

# BLACK UNITED FRONT



PREPARED BY :  
OFFICE OF BLACK AFFAIRS  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

## THE BLACK UNITED FRONT

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To the new--welcome and SALAAM to the old, Right On, glad to see you back and ready to take care of business. As we approach the coming year, we recognize the struggle as being highlighted on two fronts. First and foremost is the continued elevation of political awareness in black communities across the country. This intensification of our efforts can be seen in the new responses (not reactions) of the people to seize and make real a strong and healthy black community. In harmony and conjunction with these new responses is the second front--the introduction of the Black United Front. In the year 1970-71, as the people are always the body, the mainspring of any organization; they determine it's leaders--of black students' concerns and activities. This second front will be the focus of black student activity at MSU.

However, this in no way negates or denies the time and effort that will be spent in the various black communities, especially Detroit and Lansing, where we can be of assistance. Believing, as we do, that the brothers and sisters on the block are not to be neglected, for we feel that the justice and righteousness of our struggle touches every atom and element that makes us what we are--an oppressed African people.

Our belief in revolutionary democracy dictates the total involvement of every brother and sister in our immediate black community to become functional in our on-going political education and re-education process; as well as enacting the programs that we feel are so very

important at this point in time.

Our plan and purpose is to involve each and every black student who is concerned with improving the general conditions of black people on whatever level it may be needed-- that is, academic, political, fraternal or otherwise. This implies a lot of hard work, dedication, and much discussion. We know y'all go'n be ready and we go'n try and be ready for y'all.

Towards Deep and Lasting Liberation,



## PREAMBLE

The BUF being sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the Black community, has evolved for the purpose of giving organizational expression to these needs and aspirations. In light of the history of social disorganization and confusion that has existed in our community, we see a highly structured organization with an intense level of motivation and general involvement as a necessity for the regeneration of healthy Black communities and individual lives.

Being generally recognized that the role of the Black student should be that of acquiring the skills necessary for aiding the Black community thrust towards self-expression we feel that one task of the BUF should be to compliment the efforts of each student in this attempt. We must clarify and highlight the ways by which a student may make his educational experience a meaningful one but more importantly we must help to provide mechanisms by which each student will be able to integrate his educational efforts into the total Black community effort towards self-definition and re-creation.

Recognizing the oneness of our condition, BUF makes no distinction between Black community members. We feel that any external titles imposed on our community besides that of Black people would serve to segmentize and disrupt the emerging unity which we see developing. We feel that there are no differences in our community as overriding that we can not move through one organizational operation. Because we see the danger of futile infighting we speak to complimentation and co-operation, unity and oneness.

Seeing the danger of negating the spiritual and cultural aspects of the Black community we encourage those necessary cultural activities which points towards clarification and insights into what we are and need to be. We feel that it will be only through a meaningful union of our political, economic, and cultural affairs that we can construct a strong and vital black community. All efforts and activities towards these aims we endorse. Towards love and unity we must move; towards a strong community we must strive.

All Power to The People

BUF

## THE REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

DEFINITION

The Representative Council shall be the elected representatives of the Black Student body.

ELECTION

1. Each dorm shall elect one representative per 50 students residing in the dorm.
  - a) 1 to 50 students - 1 representative
  - b) 51 to 100 students - 2 representatives , etc.
2. Off-campus representatives will be elected in proportion to the number of students living off-campus.
  - a) 1 to 50 students - 1 representative
  - b) 51 to 100 students - 2 representatives , etc.
3. The representatives shall take office by Tuesday, April 28, 1970 until the fall 1970 term election.

FUNCTIONS

1. Each representative shall be held accountable to his constituents and will act as a check against the Executive Board.
  2. The Representative(s) must call a periodic meeting with their constituents. \*(see below)
  3. The Representative Council must act as a voice of the people to the Executive Board.
    - a) Written reports after each Representative Council meeting must be presented to each member of the Executive Board.
    - b) The Representative Council will provide each representative with a summary of the minutes which will be made available to the constituents.
- \*2. a) Representatives shall operate under rules and regulations set up by their constituents.

## THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

### DEFINITION

The Executive Board shall be the official spokesmen of BUF.

### Election

1. The Executive Board shall be composed of 5 members as elected by a 2/3 majority of the Representative Council.

### FUNCTIONS

1. The Executive Board should have an alternate spokesman system.
2. The Executive Board shall present committees it deems necessary to the Representative Council designating the title, function, and suggested chairman as well as co-ordinating the said committees.
3. The Executive Board shall develop programs and communications among the Black community.
4. The Executive Board shall make written and verbal reports of activities to the Representative Council at each of their meetings.
5. The Executive Board members should attempt to obtain 2/3 majority vote of the Board before making decisions.

### REMOVAL PROCEDURES OF A MEMBER OF THE REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

1. Removal of a member of the Representative Council shall be according to the rules and regulations of his constituents.

### REMOVAL PROCEDURES OF A MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

1. There shall be a fact-finding sheet formed by a Representative Council member or his constituents stating the charges against the accused Executive Board member placed in the hands of the Representative Council and the Executive Board.
  - a) Executive Board member(s) shall present a defense or explanation to the Council.
  - b) The Council shall have hearing from both parties involved. Executive Board members shall be allowed to have a person other than self to speak in his behalf.
  - c) After obtaining all facts, the Council shall determine by a 2/3 majority whether the vote shall go to the people.
  - d) Removal of any Executive Board member(s) shall be by a 2/3 vote of the people.

## OFFICE OF BLACK AFFAIRS

DEFINITION

Is the branch of student government (ASMSU) that is directly related to the special needs of minority students.

ELECTION

The Office of Black Affairs shall be composed of 5 directors as elected by a 2/3 majority of the Representative Council, of the Black United Front.

FUNCTIONS

1. To disseminate information concerning the academic community, especially points of special interest to Black people, to all Black people.
2. To coordinate and provide information about such activities as national and state wide Black conferences, in addition to campus events and programs.
3. To formulate and implement programs that can relate to the needs of Black students on campus and in the Lansing community.



**HISTORY OF THE BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT ON CAMPUS**

A HISTORY OF BLACK POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS AT M.S.U.

Before the 1967-68 school year there was little or no expressed interest in a radical black political movement on campus. This was true not only on Michigan State's campus, but on campuses throughout the country. Things had cooled down for black college students after the integrationist movement of the early 60's. And even that movement had had but limited effect on the East Lansing campus, because there were so few black students in school here at that time.

The summer of 1967 saw the outbreak of urban rebellions among black people. A new consciousness began to be formulated. On October 30, 1967, Floyd McKissick talked to the black students on campus. His fiery words encouraging activism and a black identity spurred the formation of the Black Student Alliance (BSA). The co-chairmen of this organization were Barry Amis and Richard Thomas, with a loosely structured Steering Committee formulating policies and modes of action. After the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. on April 4 of 1968, the BSA was given new impetus as black students reacted in anger to the assassination. Along with high school students from Lansing, black students met with Michigan State University officials and presented a list of demands concerning black students on campus. The students marched and chanted surrounding classrooms and pulling students from their classes. Then they occupied the old administration building, now called Linton Hall, to add emphasis to the demands directed toward President John Hannah. This marked the first attempt on the M.S.U. campus to "take over" a building in order to dramatize demands of a group. The

demands included more black students, faculty, administrators, and personnel in all areas of University employment; more non-athletic scholarships for black students; a greater university interest in the Lansing community; and courses in Afro-American studies.

