

THE VOICE OF ONE CRYING IN THE WILDERNESS:¹ CONSTRUCTING THE AFRICAN MASS COMMUNICATION PYRAMID*

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I. INTRODUCTION

Any review of mass communications and how it affects the African community needs a model for determining what is favorable or what is adverse to that community. This model must be synchronized with the higher goal of disseminating information that is, above all, truthful.

Truth must be adhered to if one accepts as premise that: our earthly home was established by truth and not by the adversary of truth; truth is the foundation of all; and that good will live forever while evil will ultimately have an everlasting death.

With this, one can assume, that since truth will ultimately defeat the adversary, that for one to be on the side of the victor (the right side or the righteous side), one must be on the side of truth.

Truth and good, as well as the adversary and evil, are used interchangeably here because even if there is a question of what our foundation is made of, one can agree that the creatures that have been added to that foundation must be synchronized with its substance. I am merely invoking my own belief that truth (or good) is the foundation of our existence. Call it poet's privilege, if you must. Your rationale for accepting this as my premise is up to you and need not be argued. And if my premise is so offensive that, in your view, it would render all of my future statements invalid, then perhaps you should stop reading at this point.

Continuing: Thus with truth as the foundation of our criteria for the determining what is favorable or adverse to the African community, we can now build our model for reviewing mass communications; both that owned and operated by Africans or that owned and operated by other racial, cultural, national, regional or religious groups that reach the African community with their product. We must always consider whether the values that are subliminally conveyed through mass communications are consistent with our cultural values. For example, in the Western culture, thin women are said to be more attractive than full-figured women.

Not long ago, while standing in a crowded supermarket, one young African man, on seeing a young family consisting of a young heavy-set woman, two toddlers following close behind and, still further behind, the father pushing a cart of food, whom the man standing next to me seemingly knew from the neighborhood, waited until the father got near and began saying

1. Matthew 3:3.

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repeatedly to his friend, loud enough for the father to hear, "she's fat and ugly," referring to the man's wife.

Undoubtedly, the father heard the young man. He ignored the man with the certainty that he loved his wife in a way that only lovers know of in their respective relationships. In this case, being spoon fed an alien culture, has an adverse affect on a full-figured, heavy-set or fat woman's self-esteem and may lessen her desire to be neat or to feel that she too is attractive.

Yet the severest rupture this causes to one's self-esteem or credibility of one's culture is that here is a young African man who may not become a husband to an African woman and a full-time father to African children if he cannot find an African woman that looks like a Barbie doll. Thus the eventual, and perhaps intended, demise of the culture; first the culture's validity and credibility and second, the culture itself.

When considering what is favorable or adverse to our psyche (spirit, soul, mind, heart) we must also consider the same for our physical health. This, I think we instinctively know. It is now a matter of becoming unaddicted to the flagrant excesses that reduce our bodily temple to a fleshy junkyard and ultimately a premature and eternal death.

With the foundation laid and the first plateau in place, let us build further and consider the more specialized areas of concern. Does the information being disseminated through mass communications result, whether incidentally or intentionally, in the African community being disadvantaged politically, economically or socially? If the result is incidental, what can be done intra-racially, intra-culturally or intra-nationally to improve the status of the African community? While examining the various mediums for mass communications, we must also look at the personnel of those entities reaching the African market. We must ask, Is African expertise being utilized in all phases of production? Are Africans in the decision-making process? And finally (if not conclusively), is the mass communication entity, whether African owned and operated or otherwise, obligated by a set of ethics which also are founded in truth?

The mediums we will look at are: print, broadcast (radio and television) and theatre. The outline for examining the mass communication state-of-the-art and its war or peace with the African community is: (1) how the African community is abused by the European/Euro-American mass communication monopoly; (2) how African owned and operated media aid and abet, by failing to challenge, the European/Euro-American mass communication monopoly; (3) a case study of distortion in the Euro-American mass communication monopoly and (4) constructing the African mass communication pyramid from the community level to the international level.

II. HOW THE AFRICAN COMMUNITY IS ABUSED BY THE EUROPEAN/ EURO-AMERICAN MASS COMMUNICATION MONOPOLY

Janet Cooke—*The Washington Post* reporter who concocted the story of an eight-year-old African boy in Southeast Washington, D.C. she allegedly witnessed shooting heroin with the assistance of his mother's boyfriend—has done the African community an honorable service.² She confirmed what

2. This story was published on the front page of *The Washington Post*, on Sunday, Septem-

many of us were clear on, but without physical evidence, would be considered paranoid if we made known our suspicions. What we learned about news concerning Africans in the European press: it is from a European perspective, only; there exists premediated efforts to distort and, in some cases, wantonly conceive, without provocation, non-events; they report only on the weaknesses of the African community; they are eager to give bad news about Africans front page visibility (and very vivid art work); they reward their reporters very well for collecting the most degrading news from the African community; and they are arrogant with their ill-conceived plot to distort truth even to the very end when they apologized to everyone under the sun except the people who received the most damage, the African community. Their last word was that much of the story was true.

Ironically, Janet Cooke is African. She demonstrated to her people how the institution which operates the death machine's public relations program, in which we have almost placed our total faith, do not regard Africans as members of the human race.

Janet Cooke's "Jimmy," the eight-year-old dope shooter, is the most notorious example of how the Euro-American mass communication monopoly abuses the African community. However, it is not the most lethal abuse that has occurred. Many of the more subtle abuses that go unnoticed do the African community as much damage. But let's come back to them later. While we are talking about Janet Cooke, let's try to identify what forces drive an African to abuse (his or) her community in exchange for fame if not fortune.

William Raspberry, a *Post* columnist, perhaps, gives us the clearest insight into this process of an African choosing to make it in the death machine at any cost to his or her people. Raspberry, an African, is quoted in Howard Bray's *The Pillars of The Post*, as telling a group of dissident young African reporters, in 1971, "You can be a black or you can be a journalist. Being a reporter pays a lot better than being a nigger."³ It's odd that Raspberry did not consider freedom as a third and more promising option.

I mentioned earlier how Africans are rewarded for doing abuse to their community. Let's look at a fundamental case for more clarity.

In the sixties, and also at *The Post*, the district editor, a Jewish gentleman, "wanted to drop" Leon Dash, a budding African reporter, at the time, who later covered Africa for *The Post*, "back to news aide for more seasoning. But Dash held on, soon writing a long feature on prostitutes and dope-pushers in the black tenderloin."⁴

Dash gloated in his new-found success with, "I didn't fear it. I grew up in Harlem. I didn't know there was anything else." By the way, one of Dash's first assignments in Africa was to travel with and report from the camps of the South African-backed UNITA rebels who waged war against

ber 28, 1980. After Cooke won a Pulitzer Prize for the story in 1981, it was learned that the story was untrue. The Washington Post reported on April 16, 1981, that the Pulitzer board withdrew the prize from Cooke. According to the Audit Bureau of Circulation, publisher's statement six months' average, ending September, 1982, the story on "Jimmy," the eight year old, had a circulation of 971,957.

3. H. BRAY, *THE PILLARS OF THE POST* 174 (1979).

4. *Id.* at 47.

the new Marxist government, MPLA.⁵ In affect, this assignment reinforced the United States-CIA plot to destabilize the popular government.

It is not my intentions to cite *The Washington Post* as the cause of all injustices done to Africans in the Euro-American press. I have used *The Post* as a tool to support and give clarity to my contention for these reasons: (1) it is the leading daily in my place of residence; (2) because of Washington's seventy percent African population, *The Post* is compelled, more than other big city dailies, to cover the African community; and (3) because *The Post*, along with the *New York* and *Los Angeles Times*, is influential in determining what events get the most prominent coverage.

The third factor in my decision to use *The Post* is a matter of concern to all; transcending barriers of religion, race, national origin and language. It denotes power. Because it places power in the hands of so few over the lives of so many, these few press giants, like government, must be checked and balanced. In fact, one can argue that because the press holds so much of the public trust, they can be considered what is informally referred to in government circles as a "quango" or quasi-autonomous nongovernmental organization. The government relies heavily upon the so-called private press or fourth estate to distribute policy statements and other information; generally using the press as a public relations consultant. When the Euro-American press is reporting from the mineral-rich, developing nations, the press reports in the best interests of the Western governments and multinational corporations doing business in those nations.

Leaders in the clergy, big business, the government and the press have generally grown up in the same neighborhoods, gone to the same schools, vacationed in the same places and joined the same fraternities. In professional life, their lives continue to intersect and their individual best interests are seldom exclusive of one another.

We see just how close government and the press work in Gay Talese's *The Kingdom and the Power*, a *New York Times*' authorized history of the *New York Times*. Talese tells us, "when Turner Catledge was a reporter in Washington" for the *Times* in the Thirties "he had been tipped off by both President Roosevelt and the Speaker of the House, Sam Rayburn, that he would be" the *Times*' next Washington Bureau Chief. Talese adds, "and Catledge undoubtedly would have been, had he chosen to remain in Washington."⁶

Not even the most astute watcher of the press can say where the private ownership of the press ends and government control of the press begins. Talese could not have given the situation any more clarity; "few active Presidents actually believe in a free press—Truman did not, nor did Eisenhower nor Kennedy nor Johnson."⁷

One thing is for sure, however, the American public has never elected anyone to be owner, publisher, editor or reporter of a newspaper or news organization. Neither have any of these influential media workers been confirmed, after hearings and investigations, by any seat of government. The public, in other words, has little recourse when dealing with the injustices of

5. *Id.* at 187.

6. G. TALESE, *THE KINGDOM AND THE POWER* 131-32 (1978).

7. *Id.* at 47.

the press. The one recourse the public has is to boycott. Boycott, however, (and not surprisingly) is a word seldomly, if ever, used by the mass communicators in reference to themselves or their counterparts.

Bray gives a good account of what happens when an editor for *The Post*, Ben Bagdikian, inexplicably suggested to a group of Africans that if they are not pleased with a newspaper, they should boycott the paper. "Bagdikian was a panelist at a conference on black priorities in Cambridge. Militants there accused the mass media of 'vicious racism.' Bagdikian defended *The Post's* civil rights record. The purpose of newspapers, Bagdikian then explained is primarily to make money, not suppress blacks. This being the case, he continued mildly, changes in the press would come about faster in cities with the larger black populations if blacks boycotted newspapers instead of calling the publishers racists."⁸ When *The Post's* executive editor read an Associated Press account of Bagdikian's remarks, he demanded Bagdikian's resignation.

Not only will mass communicators never advocate a boycott of the press. Nor will any social activists, "race leaders," politicians or anyone else who enjoys celebrity status. These celebrities enjoy their status at the bequest of the mass communicators. Can you name one African leader in the United States who has called for a boycott against these mass communicators? Those "leaders" know the mass communicators rely on revenues from advertisers who in turn will withdraw their ads when Africans stop buying their product.

George Selde, in his *Lords of the Press*, re-educates our naivete about the workings of the press:

Once every year the American Newspaper Publishers Association, the House of Lords of our press, meets in secret. No one cares to spy on it, no newspapermen are present, no photographers interrupt, no representatives of a yellow journal harass or intimidate the members. It would be useless. If a reporter found out what was discussed, what plots were made, what schemes proposed, no newspaper would publish the disclosures, sensational as they might be. Nothing is sacred to the American press but itself.

And yet these secret meetings of our organized publishers rank among the most important actions against the general welfare of the American people ever taken (legally) by any small national group in our time. But since the press publishes the news, true or false or half-way, about everything in the world except itself, the American public knows nothing about what the rulers of public opinion annually decide for it.⁹

Seldes is saying, in essence, that an information diet is planned for the public each year behind closed doors. Thus it is not difficult to understand why Adolph Hitler's fiftieth anniversary of coming to power in Germany was celebrated on the front page of many of America's major Sunday newspapers, January 30, 1983.¹⁰ Nor is it hard to understand why marshall law in Poland is given more prominent coverage than the perpetual atrocious treatment of African by whites under South Africa's apartheid. The lines of

8. H. BRAY, *supra* note 3, at 186.

9. G. SELDES, *LORDS OF THE PRESS* 3 (1938).

10. Drozdak, *Hitler Legacy Haunts Germany Still*, *The Washington Post*, Jan. 30, 1983, at 1, col. 3; *Hitler photo*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Jan. 30, 1983, at 1, col. 2.

the so-called "free flow" of information from all nations are turned on and off like a water faucet.

Issues Management Letter, a new organization in Alexandria, Virginia, gives a percentage breakdown of national exposure trends in the American media. Although the first of its kind, the newsletter is too new to be wholly credible. But what they do, however, on a weekly basis, is tally the number of minutes an issue is covered in the three major television networks news programs—ABC, CBS, NBC. The average of the three networks yields the trend. For newspapers and magazines, column inches are counted and averaged from the major publications. The newspapers used are: *Chicago Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post*. *Newsweek*, *Time* and *U.S. News and World Report* are the three magazines used in this survey.

A report from this survey sounds somewhat like a stockmarket report:

HARD ECONOMIC PROBLEMS CONTINUE TO DOMINATE NEWS. But Social Equity issues are on rise. 'Fairness' at 6.5% of national coverage has reached new high and is #2 issue. Total of economic news stands at 22%, down only slightly. Foreign news at 16% is on rise from low of 12.6% on 1/16. Crime/criminal justice is down slightly at 5.1%. Expect rapid rise in foreign news with travels of Bush and Shultz, and revival of fighting in Mideast and Central America.¹¹

When Nevell Johnson, the twenty-year-old African man from Miami's Overtown section was murdered by a city police officer and the question was raised by onlookers whether Johnson was armed as claimed by the officer, many of the big city newspapers tried to subliminally imply that Johnson was an unsavory character by referring to the victim as "Nevell 'Snake' Johnson." Who told the press that Johnson's nickname was "Snake?" And why was it so important to be given such obvious prominence in nearly every account?

Ben Ammi, spiritual leader of the Original African Hebrew Israelite nation, presents a good argument for applying this type of name to Africans.

"We realized that there were good names and bad names; there were even names we called 'curse names' . . . What do you imagine would be the end result of being called Snake or Killer all day every day? . . . Carefully and methodically planned, the names of white heroes are a source of envy and emulation. For example, Superman is the idol of every American boy. Muscular, invincible, he is a symbol of power and strength. On the other hand, Superfly is not only a man of negative qualities but his name suggests a symbol of one of the lowest species on God's earth—a fly."¹²

These subtle means of discrediting Africans come in many forms. In covering Chicago's 1983 Democratic Primary, the media seldomly, if ever, failed to mention that Harold Washington, an African and candidate for mayor, "had two bouts with the law;" in 1960 being suspended from the Illinois bar for accepting fees from clients without providing legal services and in 1972 for failing to file his income tax for four years.¹³ Both television

11. *Trends in National Exposure*, *Issues Management Letter*, Feb. 1, 1983, at 2.

12. B. AMMI, *GOD THE BLACK MAN AND TRUTH* 124, 128 (1982).

13. Taylor, *Washington: A Thoughtful Legislator*, *The Washington Post*, Feb. 24, 1983, at A7, col. 1.

and the press reported these facts as though Washington's serving his second term in Congress was not a show of confidence from his constituency. Before the election, these facts were cited early in the news accounts. However, after Washington won the Democratic primary—which all but guarantees him a victory in the general election in traditionally Democratic Chicago—these facts were still reported, however, near the end of the story.

