejoined the NAACP as head of its special research department, a position he held until 1948. In succeeding years, he was vice chairman of the Council on African Affairs and chairman of the Peace Information Bureau.

Despite the many activities DuBois was engaged in, nothing occupied as much of his life's work as did the struggle for Pan-Africanism. He either attended, called for, organized, financed, or influenced each and every Pan-African Conference and Congress that took place from 1900 until his death in Ghana in 1963, and under almost insurmountable odds. These Pan-Africanism meetings were very instrumental in bringing together African intellectuals and organizers, and in formulating the goals of the African Revolution, which has been world-wide in scope ever since the first African was stolen from Mother Africa. DuBois was a staunch socialist who believed adamantly that Africa must unite under a socialist system and that Africans throughout the world must be the key actors in achieving this objective. Capitalism was doomed as far as he was concerned and had no merit whatsoever. In his own words, he demanded that Africa: "Put on the beautiful robes of Pan-African Socialism."

KWAME TURE

By Darron Dorsey

"Find me any African American that's ashamed of Africa, find me any African in America who hates Africa and I will show you an African who knows absolutely nothing about Africa. We say it all the time, (and) it's the truth; Any African who knows anything about Africa is so proud to be African that they would never let anybody anywhere mistake them for anything but African."

Kwame Ture was born Stokely Carmichael in 1942, on the Caribbean island of Trinidad. He lived there until he was ten years old, at which time he and his family traveled to New York City in the United States to live. While growing up in New York, Ture, along with others of his generation, was heavily influenced by the upsurge in resistance to national oppression and class exploitation that was taking place in the United States in particular and the world in general during the 1950's and beyond. Ture attended Howard University from which he graduated with honors in 1964. While at Howard, he was active in the struggle for Civil Rights and worked actively with the Non-violent Action Group, "NAG", an affiliate of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee "SNCC".

As early as 1960, Ture worked with SNCC and became its chairman in 1966. He became internationally known when he personified the nationalist aspirations of the African masses in the United States and throughout the African World by espousing the cry for Black Power during the summer of 1966 and afterwards. In 1967, Ture traveled extensively throughout Africa and the underdeveloped World, meeting with revolutionary leaders and groups at every location. During November of 1967 he traveled to the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea and met with Ahmed Sekou Toure and Kwame Nkrumah who was living in Guinea as a result of the infamous CIA-inspired coup that toppled his government in Ghana. This was the beginning of an association that has continued up until today: Ture has made his permanent residence in Guinea, and is today one of the leading theorists of Nkrumahism in the struggle for Pan-Africanism.

When Ture returned to the United States in 1968 he served as the Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and he began organizing the first Black United Front in the United States. He resigned from his position with the BPP for ideological reasons and returned to Guinea to further his study under Nkrumah and his work with other revolutionary forces in Africa who were struggling to reinstall Nkrumah as President Ghana.



Georgia Montgomery Davis Powers

Born October 19, 1923, in Springfield, Kentucky

In 1967, Georgia Montgomery Davis Powers became the first black person to be elected to the Kentucky State Senate. During her five four-year terms, she pressed for legislation on public accommodations, fair employment, open housing, and other issues of special concern to women, children, and the poor. She was an active participant in several historic demonstrations and was one of the organizers of the Kentucky affiliate of Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In 1988, she announced her intention to retire from politics.

Maxine Waters

Born August 15, 1938 in St. Louis, Missouri

Since her election to the California state assembly in 1976, Maxine Walters of Los Angeles has worked on a wide range of Legislation. From sex abuse prevention to corporate divestment from South Africa. Name majority speaker Waters is considered the most powerful woman in California political circles the most influential Black in the Democratic Party.