After this incident more overt interest was expressed in the BSA and black political movements. Throughout the 1968-69 school year, BSA held mass meetings every week, which were often well-attended. New trends were beginning to appear, on campus as well as across the country. The very fact that people came to the meetings would have been phenomenal a few years before, especially if it had been known that the topics of discussion would include blackness, community activism, and radical social politics. A new trend appeared as many black people began to de-emphasize clothes and partying, to direct attention to internal color elitism and prejudice (worship of light skin and "good" hair) and to find heroes other than those on the football field or the stage. Emphasis upon serving the Community was dramatized in the spring of 1969, when black students occupied the Wilson Hall cafeteria in protest of racist and discriminatory practices against two black Wilson cafeteria workers. Black students occupied the cafeteria for three days, which were highlighted by a trial at which two white supervisors were charged with racism. These two were eventually dismissed, a triumph for black student activism and community relations. Just as important, all phases of the black student body had aided in the siege, political activists as well as those not as politically inclined.

Not long before the Wilson Hall incident the organizational structure of BSA had been decentralized. Students were organized according to

dorm complexes, under the leadership of a complex chairman. One of the complex chairmen, Sam Riddle of South Complex, had been a primary motivator of the Wilson Hall cafeteria takeover. During the summer of 1969, Sam Riddle, along with Kimathi Mohammed (Stan McClinton), Mike Hudson, Mike Tripp, Maina Kinyatta, and Kumuyu Kangethe, formed the Black Liberation Front International (BLFI) to bring about certain changes they felt necessary in the M.S.U. black student movement. The leaders of BSA acquiesced to the new organization, recognizing the dangers of entrenched leadership in a viable social movement. Thus BSA passed into BLFI, even though the black student body was neither consulted nor told beforehand that any change was to take place. During the spring Richard W. Thomas and Shirley Echols of BSA had formulated a proposal for a Black Aide program in residence halls. Approved late that year, control of this program was also handed to BLFI.

In evaluating the contributions of BSA, we must note the continuing trends that have developed because of its existence. First there is the tradition of black radical student politics in the lives of all black students at M.S.U. Before, all emphasis and attention had been focused on purely social activities. The BSA, however, initiated a significant movement away from this trend. The football team, for example, is not known as the most politically activist segment of campus life. But in the fall of 1968, the black football players initiated a boycott protesting racism that received nationwide attention. As a result of BSA agitation, furthermore, black enrollment has increased markedly. Many of the new students do not come from the bourgeois class of black people, as have most college students in past years. The new flavor imparted by the



admittance of blacks who would never have "made it" to college without active recruitment permeates the whole campus, and most certainly permeates the black community on campus.

BSA agitation resulted in several institutional reforms, among which were the above-mentioned "Detroit Project" which actively recruited black students from the inner-city; the Black Aide Program; the establishment of the Center for Urban Affairs; the ASMSU-initiated and financed office of Black Affairs; several black studies courses, and regular courses specifically attuned to the needs of black people, and assisted or taught by BSA undergraduate and graduate students (such as Richard Thomas, Jason Lovette, and Barry Amis); and reform in the ATL department by developing a counter-syllabus which contributed in great part to the The Black Experience portion of current ATL courses.

The Black Liberation Front was headed by an Executive Board, which directed dorm organizers and complex chairmen. A major task of the BLF (later incorporated as the BLFI) was to help run the newly-created Black Aide Program in cooperation with Residence Hall Program. The BLF also worked very closely with the Pan-African Students Organization in the Americas (PASOA). The two joined forces on several projects such as the takeover and the picketing of the African Studies Center, demanding the firing of the director (who later re-signed). BLF provided organizational pressure in many important situations. The Executive Board was instrumental, for example in pressuring the State News into promoting a black reporter to an editorship; in agitating for reforms affecting black veterans; and in publicizing and exposing racism in the cheerleader team as personified by the squad leader, Pauline Hess. During the school year there also

sprang up several dorm organizations such as those in Shaw and Akers.

BLFI also worked to establish closer ties with the Lansing community. A BLFI chapter was set up at Sexton High School. Executive Board members contributed many articles to the West Side News, which kept the community informed about campus events.

There was in many corners dissatisfaction with the structure of BLFI. As has been stated before, few students were aware that the formation of the Black Liberation Front was to take place, and were somewhat confused as to who had given BLF Executive Board members the authority to declare themselves "movement" leaders to the exclusion of others. Then too, while the old BSA had held mass meetings for consultation and information purposes, BLF held no such meetings, so that oftentimes campus-wide communication was less than desirable.

After many questions, complaints, etc. directed at BLFI and with a final event that brought everything to a head, spring term, 1970, the "Committee for Change" a core of concerned Black students moved to design a Black organization that would represent the voice of the people.

Petitioning and confrontation went on for a short while bringing the matter to the knowledge of the entire Black student population. A meeting was called at Wonders' Kiva to present the people's case to the people--the Committee for Change vs. BLFI. It was generally agreed that the existing BLFI was not representing the people's voice and change in structure must come about. After the proposed new structure from the Committee for Change was rejected, the people moved to have meeting wherein all suggestions for a new structure could be heard. A

several meetings both large and small within a two-week span. One Saturday morning in the late spring term the people agreed on the present structure for their Black organization. The meeting was held in Conrad Auditorum.

The first order of business for the peoples' organization was to organize and hold the first meeting of the Representative Council. Each dorm held meetings to elect representatives as prescribed by the Constitution. At first, the Representative Council elected Sybil Griffin and Willie Duncan to co-chairmanship to preside over the Council meetings. An Executive Board of five was then elected; Lamarr Thomas, George Fleming, Tony Martin, Stan McClinton, and Bill Powers. Stan McClinton did not accept the position and Walter Thomas filled the vacant spot.

The Representative Council next elected Directors to the Office of Black Affairs who were Claire McClinton, June Manning, Ervin Armstrong, Bernard Carver and John Jones.

Every component of the new structure was working like clockwork. The organization (New BLFI) faced the problem of being confused with the old BLFI. On May 25, 1970, the Representative Council met and changed the name from BLFI to BUF (Black United Front) which exists today. Purpose, structure, etc. of the Black United Front is described in its Preamble and Constitution.

#### HISTORY OF THE OFFICE OF BLACK AFFAIRS

The Office of Black Affairs was originally created in April

of 1969 as the ASMSU Vice-Presidency for Black Affairs. This was an ASMSU cabinet position, and the Vice-President, Stan McClinton, appointed by ASMSU, was directly responsible to the ASMSU Cabinet for all actions and programs.

In February of 1970 the Vice-Presidency of Black Affairs was changed to the Office of Black Affairs. A Code of Operations was established, which specified that the Office would have no affiliation other than budgetary with the ASMSU Cabinet. Furthermore, the director of the Office was to be appointed by the Black Liberation Front, International instead of the Cabinet. These changes were brought about to promote the autonomy of the Office of Black Affairs. Stan McClinton soon before this structural change had appointed Mike Hudson as the new Director.

In April, 1970, the Office was closed for a few days by the ASMSU Board, because of allegations that the director of the Office, Mike Hudson, was not truly representative of black students on campus. Rodney Watts later in April moved to reopen the Office under Mike Hudson. In early May, however, certain organizational changes began to be initiated in BLFI by the Committee for Change. See the above history of black student organizations for details: when as a result of several weeks of activity the Black United Front was established, the Executive Board of the Black United Front (BUF) asked that the power to appoint the Director of the Office of Black Affairs be given to BUF.

This motion was made before ASMSU on May 26, 1970, on the basis



that Mike Hudson was not truly, as had been charged before, representative of the interests of black students at M.S.U. The BUF had a popularly-elected organizational structure, unlike BLFI, and claimed legitimacy to select the director of the Office of Black Affairs.

ASMSU voted to amend the Code of Operations, so that the director would be chosen by the Black United Front.

The Representative Council of BUF chose five members of a Board of Directors, to be in charge of the administration of the Office of Black Affairs. The official director of the Office, as chosen by the five, was to be Claire McClinton; the other four members were Ervin Armstrong, Bernard Carver, John D. Jones, and June Manning. The Office was open full-time during the summer; in addition to a cultural festival and the planning of social activities for the fall, the Office distributed the BUF Newsletter and the Westside News, formulated and published the BUF pamphlet, and conducted supplemental orientation of black freshmen on campus during the summer.