The mass communication owned and operated by Europeans and Euro-Americans is as much preoccupied with casting distorted images that will reinforce and help sustain their culture's dominance in a world where they are the minority, as it is about distributing news and information. This struck me to be no more evident than in a report from television networks news broadcast on December 25, 1981.¹⁴ Because that date is celebrated as the birth of Christ Jesus by many people around the world, I suppose as an appropriate jesture, the network decided to record a choir of African women singing the gospel. The music sounded good, the women, heads back, rocked and reeled. Every time they rocked to one side, you could see a picture hanging on the wall behind the choir. The person in the picture cut a stark contrast with the walnut and bamboo colored faces on the screen. It was a picture of a pale white man with rosy cheeks, long blond hair, bedecked in a neckless robe-type garment with a bland expression across his face. Who was that Nordic man and why is his picture behind those African women on nationwide television?

On the other hand, this powerful tool in the exclusive control of one group sometimes works to the detriment of that group in their effort to distort truth. Because television preoccupies so much of Americans' time—six hours per day for the average child—the owners and operators are so self-indulgent in their control of this medium and arrogant enough to believe that everyone, like themselves, has surrendered all to television. Thus, recently, on ABC's late-night news special, *Viewpoint*,¹⁵ the anchor, Ted Koppel, when questioning Hamass Abudul Khaalis—about the takeover of three buildings in March, 1977, in Washington and holding more than 130 hostages for 39 hours by the Hanafi Muslims, in which Khaalis was the senior member—could not understand when Khaalis assured him that using the media to their advantage (or any way at all for that matter) was not part of their plan.¹⁶

An exchange between Khaalis and Koppel went like this:

KHAALIS: Well, the media never entered my mind. In fact, I'm not newspaper-happy, Mr. Koppel. So the media never entered my mind.

KOPPEL: Fine. Once we started covering the event, did we enter your mind then? And if so to what degree?

KHAALIS: It really didn't matter. It really didn't matter. Because the media—you see, the media, the power of the media—you are the media, and you have power to either pump up something or to punch it full of holes, like you did myself. You never found out the facts; you were really

14. While visiting with members of my family in Baltimore, on this date, I saw this story on channel 11, Baltimore's CBS affiliate. This report was part of the CBS Evening News.

15. *Terrorism and the Media*, ABC News Viewpoint, Ted Koppel, anchorman, Jan. 18, 1983, show #442.

16. Chinyelu covered this trial from May 31, 1977 to July 23, 1977 as a staff reporter for an African owned and operated newspaper in Washington, D.C.

never concerned with the facts. The media was never concerned with the facts. . . .

KOPPEL: Some people feel, and I think some of them may even be our guests here this evening, that we gave you altogether too much coverage, and that indeed we may have glorified you and your sect (sic) to a point well beyond anything that society as a whole is ready to tolerate.

This next segment of Khaalis' and Koppel's conversation demonstrates clearly that Europeans and Euro-Americans have never allowed the powerful medium of television to promote, reinforce or give respect to the cultures of people of color.

KHAALIS: All right. Let's be clear. Now, you say "sect" again. See, let's stop these misnomers.

KOPPEL: All right, fine. You give me the right name. What should I call it?

KHAALIS: I'm al Hanif Musliman, like you call any Musliman. I'm not a sect. I'm not a self-pariah.

KOPPEL: Then you and your followers—would that be accurate?

KHAALIS: We (sic) and the other Muslims; I don't have followers.

KOPPEL: You and the other Muslims, very good. Can we get back to the question now?

In the next exchange, Khaalis demonstrates to Koppel how, although television is in the control of Europeans and Euro-Americans, the medium, like the monster in the chiller thriller, always turns against its master. Those who control this medium can not exercise any self-restraint in its use. Whether the situation is to their good or detriment, they get their favorite toy out for play and playback.

KOPPEL: The question was, once discovered that you had a great deal of media attention—we are frequently criticized for having given you too much attention, for having focused too much on you, for having made, some would even say, too heroic a figure out of you and out of your fellow believers.

KHAALIS: Well, I would not agree with that, Mr. Koppel, because, number one, the purpose of the media is to pursue the facts, find the facts, and present them to the people. Out of the human senses, meaning the five senses we have, the greatest phenomena that we have and carry on now is communication, and we do that by word—be it in print or writing or spoken. So you had to be involved, whether you wanted to or not.

If they were really concerned about glorifying so-called criminals and terrorists, they never would have glorified the likes of George Custer, Jesse James and Al Capone with this same medium. No, their only concern is what effect scenes of African men armed with guns, knives and, most importantly, so much love for the Creator's throne that they would rather die than have the throne blasphemed, will have on little African boys and little African girls watching this coverage from their living room.

Nothing, not even an attempt to manipulate truth through distorted images with television can preclude truth. It is just not possible. Although this devious plot to distort truth with television attempts to freeze just the segments of any even they want shown and try to pass it off as the whole of a matter, truth. But truth is not just a segment, it is the whole thing. Thus truth always prevails over telecommunications. The portion can not cover the whole.

The *Viewpoint* producers tried in vain to use Andrew Young, one of

nine guests on this show along with Khaalis, to aide and abet in distorting truth. It was an unsuccessful attempt, although it was not due to Young's unwillingness. Young just could not fill the bill.

ABC had to use Khaalis or someone with his credentials: first, to give the show more hype (Khaalis not only held 134 persons hostage but he held the capital of the "world" hostage.); and second, hopefully to control Khaalis and get the type of answers to their questions that would support their claims. Yet while realizing they needed Khaalis or someone like him to give the show authenticity and credibility, they also realized that at the same time they had to destroy Khaalis' credibility. Otherwise, they would be providing him another forum to increase his appeal. It was of particular importance to destroy Khaalis' credibility in the minds of Africans watching. This was Andrew Young's primary and sole function, to contrast and discredit Khaalis in the minds of Africans. ABC summoned one of the most highly visible Africans in the history of this nation, Andrew Young, in an effort to overshadow what uncontrollable power Khaalis brought to the show. The very fact they needed such a well known African man of the establishment to counter a little known individual like Khaalis and the fact that Khaalis' delivery and presence (or aura) crippled the intent of the show, demonstrated to the African people watching which of the men, Khaalis or Young, is upright.

What ABC did not know, however, was that Young had lost much of his credibility in the African community when he publicly supported the Wayne Williams conviction on the eve of his ostentatious inaugural as mayor of Atlanta.

On the other hand, ABC also is obviously not aware that every African secretly hopes, one day, to see their entire race rise up with the defiance of a Khaalis: this is true of most Africans, whether they are camouflaged as liberal or conservative, Democrat or Republican, educated or undereducated, rich or poor. This includes Africans who go through their entire work day smiling just to keep the heat off; most of the Africans have a faint, but ever focusing self-image of taking their freedom.

Enter Andrew Young, mayor of Atlanta, former U.S. permanent Representative to the United Nations, a disciple of the so-called King clergy of nonviolence, Howard University undergraduate befriending one-day African heads of state, son of a "Nu Awlins" gentleman. Rising "star!" He fit the role perfectly: he came from a family with social standing in one of the big cities where the Negroes compete with Negroes of other cities in style, charm etc; physical appearance and his willingness. It was a near perfect cast: at first it seemed perfect, but then they started giving him greater and greater challenges. It was then that the cast lost its perfection and its ability to fit the bill. This *Viewpoint* segment was one of the early signs of Young weakening. Khaalis was responsible for much of that and Young was responsible for the balance himself. In contrast to Khaalis, Young just could not read his lines strong enough: Thus he could not be convincing.

Young's authority was crippled immediately when he allowed words to be put in his mouth by the moderator, Michael Sovern.¹⁷

17. Michael Sovern is the president of Columbia University, the location from which *Terror-*

SOVERN: Mayor Young, you were not that satisfied with the media coverage of the Hanafi Muslim affair.

After confining Young to a premise that would form the basis for all other statements by the mayor, Sovern was now ready to ask Young a question.

SOVERN: What in particular do you think the press did wrong?

Young knew the lines but because they did not, not even to him, sound natural, was not sure how to begin. He stuttered briefly as though he were trying to determine how to approach his statement. He knew it would take a lot of tact to be able to speak a "facist" philosophy and be believable at the same time. After all, his only options were to be convincing, fall on his face or burst out laughing. He finally "got it together" enough to enter the debate. How could Young even suggest fascist tactics to limit free speech by denying television to cover terrorist acts; denying the people the right to know what is going on in the republic? The definition of republic is: a government with an elected chief of state who resides over a body of citizens entitled to vote and the laws that the people establish are exercised by a small body of elected officials who, along with the chief of state and all other agencies and employees of the government are responsible to the citizens.¹⁸ But what we have so often in the so-called republic is an oligarchy; a government by the few over the many for the selfish gain of the few.

Marion Barry, mayor of the District of Columbia, one of many U.S. colonies, reservations or housing projects for retainers, recently pulled this trick on his constituents. In February, 1983 shortly after his second inauguration as mayor, Barry told his constituency, of which seventy percent or more are African, he was not going to tell them where the budget cuts would be made in order not to confuse them. Barry said there would be better communication between his administration and the people if he did not tell them about the cuts. "I made the decision that we really ought to communicate better with people by not getting them confused with all these numbers," Barry said.¹⁹

Laws are not only made by the people, they are made for the people. Laws must be made to fit the peoples' way of life, not to draw boundaries that collide with their natural way of living. A case in point: If all the people who smoke marijuana decided tomorrow that marijuana was legal, there is nothing that any governing body could do to them but change the laws on the books so it will officially say that marijuana is legal. There is not enough room in the jails and prisons to accommodate all the people who smoke marijuana. All the people would need do is stand on the corners and smoke marijuana. There is nothing that could be done. Is this not nonviolence? Is this not a show of hands; a stand up-and-be counted; a vote of confidence? That is an example of government by the people; not government by the elected officials, our servants. The new law established by the people would not cramp the culture or way of life of the citizens. They would not feel like criminals. After all, everybody knows but nobody says

ism and the Media, a special feature of ABC News Viewpoint, was broadcast. Sovern acted as guest moderator, allowing anchorman Ted Koppel to become one of nine panelists.

18. WEBSTER'S NEW COLLEGIATE DICTIONARY at 983.

19. *Mr. Barry's Confusion Factor*, The Washington Post, at A18, col. 1.

that the people who determine its illegality are the same people who make sure it is plentiful. What kind of games are they playing? It is their monetary profit. But it is our spiritual profit. Yet under these "illegal" conditions, our spirits are even under seige. Thus, any path we would take naturally, they block and direct us to another path, an unnatural one, one that guarantees our enslavement.

For marijuana to be legalized will not contribute to its widespread use. It is unpolicable and plentiful in Africa but only a minority of the people smoke the herb. Furthermore, it would stop making people want something they were not supposed to have; their only means of rebelling. It would reduce the criminal element and criminal psyche in the community.

Young unsuccessfully aided and abetted this cause of the few governing the many. John A. Williams, in his novel, gave this cause a name, the white alliance.²⁰ As in Williams' novel, there are many Africans aiding this cause; most of them not knowing what they are doing and naively believing they are doing something for the race by participating according to the rules and premises designed by Euro-Americans or any other minority bent on yoking the children of the earth.

YOUNG: Well. I guess I—I hate to come off the fascist here, but it seems to me that the danger to violence in our society and the fact that—well, I was in the midst of a city where, in Chicago in 1966, where a kid who was literally insane ran around quoting the Bible: and in the wake of an incident around a fire hydrant, ended up with about six blocks of the West Side of Chicago being burned down.

Let's look at what Young has said thus far. First, he says he hates to come off as the "fascist" but implies that it may be necessary to adopt fascist tactics. Next, he relates a story to us about a man who was responsible for burning six blocks down in Chicago. One important factor about the man, Young tells, is that the man ran around the city quoting the Bible and because the man quotes the Bible, Young implicitly concludes, the man is "literally insane."

Is Young telling us the man's insane belief in the word of the Scripture is responsible for the fire? If the man was repeating that which is in the Bible, then what could he have been saying that was so wrong? Is the Scripture words of insanity? No! But the spirit that comes with the Scripture is something that man can not explain and because, and only because, he can not explain the spirit, he calls it insane. The audacity!

A closer look at Young's story of the fire will reveal that the story and the man responsible for the fire were intended to be a euphemism or parallel of the Hanafi seige and Khaalis, respectively. Young simply implied that Khaalis was an insane man running around quoting from a book of truth.

The treachery of the Euro-American mass communication monopoly's attempt and failure to both use Khaalis to give their show more "blood and guts" and to use Young to illustrate how a "proper" Negro should think and act was exposed further. It had to do with Young's recollection of the fire. Young's recollection does not check out.

Lt. James Morrison, public information officer, Headquarters, Chicago Fire Department, said in a telephone interview, February 25, 1983, "I

20. J. WILLIAMS, *THE MAN WHO CRIED I AM* 234 (1967).

looked in the history but I didn't find any record of any incident involving a fire with those circumstances in 1966 and any other year." Morrison said he was on one of the squads in 1966. His secretary Ms. Joan Civarella, said she lived on the West Side in 1966 but didn't remember any such incident.²¹ Was Young's story a fabrication? If so, was it malicious? And can we consider Young's other statements credible?

Young continued on this tirade:

YOUNG: And the—I just feel as though we got to be somehow concerned about the power of this media in a society where there is a level of neurosis that is potentially explosive. . . .

He is talking about Khaalis when he says "neurosis" or anybody who advocates government by the people, for the people and to accommodate the people not the people accommodate the government i.e., the elected servants of the people.

YOUNG: Now, I've been on both sides of it so much that I don't know where to come down. . . .

Some would call that a Freudian slip but long before that title became fashionable it was known as truth prevails, a self-revelation that is not encouraged by the conscious but by the uncontrollable soul that cries out when it needs to and the lips and tongue become tools of the soul. It's a help-me-somebody-feeling because you can't help yourself. It is a true confession.

YOUNG: I'm even concerned that even in the—I'm almost grateful, say, sometimes now that in Birmingham in 1963 we were for the most part blacked out by local media. That meant we never had to face hostile police . . .

I do not quite understand the logic. It seems to me that television coverage encourages people, even the hostile element, to stay home. Why go out and take their frustrations out on a group of Africans when they can stay home and take out the same frustrations on the same people in the privacy of their own nigger-free-home with a sandwich and a can of beer.

YOUNG: And as bad as they were, they were still under some chain of command, a chain of command that we disagreed with, a chain of command that violated our constitutional rights, but it was—there was in some sense a reasonable and controllable debate that went on between the parties, wherein there was some rational restraint . . .

Is Young saying this chain of command is just? Is it all powerful? Is there any higher chain of command than the government? Has he submitted to the government chain of command? Is the government chain of command according to the commandments of the Highest? Were constitutional rights the only rights violated? What about human rights? And what about this "controllable" debate? When you admit that it was "controllable" and play according to the rules of somebody else by submitting to their chain of command, the same chain of command that enslaved you and maintained your slavery, underdevelopment and dependence, are not you giving up any serious hope of freedom through truth. The enslavers do not play by the game of truth, half-truth at times if there is any such thing, but never truth. If one says he or she is going to take their freedom and then submit to the

21. Telephone interview with Lt. James Morrison and Ms. Joan Civarella (Feb. 25, 1983).

rules and chain of command of a group that know not truth, there will be no freedom.

YOUNG: And I think that's the kind of free speech that the first amendment guarantees. . .

Isn't that a little self-righteous, Mr. Young? Is your way the only way? Are all other ways anarchy? And Mr. Young, in retrospect what have you accomplished? You've got your name in the history books described as everything but the magician that you are. The people, who you supposedly represented in the sixties' were better off then than now. At least they had the family then. We have much less than that now.

YOUNG: I don't think the first amendment guarantees freedom at the point of exploding neurotic situations. And I don't know how to draw the line, but as a result of thinking about this, and as a result of looking at myself as a mayor in a situation, I wonder if we in government don't have to take the responsibility of experimenting in some way with the new definition of how the first amendment applies to media in a situation where we think there's a clear and present danger to a great many people because of the acts of irrational persons. . .