Althea T. L. Simmons

Born April 17, 1924, in Shreveport, Louisiana

Althea Simmons is the chief congressional lobbyist of the National Association for the advancement of colored people and the director of the Civil Rights Organizations Washington Bureau. She came to Washington after two decades of field experience, and administrative positions with the NAACP. Considered one of the most effective lobbyists on Capitol Hill, she played a key role in such legislative victories as the Voting Rights Act, sanctions against South Africa and a national holiday honoring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Alexa Canady

Born November 7, 1950 in Lansing, Michigan

Dr. Alexa Canady became at age thirty, the first black woman neurosurgeon in the United States. She completed her medical studies at the University of Michigan with a specialty in pediatric neurosurgery. Certified by the American board of Neurological Surgery in 1984, she taught at the University of Pennsylvania, the Henry Ford Hospital in Detroit, and is presently a clinical associate professor at Wayne State University in Detroit.

Barbara Jordan

Born February 21, 1936 in Houston Texas

Barbara Jordan was elected to the Texas Senate in 1966 she became the first black Senator to sit in that body since 1883. She was elected to the United States House of Representatives in 1972 and served for three highly visible terms. Since 1979 she has been a professor at the Lyndon Baines Johnson school of public affairs at the University of Texas.

Tribute To Black Women

Black women whose ancestors were brought to the United States beginning in 1619 have lived through conditions of cruelties so horrible, so bizarre, the women had to re-invent themselves. They had to find safety and sanctity inside themselves or they would not have been able to tolerate those tortuous lives. They had to learn to be self-forgiving quickly, for often their exterior exploits were at odds with their interior beliefs. Still they had to survive as wholly and healthily as possible in an infectious and sick climate. Lives lived in such cauldrons are either obliterated or forged into impenetrable alloys. Thus, early on and consciously, Black women as reality became possibilities only to themselves. To others they were mostly seen and described in the abstract, concrete in their labor but surreal in their humanness. They knew the burden of feminine sensibilities suffocated by masculine responsibility. They wrestled with the inescapable horror of bearing pregnancies which could only result in issuing more chattels into the rapacious maw of slavery. They knew the grief of enforced separations from mates who were not theirs to claim, for the men themselves did not have legal possession of their own bodies.

By

FRANCES ELLEN WATKINS HARPER

Student Profile

STAFF PROFILES

- Thérèse Davis** B.A. Public Relations, August 1990
University of Southern California, School of Journalism
Volunteer Advisor/Editor/Writer, UCSD-*People's Voice*
- Marvila Madrid** Senior, Warren College
Major: Communications
Programs of Concentration: Scientific Perspectives
Foreign Language & Culture
Activities: Administrative Assitant, UCSD- *Howard Hughes Undergraduate Science Enrichment Program*
Secretary/Assisting Editor, UCSD-*People's Voice*
- Gaye Johnson** Sophomore, Third College
Major: Undecided
Minor: Spanish
Activities: Commentator, UCSD-*Guardian*
Deans' Intern-Third College
Organizations: Leadership Board
AASU
AARC
- Organizations : AASU
- DeShawn Burton** Junior, Warren College
Major: Engineering
Minor: Psychology
Activities: Warren College Dean's Student Activities Intern
Royal Brotherhood of Excellence, Chief of Publicity
Organizations: AASU
- Victor Jones** Junior, Warren College
Major: Economics/Pre-Law
Activities: Warren College Council
Royal Brotherhood of Excellence, Treasurer
Staff Writer, *The Warren Briefs*
Organization: AASU

1992 Student Declaration of Sentiment

1. The students demand control of their fees and their fee funded facilities. 2. We support our student representatives using our fees for outside, independent legal counsel in order to get an understanding with the UC Regents that we have the right to control our own assets. 3. That we have a right to demand due process be followed by the University administration. Students are held accountable for following the policies and procedures of the University, but so must the University administration be held accountable to follow their own rules that they have written for us. 4. Students have a right to run their own businesses, without direct control of the University administration. Auditing the coops in order to help the coops run a stronger business is acceptable. The campus should be allowed to see the books of these businesses, but not for the purpose of shutting them down. 5. If it is found that any of the administration's undocumented claims of alleged violations are substantiated, they should be rectified within the current business structure of each individual coop. The University has allowed the coops' status to exist for over 15 years, if any "improprieties" exist, it will be a result of the University's annual consent and authorization. 6. The administration is supposed to be the experts on their own policies, they had an obligation to inform the coops of the subtleties of their 6 volume document of PPMs. 7. The administration must begin to adhere to their PPM sections on due process for registered student organizations and follow them. 8. If the Regents claim that they are the true landlords of the student buildings, then they should be aware of their responsibilities to their tenants. Shutting off electricity, changing locks on doors without written or oral warning and without consultation with the student board is a clear violation of contractual obligation and, this would seem, common sense. 9. The students endorse the University Center Board's stance that the coop status must be negotiated as one package. The administration's use of divide and conquer tactics is unacceptable. Until the administration agrees to negotiate a third category, no deadlines will be adhered to. This is not setting a precedent, the coops have already operated under this third category since its inception. 10. The students of UCSD strongly ask that the California State Senate pass Assembly Bill 1884 that would reassert students' right to govern their fees and fee funded facilities. We encourage all other UC and CSU schools to endorse a document similar to this one as soon as possible.