#### BLACK DORM ORGANIZATIONS

Black students living in residence halls at Michigan State have become so concerned with the Black-White relationship, that Black organizations are now an active part of many dormitories. Although the Black United Front exists as the black student organization on campus, black students are aware that a representative group within the dorm is also quite effective.

Black students of Shaw, Rather, Akers and Wilson Halls have all started organizations within their dorms, and with the progress thus far, it appears that they will be quite successful.

Shaw

The Black Brothers of Shaw (so called because it was previously an all-male dorm) began in the fall of 1969. When the organization started, there were five main goals in mind: to promote black political and cultural awareness for blacks within the dorm; to become a strong minority in which we could adequately defend all of the blacks within the dorm; to promote unity and understanding among the blacks within the dorm; to improve the social life of the blacks on this white-oriented campus; to set an example for blacks in other dorms to follow. Although these goals were originated to stay within the dorm, they felt that it was a necessity for them to integrate those goals into the black community.

There follows an account of the BBS's first year, which appeared in the June 4, 1970 issue of the BUF Newsletter:

The BBS started out by getting money from the Shaw Hall General Council (\$750) which was invested in three different projects: \$250 for a dance in which we could raise money for future cultural and political activities, \$350 to begin a cultural program for the winter term, and \$150 for books in which we could begin our black culture room. In addition the BBS received votes on East and West General Council after long, heated debates.

The BBS saw the need to serve as a balance between the Black Liberation Front International (BLFI) [then the black student organization] which was entirely political and the Black Greeks which are

entirely social. Serving as a balance the BBS would coordinate dances that would bring the Black community together and give them an opportunity to know one another better. This in time would or could bring about more unity within the black community.

The money from our social activities was used to promote black cultural and political awareness. The BBS have set up a Black Library with close to 500 books, sculptures, paintings, and posters. This library is controlled and operated exclusively by the Blacks within the dorm. We had set up a Black History program during winter term in which various movies were shown. These dealt with the history and the struggles of the Black man in America. Various speakers from the community gave lectures dealing with the history of the Black-White relationship in America. We have set up sensitivity group lessons with the Black Sisters of West Circle in hopes of improving the brother-sister relationship. We have worked with the Breakfast Program in Lansing and we are currently working with the Model Cities Program in Lansing. We have sent brothers to the Black Power Congress in Canada, to the Topographical Research Center in Chicago, and to hear the Honorable Elijah Muhammed speak in Chicago. The brothers also gave free dances at the end of winter and fall terms for the Brothers and Sisters to relieve them of their finals pressures. We climaxed our year by giving a Black Cultural Extravaganza which included events ranging from poetry, singing, and dancing to acting.

Although school will let out soon the black brothers of Shaw will not stop functioning. We have set up committees to deal with specific programs. The first committees will set up a concrete cul-

tural and political program for the school year of 1970-71. This program will include speakers, movies, African dancers and plays. The dates that the programs are scheduled for will be duplicated and given to each Black student at the beginning of each term. The second committee will start researching and developing adequate and sufficient programs for starting a rifle and gun club beginning fall term. The third committee will be helping the Topographical Research Center in Detroit over the summer.

The Black Brothers of Shaw are in the process of publishing a book entitled The Literary Works of the Black Brothers of Shaw. This book will be available to all Black students at the beginning of Fall term. We are in the process of setting up a miniature Topographical Research Center into which the blacks could come at Shaw and check it out. This miniature research center is located in the Black Library and contains articles which deal with the white man's attempt to destroy the black man (through genocide).

The Black Brothers of Shaw hopes that black people will realize that, although we have different views such as integration or separation, violence or non-violence, we all have a common oppressor, this being the racist government of America. The Black Brothers of Shaw hopes to see one day, as Don L. Lee puts it, "integration between the Negroes and the Black Folks," because only as a united people will we accomplish our goal of freedom.

#### Preamble to the Constitution

We the Black Brothers of Shaw, in order to encourage and promote Black political and cultural awareness in the dorm, to become a func-



tional part of the Shaw complex, to improve the relationship between blacks and whites, to improve the social life of the Black man on this white-oriented campus and promote unity and understanding among the blacks in the dorm, hereby expand our present organization to include all Black sisters and therefore change our name to the Black People of Shaw. BPS.

#### OFFICERS

Chairman	Ervin Armstrong
Secretary	Richard Yardbrough
Treasurer	Lutrell Christian
Minister of Publication	Curtis Williams
Social Chairman	Bill Mitchell
Culture Coordinators	Aubrey Vernon - Joseph Ellison
Black Aides	Ervin Armstrong - Bonita Johnson

#### Rather

The Black Sisters of Rather (so called because only females reside there) began in the fall of 1969 trying to develop a certain degree of political maturity but did not begin a definite organizational format until the beginning of 1970.

There follows a statement of the first year of activity by BSR, as printed in the June 4, 1970, issue of the BUF Newsletter:

During the 1969-70 school year the Black Sisters of Rather tried to develop a certain degree of political maturity. Fall term was devoted to creating a sense of Black communal spirit as now exists

in the "extended family" in our Mother country. We devoted much time to breaking down the false values which we brought with us to this university. "Sensitivity" sessions with our brothers and sisters proved to be invaluable in the process of recreating our Black identity.

Winter term was the time in which some of our new-found values were expressed in a cultural exposition, "The Power of Cultured Soul". Brothers and sisters from both the community and campus proved that we are indeed, "young, gifted, and black."

The new year also brought us into a definite organizational format. Demands were presented to the white dorm council in which we acquired \$500 for the creation of a cultural room. As a direct result of our confrontation the Hall Judiciary Council was abolished and Hall Government, as such, was dissolved.

Simultaneous with our political dealings, we continued our "rap" sessions with such guest speakers as Sister Annamarie Hayes, Brother Tom Gunnings, Rev. and Mrs. Colquitt (of Inkster), Brother Richard W. Thomas, Sister Jill Witherspoon (of Detroit), Brother Lamarr Thomas, Brother Willie Williams, and Brother Bill Gardner.

Spring term has been devoted primarily to our political growth. A trip to the Black People's Topographical Research Center in Chicago highlighted our political activity. We also had the opportunity to have lunch with our Muslim brothers in their Shabazz Restaurant in Chicago. Brothers and sisters from across the Campus were invited to join us in this political experience. We would like to thank the Center for their

invaluable assistance in making the trip a success.

We, as Black women, are committed to the continual process of doing our share towards bringing about the greater degree of "revolutionary awareness" so necessary to our struggle.

There follows the draft of the letter sent to the Rather Hall Council in the fall--

To the Chairman of the Rather Hall Council:

The Black Sisters of Rather Hall is an organization of all black residents of Rather Hall. We have joined together in an effort to be recognized as a viable force working on behalf of the black women, so that they may be secure in knowing that activities will reflect their cultural point of view.

The organization was formed with the rationale that, since the Houses in the dorm are predominately white, the black "side" is not truly represented in the respective student governments. We, therefore, propose to counteract the off balance of interests through the following requests:

1. that the Black Sisters of Rather be given a vote in the General Council.
2. that the newly formed organization be given a seat on the Executive Council.

One of the stated purposes of the Black Sisters of Rather is to promote "black awareness and consciousness" within the dorm and throughout the campus.

#### OFFICERS

President	Clarissa Brown
Vice President	Mattie S. Townsend
Corresponding Secretary	Cynthia Charity
Recording Secretary	Rhonda Pearson
Treasurer	Patricia Northern
Sgt. at Arms	Karen Wallace
Black Aide	Roberta Clover

### Akers Black Caucus

Black students of Akers Hall first made their request for a Black student organization known at Akers Hall General Council, February 19, 1970. Students attended the meeting and made it known that they wanted black voting members on the council. At the previous meeting, the black students had asked for their dorm dues to be returned since they were not being used in the interest of the black students, but later decided that a group of black students on the hall council would be more important.