Young, like Barry, is going to serve the people and protect the people by keeping them ignorant about what is happening in their jurisdiction. First, Young was a Negro and now he's "a mayor." Just like he was a civil rights worker and now he is "we in government." He is now prepared to experiment with your rights because of citizens, like you, who choose to govern yourselves instead of being governed by the few.

But I think I can understand Young and Barry's thinking: if the people were "dumb" enough to elect them they probably don't deserve to know about a hostage situation in the nation's capital or the budget cuts. This presents another problem because as Young later suggested, government should get restraining orders from the federal courts to keep the media from covering the situation. But even if the people were successful in preventing their government servants from denying their right-to-know through the courts, the government by the few could achieve the same results with a de facto decision hewn from the deadly-plot to distort truth, by government and the monopoly mass communicators. It has already been demonstrated there is collusion between the two. "It is remarkable how much the government knows and cares about the inner workings of the *Times*," wrote Talese.²²

The media is in fact a quango. The government uses the media to send out its message. The media gets all kinds of treatment—scowled at, sweet talked, filibustered, ol boy'd—but mostly they get to see who they need to see, particularly in government. Nor have you ever heard of the telecommunications industry suing the government for recording that which appears on the tube. Most agencies of the government do it all of the time, particularly when the show includes reference to their agency. The telecommunications industry is not thinking about capitalizing on the government market, they are however, thinking about the peoples' market. After all, the more money the telecommunication industry can make on their product, the more taxes they can pay the government.

22. G. TALESE, *supra* note 6, at 131.

As if the aforementioned was not enough for an understanding of how Young was assigned the task of discrediting Khaalis, the mayor, after Khaalis departed from the broadcast, insinuated, all but said, Khaalis was crazy. Koppel, host of *Viewpoint*, immediately refuted this insinuation, because ABC's hopeful exploitation of Khaalis to get their "viewpoint" across, first, had to accept as fact that Khaalis was sane. Otherwise, ABC's conclusion would have been invalid because one of the major sources from whom they collected data was considered insane. It appeared, Khaalis was the only valid source because he was the only one speaking truth. And so, Khaalis is not insane and they know it. The testimony of the other guests and host should be invalidated because each of them are insane with the need to oppress or aid and abet in the oppression of the masses according to faith, race and/or class for their own selfish gain.

It was also interesting to note that Young never addressed Khaalis directly or indirectly while Khaalis was on the show. Young never so much as called Khaalis' name. Not until Khaalis was gone, with no opportunity to respond, did Young imply that Khaalis was insane. In reference to a statement made by Khaalis, Young said, "But where's he saying it from? He's saying it from not just a prison but a mental institution." Laughter followed this comment.²³

Thus we have an illustration of how the Euro-American controlled mass communication monopoly uses symbols to assist in distorting the truth. The human symbols they need are registered with a casting agency and available for work or stored in "wardrobe" where they can be fetched in a moments notice, even if the prop, the costume or actor must be same-day delivered from Atlanta to New York.

It is not uncommon today to see in the major American dailies an advertisement proclaiming the "changing face of South Africa." Long before these advertisements and long before Reagan's "constructive engagement" policy—of working with the Europeans occupying South Africa in hopes of persuading the Europeans to loosen, forever, their apartheid policy; minority rule and separation of the races—American mass communicators have been trying to slip more of these criminal Europeans in American living rooms camouflaged as white men with a claim of African nativity.

In staging these ill-conceived fetes, the mass communicators cause a dilemma for the potential viewing audience. They offer the viewers an irresistible product that is contrary to the best interests of the viewers.

One of the more notorious incidents of this nature was in 1979 when CBS televised a non-title, heavyweight bout between boxers John Tate, an African-American and Kallie Knoetze, one of four million Europeans occupying an African nation where they are out numbered five to one, in Boputhatswana. Boputhatswana, for those who may not know, is the second of nine so-called "homelands" to receive independence from Azania's European occupiers.²⁴ Whereas the Africans are placed on reservations separate from Europeans, the racially separated "homelands" remain dependent upon the Europeans' economy. Furthermore, the land has little or no agri-

23. Koppel, *supra* note 15.

24. McCall, *In the Enemy's Camp*, QUEST: NEWSFEATURE MAGAZINE OF NIGERIA 129-32 (Apr. 1978). The author formerly published under the slave name, Jerry McCall.

cultural value and no marketable mineral resources. Land consolidation is also a problem. Boputhatswana consist of six separate pieces of land. Even more atrocious is land allocation. The 20 million Africans are to be confined to only 30% of the land while the four million European illegally occupy 70% of the land—the fertile, mineral rich and strategically situated land.

At the time of the fight, Boputhatswana was only recognized by renegade Rhodesia and the Europeans in Azania. When Africans recaptured Zimbabwe and reduced “Rhodesia” to footnote status, Boputhatswana/South Africa had to settle for self-recognition. Neither any African nation, the United Nations or the United States recognized Boputhaswana as an independent nation.

So if the U.S. did not recognize Boputhatswana, why was CBS giving the European occupants of Azania endorsement with an international broadcast? If the government can tell wheat brokers not to sell wheat to Russia or forbid U.S. citizens from traveling to Libya, then why can't CBS be told not to sell its services to give high visibility to a policy that the U.S. does not recognize as legal or in the best interests of human rights?

The CBS coverage of the fight slowly but surely aided and abetted the European occupants of Azania's scheme to pass-off the policy of separate development as legitimate independence. At the start of the broadcast, the CBS sports announcers—Dick Stockton, Tim Ryan and Gil Clancy—called the location South Africa which is accurate in that Africans have not as yet recaptured and renamed their home. Soon, they were referring to the location as Boputhatswana and a “homeland”, which also bears some truth. But in the closing statement of anchorman Stockton, Boputhatswana was called “a black independent republic.” And whose policy is that? CBS and its client, the Europeans occupants of Azania.

While on the staff of a Washington newspaper, reporting on African affairs, I interviewed, in September, 1977, two Africans who had accepted the so-called independence of Boputhatswana. The homeland's secretary of foreign affairs designate, S.L.L. Rathebe and ambassador designate, A.M.I. Rabaji, with their wives were the guest of the South African embassy for a sixty day stay in the U.S. to train for their positions and lobby Congress for diplomatic recognition. My editor gave me background information on the homelands and asked me to see what they had to say; affording them the courtesies of the so-called “free press.”

Although he was in favor of accepting this fools-independence, Rathebe said that he looked forward to the day when the European occupants of Azania yield to majority rule. While Rathebe said he would have noting to do with a violent revolution, he insisted that pressure from the outside is the only hope for Africans to recapture their land and wealth.

How can the U.S. government uphold its policy of non-recognition and contribute to the pressure necessary for Europeans to surrender Azania if they permit CBS to enter livingrooms and seduce Americans with this contraband? Was CBS registered with the Justice Department as a foreign agent doing public relations work for the Europeans in Azania? Was this broadcast an outgrowth of Muldergate, South Africa's scheme to control public opinion in the U.S. by bribing and buying the U.S. media?

Let us for a brief moment, look at the new wave of so-called alternative television networks. I am not talking about the networks with capital enough to broadcast regularly and across the nation. The fact that the pay-television networks have capital lets you know their interests are no different than any other entity with money interests. But I'm talking about the shoe-string organizations that are going to save the world with their new-white perspective. They expect people of color to trust them because they wear the same jeans all day every day, carry backpacks, ride their ten speeds (needless to say, they are normally valued at \$400) and are self-proclaimed drop-outs from the American way.

They can usually be described as middle and upper-middle class (if not, in some cases, ostentatiously wealthy) whites, usually male, independent producers in their thirties. If all or one of the previously mentioned items are true, then they have an open line of credit. Their claim to working in the public interest is only accurate as far as, like the general public, they are low on capital. Otherwise, their organization is working from the same agenda as ABC, CBS and NBC. If there is any appreciable difference in the perspectives held by the major networks and the public interests groups, it probably can be attributed to the lean years of the public interest upstarts, compared to their more seasoned counterparts who run the major networks; their fathers, uncles, big brothers, friends and neighbors. But perhaps to be more accurate, the perspective of the public interests is slightly different probably in an effort to be marketable. Otherwise, how can they hope one day to be as big as today's major networks, if they are trying to sell the same product as the major networks with less capital?

I recently read in a local community newspaper where a group of independent television producers with a public interest identity, were planning to produce "an international satellite event."²⁵ Let's look at how such a do-gooder network approaches the production of a show that includes, not only the United States and the U.S.S.R., but also a representative nation in Asia, Africa and South America. Concerning this production, I questioned the executive producer from this outfit; an outfit I at one time bartered services with.²⁶

Quoting the newspaper's account of the planned production, the public interest group "will pose a problem through improvisational drama, freezing the action at a certain point, then signalling the next group to begin. In rotation, each children's group will reply, either in music, drama or in dance."²⁷

Fine! This a very innovative, ambiguous project in which the technology is finally being used to unify, instead of destroy, the people of the earth. The public interest group is saluted as a pioneer. They have taken the initiative. (They have not only taken the initiative, they have taken the initiative away from the people in the name of the people; government sponsored revolutionaries, agent provocateurs.)

The executive producer tells me, first, there are no Russians, Asians, Africans or South Americans on the production staff. The only input the

25. Sorrentino, *Video Patrol*, Columbia Road Newspaper, Feb., 1983, at 7, col. 3.

26. Telephone interview with Arlen Slobodow (Feb. 17, 1983).

27. Sorrentino, *supra* note 25, at 7.

host nations have is how their participants will respond to the problem; which artistic mode and how their message is conveyed. Otherwise, only white, middle or upper-middle class (or in some cases ostentatiously wealthy) males in their thirties with the open credit line and a few government contract to tide them over each year, have any decision-making power in this production. Furthermore, the host nations will have no say in the editing process. The editing process, if you did not know, is the most effective and widely used method of distorting truth.

Why would a group that conceives such a humanistic endeavor fail to realize that the absence of all races involved on the production staff destroys its intended humanistic savor? It is important to examine the psyches of the do-gooder. In order to say he or she is going to drop out of the American milieu and work for the public's interest, they must first leave their own people because their people do not represent the largest public. Why do they decide to produce shows about "the people" and supposedly in the public interest? Simply because their own people are being covered extensively by the mainstream networks. The public interest groups know they can not enter into those markets. So he or she seek the market the mainstreamers ignore. It just so happens, the people who make up that market neither have the capital, credit, access to technology or experience in producing their own shows. Enter the do-gooders. The missionaries! The adversary who comes to save your soul by destroying your soul. But when you look at the economics and message of such a production done by these do-gooders in the name of the people, you will sense foul play; or the same old game in blue jeans and hushpuppies instead of sharkskin and alligator shoes. Nobody but they are on the production staff because they know from the beginning that they are the only ones who will make a red cent from the deal. That was established first.

To make things worse, the executive producer told me his group will only tape the production. It is not a live production. They will have three hours of footage when they are finished. It will be aired later. They will be selling the footage to one of the major networks or PBS for a one-hour show to be cut from the three hours of footage. What is alternative about the major networks polishing-off a show that on the surface, because it includes all races, but is actually produced from the same perspective that we are spoon fed in prime time?

I asked the executive producer what they were planning to do in Africa. He said he did not know and asked if I had any ideas. He said they hoped to "use" Zimbabwe. I told him Zimbabwe was a good choice because they are successfully and confidently defending themselves from the Western front.

Both he and I realized, however, I was talking about him for what else are terms like European and Western but euphemisms for whites? In a desperate but arrogant tone he replied, "Did you hear? Their fighting in the streets in Zimbabwe now?" Who I queried? "Nkomo's men against Mugabe's men. But that's not going to affect our connection." I asked him what were his sources. He said the news and the local daily. I asked him how he could call himself an alternative network, if he accepts as fact what he hears on the news from the major networks?

III. HOW AFRICAN OWNED AND OPERATED MEDIA AID AND ABET, BY FAILING TO CHALLENGE, THE EUROPEAN/EURO-AMERICAN MASS COMMUNICATION MONOPOLY

So much for the alternatives. You, me, we, us together is (not "are,") "the alternative." Since being in the land of captivity, we Africans have developed our own mass communication system. Of course the system is merely a variation of the system we had in the land given to our fathers. The adventurers of each clan or tribe normally carried practices from one village to another to give the whole of Africa that commonality that, for our purposes, we shall refer to us muga; or mother of all. Muga sends out her artisans, hunters, caravans, fishermen, merchants, shepherds, nomads, prophets and spirits to make all parts of Africa familiar with the other parts. The "muga-sends" are the threads that bind the continent by depositing a little bit of each subculture on the African continent in each village, among each people. This makes it possible for Africans from one part of the continent to communicate with the locals in a far off part of the continent. Some of these sojourners (spirits included) were regional, some were continental.

Even in the land of captivity, any African with an extraordinary gift is given the rite of passage from one community to the other. Even in antebellum South, slavers with a gifted African showcased that African around the country. Of course, the slaver thought he was taking the African but, in actuality, the spirit that blessed the African with the talent was calling the shots. The spirit made the slaver proud of his talented possession and naturally the slaver wanted to show off what "belonged to him." The slaver became more than a plantation owner, he became a booking agent. The slaver discovered another attribute of the African, besides his physical strength, to exploit.

Incidentally, many of the gifted enslaved Africans escaped from the slavers while they were on these nationwide tours. The slavers thought that if they put Africans in top hat and tails the African would not mind being a slave. Of course, the slaver could not have been more wrong. Many of the gifted Africans escaped and lived to sing about it.

I'm going where the climate suits mah close,
Lawd, I'm going where the climate suits mah close,
Well, I'm going where the climate suits mah close,
Lawd, Lawd,
Cause I ain't gonna be treated thisaway.²⁸

However, in the post-chattle slavery period it was just the gifted African, sometimes his or her family and at all times, the spirit, who travelled together. Things changed for the talented African who, after emancipation, sought to exploit his own abilities like he saw the slaver do so successfully. But if the slaver collected all the receipts when he was doing the booking, then there were no receipts to collect when the freed African tried to do the same for himself.

When free Africans began to migrate in mass to the urban centers, the "muga-sends" went through their most drastic change since arriving in the land of captivity. Wherever there were Africans, there was a dance hall or

28. *Goin Down the Road*, (untitled blues), in BLACK WRITERS OF AMERICA 461.

theatre that catered solely to African entertainment (inner attainment). The dance halls and theatres had replaced the front porch and barn yard just as the village compound had once been the center of such activity.

The dance halls and theatres that accommodated these African "muga-sends" in the various urban centers with large African populations soon became known as the chitlin circuit. Chitlins are the intestines of a pig, hog, swine. This part of the pig, which otherwise would have been thrown away, was fed to us. Thus chitlins are identified with Africans.

The chitlin circuit and all of its predecessors were all the mass communications Africans needed for many centuries because there were no aggressive forces that warranted a more immediate system of communicating. Europeans of different nationalities were in closer proximity to one another than Africans of different nations due to the size of Africa. Communication between Europeans was better, due to the size of Europe. Thus, close proximity permitted development of a European scheme to carve-up Africa. The Africans had no way of knowing that what was happening to them was also happening in other parts of the continent. Before anybody knew it, Africa was colonized.

The chitlin circuit does everything a modern day mass communication system does. It provides a common denominator for its audience regardless of their location. It carries information, articulates values, sets styles. The chitlin circuit ushers in "the first minute of a new day." The chitlin circuit was the network. The network was not only consisting of the dance halls and theatres but the "muga-sends," as well. The "muga-sends" were our electricity, our current, our spirit. The dance halls were where the spirit and the people who needed the spirit met; where a revelation was given and a revelation received. Unfortunately, Africans did not always control the content of that message. Thus its failure.