Feature

The X- Factor

By Walter Harvey

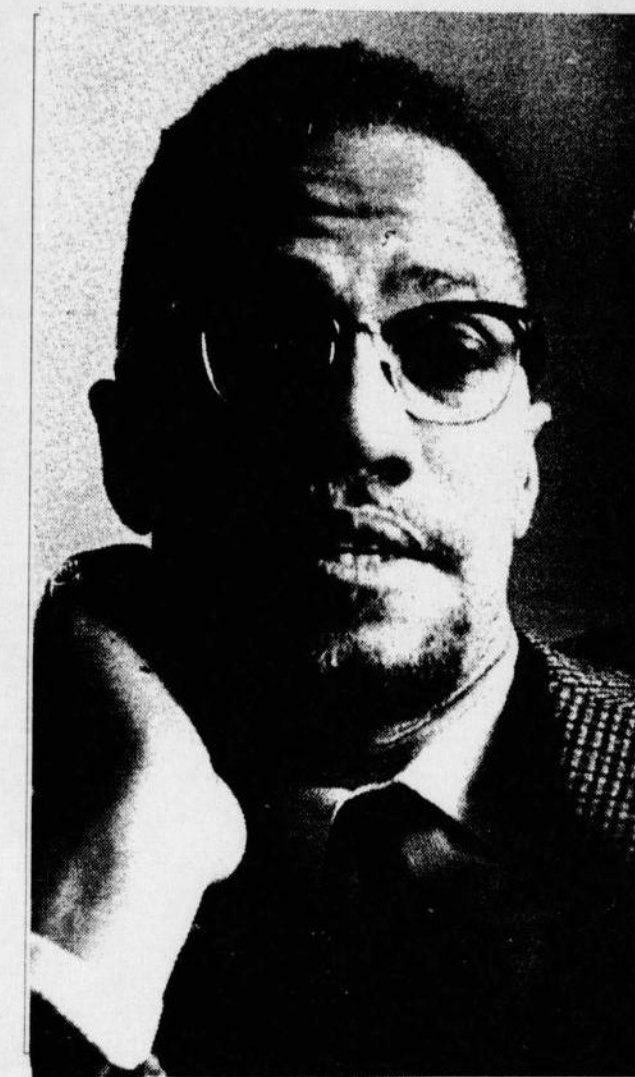
"We [Blacks] demand our right on this earth to be a man, to be a human being, to be given the respect of a human being, to be given the rights of a human being, in this society on this earth in this day, in which we intend to bring into existence, by any means necessary."

There is a lot of anger in the African American community. This anger first began when the first slave ships brought its human cargo to these sheltered shores. This anger was often individual and social, but it often manifested itself politically as well. From the slave revolts of Denmark Vessey and Nat Turner during the antebellum period, to the militant black nationalism of Martin Delaney and Marcus Garvey, to the new forms of "rap" art as exemplified by the X-Klan and Public Enemy. Blacks have always had this anger, but they also knew what happened to those who stuck their necks out. So many kept quiet while atrocious injustices wrecked their lives. Today, Malcolm X has become a symbol of that anger (justifiably or not). In today's milieu, a quarter of a century after Malcolm's death, he has been erected as a symbol, embodying the anger and hate that many Blacks feel toward the racist society in which they live.