The Black students of Akers Hall then presented a constitutional amendment to the Hall Council. This amendment had two objectives:

1. to elect two Black representatives who will be added as members of Council.
2. to form the organization of a Black Caucus, which will act in an advisory capacity for the two Black representatives.

In summary, the proposed amendment is a plea for proportionate representation in dorm government and dorm activities. The question that the proposed amendments raises is not one of discrimination but one of sensitivity. Can and will the majority show itself as being insensitive to the needs of a minority?

### OFFICERS

President	Ralph Hanson
Vice President	Sandra Coleman

Recording Secretary	Deloris Moss
Treasurer	Daryl Curtis
Black Aides	Gregory Miller - Sandra Coleman

#### BLACKS ORGANIZED IN THEIR MAJORS

One unexpected area of black student organization that appeared during the 1969-70 school year was the dorm organization that took place in Shaw, Akers, Rather, and other dorms. Another area that hopefully will be further developed during 1970-71 involves organizations of black students sharing the same major.

It is not known how many actual major organizations have been developed on campus. The students majoring in engineering have formed the Black Students in Engineering, and tentative organization has begun in the areas of psychology, pre-med, pre-law and police administration, and television and radio.

The Black United Front recognizes the importance and necessity of organization in majors and fields of study. First of all, the necessity for cooperative effort among black students exists because of the need for survival. As the Black Students in Engineering pointed out in a June 9, 1970, communication--

"We must begin to motivate interest within [the student], so that he or she will excel in any task encountered. This motivation will come from student participation along with counseling and tutorial programs related to his or her field of study.

"We must begin to project positive images. Black students, like all students, need an image to pattern themselves after. This image cannot be projected by whites, it must be a Black image. A white image only reinforces the fears and myths which can only have a negative effect on the minds of Black people. We must move in a direction that will eliminate these fears and

myths, so that Black people will begin to excel. . . ."

Another important reason for field of study organization is to assure that all possible mechanisms are devised for channeling fields of study to the benefit of black people and the black community. There are ways that certain fields can be a hindrance to black people, and ways that they can be of great service. The social sciences, for example, such as sociology, anthropology, and psychology, have in the past been used by Western civilization to "study" "inferior" people, and not to help the oppressed, or study power mechanisms that caused oppression and led to "social deviance" and poverty. The sciences, notably human medicine, have advanced "technological achievement" for white middle class America, but have not been channeled to the benefit of impoverished black Americans. Fields such as business and science in the past have been used by society to channel bright black students to the service of the larger white community, but ways have not been explored and formulated to provide significant input into the economy and welfare of the black community.

Exploration of these factors necessitates specialized activity. One of the best ways to generate such activity is to organize along specific lines of interest such as university majors.



## Resources

### COUNSELING CENTER

The Michigan State University Counseling Center offers professional counseling and psychological services to all regularly enrolled MSU students. (Those carrying less than seven credits are not eligible for counseling, but may consult a counselor regarding sources of assistance with their concerns.) To meet the special needs of minority group students, the Counseling Center has instituted a minority counseling program headed by Dr. Thomas S. Gunnings.

Minority students with any kind of problem should go to the Minority Counseling Center located in Room 32 of the Student Union Building or to other counseling offices located in Brody, South Wonders, and Fee Halls. Available to the counselors are resources necessary to solve the problem, be it an educational, personal, social or emotional concern. The phone number is 355-8270, and the main office of the MSU Counseling Center is in Room 207 Student Services Building.

Staffing the Minority Counseling Center, in addition to Dr. Gunnings, are Mrs. Maggie Martin; Miss Pamela Jackson; Mrs. Patricia Carter; Jose Gamez; Rul Arizpe; Miss Cassander Holmes, Graduate Assistant; Calvin Matthews; and Mr Henry Johnson, Administrative Coordinator of the Counseling Component of Supportive Programs.

### EQUAL OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM

The Equal Opportunity Program emanated from the Committee of Sixteen Report of 1968 and was expanded by Ronald B. Lee's

"Framework for Action", a document which grew out of a series of seminars at Michigan State University. These seminars were specifically designed to address the question of equal opportunity at Michigan State University.

Broadly defined, Equal Opportunity Programs are those directed at assuring non-discriminatory access of the disadvantaged minority populace to the university and eliminating discriminatory practices by the university in all of its functions and programs.

In accomplishing its goals, E.O.P. must "make some things unequal in order for other things to be equal."

During the academic year 1969-70, E.O.P. was charged with providing support services to black and other minority students. Although this program was successful, (witness and evaluation of the tutorial and counseling component) the E.O.P. director and its staff found that an adequate support program should be linked closely to recruitment, admissions, financial aids, and other ancillary support services. During the upcoming academic year, the support services components will be coordinated through the Developmental Program which is directed by Dr. Lloyd Cofer.

During the past academic year, the Equal Opportunity Program mounted a very successful recruitment and financial aid program for black and other minority graduate students. As a consequence, the minority graduate student population at M.S.U. was significantly increased. More than 140 Equal Opportunity Fellowships, ranging from \$500 to \$3,200, have been awarded to minority graduate students. In the future, this program will be expanded through cooperative efforts of E.O.P., the graduate office and various colleges and departments within the university.

With the adoption of the Michigan State University, Anti-Discrimination Policies and Procedures, more popularly referred to as the Brookover Report, Equal Opportunity Programs has been greatly strengthened. The major function of the Committee Against Discrimination, chaired by Dr. Rita Zemach, is to initiate and conduct reviews of various departments and units in the university upon notification of the president. Already the committee has adopted review procedures, and in the near future will review several units on campus. Also this committee and its executive secretary will design an Affirmative Action Plan for women as requested by President Wharton.

The other body, the Anti-Discrimination Board is chaired by Dr. Clifford Pollard. Through its executive-secretary, Mrs. Mary Sharp, it is referring procedures for receiving and adjusting complaints of discrimination in the university. Presently this body through its secretary and threeman committee, is investigating charges and counter-charges in the controversial cheerleading incident of last winter.

During the past few months, many of the E.O.P. activities have focused on the development and implementation of a university side Affirmative Action Plan in employment. The written Affirmative Action Plan will be presented to the Board of Trustees in a future meeting. This plan will speak to equal opportunity in employment, in purchasing, building trades, etc.

At its April meeting, the M.S.U. Board of Trustees approved a recommendation of President Wharton that E.O.P. be transferred

to central administration under the jurisdiction of Vice President for University Affairs, Mr. Robert Perrin. The E.O.P. staff and Mr. Perrin have begun programs to launce a meaningful Equal Opportunity Program designed to eliminate the last vestiges of discrimination on campus.

Below are listed the major functions of E.O.P. :

1. Recruitment of Minority Graduate Students
2. Provision of Financial Aid (EOP Fellowships) for Graduate Students
3. Development and Implementation of Affirmative Action Plans to insure Equal Opportunity in employment
4. Increasing the number of black and other minority-group faculty on campus
5. Providing leadership for various colleges, departments and units in establishing Equal Opportunity Programs
6. Establishing liason with various agencies (Michigan Civil Rights Commission, Human Relations Commission, etc.) in the Lansing community concerned with the elimination of descrimination
7. Working with various agencies and units within and without the university to train minority group persons for meaningful work rules, a la apprenticeship programs and On-The-Job training programs
8. Implementation of the Michigan State University Anti-Discrimination Policies and Procedures (Brookover Report)

#### CENTER FOR URBAN AFFAIRS

The Center for Urban Affairs uses its resources to focus on the problems of welfare, hunger, nutrition, and other urban-related problems which have a negative impact on the lives of people. In an effort to make our society a better one, and to mitigate poverty and racism, we hope to train young men and women at the graduate level who would become change agents or social engineers. To achieve this



goal the Center develops programs in the areas of curriculum, community action, and research and experimentation.