At the same time, African owned and operated newspapers were a part of the same network that included the chitlin circuit. There were other elements that joined this network of African mass communication in the land of captivity as the demand became greater; a matter of survival. Those newer elements are: magazines, radio, record production and extremely limited control of telecommunications. Add to these elements, dramatic theatre, and you have the African owned and operated mass communication network. The book publishing industry, at some point should be included in this network.

In Africans' limited role as owner/operator of mass communication, that in itself has been limited, the African has not always provided that alternative that he has so desperately needed. In many cases, the African has merely repeated that which originates with the oppressor's media. Here are a few cases in point:

- 1) On December 13, 1982 while listening to the evening news of an FM radio station owned and operated by a university established for Africans in the 19th Century, the sports reporter gave an account of what must have been a story from one of the wire services, of a professional tennis tournament in which the winner was a European occupant of Azania.²⁹ Af-

29. Harris, *The Daily Drum*, WHUR/96.3FM, Washington, D.C., Dec. 13, 1982.

ter giving the facts of this story the reporter continued to discuss the "South African" in an informal discussion with the anchorman; a way of making the transition from correspondent to anchor that is widely used today. The sports reporter continued on this story so long, and it became so awkward, that one could not help but ask why this story received so much attention.

I raise this question for two reasons. First, regardless of how much control Africans exercise over mass communications, if the people working for them do not maintain professional ethics—also founded in truth—even the African owned and operated entities may continue to report the news that originates from the oppressor. Secondly, I am aware in this case, that the sports reporter in question has been involved in some unethical activity, in the recent past.

In a recent incident, a university professor pleaded guilty to accepting bribes from three graduate students that worked for him under workstudy. The sports reporter in question was one of those graduate students. In exchange for no charges being pressed against the sports reporter, the reporter turned state's evidence in the state's case against the professor. On the day the professor pleaded guilty, the local daily ran a story that gave an account of how the sports reporter cooperated with the state police in snaring the professor. I think this is a good time to note that both the professor and the sports reporter are African.

According to the local daily, the police told the sports reporter to set up a meeting with the professor. The two men stood beside the sports reporter's van and discussed the scheme and ways of avoiding detection while a detective hid under a blanket in the van to monitor the conversation.³⁰ The sports reporter, while a graduate student, received, from the professor, A's in four classes that he never attended. The graduate degree conferred on the sports reporter is allegedly based on this bogus work.

My point is not to conclude that the reporter is a crook because he made a bribe and then finked on his accomplice. Nor is he a "bad guy" because he spent an inordinate amount of time on a story that gave apartheid South Africa high and positive visibility. I am merely pointing out that the sports reporter is not beyond reproach; and say, for example, a reporter who doesn't self-police his adherence to ethics is approached by a government that needs good press in the United States in general and the African community in particular. The oppressor will always approach the weak spots in the African community. The weapon they have the most confidence in is their money. They believe there is no African they cannot buy.

I am not suggesting that the sports reporter would do any such thing but I am saying that the news industry and all of its personnel are in the public trust. Like politicians, they can and must be removed from their position for breaching that trust. Everybody involved with the mass communications business should have credentials that indicate, thus far, they are above approach.

2) Another case involves this same university-operated radio station. The station has, as a regular part of its format, a feature segment entitled,

30. Vesey, *U-Md Professor Pleads Guilty to Bribery Charges*, The Washington Post, Feb. 15, 1983, at C5, col. 1.

"Telling It Like It Was" with host Lee Bailey. The show is produced by Westwood I productions in Culver City, California. The sponsor is Listerine. It was written by a woman who first described herself as white, then as an Indian.³¹

The show usually highlights the exploits of African men and women. The show in question was about Gabriel Prosser. Prosser as you know, was an African insurrectionist who planned a slave revolt at Henrico County, Virginia in 1800. Although the plot was discovered before it started, when two slaves told their slavers of the plot, Prosser remains a hero in the African community. He and 40 other Africans were hanged for the brave scheme.³² However, that is not how Prosser was portrayed in the "Telling It Like It Was" segment. In a rich, hyped-up voice Bailey's tone sounded as though he was extolling the heroics of Prosser. Instead the segment gave the facts concerning Prosser's revolt but concluded that Prosser's only achievement was being responsible for the hanging of himself and the forty other Africans. How, I said, could an African owned and operated radio station air such a misrepresentation of one of Africa's brightest moments in the land of captivity?

3) The Pacifica Foundation has one of its listener sponsored radio stations in the nation's capital, WPFW-FM, that is in many ways (because these stations respond to the needs of the larger community in which they are located) an African, if not owned, operated station. They at least think of themselves as the alternative and in many respects they are. Their news department, however, is no alternative to the major networks and daily newspaper. What kind of alternative would contribute to hyping up the Redskin's victory in the championship football game. Wasn't everybody else covering that event?³³ A few days later, the evening news included a report on Reagan's birthday party at the White House. Is this an alternative?³⁴

4) In my view, the older African owned and operated newspapers in the U.S. that played pivotal roles in the struggle for "civil rights," particularly at the start of each world war, are today lukewarm and shaking nobody's tree. Why their hands are tied today, I do not know. Is it the government, the advertisers or the "good life?" Never the less, what I say about the following newspapers can be said at some time or another about the majority of the papers that serve the African community. Albeit, I am not singling out a few papers as the only culprits or as those most frequently guilty. These are papers that I read and, in some cases, have contributed to their pages.

Everyone knows that in order for a paper to survive, it must place strong emphasis on business. But the business particulars of operating a newspaper should be kept in-house. Why allow the outside to know how strong or weak you are financially? They will treat you accordingly. What

31. Telephone interview with Karen Shearer (Mar. 4, 1983).

32. I heard this history feature on WHUR/96.3FM, Washington, D.C., on Feb. 1 or 2, 1983. I called the station to make an inquiry about the feature and I was told to contact Westwood I Productions in Culver City, California, producers of *Telling It Like It Was*, if I had any questions about the Gabriel Prosser feature.

33. *Evening News*, WPFW/89.3FM, Washington, D.C., Feb. 2, 1983.

34. *Id.* at Feb. 4, 1983.

kind of leverage can a publisher use when dealing with big advertisers who try to control the content of the small newspapers because they know they play a significant role in the papers' solvency? When the advertiser realizes that your projected success for the future is based on his continued advertising in your newspaper, the advertiser will try to become a co-publisher. Why should receiving government advertising be contingent upon whether a publisher accepts—hook, line and sinker—the government's policy. Who will check the government if the newspapers will not? Besides being lukewarm, today's African owned and operated newspapers—the old and new alike—often contribute to the mis-education of African people.

On March 1, 1983, the *Afro-American* newspaper, founded in 1892, in its national edition, ran a story concerning the death of actor Raymond Vitte in Los Angeles. The headline of the front page story, placed at the primary focal point of the page, read, "Actor dies after fight with police."³⁵ The story, originating from the United Press International wire service reported, in the first paragraph, that the coroner's preliminary report concluded that Vitte "was not beaten to death by the officers." Of course the police would be the most likely suspect in a case with these circumstances and so it is not surprising that this would be the first question answered, thus deserving to be in the first paragraph.

In the next paragraph, however, the readers are told other ways in which Vitte did not die. The wire service paraphrased a spokesman for the coroner's office as saying, "no needle marks were found on Vitte's body." Perhaps the spokesman was responding to a question. If so, that should have been stated. Otherwise, there was nothing in the headline or first paragraph that suggested that needles—which translates into drugs—may have had any role in the matter. These otherwise unprovoked suggestions, many times, subliminally lead a reader to conclude that, whereas there is no conclusive cause for the death—drugs must have had a role. Thus, the victim is, at least in part, responsible for his own death.

In the entertainment section of the same edition, an *Afro-American* staff writer wrote an appreciation piece on Vitte. The story told of Vitte's acting credits and of the writer meeting Vitte when the actor was in Baltimore. There was no mention of drugs. The headline of the story, however, read, "Ray Vitte . . . rising young actor, dead of PCP?"³⁶ How did "PCP" get into the picture?

This is not what you call a sensational headline that is designed to sell newspapers, a claim that many make about the African owned and operated press. The story was not on the front page so in order to see this story, one would have already had to purchase the newspaper. Whatever the motive for such a headline, when otherwise there is no suggestion of drugs, it serves only to undermine the suspicion of police wrongdoing which in many cases is the case.

5) Before going any further, let us determine what the "black press" is: It is we assume, intended for the African community. Therefore, it is about the African community. It is also held that the "black press" is oper-

35. Barabak, *Actor dies after fight with police*, Washington *Afro-American*, Mar. 1, 1983, at 1, col. 1.

36. *Ray Vitte . . . rising young actor, dead of PCP?*, *id.* at 11, col. 4.

ated by the same community it is intended for. But what about the question of ownership? Must the "black press" be totally owned by Africans or can members of other groups participate in ownership without the newspaper losing its "black press" identity? (I say this assuming that Africans throughout the world have recovered from their inferiority complex and being a part of the "black press," as being part of anything else "black" or African, is no longer cause for low self-esteem. However, I know that not all Africans have recovered; both those among the educated and undereducated, the well-to-do and those barely subsisting.) When members of the other groups invest in what otherwise would be the "black press," are they investing for purely business purposes or are they also interested in tailoring the editorial content to advance their own agenda? For example, if a Jew is part owner of what otherwise would be a press owned and operated exclusively by Africans and the question of whether to support the Euro-Jewish occupation of the West Bank was addressed, what happens to the newspaper's editorial policy in light of African sympathies being with the Palestinians? What happens when the African community condemns Euro-Jewish Israel for collaborating with apartheid South Africa?

I do not believe a man or woman would invest in a pair of shoes for themselves that do not fit. Likewise, I find it difficult to believe a man or woman would invest in a newspaper or any other mass communication entity if the editorial policy of that entity did not fit the personal agenda of that investor.

Also, considering that the "black press" was founded in the protest tradition, is the protest tradition a criteria for being of the "black press?" It seems that in the effort to correcting historical weaknesses of the "black press" that this correcting process equates sophistication with removing the protest flavor. That is why I always ask a publisher or editor who is their targeted audience. Without few exceptions, they say the entire African community. However, the content of these newspapers rarely reflect the needs of the entire African community according to the socio-economic percentages of the African community. So often the newspaper reflects only the needs of the editor or publisher's socio-economic peers.

The neglect by the press in general of the needs of the masses of people—who in most cases are suffering—is caused in part by the new star status that the journalists have received *a la* Walter Cronkite. The profession is no longer service oriented but instead most journalists envision themselves winning a national award before they can consider themselves a success. We are in times when people measure self-worth not by the spiritual fulfillment they gain but instead from a plaque or, unlike the spirit, some other inanimate object.

Also let's consider what affect an African journalist who has received his or her training and credentials through the white press has on the "black press." Is this journalist's level of professionalism proportionate to this journalist's ability to adopt the standards of the white press? Is not an African's success in white institutions contingent upon his or her ability to become less African and more European? Isn't the African journalist in the Euro-American institution immediately discouraged from using anything that sounds like "black English?" Are not all of their African sensibilities attacked; even

the natural aspirations they have for themselves and their people? Have we as a people become so that we no longer need a rallying cry? Can our news and information diet be satisfied with diluted news from around the nation and globe without telling how that news and information relates to our community?

A look at *The National Leader*, a paper that began publishing April, 1982, will enable us to answer many of these questions. And in examining the other questions, we may be able to determine exactly how to classify *The National Leader*.

In its January 27, 1983 issue, *The National Leader* ran a story on page seven entitled, "Seven Probes Examine Miami Revolt."³⁷ The story was actually about investigating the shooting of a twenty-year-old African man by a Miami police officer that caused a three day revolt. What seemed out of place was in paragraph six (and these paragraphs were so short that the sixth paragraph was in the first column of a four column-width story and thus very prominently placed in the story) which read, "Police said shortly after Johnson's death that Alvarez' gun discharged accidentally when he attempted to disarm Johnson, who was carrying a .22 caliber handgun."

"[w]ho was carrying a .22 caliber handgun," is the phrase with which we should be concerned.³⁸

If there are seven investigations into the shooting, then why is a version that matter-of-factly states the victim was armed when so many eye-witnesses say otherwise, printed. Should not the findings of the investigations yield that information? Of course it can be argued that the statement was not made by the newspaper but in proper journalistic practice, was attributed to a news source; in this case "Police said." But in light of the contrasting statements of the eye-witnesses and the need for seven investigations, would not it only be fair to hear from both sides in equally prominent positions in the story?

Since when is the only news source a government agency of some sort? The news is with the people if its about the people; and we can safely say everything affects the masses. Also, we must remember that the first function of any media tool is to promote the image and culture of the people in which it professes to serve. Therefore it is necessary to talk to the man on the streets who was involved, so he can tell his side of the story. Otherwise, to that man, the newspaperman, who is supposed to be serving him is instead muzzling him. And since he is so efficient in muzzling him, the man on the street can only assume that he must be in on the yoke, as well.

In another story in *The Leader*, March 3, 1983, appeared a photograph of an European monarch reviewing a column of African soldiers while she was visiting a Caribbean island nation. This very photograph easily could have been taken 100 years ago when that island was a colony of the European nation the monarch represented. Of all the events taking place in that island nation, why is the monarchy, who first enslaved the islanders physically and now economically, visiting that island nation so important? This photograph contributes to subliminally reinforcing a colonial mentality, par-

37. *Seven Probes Examine Miami Revolt*, *The National Leader*, Jan. 27, 1983, at 7, col. 1.

38. *Id.* at 7.

ticularly since the photo was widely distributed in the African community. The monarch's expression says that these Africans are still her subjects.³⁹

These are just two examples of ineptness in *The Leader* that otherwise is a very slickly put-together publication. For the consumer that slickness makes the report more authoritative. Thus it is possible—and usually this is the formula—to slickly misinform people or distort truth. It is important for *The Leader* and all other African owned and operated papers to not only be slick in appearance but truthful in content.

According to an interview with one of the two senior editorial staffers at *The Leader* and statements made by them both on a nationally broadcasted radio talk show, *The Leader* has eight investors; one of whom is Euro-American.⁴⁰ Even if this Euro-American is a minority investor in *The Leader*, does it qualify to be classified a member of the "black press," which we believed to be defined as the press that is produced by, produced about and produced for the African community. With an Euro-American investor, the paper could still be intended for and be about Africans. But can we still consider it to be produced by Africans, understanding that production includes not only the hired help but also—and I believe more importantly—the source of finance?

Beyond that, it was particularly interesting how the two senior editorial staffers allowed themselves to be repeatedly labeled while guests on the radio talk show. The host introduced them as "two distinguished American journalists." From the topic discussed—the first "black" national newspaper in America—it may easily have been understood the guests themselves were African. But in their introduction, they were never introduced as two American Negroes, Negro Americans, American blacks, black Americans, African-Americans or African journalists. Perhaps they felt their race was not important or thought it was understood. Also, why was it necessary to say American at all? Was not that also understood? They did not—even for Africans born in America—speak with accents uncommon to America. After all, their headquarters are in Philadelphia and not Kingston or Dar es Salaam. Why was it more important to say American and not indicate race and culture? Why was not "distinguished journalists" sufficient? Were the two senior editorial staffers trying to establish their credibility by asserting their Americanness and not mentioning, in their introduction (that is purposed as the basis of all else said about the two), their Africanness? How can you service and represent the African community if you seek credibility from the group that oppresses Africa and her people?

Later in the show, the junior of the two guests, in an attempt to satisfy those potential listeners with a more radical bent, said, when asked about *The Leader's* African coverage, "Personally, I'm an African partisan." How can an African be an African partisan? Is not that the type of statement you would expect to hear from an European or Asian? What is an African partisan? Nobody I have asked seems to know.