Malcolm may have made many of Blacks angry, but he also made them proud. Even if Blacks disagreed with him, they could not deny his unwavering devotion to the advancement of his people. He stood up to the injustices that dwelled in society, and he grabbed the respect and affection of millions of Americans (Black and white). Malcolm was on track to become a doctor or lawyer. However, when Malcolm approached his white eighth-grade English teacher, whom he admired at the time, and asked him which career to pursue, the teacher told him that he should become a "carpenter". He told Malcolm that even though he was his finest student, he must "face the fact" that he was a Negro, and Negroes will never become lawyers. He told Malcolm to "stay in his place".

How could such a man do this? Well, we must first understand something about the man. Malcolm X (El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz) was born Malcolm Little on May 19, 1925 in Omaha, Nebraska. His father, the Reverend Earl Little, was a Baptist minister and dedicated organizer for Marcus Garvey's U.N.I.A. (Universal Negro Improvement Association), his mother, Louise Little, was a West Indian from Grenada. Malcolm had six siblings: Ella, Earl, Mary, Wilfred, Hilda, and Philbert. Malcolm's father was very active in the U.N.I.A., and this activity led to persecution by the Ku Klux Klan. Young Malcolm's family were forced to leave Omaha, and traveled to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Lansing, Michigan. The Klan burned down their home, while the Fire Department watched; eventually, his father was murdered, and his mother, Louise, was forced to raise Malcolm, Philbert, Hilda, and Wilfred. Malcolm and his siblings were so hungry, they were dizzy and they had to steal in order to eat. His mother could not bear the strain of raising her children alone, and she was committed to a mental institution, and her children were parceled out to reform schools.

Malcolm, himself, lived at several foster homes, but turned out to be a successful



student. In the eighth grade, he attended a predominantly white middle school, was class president, was an honor student, and played on the basketball team. Malcolm was on track to become a doctor or lawyer. However, when Malcolm approached his white eighth-grade English teacher, whom he admired at the time, and asked him which career to pursue, the teacher told him that he should become a "carpenter". He told Malcolm that even though he was his finest student, he must "face the fact" that he was a Negro, and Negroes will never become lawyers. He told Malcolm to "stay in his place".

After this episode, Malcolm was never the same. He dropped out of school and went to Boston to live with his sister, Ella. Malcolm would get a job as a pullman porter, and it was then, in the early 1940s, that Malcolm discovered the magic of Harlem. Malcolm later moved to Harlem and would begin a life of crime. He involved himself in every "hustle" that he could engage himself in. He got himself a white girlfriend, a "Zoot suit", "conked" (straightened) his hair, and hung out at the famous Savoy Ballroom with the likes of Duke Ellington and Billie Holiday. As a criminal, he sold women and drugs to the "highest officials" in New York. His life of crime finally led him down a path that took him to prison at the youthful age of 21.

While in prison, he was introduced to the teachings of the honorable Elijah Muhammed. He was told that the white man was "the devil", and something about that "clicked". Later, Malcolm would say that the Black Muslims, with their spiritual force, endowed him with the independent ability to raise himself up and straighten himself out. In prison, Malcolm began a life of austerity, with a strict diet, strict prayer ritual, and strict study habit. Malcolm studied everything from the Koran to Aristotle,

and his study habits rivaled those of any college student, studying 16-18 hours a day. While in prison, Malcolm took on the name "Malcolm X" to symbolize the fact that his original African name had been stolen from him.

When Malcolm left prison he began working as a follower of Elijah Muhammed, the leader of the Black Muslims. It was as a Black Muslim that Malcolm became world-renowned as a speaker and as a leader. Malcolm's popularity in the Black community grew exponentially. The popularity of the Black Muslims also grew, as their membership in America increased tenfold. The media labeled Malcolm, an "extremist", but Malcolm responded, "The Black race here in America is in extremely bad condition. You

show me a Black man who isn't an extremist and I'll show you one that needs psychiatric attention."