Urban affairs curriculum development at Michigan State University is being oriented toward socially relevant curricula for MSU and preschool, elementary, and secondary schools in Michigan.

Included in the planning are programs which will lead to both graduate and undergraduate degrees in urban affairs and ethnic studies. The basic philosophy underlying development of an urban-ethnic studies program is to develop commitments from and expertise of minority students so they may utilize their skills to help to alleviate urban problems.

Most of the center's efforts have been experimental in trying to determine how the university should relate to the urban scene. There are no clear-cut patterns, although the efforts of others suggest approaches which the university might take. The center has, however, initiated several projects related to community action.

With the dedication of the Urban Extension Center in Lansing, the first of its kind in Michigan, the community action programs of the center will be even more extensive than in the past year. Inputs have been made into the Lansing Model Cities Program and Friendship Day Care Center, an experimental effort to determine the day care needs of low income parents. The Colleges of Education, Home Economics, and Human Medicine have, with the center, provided faculty and staff for a community action project which seeks to train low income mothers.

The research component of the center, coordinated by Dr. Lawrence W. Lezotte, is presently conducting a study to determine possible alternative predictors of academic success which could be used by universities in establishing just admissions policies for students with poor scholastic backgrounds. In addition to this research, the research component is conducting and encouraging action research efforts aimed at alleviating one problem of families receiving Aid to Dependent Children. Also underway is a survey study to determine the degree of ethnic minority group participation in the university's graduate departments. This study will assess the extent of minority group student participation in graduate programs, and the degree of financial and other supportive services available to these students.

Dr. Robert L. Green is the Director of the Center. Dr. Wilbur Brookover and Nolem M. Ellison are Associate Directors, and Eric V.A. Winston is the Administrative Assistant to the Director.

Community Action Staff

Adelbert C. Jones  
George W. Logan  
Clarence Montgomery  
Daniel J. Roble

Curriculum Development

Thomas S. Gunnings  
Alan D. Hurwitz  
Judith S. Leepa  
Maurice D. Ndukwa  
Richard W. Thomas  
John R. Winchester

Research and Evaluation

Lawrence W. Lezotte  
 Rita R. Bakan  
 David T. Lee  
 William H. Schmidt  
 John H. Schweitzer

Support Services

Eugenia Smith

New Staff

Patricia Barnes  
 Xavier Del Buono  
 Winston Gibson  
 Louis Gonzales  
 L. Eudora Pettigrew  
 Carl E. Pickhardt III  
 Daniel H. Saks  
 Mitchell Stengel

THE AFRICAN STUDIES CENTER

The African Studies Center coordinates courses and programs relating to Africa from a wide variety of disciplines. Although it has not in the past had the power to confer degrees in African Studies, it is now in the process of establishing a cognate certificate-granting program which students will normally begin in their junior year.

Previous to the fall of 1969 there was no student participation in the Center. In October, 1969, however, black students occupied the Center and made certain demands. The result is that the Center's policy is now formulated by a Plenary Body consisting of staff and student representatives, and a Search and Selection Committee is now looking for a Black director.

If and when the Black director is appointed, he will preside over

a core faculty which is almost completely white. The recruitment of Black faculty at all levels will have to be accelerated to give credibility to the African-ness of the Center.

#### Mazungumzo

One of the latest results of Black student demands at the African Studies Center is the establishment of Mazungumzo, a quarterly journal devoted to papers by students on the subject of Africa and Africans, both those at home (on the African Continent), and those abroad (in North America, the West Indies, Latin America, England and elsewhere.

Mazungumzo (which means "dialogue" in Swahili) will make its first appearance in Fall, 1970. Contributions by Black students are welcomed and should be typed on 8 1/2 by 11 paper and double-spaced. Articles should be addressed to:

Mazungumzo  
African Studies Center  
Michigan State University

BLACK STUDENT AIDES

The Office of the Dean of Students established a Black Student Aides Program in order to offer an additional source of contact and assistance to all black students living in residence halls. This need was pointed out in a proposal submitted to Residence Halls Programs in the spring of 1969, co-authored by Richard W. Thomas and Shirley Echols. The first aides, selected for the academic year 1969-1970, were chosen during the summer of 1969

The duties of a student aide include spearheading innovative projects to significantly involve black students in the residence hall; cutting red tape for students who have run into difficulty in the university; and assisting with academic advising and coordinating orientation for aides within the hall.

The following are the student aide positions for the 1970-71 academic year:

<u>Complex</u>	<u>Hall Assignment</u>	<u>Name</u>
Brody	Armstrong	Rod Gilliam
	Bryan	Floyd Eaton
	Bailey	Stan Price
	Butterfield	Marva Smith
	Emmons	William Melville
	Rather	Roberta Clover
Cedar Woods	West Holmes	Nadine Brown
	East Holmes	Gerald Evelyn
	West McDonel	Charles Cannon
	East McDonel	Elaine Flowers
	West Shaw	Bonita Johnson
	East Shaw	Ervin Armstrong
Circle	Campbell	Adrienne White
	Gilchrist	Toni White
	Landon	Denise Livingston
	Mayo	Diana Bell
	Williams	Curvie Burton
	Yakeley	Wanda Booker

East

East Akers  
West Akers  
East Fee  
West Fee  
N. Hubbard  
S. Hubbard

Gregory Miller  
Sandra Coleman  
Brenda Mitchell  
Otis Wallace  
Joseph White  
Cheryl Carpenter

Red Cedar

Abbot  
Mason  
Phillips  
Snyder

Clarence Perkins  
Kathleen Potts  
Renell Dennis  
Willie Duncan

South

N. Case  
S. Case  
E. Holden  
W. Holden  
E. Wilson  
W. Wilson  
N. Wonders  
S. Wonders

Gayle King  
Don Taylor  
Elias Tyler  
Sherrie Carter  
Lee Meadows  
Betty Floyd  
Leslie Lewis  
Pat Marks



BLACK FACULTY COMMITTEE

Serving the black community of M.S.U. and its surrounding areas, the Black Faculty Committee moves as a positive component for all black people. The committee's membership now comprises assistant professors, professors, and black people with positions that relate to black students of M.S.U. B.F.C. was formulated in the month of February, 1969 with the initial task of becoming an active voice in the selection of the next president of Michigan State University. Walter Adams was the candidate the committee supported but after he dropped out of the race, the Black Faculty Committee emerged a strong force in the selection of Dr. Clifton Wharton.

GENOCIDE-WHO IS IT FOR ?

## KING ALFRED PLAN

TAKEN FROM: THE MAN WHO CRIED I AM JOHN WILLIAMS

## King Alfred\*

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

## Participating Federal Agencies

National Security Council	Department of Justice
Central Intelligence Agency	Department of Defense
Federal Bureau of Investigation	Department of Interior

Participating State Agencies  
(Under Federal Jurisdiction)

National Guard Units	State Police
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Participating Local Agencies  
(Under Federal Jurisdiction)

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

Chairman, National Security Council

Preliminary Memo: Department of Interior

UNDER KING ALFRED, The nation has been divided into 10 Regions (See map). In case of Emergency, Minority members will be evacuated from the cities by federalized national guard units, local and state police and, if necessary, by units of the Regular Armed Forces, using public and military transportation, and detained in nearby military installations until a further course of action has been decided.



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

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

Secretary, Department of Interior

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

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

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

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

Attorney General

Preliminary Memo: Department of Defense.