Of course we understand the thinking of such an introduction. Both of

39. *Queen Elizabeth photo*, the National Leader, Mar. 3, 1983, at 6, col. 1.

40. King, *The Larry King Show*, Mutual Broadcasting System, WTOP/1510AM, Washington, D.C., Feb. 23, 1983, 12:00 Midnight to 3:00 a.m. (EST) (Claude A. Lewis and Joe Davidson were guests).

the guests have worked exclusively for the Euro-American owned and operated press, according to their statements on the radio show. Euro-Americans consider themselves to be the reference point from which all else in America (they even refer to America's original inhabitants as "Native Americans") evolves. Thus any person of another race or cultural group who has proven not to be a threat to the "ol' boy" league can be tolerated in the Euro-American's institutions. Thus, the African or any other non-European who is accepted in these institutions are awarded the title "American" without a noun or adjective. "American" says they are credible. It is their stamp of approval.

Let me say that this criticism is not rooted in malice. I am merely rethinking a historical pattern of the oppressor using a buffer extracted from the oppressed to help oppress the oppressed. Is their credibility in the Euro-American institution legal tender in the African community? Are they given the right-hand of fellowship or are they to be fully baptized?

When working in the Euro-American press, the African journalist may write about Africans but he cannot write exclusively in the best interest of Africans. He must never offend his employer's editorial policy. I submit that if one is not writing solely in the best interest of freedom for Africans which means freedom for all people, then one is not writing in the interest of Africans at all. Any compromise is counterproductive; it's a lie, a distortion of truth. The preoccupation of those who earnestly seek freedom is to be soldiers of truth.

Another way of aiding and abetting the distortion of truth—thus succeeding to enslave the people—*The Leader* is not guilty alone, is using sources they themselves can not trace. Without question, these newspapers accept these sources, which they do not control, as being credible. Can a so-called African newspaper or any African owned and operated mass communication entity be considered purely African if it does not control all of its news gathering sources?

For example, *The Leader* uses reports from *Africa News*, based in Durham, North Carolina, for some of its coverage on Africa. Has *The Leader* or other African news organizations who use *Africa News* checked-out *Africa News*? Who works for *Africa News*? Who started the news service? Who funds it? Who are their correspondents? Who are the "experts" they call on for comments? Who is the source of this information on Africa *The Leader*, and other papers intended for Africans, are giving such wide distribution?

In a telephone conversation, an editorial board member who has been with *Africa News* throughout its ten year history, said that both Europeans and Africans work for the service.⁴¹ They have as many as twenty-four correspondents in Africa, both European and African. The correspondents usually mail, telephone or telex their reports to *Africa News*. They also monitor shortwave radio and clip stories from newspapers. They have three contributing editors in the United States, as well. The editorial board member also admitted they rely on Euro-American corporations for some information.

Africa News also distributes to radio stations, many of which are "black

41. Telephone interview with Reed Kramer (Mar. 3, 1983).

oriented." Soon *Africa News* will broadcast three to five minutes daily, nationally, via satellite. They will do this in part by a grant from National Public Radio (NPR). NPR is partially funded by the government. The government is definitely not paying for a pair of shoes that do not fit. Therefore, through this hook-up, we will get the same government line we get from the major networks.

What disturbs me most about this source of information, however, is that, according to the editorial board member, anyone can send material from Africa and, if it seems reasonable (whatever that is), it could get printed. Many times, an interested writer just sends a resume and then begins stringing for *Africa News*. But since it does not appear to take much to develop a professional rapport with *Africa News*, anybody of any politics (or agent provocateurs) could contribute information. Some of the information that *Africa News* publishes and receives even wider distribution through some newspapers, could be a part of that effort to distort truth. I am not pointing a finger at *Africa News*, their efforts may be entirely sincere. I am, however, indicting the African owned and operated press for not protecting the people they serve from further distortions and abuse.

6) African ceremonial activity—performances of song, music, dance, drama—can also be considered an important contributor to the African mass communication process. It too must be owned and operated by Africans. Africans must control the entire product. The product must—with truth as the rock—provide both a true reflection of Africans, including their weaknesses, and the type of earthly environment they feel was prescribed for them by the Creator. With respect to Africa's status today, African ceremonial activity should be a manifestation of what truth we know and our search for more understanding, until we journey out of the land of captivity.

Today, our music has been taken and used with words that enslave our children. This must no longer be. We must use ancient sayings with our modern rhythms. There is no more of an ancient saying than truth. How can we continue to sell our music to the adversary? How can we continue to shape our peace on earth voices around words that boldly blasphemes the Master of all in All? How can we continue to dance to rhythmless patterns on our tippy toes that mock our failure to realize that our own culture is the foundation of these diluted cultures? How can we continue to allow our drama to tell us stories that lull us to sleep so the wolves can continue to scatter and devour the sheep who know not where to look for their shepherd?

Of the four, let us look closely at drama. In recent years we have seen more musicals about Africans than serious, message rendering dramatic presentations. Not that the persons "honored" with these musicals—Eubie, Duke, Fats—did not deserve such an occasion. But African ceremonial activity was not given to honor men but for man to honor the Giver. Eubie, Duke, Fats and countless others realized where their gift originated and acknowledged as much. Why should we turn these men into false deities instead of doing as these men taught us to do, honor the Father through the Son.

African ceremonial activity should give Africans insight into themselves, with the Creator and creation as the reference point. It should always

improve the quality of African life. In drama, for example, Douglas Turner Ward's "Day of Absence" burst the illusion created by Europeans and Euro-Americans that Africans are dependent on them and exposed truth; they are really dependent on Africans. Joseph Walker's "River Niger" gave us insight into many things about Africans—which if it is good should be, and is in fact, the basis of that which is not only universal but also everlasting.⁴² Among the insights: that an African boy does not hope to be what his father failed to be, he hopes to be what his father has been first and improve on that. Also that an African father—who has persecuted himself because his were dreams deferred in an environment that excluded him—would love his son in the final "go-down" even if his son had deferred the father's dream again; the African father finally realizes the dream is an illusion and seeks to contribute to truth and, in the process, is willing to give his life.

Let us take a look at two African plays a little more closely. The first play contributes significantly to the use of drama as a viable weapon in the struggle for freedom from enslavement. The second play we will examine also makes a valuable contribution but, had that same information been re-worked, its total message would have also served the needs of the people instead of the needs of the exploiter who wants to see African ceremonial activity used outside of its intended context. Yeah! He likes to see us singing and dancing. He fails to realize our song and dance are born of freedom. It will be born again. . .

Two wrongs have never been the sum total of a right but in the case of Warren B. Burdine's musical comedy "Deadwood Dick Legend of the West," it can add up to an evening of laughs; this is the substance of the play directed by actor/director Glynn Turman that premiered at The Los Angeles Inner City Cultural Center.⁴³

Look beyond the depth of television portrayal of the Old West, read more than Zane Gray's novels of the same period and in every instance you will find the African cowboy can claim a major role in the days most synonymous with America's bravado. Most authoritative accounts say 25 per cent of the cowboys were Africans.

The Euro-American word weavers painstakingly altered the history of the West in order to exclude the likes of Nat "Deadwood Dick" Love, Ben Hodges, Cherokee Bill and evil Isom Dart. With just enough poet's privilege to neutralize the historical distortions, Burdine's play gives these sable men of the saddle a rebirth.

How does he do it? Burdine's outline was to first introduce each character with the use of historical fact and legend. One would almost need to be a history buff to distinguish between the two. The introductions leave no doubts as to why they became legends of the West: Deadwood for his dead eye; Hodges for his con man charm; and Cherokee for his ferocity. Each character description made an impression and was done without violence but instead with wit, folklore and the dozens. Director Turman of "Cooley

42. I saw *Day of Absence* in August, 1975, at the Carter Baron Amphitheatre and saw *River Niger* several times, but specifically in March, 1975, in Atlanta, Georgia.

43. I attended this play on March 29, 1981, in Los Angeles, the evening before Reagan was shot by Hinckley, with my wife's parents and youngest sister. A lifelong friend of my wife, Carmel Anderson White, had a small role in the play that evening.

High" fame played the title role, Harrison Page ("COP Sharkey") played Hodges, Felton Perry ("Towering Inferno") as Dart and E. Lamont Johnson ("Roots: Next Generation") breathed life into Cherokee Bill.

By the time one has been schooled on the exploits of these rawhide rogues and hearing their respective female companions testify as to how hard it is "to be in love with a legend of the West" it is difficult to understand why Deadwood and his associates were not seen regularly on television or the subject of motion pictures. Burdine uses the second act to explain why. He introduces four white legends of the West who actually need no introduction thanks to television, novelist Gray and others who made the names of Wild Bill Hickok, Jesse James, Belle Starr and Gen. George Armstrong Custer symbols of the West. These four infamous characters called themselves "the real legends of the West" and were threatened by the existence of their darker-skinned counter-parts. "We're the real legends of the West. Time to put these intruders to rest."

Jesse James (played by George Mireless) said he went into a bank to pull a heist and was told there was no money because a black bandit had gotten there earlier. Belle Starr (played by Kathleen Buchanan with the necessary flair) was incensed because Hodges sweet talked her ladies-of-leisure out of their money.

What became the last straw, however, was the dime novels being written about Deadwood's exploits. The "real legends" concluded there were two courses of action to be taken. Ultimately, the "coons" had to be done away with but perhaps more importantly their names must not go down in history as having been of American descent. "A little rootin' tootin' we don't mind. But we gotta put these coons back in line."

They hired Isom Dart, also an African, to get rid of Deadwood and his two cronies (a recurring American and universal theme of conquering by dividing). For traitor Dart's role the "real legends" took his black hat and awarded him with a white brim. The four Euro-American legends of the West did more damage by rewriting the Deadwood novels, portraying the hero as a white man. They also rewrote wanted posters on Hodges and Cherokee describing them as caucasians. Playwright Burdine manipulated a little history of his own. He made the scheme fail and in doing so, made the scenes worth the trip to Inner City and a memory of laughs.

The comedy consisted of historical fact which made the play valuable in one sense. On the other hand, the satire, serving as historical payback for not allowing the African heritage to pursue a natural course, was of rare quality. They were not one-liners but instead entire conversations.

It is evident that Burdine is well versed on the era but he took, sometimes grotesque, but always side-splitting liberties. He set his work in 1876, the same year Custer was slaughtered at the Little Big Horn, Montana. Also, there is no evidence that any of these characters ever crossed each others paths except possibly Hickok (played by Don Moss) and Custer (played by Brent Steinstra); both of whom spent part of their careers in and around Fort Riley, Kansas—one as an Army officer and the other as an Army scout.

For more than half of my life, I have not willfully or knowingly eaten pork or its derivatives. Yet I know that at some point during that period

somebody has slipped pork in my diet under the guise of some other meat. If I could not detect the swine by taste then I could certainly detect it through its after affects. My nerves always developed a syncopation that was out of beat with the rest of my body. It was this same feeling that I got from "Zora is My Name."⁴⁴

Adapted and directed by Ruby Dee and starring herself and her husband Ossie Davis, it was no surprise that Cramton Auditorium, on Howard University's campus, was sold out. The play was adapted by Dee from the original works of Zora Neale Hurston, one of the more noted women of the so-called Harlem Renaissance who, besides being an anthropologist and novelist, collected "Negro" folklore in the South.

It is unquestionable that Davis and Dee gave a memorable performance in spite of the script. It is also to their credit that these two longtime professionals can inspire those cast members who are less talented (or less acclaimed) to rise to the occasion.

The sell-out crowd is evidence there is still interest in the life of this very gifted woman, Zora. And there should be; she has inspired many of the African-American women writing today. But the seating capacity was not the only thing "sold out." Every African-American in the audience and those not in attendance (it was supposed to be a slice of the African-American experience) can make the claim that they have "sold out." Although we appreciate the painstaking effort necessary for such an adaptation, we must not forget that ability is a gift. And it must be used as such.

Not that "Zora" was not a slice of the African-American experience. It certainly was. The problem, however, is that it did not provide any new insights on the status of African-Americans and yielded no solutions. If African-American "art" (I cringe here because there is no word in any African language that translates to "art."), in 1983, does not inspire an improvement in the African-American status, it is "art for art's sake." Something we cannot afford.

It was a case of African-American "artists" approaching their culture in much the same way that Euro-Americans approach African-American culture. James Stewart said it best in his contribution to the anthology, *Black Fire*, edited by Jones and Neal. Stewart tells us of an African tribe that construct temples from mud. Although these temples, in the Western context, would be considered great works of art; this nomadic tribe builds these temples from a no more sturdier substance than mud, not concerned that they wash away by rain, because they travel and can and do build others at their next home.⁴⁵

The point is, as Stewart says so well, "Perpetuation, as the white culture understands it, simply does not exist in the black culture. We know, all non-whites know, that man can not create a forever; but he can create forever."⁴⁶

To pass-off African-American culture as an endangered specie is misleading. African-Americans, who have systematically been rendered power-

44. McCall, *In Zora: Davis and Dee Give Noted Performance*, Washington Afro-American, Feb. 26, 1983, at 7, col. 1.

45. Stewart, *The Development of the Black Revolutionary Artist*, in BLACK FIRE 4 (L. Jones and L. Neal eds. 1968).

46. *Id.* at 4. See BLACK FIRE for more examples.

less, have always used jokes about "massa" as a weapon (though it is consoling, it too is powerless). Perhaps Franz Boas and other leading white anthropologists of Zora's day felt it necessary to collect and embalm African-American folklore. But with an attentive ear when in any African-American community, even in 1983, one will hear so many jokes about Reagan that it would be futile to try and collect it all. Zora's mentors in anthropology encouraged her so they too could be privy to how African-Americans viewed white Americans. Because they now understand African-Americans, there is very little interest in collecting contemporary African-American folklore. The folklore has not changed but the market has.

Nor will African-American folklore, as we know it, change until African-Americans themselves have obtained an equitable share of the wealth, goods, services and protection. Then, and only then, will it be necessary to consider African-American folklore an endangered specie. Should not African-American "artists" be using all of the power given them to make their folklore, as it is known today, extinct instead of accepting these jokes as a means to an end?

The specifics of Zora's life that should have received more attention is; how her growing up in an "all black" town, where she hadn't known racism or the idea of white superiority, left her with a more positive self-esteem than those who from birth were subject to racism. An artistic statement about self-sufficiency and separatism would have been a more accurate and positive portrayal of what Zora's life meant.

An African-American with Zora's background and genius was considered a threat to the American psyche and had to be contained and/or crushed. They could not contain Zora but they eventually crushed her. In the process, however, Zora managed to leave behind a powerful legacy. That legacy must be viewed from the bottom up, less we be sealed-off from her intended message and see only the superficial.

Also, the play's constant use of the Creator's name in vain did more to dampen the spirits of African-Americans who, after being powerless so long, are turning in mass to the teaching of Jesus Christ and the commandments of His Father in heaven for their only hope.

All of the above statements were made on the premise that the play was not only by and about African-Americans, but intended for the African-American audience as well. If so, it will not be very successful because what the play attempts to reenact, the people have in abundance. What they do not have, however, is insight to their problems and a solution. It is the type of play that tends to the needs of the people that will be successful in the African-American community.

We of the "black press" know that we cannot make or break a play as far as Broadway is concerned. So if Broadway is the aim, it stands an excellent chance of success (Broadway never has promoted the strong statement). But have you heard it said, "broad is the way. . . ?"