However, Malcolm would become troubled by his differences with the Muslims. In 1963, after the assassination of John F. Kennedy, Malcolm said that it was a case of "chickens coming home to roost". This statement landed Malcolm in serious trouble with the Muslims, and Malcolm decided that he could no longer be a full-fledged minister. In 1963-1964, Malcolm would make trips abroad, particularly to Africa and Mecca.

When he returned, Malcolm stated that he would "inject himself in the Civil Rights struggle", and devote himself to the political struggles of African Americans. Malcolm worked tirelessly. "The man never gets any sleep", claimed his wife in 1964. Malcolm rarely put in anything less than an eighteen hour workday.

Malcolm X lashed out at the government's reluctance to do anything on behalf of the Blacks. Those high up in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations took an extreme dislike to Malcolm. He would say "Don't blame the [common white man] for your injustices suffered in this country, blame the government...[it] takes more than simply being born in America to become an American. If that was not so, then you would not need civil rights legislation to secure your rights."

Alex Haley remarked, "He was for me unquestionably one of the most engaging personalities I had ever met...." He also said that Malcolm was the greatest man whom he had ever met. He once recalled Malcolm's dedication, when a young, very attractive lady asked Malcolm to stop by her apartment and pick up some documents which he had her type for him. Malcolm smiled and when she left, he had Alex Haley pick up those

documents for him because he did not want any questions of impropriety. Malcolm was also very loyal to his wife, monogamous in the strict sense of the word.

In 1964, Malcolm said, "I believe in recognizing every human being as a human being--white, black, brown, or red..." Malcolm said that on his pilgrimage to Mecca, he saw people who were Muslim, who in this country, would be considered white. However, they did not see themselves as white, but as members of the human family. Religion, ideology, and history had removed the white from their minds and the white from their practices. They had learned to embrace the whole of humanity, and in the end, Malcolm said that he finally felt that he was "at one with humanity", that he had finally been given the respect that he deserves as a human being.

When asked how he started to call himself by his new name "El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz", Malcolm said that he would still refer to himself as "Malcolm X", as long as the situation that produced "Malcolm X" exists. In other words, Malcolm recognized the potential for a universal brotherhood, but had not planned to give up his commitment to provide real remedies to the problems centered around race. Just because all humans have the potential to be brothers, does not make them brothers. True brotherhood (fraternity) must be based on mutual respect, equality of opportunity, and equal rights. As long as those conditions did not exist, Malcolm was ready to fight on.

In comparing Malcolm X to Dr. Martin Luther King, a 1964 *New York Times* article remarked, "Negro intellectuals had agreed that Dr. Martin Luther King and Malcolm X could secure the allegiance of the middle and upper classes of Negroes, but Malcolm alone could secure the allegiance of Negroes at the bottom. The Negroes respect Dr. King and Malcolm X because they sense in these men absolute integrity and know that they will never sell them out. Malcolm X cannot be corrupted and the Negroes know this and therefore respect him. They also know that he comes from the lower depths, as they do, and regard him as one of their own. Malcolm X is going to play a formidable role, because the racial struggle has shifted to the urban North...if Dr. King is convinced that he has sacrificed ten years of brilliant leadership, he will be forced to revise his concepts. There is only one direction in which he can move, and that is in the direction of Malcolm X"

After Malcolm X's assassination in February of 1965, Ossie Davis was asked by many white people, "Why do you eulogize and praise Malcolm X?" What is curious is that no Black person ever asked him this question! Blacks may have disagreed with Malcolm, but they loved him nonetheless. Why? Because Blacks knew that above all else, "Malcolm was a man!"

"Protocol and common sense require that Negroes stand back and let the white man speak for us, defend us, and lead us from behind the scene in our fight. This is the essence of Negro politics. But Malcolm said to hell with that! Get up off your knees and fight your own battles. That's the way to win back your self respect. That's the way to make the white man respect you. And if he won't let you live like a [human being], he certainly can't keep you from dying like one!"



THE PEOPLE'S VOICE
"IT WAS ONLY A DREAM
BUT IT WOKE UP THE WORLD"

Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow...