This memo is being submitted in lieu of a full report from the Joint Chief's of Staff. That report is now in preparation. There will be many cities where the minority will be able to put into the street a superior number of people with a desperate and dangerous will. He will be a formidable enemy, for he is bound to the Continent by heritage and knows that political asylum will not be available to him in other countries. The greatest concentration of the Minority is in the Deep South, the Eastern seaboard, the Great Lakes region and the West Coast. While the national population exceeds that of the Minority by more than ten times, we must realistically into account the following:

- 1--An estimated 40-50 percent of the white population will not, for various reasons, engage the Minority during an Emergency.
- 2--American Armed Forces are spread around the world. A breakout of war abroad means fewer troops at home to handle the Emergency.
- 3--Local law enforcement officials must contain the Emergency until help arrives, though it may mean fighting a superior force. New York City, for example, has a 25,000-man police force, but there are about one million Minority members in the city.

We are confident that the Minority could hold any city it took for only a few hours. The lack of weapons, facilities, logistics--all put the Minority at a final disadvantage.

Since the Korean War, this Department has shifted Minority members of the

Armed Forces to areas where combat is most likely to occur, with the aim of eliminating, through combat deaths in Vietnam, where they are serving as "advisers", is twice as high as the Minority population ratio to the rest of America, Below is the timetable for KING ALFRED as tentatively suggested by the JCS who recommend that the operation be made over a period of eight hours:

- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| 1. Local police and minority leaders in action to head off the Emergency.  |     |
| 2. Countdown to eight hours begins at the moment the President Determines the Emergency to be:   |     |
| A. National  |     |
| B. Coordinated   |     |
| C. Of long duration  | 8th |
| 3. County police join local police.  | 6th |
| 4. State police join county and local forces.  | 7th |
| 5. Federal marshals join state, county and local forces.   | 5th |
| 6. National Guards federalized, held in readiness.   | 4th |
| 7. Regular Armed Forces alerted, take up positions;<br>Minority troops divided and detained, along with white sympathizers, under guard. | 3rd |
| 8. All Minority leaders, national and local, detained.   | 2nd |
| 9. President addresses Minority on radio-television, gives it one hour to end the Emergency.   | 1st |
| 10. All units under regional commands into the Emergency.  | 0   |

'O' Committee Report:

Survey shows that, during a six-year, period, production created 9,000,000 objects, or 1,500,000 each year. Production could not dispose of the containers, which proved a bottleneck. However, that was almost 20 years ago. We suggest that vaporization techniques be employed to overcome the production problems inherent in KING ALFRED.

Secretary of Defense

Footnote from Page

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



SECRET EXECUTIVE ORDERS THAT CAN  
MAKE A PRESIDENT A DICTATOR

Executive Order No. 11051

"WHEREAS national preparedness must be achieved and maintained to support varying stages of mobilization as may be required to deal with increases in international tension, with limited war, or with general war, including an attack upon the United States; and

"WHEREAS the national security and our continuing economic growth and prosperity are interdependent, appropriate attention must be directed to effective coordination of emergency preparedness measures with national economic policies and objectives, and..."

"WHEREAS mobilization readiness and civil defense activities can be accomplished most effectively and efficiently through the performance by departments and agencies of the Government of those emergency preparedness functions related to their established roles and capabilities, and

"WHEREAS responsibility for emergency preparedness involves virtually every agency of the Federal Government, and there is need to provide a central point of leadership and coordination in the Executive Office of the President;

"NOW, THEREFORE by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States...it is hereby ordered as follows:

"Section 101: Resume of responsibilities. The Director of the Office of Emergency Planning (hereinafter referred to as the Director) shall:

"(a) Advise and assist the President in the coordination of and in the determination of policy for the emergency departments and agencies (hereinafter referred to as Federal agencies) designed to make possible at Federal, State and local levels the mobilization of the human, natural and industrial resources of the nation to meet all conditions of national emergency, including attack on the United States...

"PART III. SPECIAL EMERGENCY PLANNING RESPONSIBILITIES

Section 301. General. Under the direction of the President, the Director shall have primary responsibility (1) for planning assumptions and broad nonmilitary emergency preparedness objectives, (2) for planning the nonmilitary organization and functioning of the Federal Government in time of national emergency...(4) for planning for that emergency mobilization, of telecommunications resources...

"...WHEREAS it is essential that responsibility be clearly assigned within the executive branch of the government for promoting and encouraging effective and efficient administration and development of United States national and international telecommunications and for effecting the prudent use of the radio frequency spectrum by the Executive Branch of the Government...

"WHEREAS there is an immediate and urgent need for integrated short and long-range planning with respect to national and international telecommunications programs, for continuing supervision over the use of the radio frequency spectrum by the executive branch of the Government and for the development of national policies in the field of telecommunications;

## McCARRAN ACT

## HUAC'S INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, TITLE II

Concentration ("Detention") Camps should President Proclaim an "Internal Security Emergency":

Emergency Detention: In the event of ...insurrection...the president is authorized to make public proclamation ... of an "Internal Security Emergency"... and..."acting through the attorney general, is... authorized to apprehend and...detain...each person as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe...PROBABLY WILL...CONSPIRE with others to engage in. acts...of sabotage... Persons apprehended... shall be detained in...places of detention...prescribed by the Attorney General."

Once the ghetto is sealed off, and depending upon the violence being perpetrated by the guerrillas, the following actions could be taken by the authorities:

- (1) A curfew would be imposed in the enclosed isolated area. No one would be allowed out of or into the area after sundown.
- (2) During the night the authorities would not only patrol the boundary lines, but would also attempt to control the streets and, if necessary, send out foot patrols through the entire area. If the guerrillas attempted to either break out of the area or to engage the authorities in open combat they would be readily suppressed.
- (3) During a guerrilla uprising most civil liberties would have to be suspended, search and seizure operations would be instituted during the daylight hours, and anyone found armed or without proper identification would immediately be arrested. Most of the people of the ghetto would not be involved in the guerrilla operation and, under conditions of police and military control, some would help in ferreting out the guerrillas. Their help would be invaluable.
- (4) If the guerrillas were able to hold out for a period of time then the population of the ghetto would be classified through an office for the "control and organization of the inhabitants." This office would distribute "census cards" which would bear a photograph of the individual, the letter of the district in which he lives, his house and street number, and a letter designating his home city. This classification would aid the authorities in knowing the exact location of any suspect and who is in control of any given district. Under such a system, movement would be prescribed and the ability of the guerrillas to move freely from place to place seriously curtailed.
- (5) The population within the ghetto should be exorted to work with the authorities and to report both on guerrillas and on any suspicious activity they might note. The police agencies would be in a position to make immediate arrests, without warrants, under suspension of guarantees usually provided by the Constitution.
- (6) Acts of overt violence by the guerrillas would mean that they had declared a "state of war" within the country and, therefore, would forfeit their rights as in wartime. The McCarran Act provides for various detention centers to be operated throughout the country and, these might well be utilized for the temporary imprisonment of warring guerrillas.
- (7) The very nature of the guerrilla operation as presently envisioned by certain Communists and black nationalists would be impossible to sustain. According to the most knowledgeable guerrilla was experts in this country the revolutionaries could be isolated and destroyed in a short period of time.

"NOW, THEREFORE, as President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the United States...it is hereby ordered and follows:

" Section I. There is hereby established the position of Director of Telecommunications Management, which shall be held by one on the Assistant Directors of the Office of Emergency Planning. . .

"Section 3. The authority to assign radio frequencies to Government agencies . . . including all functions heretofore vested in the Interdepartment Radio Advisory Committee, is hereby delegated to the Director of the Office of Emergency Planning . . . Such authority shall include the power to amend, modify, or revoke frequency assignments. . .

"Section 6. In carrying out functions under this order, the Director of Telecommunications Management shall consider the following objectives. . .

"Section 1. Scope. (a) The Attorney General shall prepare national emergency plans and develop preparedness programs covering law enforcement functions of concern to the Executive Branch of the Federal Government. . .

"(b) These plans and programs shall be designed to develop a state of readiness in these areas with respect to all conditions of national emergency, including an attack upon the United States.