IV. A CASE STUDY OF DISTORTION IN THE EURO-AMERICAN MASS COMMUNICATIONS MONOPOLY

Between December, 1981 and January, 1983, I published three different versions of a story concerning the growing movement of consumer coopera-

tives and buying clubs (particularly food co-ops) in Washington, D.C. and the nation. The first and third versions were published by the "black press," while the second version was printed in the Euro-American owned and operated press.

The editors and publishers of version one, *The National Leader*,⁴⁷ and version three, the *Washington Afro-American*,⁴⁸ upon giving me the assignment (in one case), pretty much relied upon my eyewitness account and my ability to reduce the barriers between me, the writer, the topic and persons involved without losing my objectivity. My only other requirements were to tell a truthful, simple and well-written story. Other than suggesting the name of a person or two I might interview, I was on my own.

Because I met my deadline and satisfied all other agreements, the stories received very little editing. I take the liberty of assuming this because I believe that one who establishes credibility through complying with all prior agreements, receives few lacerations from the editor's razor on his or her story. Some may instead attribute the small amount of editing to the small staffs that the African owned and operated press are usually limited due to a lack of finances. Albeit, but the "black press" receives many more articles, than say the Euro-American press, that need almost a complete overhaul before the stories can appear in the readable form that the "black press," for all of its weaknesses, should be applauded (and patronized).

The second version was published in *The Washington Post*.⁴⁹ They received, I might add, the same version the *Afro*, the third publisher of the story, received. In fact, because of *The Post's* tampering with the truthfulness of the story, I sought to have the same version *The Post* received published in the "black press." I felt the persons who granted me interviews had been cheated by *The Post*. In my dealing with the editor on *The Post* story, I detected his contempt for this group of Africans (although he too was African) who had come together to improve the quality of their lives and community. That contempt was evident in the published version of the story. The editor, at one point, insinuated that my story was either public relations for the organization featured in the article or I was pushing some kind of "cause." I told the editor that I was merely trying to provide a service by informing the less fortunate of how they too can improve the quality of food they eat and, at the same time, save on their food bill. I told the editor their was no dirt to dig up. I reminded him that it was a human interest story of which many are published in *The Post*.

This is an indictment of *The Post* for its systematic abuse of the African community by distorting the truth about that community. You, the African community, will be responsible for returning either an innocent or guilty verdict.

In our examination of exhibits one, two and three, let us first look at the lead paragraph of each exhibit.

47. McCall, *Co-ops Staging Quiet Revolution in Ever Tightening Economy*, *The National Leader*, Dec. 2, 1982, at 10, col. 1.

48. McCall, *Shepherd Street Collective Fights to Save*, *Washington Afro-American*, Jan. 15, 1983, at 1, col. 1.

49. McCall, *Co-op Way to Stalking Cheaper Produce*, *The Washington Post*, Dec. 22, 1982, at D1, col. 1.

The Leader: There is a bloodless revolution taking place in America today. And although the ideology is as old as humanity, these renegades are few in number. Yet in spite of the present odds against the success of this coup d'etat, they are almost certain to win.⁵⁰

The Post: When Loretta J. Ross joined the Shepherd Street N.W. Collective Buying Club, she said, she halved the monthly food bill for her family of three by buying produce there. Ross said her bill is about \$100.⁵¹

Afro: If you need to save from 40 to 50 percent each month on your food bill, perhaps you should listen to Loretta J. Ross, a member of the Shepherd Street (N.W.) Collective Buying Club.

We used to spend \$200 a month on food which includes meat and everything. Now we have cut that to about \$100 a month, Ross said of the difference in cost before and after joining the buying club to feed her family which includes Ernest L. Patterson and their 13-year-old son, Howard.⁵²

The question is: which lead comes across in the simplest, easiest form to be understood by its readers? Perhaps it is true, no writer likes to be edited. But in my estimation, *The Post's* lead served to block the readers from entering further into the story. The use of "halved" is not sufficient to explain a saving of \$100 when both \$200 and \$100 can be used. Seeing both figures in the story drives the point home more directly. On the other hand, the lead in *The Leader* served to invite its readers into the story by hoping to find that spark within that gives us all a common will to be free.

With the motive always being the same—to kidnap your readers long enough to get them in and through your story—the *Afro's* lead hoped to simplify the arithmetic of buying in a buying club; to get people excited about how much they could possibly save. We are in those times that make it necessary to save.

Also, what the *Afro* lead did that *The Post* lead did not was name the other members of the Ross household. What is wrong with allowing a thirteen-year old African boy to see his name in the newspaper. It may be the spark he needs to dream and manifest those dreams. After all, is not the purpose of this business to bring news to the people about the people and by the people. Isn't it their culture that we are trying earnestly and in truth to promote and improve through promoting?

Excluding the mention of others in the Ross household also served to perpetuate the notion that African families generally are one-parent households, usually headed by the woman.

Here is another paragraph published in the *Afro*, but deleted by *The Post* editor, that I believe to which anyone reading the story could relate. "We know 10 people who got together and bought 10 Cadillacs at half price, said one member of the buying club."⁵³

That single paragraph could have served to simplify the buying club/co-op concept for people who otherwise may have passed the article over as just another activity for middle and upper-class Euro-Americans and a handful of Africans who are imitating those Euro-Americans; or those Afri-

50. McCall, *supra* note 47, at 10, col. 1.

51. McCall, *supra* note 49, at D1, col. 1.

52. McCall, *supra* note 48, at 1, col. 1.

53. *Id.* at 2, col. 1.

cans who wear African garb and change their slave name to an African name.

The contempt the editor had for buying clubs, and seemingly Shepherd Street in particular, came through more clearly when he demanded to have the addresses of the persons mentioned in the article. I conveyed to the editor what was conveyed to me by Shepherd Street members; they did not like the idea of their addresses being in the newspaper. That is easy enough to understand. After all, the editor was not asking for the addresses of the other persons mentioned in the article; the public relations officers of a chain of markets and a co-op bank, the director of a poor peoples' development group and a program director of a co-op trade association. Nevertheless, the editor insisted on the addresses of the Shepherd Street members almost as though they were criminals. We reached an impasse and, for a moment there was talk of putting a kill-fee in the mail as compensation for my effort.⁵⁴ The editor yielded, however. There was no just reason for him not to. Neither was there any pride in it for me.

The most obvious attempt to distort the truth and clarity of the story came not from the editor, but from a re-write man (whom I believe to be Euro-American) who called me to check a point for accuracy. After answering his question, I asked the re-write man to read the edited version to me over the telephone. What I heard in his re-written version was a reference to can foods as also being purchased by the Shepherd Street Collective. I stopped the re-write man immediately and told him that was definitely not truth; they only buy fresh fruits and vegetables, I reminded him. After feigning ignorance for a moment, the re-write man said he would make the correction. The editor later apologized for that "error," as well. This single error reeked of a scheme to remind Africans that in spite of the success of co-ops, they will always be dependent on grocery stores; big business. In this indictment, I believe the accused to be guilty of scheming to distort the clarity and truth of this story.

We await the verdict from the African community.

V. CONSTRUCTING THE AFRICAN MASS COMMUNICATION PYRAMID FROM THE COMMUNITY LEVEL TO THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

We Africans have been born in a situation where we have not been allowed to appreciate what it would be like to live where our self-esteem is not under a constant blitzkrieg. We must all have had a faint notion at some point however, but unable to grasp it for a full realization, we accepted the only thing we could remember; that which is daily shoved down our throats; self-hatred.

Africans have made some strides in constructing a mass communication pyramid. "We've come a long way baby," harmonized the peanut gallery. But before we start giving honor to man, we had better realize that for all the distance we have travelled, we have not seen anything yet. I submit, the sowing has been honorable but the harvest will be glory.

Africans, we have the building materials. They were given as was the

54. Telephone conversation with Tom Morgan, Editor, *District Weekly* section, The Washington Post (Dec. 17, 1982).

know-how that has been in us since the breath of life raised us up from the salt of the earth. From the materials we have in our possession today, we can construct the African mass communication pyramid. We have used some of our materials well but we have wasted many of our most valuable resources. What we have must be used in our behalf. Cut the discos, the culturally incompatible advertisements and the distorted news reports originating from those who would dare enslave the black sheep.

There are many who have begun throwing in to help construct the African mass communication pyramid. One of our African servants in the House of Representatives (Servants), Cardiss Collins (D-Ill), has sponsored a bill in behalf of the Congressional Black Caucus communications braintrust.

In February, 1983, Collins introduced H.R. 1155, the Minority Telecommunications Development Act of 1983. This measure revises and updates the Communications Act of 1934 by offering a regulatory and industry incentive program intended to foster the greater participation of minorities and women in all phases of communications.⁵⁵

This is how Africans on Capitol Hill ask for a bigger share of the pie in behalf of the African community. For whatever this effort is worth, Africans should support this proposed legislation by their African servants without, however, losing focus of their own rigorous community effort.

It still puzzles me why the government must pay the racists who systematically deny Africans equal employment opportunity in the telecommunications (or any other) industry, through "industry incentive" programs. They get paid for being racist.

Also, I can not quite understand how women are considered a group that has been discriminated against. Certainly not the women who are getting the jobs that were traditionally for men; I mean the jobs worth having. I always thought Miss Ann considered her job the best job in town—even better than her husband the banker—going to teas, doing volunteer work and picking the brain of her African maid for more of that African wisdom that Miss Ann has come to rely upon.

If an African of any sex benefits from this bill, the other sex will benefit, as well (that is, if we are together). But with fashionable inclusion of women—the Euro-American man now needs even the help of his women to keep the African man out—a large share of what is due the African community will automatically drain-off back into the Euro-American community; right off the top.

Collins' bill covers areas of minority ownership, "equal employment opportunity, employment, public broadcasting and tax incentive for transfer of communication properties to minorities. It also provides for the establishment of an advisory committee to the Federal Communications Commission to study rules and policies designed to develop the full inclusion of minorities until full minority participation in ownership and employment is attained."⁵⁶ (See Appendix I)

Africans who are offended by the word "minority" need only think in

55. Servant Cardiss Collins (Dem-Ill), Communications Braintrust Newsletter, Feb. 16, 1983, at 1.

56. *Id.* at 1.

terms of the earth's population instead of seeing themselves from the Euro-American perspective. The important thing here is that this bill is a part—albeit, a small part—of the African mass communication pyramid. We must remember also that we are living in times when husbandmen and servants connive to cheat the lord of the vineyard.⁵⁷ Africans must twist the arms of their African politicians and servants. Otherwise, Africans will not be served they will be “served-up”.

Africans are invited to support this legislation by writing to the Congressional committees with jurisdiction over this bill to request hearings. Letters of support should be addressed to your servant.⁵⁸

On the international level, underdeveloped nations around the globe are calling for a New International Information Order (NIIO) which in affect is hoping to destroy the monopoly of distributing news and information from nation to nation that is presently held by four western-based news agencies; Associated Press and United Press International from the U.S., Reuters from Britain and Agence France-Press from France.⁵⁹

The underdeveloped nations are calling for this NIIO before three international bodies; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and the United Nations (UN).⁶⁰

What these exploited nations are coming to realize, and now boldly accuse their former colonizers; is the monopoly in reporting news from and about their nations that deal almost exclusively with either disasters, coup d'etat, corruption and internal wars while problems and progress in economic and or social development is seldomly covered, according to “Issues of the 80's,” a newsletter from the United Nations Association of the U.S.A.⁶¹

What is happening to Africans in America is happening to Africans and other people of color throughout the earth who are abused by the European/Euro-American mass communication monopoly. Africans are not alone. We Africans and the other people of color have many cultural ties but besides that, we have two basic things in common; we are people of color and we are oppressed by a common oppressor. The ally of an African people bound unto truth are other people who also are bound unto truth.

Truth will prevail. Africans must hope to be of that which prevails.

57. Mathew 21; Mark 12; Luke 20.

58. Servant Timothy Wirth, Chairman
Subcommittee on Telecommunications,
Consumer Protection and Finance
B-331 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-9304

Servant Dan Rosenkowsky, Chairman
House Ways and Means Committee
1102 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3625

59. *The New International Information Order. Who Wants It? What Is It?*, Issues of the 80's, UNA of the USA, no date, at 1, col. 1.

60. *Id.* at 1, col. —.

61. *Id.* at 1, col. 1.

The African has already fulfilled much of the prophecy by being subjected to the most cruel treatment done to man by man; with the audacity to survive. Now we must become a spiritual player in the establishment of peace on earth. No illusion can enslave an African for ever.

Will is sum total of all will
 one needn't worry 'bout that
 to be given is His son
 according to Will
 glorify Willingly
 Will to will
 all in All
 Allmen
 Om
 O
 Will
 as one
 all in All
 will to Will
 Willingly Africa
 according to Will
 promise by our Savior
 all nedn't worry 'bout that
 all will sum is total of Will⁶²

The NIO is closely tied to the more widely discussed New International Economic Order (NIEO). The exploited nations "believe that the news from the developing countries would affect public opinion in the West so favorably that the governments of the Western countries would have to negotiate more seriously and intensively on the establishment of an NIEO."⁶³

The governments of the West would be required to deal more "seriously and intensively" with the exploited nations if the citizens in the Western nations truthfully knew what was going on in other parts of the earth. The people of exploited nations know from having lived in the U.S. and Europe that these Western nations are run by the few whose mandate from the people is based entirely upon the peoples' ignorance. The illusion must be burst like a bubble.

Ironically, it was only eighty years ago that the U.S. was abused by a similar mass communication monopoly. When I say "similar", I mean the only change was the United States joined this international news cartel and Germany was expelled from predominance. Years ago it was British Reuters, French Havas and the German Wolff agencies that controlled the flow of information internationally, even in and out of the United States.

Kent Cooper of the Associated Press played a key role in making the U.S. a member of the news distribution monopoly. Cooper said: "So Reuters decided what news was to be sent from America. It told the world about Indians on the warpath in the West . . . the charge for decades was

62. This poem is entitled *The Philosopher's Pyramid* and was written and constructed by the author specifically for this book. The author suggests that you—if you are not already—become familiar with the concept of the philosopher's diamond.

63. Issues of the 80's, *supra* note 59, at 1, col. 2.

that nothing creditable to America was ever sent."⁶⁴

The United States demanded membership in the club that distorts truth along with their European big brothers. Like their European brothers, they are determined to limit the club to people of European extract.

At the 1976 UNESCO general conference in Kenya a declaration on the media was presented. One of the articles of the declaration offended the Western alliance. The articles asserted that "States are responsible for the activities in the international sphere of all mass media under their jurisdiction."⁶⁵ The Western alliance managed to have further discussion on that matter postponed until 1978.

The ITU convened the World Administrative Radio Conference in 1959 to allocate and reallocate telecommunication frequencies for the next twenty years. Many African nations were given their flag independence shortly thereafter. Thus they had to wait as many as nineteen and sometimes twenty years to get the opportunity to correct the injustices done in the international telecommunication industry. Was this part of the colonizers' "independence" strategy? When the ITU's administrative conference reconvened in 1979, the Western alliance pulled its neo-colonialist act.

When the exploited nations sought to increase the communications capacity of INTELSAT, serving 130 nations, by acquiring frequencies presently being used for radar and early-warning systems by the West, the European alliance blocked the effort by threatening to withhold "economic technical help to INTELSAT."⁶⁶

However, the United States and the alliance sought more frequencies for international broadcasting. Instead of yielding to nations that are now independent and seeking to acquire an equitable share and use of the earth's resources and knowledge, the alliance has decided to step up its international propaganda, distortion campaign.