Black History Month: Defining our Objectives: Claiming Our Purpose
By Carale Johnson

While many are fascinated with the perspective and insight offered in the study of history, others consider it solely to represent a reiteration of (documented) established facts presented by a "specialist" in the field. Unfortunately, all too often, there is little documented truth to the presentation of Black history from a Black perspective. In reality, Black history is not simply a celebration of only American Blacks, but of all nationalities throughout the diaspora, including Africa, the Caribbean and Great Britain. It is a history which remembers the attempts to understand and reconcile itself with years of brutal oppression. Torture by the colonizers sought to exploit slave labor for a profit, removing them from their native homeland and thus their indigenous culture, language and lifestyle, binding them to shackles on slave ship in an inhumane condition to meet their plight in the States, only to never be compensated by the very country that was built by extracting Black labor. They remained in that country, which classified them as 3/5 of a person and later were subject to Jim Crow laws and segregation policies in housing, employment, education and food services. Although many say that "separate but equal" policies are nonexistent, such policies are, even if only in a subtle

way. In fact, these policies are alive and well in a country that has experienced a backlash to all of the legislative gains it achieved in the 1960's.

What we celebrate today is a reawakening of people's consciousness of all the contributions and gains made by our arduous predecessors. It is a spiritual uplifting of the race, inviting all of the ideas which have sustained and maintained us through the hardest of times. We celebrate our collective endeavor to continue to build upon the foundation that those heroes and heroines before us shaped and defined. We must be willing to sacrifice to achieve the needs of our people.

*We marvel at the leadership and determination of our predecessors, but know that we are charged to pursue their legacy of alleviating conditions of despair and hopelessness — rising up from the adverse social ills that plague our race.

*To each individual, Black history signifies something slightly different. For me, it takes the utmost significance in defining myself as a Black American of African descent as well as in shaping my role and my responsibility to my community as a Black woman. Those objectives for which my race has fought and died for, so that those of my generation might be afforded better opportunities, are now my responsibility to uphold and pass on to future generations. Often, those generations are

uneducated or "mis-educated" about their heritage, and are frequently trained to be ashamed of their very rich history.

My perception of the Black history month is to consistently redefine how I can better a still-troubled race of people. Seven ideals permeate my commitment: self-determination, collective work and responsibility, purpose, faith, creativity and unity. Whether this is achieved on a local level within the community—in the neighborhoods or schools or on a state or national level, through policy initiatives in Civil Rights, housing or health care, I must take an "actionary" and reactionary role in building a sense of community. While it is important and necessary for us to spend the month of February celebrating Black history by attending concerts, plays, art events, public lectures, and various forums on Black life, and to praise those who initiated the struggle for progress, we must remember that we are the framers of our own history and the only ones enabled to make a significant impact on our future. It is a continuous struggle which is far from achieved.

*Black history, then, is not just the month of February, but every day of every month of every year. We must continue to learn and educate ourselves about all that has defined our experience. The past reminds us, the present teaches us, and the future demands us.

The Preeminent African American male fiction writer for Black History month

The most prominent African American fiction writer in the country is coming to U.C.S.D. on February 12. John Edgar Wideman is Professor of Literature at University of Massachusetts, Amherst. John Edgar Wideman was born in Washington, D. C., and he was raised in the mean streets of Homewood, a predominantly black neighborhood in Pittsburgh. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate, he attended the University of Pennsylvania where he played on the All-Ivy basketball team and was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University. In addition to his most recently published novel, *Philadelphia Fire*, (Henry Holt, 1990), the Winner of the Pen/Faulkner Award, Mr Wideman is the author of six other novels: *A Glance Away* (published when he was 26 years old); the lynchers, *Hurry Home, Hiding Place, Sent for You Yesterday* (Winner of the Pen/Faulkner Award); and *Reuben*, as well as a book of short stories, *Fever*. His nonfiction work, *Brothers and Keepers*, was nominated for the National Book Critics Circle Award. A recent recipient of a Lannan Foundation Grant, and was raised in Homewood, a section of Pittsburgh, PA. He now resides with his wife, Judy, and daughter, Jamillah, in Amherst, MA.

Address your comments to:

People's Voice

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