"Section 2. Basic Functions. The Attorney General shall:

. . . (b) Industry Support. As appropriate, review the legal procedures developed by the Federal agencies concerned to be instituted if it becomes necessary for the Government to institute extraordinary measures with respect to vital production facilities, public facilities, communication systems, transportation systems, or other facility, systems, or service essential to national survival.

"(c) Judicial and legislative liaison. IN cooperation with the OEP, maintain liaison with the Federal courts and with the Congress so there will be mutual understanding of Federal emergency plans. . .

"(e) Alien Control and control of entry and departure. Develop emergency plans for the control of alien enemies and other aliens within the United States and, in consultation with the Department of the Treasury, develop emergency plans for the control of persons attempting to enter or leave the United States. These plans shall specifically include provisions for the following:

". . . (5) Control of persons entering or departing from the United States at designated ports of entry.

"(6) Increased surveillance of the borders to preclude prohibited crossings by persons.

"Section 3. Civil Defense. In consonance with the national civil defense program developed by the Department of Defense, the Attorney General shall:

" . . . (b) Penal and Correctional Institutions. Develop emergency plans and procedures for the custody and protection of prisoners and the use of Federal penal and correctional institutional resources, when available, for cooperation with local authorities in connection with mass feeding and housing . . . for the continued availability of prison industry products, and for the development of Federal prisoner skills to appropriately augment the total supply of manpower; advise States and their political subdivisions regarding the use of State and local prisons, jails and prisoners for the purpose of relieving local situations arising from a state of emergency.

"(c) Identification and location of persons. Develop emergency plans and procedures for the use of the facilities and personnel of the Department of Justice in assisting the Department of HEW with the development of plans and procedures for the identification of the dead and the reuniting of families during a civil defense emergency.

"Section 4. Interagency cooperation. Unless otherwise provided in this section, the Attorney General shall assume the initiative in developing joint plans for emergency preparedness functions. . .

"Section 5. Presidential Coordination. The Director of the OEP shall advise and assist the President in determining policy for, and assist him in coordinating the performance of, functions under this order with the total national preparedness program.

"Section 6. Emergency Planning. Emergency plans and programs shall be developed as an integral part of the continuing activities of the Department of Justice on the basis that it will have the responsibility for carrying out such programs during an emergency. The Attorney General shall be prepared to implement all appropriate plans developed under this order. . .

**CREATIVE WRITINGS**

### THE NATURE OF OUR PROTRACTED STRUGGLES

-Richard Thomas

We are presently engaged in a protracted struggle. More than likely it will still be going on after we are dead and gone. The extent to which it will be a success will depend upon all our contributions and an understanding of the over-all philosophy of a protracted struggle.

To struggle for a short time is one thing. To struggle for a long time is quite another thing. To struggle intelligently is profound. When we struggle for a short time for a limited goal, once we reach the goal we stop struggling. For example, if we are hungry we struggle to get food, after which we cease struggling until we are hungry again. We do not see that there is a system that by its very nature keeps us periodically hungry, and that we should go after it at its core to destroy its capacity to continue keeping us hungry. And because we do not see or understand it, we do not appreciate the need for extensive reflection and planning over a long period of time, i.e., protracted struggle. When we examine the system we soon discover that we are engaged in a death struggle, and that we must struggle wisely. In effect we must understand struggle as a total way of life every aspect of which is known. We must do this because we must do more than mere struggling. A drowning man struggles, but he still drowns. In affect we must struggle strategically and tactically to win. An irrational, totally gut-level struggle with no coherent political objective other than empty shouts-"wolf tickets"-is suicidal.

We must struggle to win. Many times our strategies and tactics will be criticized by other people. But if we struggle and win our political objectives their criticism will evaporate in the place of our victory, which will be the sole monument to our strategic and tactical superiority.



All that matters is that we struggle to win, not to impress, that we struggle hourly and daily; the months and years will automatically follow. Now let's examine what we mean by a protracted struggle.

A protracted struggle is one of long duration. A long duration in which we must formulate a science and art of both offensive and defensive action. That science and art must stem from an ideology, i.e., a system of beliefs, based upon our own perception of those specific concrete things which are oppressing us. What are these specific concrete things? They are fundamentally a system of capitalism which generates racism, class, and poverty. A system which holds out to its total people that which it can only deliver to a few, making them feel they are better. A system which is dangerously elusive and adaptive. A system which divides its victims so as to more methodically contain their actions and turn them against each other. A system which muffles the cries of the sick, maimed, poor, aged, and non-white under the carefully maintained mythology of "everything is alright; we just need a little patching up." A system which uses its white middle class to protect it like a moat, while its ruling elites play with the greatest magnitude of power in any industrial state in the world. A system which controls the military and police force, the courts, the schools, the distribution of essential goods and services and networks of vital communications. A system which extends like an octopus's tentacles all over the world, by way of transnational corporations and military establishments of various varieties and capacities.

How do we wage a successful struggle against such a powerful system- to win? Certainly not by playing "bad," or selling "wolf tickets." But rather by realizing our "real", not imagined strength and weakness, and those of the system; by calculated and precise moves and countermoves;



by knowing when to act and when to not act, and the relationship between the two; by knowing the "correct" places in which to act out the "correct move." "Correct" in the sense of winning. Blind actions are the luxuries of the powerful. We cannot afford undisciplined blind action which expresses legitimate frustrations but illegitimate timing. The man has more bullets than we have bodies. Therefore, we must formulate within our philosophy of a protracted struggle a theory of correct timing and action which will logically stem from the correct analysis and perception of those specific concrete things which oppress us.

The last but very important thing is the correct organizational expression of the correct analysis and perception. This is vital because it is only through the correct organization that we can achieve correct timing and action to win political goals within a struggle of long duration. When we look around us we see many black organizations based upon incorrect analysis of those specific concrete things which oppress us. Why is their analysis incorrect? It is incorrect because they are losing political battles. Winning or losing is the sole criteria. It determines the correctness or the incorrectness of a particular organization. But in order to have a correct organization we must define and demand what should be the correct personal actions and interactions within the organization, which means we must agree upon a theory of revolutionary ethics to dictate the correct nature of our relationships with each other. All these considerations must make up our protracted struggle. As a later time we will need to discuss the social, political and economic terrain over which we must travel during the duration of struggle and the role and function of the correct analysis in locating short-cuts.

### Cloud 9 Escapism is Self-Destruction

-George Fleming

In regard to Black people, our problems are compounded and take on appalling dimensions as a result of the racist dehumanization that we are subjected to. To understand the plague of dope as it relates to Black people, we must analyze the effects of capitalist economic exploitation and racist dehumanization.

The heinous and sadistic program of annihilating the humanity of Black people that was initiating over 400 years ago by money-mad slave masters and that has continued unabated until this very day is deliberate and systematic. It is done for the purpose of justifying and facilitating our exploitation. Since the reality of our objective existence seemed to confirm the racist doctrines of White superiority and its antithesis, Black inferiority, and some of us lack an understanding of our condition, we internalize the racist propaganda of our oppressors. We began to believe that we are inherently inferior to Whites. These feelings of inferiority gave birth to a sense of self-hatred which finds expression in self-destructive behavior patterns. The wretchedness of our plight, our sense of powerlessness and despair created within our minds a predisposition toward the use of any substance which produces euphoric illusions. We are inclined to use anything that enables us to suffer peacefully. We have developed an escapist complex. This escapist complex is self-destructive.

The depraved capitalist-racist oppressor exploits these psychological and emotional deficiencies for all they are worth. The oppressor

encourages our participation in any activity that is self-destructive. Our self-destructive behavior patterns and our escapist tendencies constitute a source of profits for the capitalists. They also, by weakening, dividing and destroying us, reinforce the strength of the oppressor enabling him to perpetuate his domination over us.