Despite the objections of the exploited nations, the conference did increase use of frequencies on the shortwave band by sixty percent. When the exploited nations called for another conference to assign frequencies on a fair, nation-by-nation basis, the alliance objected, saying, "there are simply not enough frequencies to go around."⁶⁷

Another volatile concern at the conference is whether satellite orbital positions should be reserved—meaning not occupied by the European alliance that is prepared to occupy all of the known positions available in space—until the exploited nations are ready for satellite communications. The conveners of the conference—under the alliance sponsorship, of course—thought the question was whether "every country should have access to communications satellites." But the question is whether the alliance—who have enslaved and colonized with inhumane motives—should be allowed to totally occupy satellite communications, just because the former colonies are not economically or technologically prepared to launch satellites; due solely to their history of having been exploited?

The alliance will not give away the monopoly they have on the interna-

64. *Id.* at 1.

65. *Id.* at 2, col. 2.

66. *Id.* at 4, col. 1.

67. *Id.* at 4, col. 1.

tional broadcast frequencies. For sure, these international bodies conceived, designed and ruled by the alliance, are designed to thwart an effort to wrestle this monopoly from the oppressor's grasp.

Africans must lead in this march to insure the people of the earth receive equal benefit of the earth's resources and knowledge. We must stay abreast of what decisions are before the international bodies and let our position be known right down to the community level. Perhaps we should do as the Africans did in Ward's "Day of Absence." Can you imagine what would not get done if Africans who live in the midst of Europeans and Euro-Americans did not show up for work?⁶⁸

Although Africans should support and give input into the efforts of Servant Collins and UNESCO, my labors here are not addressing what we Africans can do through these prestigious national and international bodies or through waiting for household-name Africans to stop their over-consumption long enough to aid the masses.

In the spirit, we are addressing what we can do wherever we are. Waiting for those international bodies and celebrated persons to act in our behalf is not our last straw—although they would have you believe you are hopeless unless your efforts are sanctioned by the European alliance. But you, acting in the spirit of truth and love, have straws everlasting. So let us return our emphasis to what we in the African community can wake up and do every day, in accordance with the prophesy, to free ourselves from the illusion that the European alliance is all powerful. Free ourselves from the distorted looking glass that does not reflect our true image.

The base, the foundation of the African mass communication pyramid is the entire African community. It is comprised of the people and should reflect the people. Every level of the African mass communication pyramid must reflect the image of the masses of the people because each part of the pyramid depends entirely on the foundation, the people. Nothing can stand unless it is built on the foundation. The community level will make the international level possible. An international entity that tries to use symbols to speak for the people instead of using the people to speak for themselves is doomed from the beginning. The "black press" has always been puzzled by why the people do not get excited about reading what Jesse Jackson or Coretta King have to say. They can read that stuff anytime, anywhere. Give the people something new, something other than symbols. Give the people themselves someone they rarely have been allowed to see in all their dimensions.

The building material needed for constructing the African mass communication pyramid are essentially composed of the same materials used to abuse Africans under the European/Euro-American mass communication monopoly. The single difference in the two, which in turn yields other differences, is the African pyramid relies on people as its main resource and support. The African pyramid is not only truly about and intended for Africans, it is truly conceived by and produced by African people. In construct-

68. Free literature on the NIO can be obtained from:

United National Bookshop
United Nations -GA-32A
New York, NY 10017

ing this pyramid we need a course of action that includes the use of printed material, photographs and radio. And while we realize that we do not control the needed resources to control telecommunications, we must unshackle ourselves from in front of the television and engage in activity that we control and requires the participation of many Africans. We must decide what type of coverage the African mass communication pyramid consists of and what gets the most emphasis. What should be expected from paid professionals who enter the communication field? What should they know about the field, before they enter into this career? What should the paid professional realistically expect in return for his or her services? How do we bring children into the communication process at the earliest age in a positive manner that will insure their participation throughout their lives? Everything we know about the existing monopoly should be erased from the drawing board and our own model constructed as we simultaneously implement. To insure that the African mass communication pyramid is different from the European/Euro-American mass communication monopoly, we need to establish one or more publications and/or radio features that review the African pyramid. That review must be open to review from the people.

I have debated whether printed material or radio should be the initial phase of insuring the participation of the largest segment of the African population. Although radio has the potential to include the greater number of participants, the broad based use of printed material as the method for insuring people participation requires a physical participation that generates from the soul and manifests itself in the spirit. A properly implemented plan calls for broad based use of printed material as the first plateau of the pyramid resting on the foundation of the peoples' unified shoulders. Like radio, a properly implemented plan for using printed material includes many participants. Not only those who are actually doing the work, but also those Africans whose photographs and names appear in the publications.

To insure this participation on the broadest base, we must produce publications on every level that reflect the various relations we have to one another in the African community. We need family newsletters that inform African families what one another are doing whether they live in South Carolina, Pennsylvania, California or Africa. At the July, 1982 family reunion, my family took the necessary steps to enlarge its current publication.⁶⁹ (See Appendix II).

We need publications produced for individual city blocks; every block needs one. There should be publications by and about and intended for Africans who live in apartment buildings and apartment complexes.

As we continue to build this pyramid, we move to the neighborhood level. Ward level. Precinct level. Soon we will be on the citywide level and onward to the countywide, statewide, regional, national, heritagewide, hemispherewide, international and faithwide level.

How is this done? Is this an expensive process? Naturally at the base of this communication pyramid, where the greatest number of people are par-

69. More than 300 family members attended the 1982 reunion in Canton, Ohio. There are normally close to 400 persons in attendance. Activities for this two-day event usually include getting reacquainted in the hospitality suite, an evening banquet and dance and a picnic the following day that features activities for young and old alike. (See Appendix II).

ticipating, you have the greatest number of publications. These publications are to be put together in the most inexpensive way necessary. The information, however, should always be of value. If one group of neighbors can afford to go to a printer and run black and white photos with their information, fine. But if another group down the street, in the next block, can only afford to mimeograph a few sheets and staple them together, that's fine too. These publications should be financed by the people. That way you will not spend your energies writing proposals and waiting for government hand-outs. Sure, you may be entitled to the government money, but the whole process is designed to stifle any positive energies you have. It is a program that can be implemented immediately.

As we proceed up the pyramid, onward to the citywide, statewide, national, etc., we need fewer publications. Also, these publications become more sophisticated. However, even these publications draw the bulk of their information from the foundation of the pyramid, the people. Remember, all parts of the pyramid are totally dependent on the foundation. For example, the editor of a citywide newspaper should collect all of the community based newsletters being published in his or her city. The editor should be on the community based publications' mailing list or send someone to fetch the newsletter. This would give an editor a perfect line on what is happening in the city. Thus his paper would serve the needs of the people. Through all of these levels of publications, African people should be able to identify their common concerns.

These publications should have as much quality as possible, considering the resources available. They should always reflect an aware perspective in that they should in no way perpetuate the self-hatred encouraged by the European. Even on the community level, these publications, regardless how humble they may be, should be handled as a sound business. However, the pyramid workers must know when to hold fast to the budget to guarantee survival, yet know when to invest in order to grow.

Of course, at this time, we should run a check on our mass communication pyramid, a review, to see if its structure is held together by truth. Otherwise, there is no need to proceed, for what we have constructed thus far will not hold another plateau.

Photographs also should be taken extensively on the community level by professionals, but more importantly by amateurs and community persons. Cutlines should be written for these photographs immediately and distributed. I realize that it could become costly to distribute photos with no promise of compensation. But distribution where you can afford, even if its walking your photos over to an editor whose publication uses photos. If its a well taken photo, someone with money to distribute the photo and pay you may contact you for permission to use the photo.

Radio should be developed on various levels, under various sponsorships and with a variety of programming that truthfully reflects the African way of life and African hope for total synchronization with their earthly environment. Commercial radio, as long as it is dependent upon the European/Euro-American exploitation machine, has little value to the free African.

Listener sponsored and university owned and operated public service radio has increased the participation of the community in radio program-

ming by relying on a large volunteer cadre of programmers' that have weekly programs, unlike commercial radio that hires personnel to do daily shows. Community participation has increased also because telephone lines have been opened to the public during broadcasts by the listener sponsored and university stations.

Radio should also be developed on the statewide, regional, national and international level.

Such a plan would call for a radio station with more wattage (more national potential) and would result in giving Black art and culture the boost it needs. For example, a station with the wattage of WABC in New York, a station with white appeal, has an audience in Nova Scotia as well as in Georgia. Under the ideas propagated by WABC, the New York executive, West Virginia coal miner and South Carolina tobacco farmer can be persuaded to think and act with similar attitudes. That's what you call mass communications and preservation of one's culture.⁷⁰

Also, we should gain access to shortwave frequencies for broadcasting back and forth internationally. Until that time, however, we can monitor the shortwave bands. Satellite communications, whether radio or television, would be the next logical step to finish the pyramid. This stage will allow Africans distances apart from one another to provide communications on the same principle as the drum.

Wherever we are, we can know of one another's concerns and know whether your concerns are common to an African's concerns elsewhere. Thus it is unlikely Africans could be enslaved, colonized or otherwise exploited ever again.

Satellite communication is unnecessary as a tool to reinforce or remind us of our commonality; that is given from the base of the pyramid, not from the top. If one African met another African from a place he could not pronounce and they could not speak the same tongue, they would know they are brothers. Satellite communications does not replace the drum. It merely tells Africans simultaneously, on an international level, what kind of beat the drum is drumming: whether it is a drum for a newborn, a marriage, rite of passage to manhood or womanhood, war, lamentations, death, life, the spirit, worship. We do not need the satellite to tell us that we are brothers, the drums in our hearts tell us that. We need the satellite to tell us how our brother is doing.

Since we have not moved to boycott the businesses that sponsor the television programming that distorts truth and our true image, we perhaps should leave television alone. Why watch and participate in that which you don't have input?

What are we going to do with all of that time that was colonized by the television set but belongs to us once again? We are going to develop our African ceremonial activity on all levels in keeping with the true African mass communication pyramid. We will open community centers and centers on all other levels. We will stage 10,000 block festivals, 1,000 neighborhood festivals, 200 citywide festivals and fifty statewide festivals and onward until we get to one international level.

70. McCall, *The Chittlin Circuit and Other Thoughts on Travelling Abroad*, Black Explosion, Jan. 26, 1977, at 5, col. 1.

African ceremonial activity should be developed to the point that it is emanating a spiritual power that keeps Africans away from an instrument i.e., television, in which they have no control. If African ceremonial activity is developed to the fullest extent, we will have plenty of material suited for programming whenever we do control our own telecommunications.

Television programming that we do not produce cripples and maims Africans. It encourages immobility and non-creativity. Thus causing a lack of confidence. We become unfulfilled and can not rejuvenate our hope. We become fearful because our faith is invested in an instrument that signs off at 1:30 a.m.

The festivals on the community-based level should be low budget. People are more important than props and scenery. There should be exchanges between Africans from different communities on all levels, as well. African ceremonial activity serves as both a medium for distributing information within and outside of the African community and services as the content, or substance, of the other mediums included in the African mass communication pyramid.

I have participated in these festivals on many levels. In January-February, 1977, as a student, I represented an African studies program of a land-grant university at the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture, more popularly known as Festac '77. This festival lasted for thirty days, drawing 25,000 Africans from fifty-six participating nations to Lagos, Nigeria. Such an event cannot take place without being a success.

I do not know whether there has been anything, before or since, like Festac '77. The various forms of African life and ceremonial activity were on display or in performance everyday in this thirty-day period. What made the festival an experience unlike any other is that all the participants, from all the nations, lived on the same premises, in a large housing complex. That is where the festival really took place; not in the National Theatre or Tafawa Balewa Square or Federal Palace Hotel, three of the more popular venues. The eating together in large dining rooms, rehearsing together all day, hitchhiking together, debating together, mating together, drinking beverages together, taking pictures together, washing clothes together, hanging clothes out together, going to Fela's Kalakuta Republic together, visiting private homes together, walking together, talking together, worshipping together; that was Festac '77.

During the first two weeks of the festival, scholars from throughout the African nation read scholarly papers daily, in the mornings and afternoons, at the festival's colloquim in the National Theatre, a circular performance center on the order of the Dorothy Chandler Pavillion in Los Angeles and the Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C.

If there was any complaint about Festac, it can be attributed to too many excellent performances scheduled simultaneously. It was a music festival, a theatre festival, a film festival, an art show, a fashion show; you could not go wrong. One night, Randy Weston. The next night, The Mighty Sparrow.

There were always droves of Africans headed towards the National Theatre. Comfortable clothes to fit the climate. Bright colors to fit the occasion; Africa reunited, if only symbolically, if only temporarily.

Fela and Soyinka complained that the money their government spent hosting Festac '77 could have been better used for the people.⁷¹ The government said that housing and cars built and purchased for Festac would be distributed to the people after the festival. But, indeed, during the festival, the masses of Nigerians, who may have hoped to attend the festival activities, were denied entrance to the venues. There were many young boys and girls repeatedly chased away from the entrances of the venues because they did not have a Festac identification card. It seemed that in order for a Nigerian to get the proper credentials for admission to the venues, they had to have social or tribal standing, were upwardly mobile or a university student. We Africans must be careful not to perpetuate the ills of the European/Euro-American society in a free Africa.

The tragedy of slavery in America was no more evident than at this international gathering of Africans. While Africans from the continent and Africans from other locations in the diaspora were celebrating how their way of life has maintained the African way, despite the constant assaults from their Western colonizers, much of what Africans, born in the land of captivity, exported from the United States was a dirge for how much of Africa has been stolen from us, denied us. One theatre group did a group dramatic presentation on how Africans living in America are under the yoke of drugs. Many of the feature films originating from Africans living in the United States had a similar theme. Whereas, in truth, we have a tragic drug problem, for this story to be told repeatedly may lead Africans from other places to believe their African brothers in the United States do nothing but use drugs. It seemed as though after watching the dramatic presentation with Africans from the continent, they lost a little faith in me. Those looks I got seemed to make me suspect of all the weaknesses of Africans in the land of captivity. They also were deeply sorrowed about what they learned through the drug scenes. They realized they had a stake in this tragedy. I was glad when the night wore thin and the subject changed.

More than anything, this points up how Africans in the United States are victimized by a mass communication monopoly that has systematically distorted truth about Africans. When Africans tried to gather material that reflected the many facets of African life in the land of captivity, they were hard pressed. We had very little on record that celebrated our maintenance of the African way of life, even, and perhaps more amazingly, under a wretched slavery that denied the African his humanity; because one earthly minority could not feel adequately human if they accepted the humanity of Africans.

Africans on the continent and the Caribbean hold this type of festival regularly, on the state, national or tribal level. In the United States, African festivals are usually in the form of small family reunions (tribal), community festivals, church family reunions and college homecomings. Except for gatherings such as PUSH Expo and Wattstax, there have been few, if any, African festivals in the United States on the state or national levels.

African Liberation Day, usually held near the end of May in various major cities in the U.S., is somewhat of a national or even international

71. Fela Anikulapo-Kuti is one of the leading musicians in Nigeria. Wole Soyinka is one of the leading writers in Nigeria.

festival. The festival in Washington, D.C. attracts Africans from around the United States, including Africans from the continent and other points in the diaspora who in many cases are living in the U.S. to go to school or have migrated permanently.

This weekend of cultural, political, social, economic and spiritual activity is featured by a day-long rally in Malcolm X Park in the heart of one of the city's African communities. The park is a special location for many reasons: It is in the African community; it is across the street from many of Howard University's off-campus dormitories and many other apartment buildings where young, vibrant, freedom-seeking Africans live. They are not a new wave. They are a shining African wheat field, leaning to and fro, with the winds of change, waiting to be reaped.

Also, across from the park is the Ghana Embassy. Ghana, with its independence from Britain in 1957 leading the way for the liberation of more than fifty African nations, is a symbol of African freedom. Their Washington embassy could have not been better situated than where it presently overlooks the carved stone walls of Malcolm X Park.