Fratricidal street-gang fighting is a direct manifestation of a self-destructive behavior pattern. It is also a form of escapism by which Black youths vent their rage, frustrations and despair on each other rather than dealing with the true enemy. Pathological religionism or the fanatical indulgence in religion is essentially escapist because it encourages the victim to concentrate his attention, energy and hope for salvation and freedom upon a dubious, mystical force. It discourages confronting the actual causes of our misery and deprivation. It encourages the focusing of attention upon pie in the sky, rather than the securing of more steak right here on planet earth. It also serves as a source of profits for those religious charlatans, preachers and ministers who exploit it.

The most escapist and self-destructive activity for us and one of the most profitable for the capitalist, and therefore the most encouraged by him, is drug addiction, specifically heroin addiction.

About 1898 a German chemist discovered diacetylmorphine, heroin. It was hailed as the perfect drug for curing morphine addicts. But soon it became apparent that it was more addictive than morphine. By the 1920's there were addicts who were injecting heroin directly into their veins. Heroin production in the United States was discontinued and the drug was no longer used as an antidote for morphine addiction and as a pain killer.

Dope, the plague, the scourge of the Black colonies of Babylon. The plague, whose spiritual, moral, psychological, physical and social destructive powers greatly exceed that of any disease hitherto known to humanity. The plague, opium from Turkey, shipped to Marseilles, converted into morphine base, then processed into heroin, smuggled into America, cut, diluted, then placed into the Black ghetto. The plague, poisonous, lethal, white powdery substance, sold by depraved, money-crazed beasts and deranged brothers to Black youths who are desperately seeking a kick, a high, a means, anything that will help to make them oblivious to the squalor, to the poverty, disease and degradation that engulfs them in their daily existence.

Initially "Jones" does just that. Under its sinister influence, the oppressive, nauseous, ghetto prison is transformed into a virtual Black Valhalla. One becomes impervious to the rancid stench of urine-soaked tenement dungeons, unaffected by the piercing cries of anguish of Black folks driven to the brink of insanity by a sadistic, social system. Unaffected by the trash cans whose decayed, disease carrying, garbage has overflowed to fill the ghetto streets. And unaffected even by the need to attain political education and re-education on a university campus.

Yes, under its ecstatic influence one is made oblivious to ugly realities. But there is a trick, a cruel monstrous trick, a deadly flim-flam awaiting its naive, youthful victim, for, as the illusionary beauty of the dope-induced high begins to vanish, correspondingly, the temporary immunity from reality attained under its chemical trance vanishes. The reality that the pathetic victim sought so desperately to escape, once again descends upon and re-engulfs him. The rancid stench of urine-



soaked tenement dungeons begins to assail his nostrils. Those Black cries of anguish seem to blend with the wailing sirens of pig-police cars. He hears them now, very loud, and very clear--in stereophonic sound. And that garbage that flows over into the streets from uncollected trash cans is felt undertoot.

The young victim is not long in discovering that only by taking another dosage will he be able to attain sanctuary from his hideous reality. Each shot of the plague that he injects into his blood system brings him that much closer to the grave. Soon he is strung-out, hooked. He is physiologically and psychologically dependent on the plague. Both his body and mind have become addicted to heroin. He has now become a full-time, chartered member of the Cloud 9 Society. His physical body begins to take on a decimated appearance. A shameless disregard is displayed toward his clothes. That his shirt is filthy and his shoes are soleless, leaving him to walk virtually on his naked feet, does not matter. That his unwashed body now emits a most foul odor disturbs him but little. That his non-addicted friends now shun him and look upon him with contempt matters not, for the feelings are mutual. They no longer have anything in common. Everything ceases to matter. Everything except Jones, the plague.

As he continues, his body begins to build up an immunity to the drug. Now, in order to attain his euphoric high he must increase his dosage. This means that he must obtain more money. So enslaved has he now become that he will do anything for a bag, for a "shot". To lie, to steal, to cheat, to rob is nothing to him. Whatever he must do for some sope he will do, for he's a slave to the plague.

The vicious cycle grinds into motion. He violates white and Black law in order to secure money to feed his new mentality, or worse, his sickness. Inevitably he gets busted. He goes to jail, and after he has served out his sentence he is released. The first thing he wants is to get high. The cycle continues. And he plunges deeper and deeper into the abysmal pit of degradation. And there, always there and ever willing, for a price of course, to meet the demand for dope is the cop-man, the dealer, purveyor of poison, distributor of death, merciless, murdering scum of the planet, vile capitalists, salesmen of death on the installment plan, the dope pusher, (a brother) who is really a chump selling the lives of his people back into white slavery.

Dope selling is beyond a doubt one of the most profitable capitalist undertakings. The profits from it soar into billions. Internationally and domestically the trade and distribution of "Jones" is ultimately controlled by the Honkie, Mafia.

Much of the profits amassed from the drug business is used to finance so-called legitimate businesses. These legitimate businesses that are controlled by the Mafia are also used to facilitate their drug-smuggling activities. Given the fact that organized crime is a business and an ever-expanding one at that, it is constantly seeking new areas of investment to increase profits. Hence, more and more illegal profits are being channeled into legitimate businesses.

And given the predatory and voracious nature of the capitalist, it should come as no surprise that so-called legitimate businessmen are deeply involved in the drug trade. Capitalist are motivated by an insatiable lust for profits. They will do any thing to make more money.

The activities of organized crime and the "legitimate capitalists" are so inextricably tied up, so thoroughly interwoven, that from our vantage point any distinction made between them is purely academic.

The extent and instant rate of profits reaped from the dope industry could arouse the envy of U.S. Steel, General Motors and Standard Oil. From the highest level to the lowest, the profits are enormous. If the individual is sufficiently ambitious, cunning, ruthless, and vicious, he may graduate from the states of street peddler to small-time distributor in a short time.

A characteristic feature of class and racial oppression is the ruling class policy of brainwashing the oppressed into accepting their oppression. Initially, this program is carried out by viciously implanting fear into the minds and sowing the seeds of inferiority in the souls of the oppressed and more adverse to the oppressor, it becomes necessary for the oppressor to modify his program and adopt more subtle and devious methods to maintain his rule. This is how so many brothers are able to handle large quantities of dope, and sometimes "P", in the streets and often on campuses. The honkie realizes he cannot operate the dope house overtly without intensifying the revolutionary fervor of the Black people in the community. Therefore a pretext is needed. He used "house niggers". "House niggers" are named thus for two reasons. First, because they operate out of so called dope houses protected by the pigs. Dope could never flourish in our communities as it does if it were not for active support of the police. We'd better remember that the police are sent into the Black colonies by the ruling class, not to protect the lives of Black people, but rather to protect the economic interest and the private property of the capitalists and also to make certain that



Black people don't get out of place. Secondly they serve the same counter-revolutionary function as those house niggers in slavery who were there almost every time to supply information to the oppressor that may produce any liberation tactic or movement ineffective. Pig police often utilize informer who are dealers. In return for information they receive immunity from arrest.

The cry of a heroin "Jones comin' down" is responsible for most of the crimes in the Black ghetto. The fact that Black drug addicts perpetuate most of their robberies, burglaries and thefts in the Black community against Black people cannot be denied. But before, out of desperation, we jump and scream for more police protection, we'd better remember who puts the dope in Detroit, Chicago, Lansing, and all other Black communities. We had better remember who ultimately profits from the drug addiction of Black people, and then and only then will we truly understand the capitalistic exploitation we face.

So whose cause are you aiding and what are you doing by tooting and snorting up Jones in the dorm? And whose cause are you aiding by getting laid at a friends place. Think about this when you thank the brother who sold you that "shit" for your system. Why is he always smiling when you leave with your dope? He knows what you are and is more than willing to take your money and help you prove that Black people must remain used, abused, tricked, and confused.

#### HELP A BROTHER-BUST A PUSHER

This essay was taken from the main ideas of "Capitalism Plus: Dope Equals Genocide" that is Published by the Black Panther Party.