Malcolm and Ghana are not strangers to one another; on his pilgrimages, Malcolm visited Ghana. On any given day in the park one will see separate soccer games by continental Africans, Caribbean Africans, Latino Africans and Africans born in America playing their game of touch football. I cannot recall seeing the groups ever playing together. But they exist together, peacefully, in Malcolm X Park.

Skaters skate on the walk that encloses a field on the main level which is the length of two, 100-yard football fields. Others ride bicycles, jog or walk around the walk, some pushing baby carriages. Africans playing chess, kicking karate kicks and other martial art maneuvers, throwing frisbees, walking dogs, debating, sounding, smoking marijuana, shadow boxing, reading, sleeping and of course, Africans dancing to African drum beats. Malcolm X Park is a living room to some, a playground to many and a bedroom for others.

It is like the temple in the days of Christ Jesus, like the church that is truly wedded to Christ, unlike today's immaculate stone structures that lock the people out and do not leave their "lights" burning in ever watch of the coming of the Lord. The "light" in Malcolm X Park is burning. You can tell because it attracts the people in great numbers, the humble, the lowly. Unlike in most of the churches that line 16th Street, N.W. the people are not psychologically blocked from entering the park because the hour is late, because they do not have a steady "slave" and big bucks to prove it or because they cannot afford to sport top hat and tails. They are not denied entrance to the park because they are in need. They are welcomed into the park because they have need. It is their refuge. They can grab a seat on a bench, read a newspaper or sleep a while and feel like they belong to something. They have a home. Malcolm X Park is a home to many. The doors of the church are open. In the true church, we are not worried about anybody stealing the gold from the altar. We do not lock up the altar because it is lined with gold. Our treasure is in the spirit of the altar not the gold on the altar. Do not guard the altar. It cannot be under siege and live at the same time. The true church is our Father's House, a house of prayer.

Malcolm X Park is a church to the destitute and to those who have something but would rather have freedom. The name of the park has much to do with the spirit that dwells within the park. Malcolm's commitment to truth is there, his unwillingness to compromise is there, his blood is there, the hope he taught the people to seek from the Father is there. Malcolm lives! (Malcolm is not the way, he is part of the way. But we have not even gone that distance yet.)

These are some of the reasons it is easy for this park to be transformed into a festival ground. It is just a matter of all people who would go to the park any way, and their counterparts from out of town, coming to the park on the same day at the same time. Add to that a stage, which is not necessarily the focal point of the day, speakers from various liberation fronts—Azania, Namibia, El Salvador, Northern Ireland, Grenada, Indiana—poets, musicians, dancers and drummers, merchants of food, merchants of clothes, merchants of jewelry, merchants of information, merchants of hairstyles. All of it African. The park, on African Liberation Day, is wall-to-wall Africans regenerated together in the spirit of truth and love, to mourn our sorrows and celebrate our tradition of faith as our hope. We need more of these occasions on the state and national levels, particularly the Africans in America.

As president of a loosely organized group known as the Frederick Douglass-Paul Robeson Union, I sparked a community effort in coordinating a block festival in the Penn Lucy section of Baltimore, July, 1979. (See Appendix III). A month earlier at an African peoples' political conference, on the campus of Morgan State University, sponsored by Servant Parren Mitchell (D-Md.), I urged those participating in the communication workshop to produce cultural events that would snatch our peoples' attention away from the negative output of television programming in which we have no control or input. I informed them of the Douglass-Robeson Union's upcoming festival and invited them all to see.

The festival was a success in all respects:

The community oriented event included poets Katana Hall and Umoja; musicians New Day and Osmunde; gospel songstress Felecia Wright, Olufumalaiyo and her African dance troupe, Mohammad Adam, editor of *Pioneer Newspaper* in Ghana, and Joan Cambridge Mayfield, a writer from Guyana, speaking of her nation's politics and the Jonestown massacre.⁷²

As you can see, there were Africans present who live in Africa and the Caribbean, as well as the United States. The small festival was successful in drawing the community residents out of their homes. They lined the street and sidewalks which had previously been blocked off from traffic by the city. The community heard the works of cultural workers who are committed, who have nothing to lose from telling truth because they know one can only gain from truth.

The festival took as its theme, Baltimore and Africa—Heritage and Commitment. What the Douglas-Robeson Union was trying to suggest was a need for Africans in American to become aware of African related issues and where possible, try to influence the United States' policy on those issues.

72. McCall, *Africa Upfront*, METROPOLITAN MAGAZINE 10-1 (Oct., 1979).

In short, the festival was political with a cultural backdrop.⁷³

This small community-based festival, entirely a community effort, was also innovative, as far as festivals normally go. It was not only a time for our people to consume food for the body, food for the soul, food for thought. It was also a health fair bringing people together with health facilities in which they are in need. The festival was a voter registration drive, bringing the NAACP eye to eye and toe to toe with the people they profess to represent in order to increase the number of Africans on the voter rolls. (See Appendix IV).

The day started with waking up to discover the city workers had placed the stage and concession stands, provided by the city, at the wrong end of the street. The planning committee had to urgently enlist the aid of Morgan State wrestlers and football players, who lived in the block, to move the stage and stands to the other end of the street. It was a volunteer effort in all phases; volunteers produced the flyers, distributed flyers, took out the building permit, did the electrical work, photographed the event, video-taped the event, provided food, informed others by word-of-mouth, performed, kept the peace; as the tradition of African people in an environment that reflects their way of life.

The festival received advance promotion in both the African and Euro-American press. Local radio stations did public service announcements, promoting the festival. There were also stories written about the festival, in the African press. It did not cost anyone a red cent. We were not acting under the illusion that we needed money for our journey in the path to freedom.

We are not trying to construct an African mass communication pyramid that physically reaches beyond clouds. We are hoping to build a pyramid that is lowly, one that touches all of the lowly people, not a tower, one whose breath of life will cease when it ceases serving the needs of the people. We hope to construct a pyramid that—because of its humble service to the many, the lowly—spiritually feeds freely from that upside down pyramid. (I mean that rightside-up pyramid. I keep forgetting that we are the reflection. We are not the point of reference).

In our labors in constructing our mass communication pyramid, there are other matters to consider. The type of coverage is a major concern. As we said earlier, the focal point of the coverage should be the many and not the few. There is no reason that politicians, actors, athletes and wealthy business persons should be in the news every day all day. What are Africans in East Africa doing about the famine, on the community level, besides waiting for "handouts" from Europeans, as Europeans would have you believe? What are Africans in Mississippi doing to insure their children receive sound educations in spite of the local and state governments refusal to provide adequate public education? How are Africans in Granada uniting to build an economy that seeks not to feed off the death machine? This is the type of information we need to know.

Human interest stories should be featured regularly in the pyramid's format. Questions posed by the people should be a feature that is broad-

73. *Id.* at 11.

casted or printed. The coverage should include assistance to consumers on all levels; it should tell people how to, where to, what to, when to, who to. Every facet of African life should be integrated into the coverage without the mass communication pyramid and its working having "star" status. The pyramid is there to serve the people. The workers are servants, not stars. The sight of a microphone or camera should not suggest that people should behave unlike they normally behave. Neither should these tools receive an impromptu shoving down the throats of the people the workers are there to serve. Of course crime should be reported but if our pyramid can be build, we won't need to worry 'bout no crime. Will we?

Let us consider what we should pay our communication workers. The communicators. The community orators. For if we set a standard now by giving the role of the communicator a well defined image, those with the talent will know what to expect when entering the work. Otherwise, we lose too many. Not because they are not talented enough, but because they are disappointed with what the field yields. But how can someone be disappointed at getting the opportunity to work with their blessing? This happens because these talented people have been mislead into believing that the only measure of success is the amount of money you have made with your work, your blessing. When many African communicators realized they would not be the evening anchor on the local news or would not be a Cronkite or Walters, they dropped out. In short, a communicator should never leave the field because he or she is not making enough money.

The communicator should be prepared to be of humble means unless they can generate additional resources from other honest work such as becoming a farmer, mechanic, tutor, cashier. They should get their fulfillment from the service they provide their people; people that look like them, people with their same concerns. Blessings are not to be sold or marketed but to be freely given to the people as the blessings are freely given to you. You are their orators. Your heart must be pure. You must be the spiritually hungry and equally as eager to give what you have received to the people for whom it was originally intended. It was not intended for you "a lone". You must be for the people what Aharon was to his brother Mosheh.

And Mosheh said unto the Lord, O my Lord, I am not eloquent, neither heretofore nor since thou has spoken unto thy servant; but I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue.

And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Mosheh, and he said, Is not Aharon, the Levite, thy brother? I know he can speak well. . . .

And he shall be thy spokesman unto the people. . . .⁷⁴

The communicator should always increase his skills in the communication field. If he is a photographer, he should also be trained to write stories. If she is an actress she should become trained as a director or for that matter, a photographer.

Also the African communicator must always seek and find younger Africans to train and introduce into the communication field. Our babies should be introduced to the communication process at the earliest age possible. They too should have shows produced, about but intended for all Afri-

74. Exodus 4:10,14,16.

cans. We must discover them and help them discover themselves before it is too late.

Yes, the future must be cultivated and there is no better way to insure that this cultivation produces a bountiful harvest than to allow the elders to play a significant role in the mass communication process. They must have input and participation in all phases. They are the wise, the survivors, the yard stick, graduates of the school of hard knocks. The mass communication process must be made to accommodate them not them accommodate the process.

Part of the African mass communication process is to use publications and the electronic media to provide a critical, unsparing review of the pyramid. The pyramid should be held up to scrutiny by the people, with truth as the only standard. If it is not one with truth, it is not one with the people. The people will not worship the pyramid. It is not a wonder. The pyramid is there to serve the people's needs, not the people to serve the pyramid's needs. The spiritual pyramid network will not exist in vain. When it stops serving the needs of the people, when it forsakes truth, it will be leveled by the people who, through truth, have been blessed to create forever. They are not vain enough to try and create "a forever" because "Forever" is their Creator and the source of their blessing to create for ever. Eternal life. Man must not wonder at what he has created. He must wonder at the source of all creation. Man must realize he is merely an individual tributary in the river of life. Flow river flow. Man you cannot stop the flow. Flow on river. You can only be drowned by the flow, washed ashore, where you will be fed to the birds or, if you are again blessed, returned to the dust immediately rather than waiting for the death of the 1,000 birds that have devoured your breathless, soulless, mindless, heartless carcass.

Africans, we must listen for the voice of one crying in the wilderness. We must not take anything away from that voice or its true message. Neither should we add anything to that voice and its message of truth. The voice of one crying in the wilderness and its true message is sufficient unto itself, its source. Our voices will, however, be called upon to add a truthful response to its truthful call. For the voice of one crying in the wilderness is truth in its infancy, in its mustard seed stage, and you must first hear it before you hear its fullness, its All. The truthful response of our voices enables the mustard seed to grow to be the Kingdom.⁷⁵

Africans, we must be baptized with the spirit of truth and love for the other as we love ourselves. And we must be baptized with fire of freedom if we truly hope to be free and at peace. You can not in despair wait for death in hope of peace. Peace is for the living. Peace can be established on earth. It was not said in vain, "peace on earth, good Will towards men." "Mah Lawd!"

Africans! Our individual communication and our mass communication must spring from the chords of the voice of one crying in the wilderness until its fullness is revealed, until its fullness we realize.

Africans! In the spirit of truth and love for the other as we love ourselves, these are some of the things, your brother and servant in Yeshua

75. Matthew 13:31; Mark 4:30; Luke 13:18.

Mashiah, suggest we do in respect to mass communication in order to glorify the coming of the Son, the Savior, in the name of our Father. All men in All, all in All, Amen, Om, O

afterword

i have not come to honor men but through the Son, glorify the Father. had i told you this from the beginning, many of you may not have reached this point in our journey. is it not true, because you know this is not the sabbath, or any other day you chose to rest and worship, that many of you may not have stayed, had you known you were in church? the doors of the church are open.

praise GOD

Appendix I
SUMMARY ANALYSIS OF H.R. 1155
THE MINORITY TELECOMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENT ACT
OF 1983*

PURPOSES

This legislation revises and updates Title I of the Communications Act of 1934 by providing for a regulatory and industry incentive program designed to foster the greater participation of minorities in all phases of telecommunications governed by the Act.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

By this bill, Congress makes an affirmative finding that minorities have been and continue to be deprived of full participation in common carrier, broadcasting, and cable communications services. In order to further the growth of interstate and foreign commerce, minority ownership and employment opportunities in telecommunications are encouraged by this bill.

I. MINORITY OWNERSHIP

Greater minority participation in common carrier, broadcasting and cable communications ownership is fostered by the bill in these ways:

- (1) by requiring the Commission to establish a set of eligibility criteria to use when it invites applications for new licenses. This follows the Commission's approach in Clear Channel Broadcasting (Report and Order), 78 FCC 2d 1345 (1980).
- (2) by codifying the tax certificate and distress sale policies contained in the Policy Statement on Minority Ownership of Broadcast Facilities and extending coverage to include cable, 68 FCC 2d 979 (1979) and liberalizing the time limits under which those whose applications are designated for hearing may elect a distress sale.
- (3) by providing that the FCC may waive its multiple ownership rules for Small Business Investment Companies (SBICs), thus permitting them to become more widely involved in the financing of minority media enterprises.

II. EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

The bill codifies and strengthens the FCC's EEO rules (47 CFR §73,2080) and applies them to broadcasters, networks, common carriers, cable systems, satellite operators, and the headquarters operations of each. It also enacts and strengthens the essentials of the FCC's Model Equal Employment Opportunity Program for licensees, and provides for annual collection of baseline employment data by those subject to regulation under the Communications Act.

In addition, the bill creates for the first time a presumption

of fairness on the part of an applicant whose workforce has attained 80% of work force parity for minorities and women in both total full time employment and in decisionmaking positions (managers, professionals, salespersons and technicians). It requires the Commission to designate for hearing applications showing less than 50% of work force parity for minorities or women if the applicant has maintained only a neutral EEO program which is unlikely to assure future improvement. This adopts and explicitly implements the holdings of *Black Broadcasting Coalition of Richmond v. FCC*, 556 F.2d 59 (D. C. Cir. 1977) and *Bilingual-Bicultural Coalition on the Mass Media Inc. v. FCC*, 595 F.2d 621 (D. C. Cir. 1978).

Finally, the bill provides that in a hearing on an applicant's EEO performance, the Commission may not consider evidence of post-designation upgrading. This codifies the Commission's prospectively-announced policy set forth in *Rust Communications Group, Inc.*, 73 FCC 2d 39 (1979).

III. ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON MINORITY TELECOMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENT

The bill establishes an advisory committee to the FCC to study rules and policies designed to further the full participation of minorities in all phases of communications affected by the Communications Act. The Committee is to make its initial report in one year, and continue to meet and advise the Commission until Congress determines that minorities have attained full participation in ownership and employment in telecommunications facilities.

IV. Reimbursement of Expenses for Citizen Participation in Rulemaking Proceedings before the FCC

The bill makes available to the Commission up to \$250,000 annually to reimburse the reasonable and documented expenses of civic and community organizations and small businesses for their participation in rulemaking proceedings before the Commission, under such guidelines as the Commission shall establish. The Commission is directed to take particular care to ensure that minority participation before the Commission in rulemaking proceedings will be furthered by this program.

V. PUBLIC TELECOMMUNICATIONS FACILITIES

The bill provides that of the funds appropriated pursuant to section 391 for any fiscal year, not less than 30% shall be available for the development of public telecommunications facilities owned by, operated by and made available to minorities.

VI. AMENDMENT TO THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954

The bill, as it applies to any minority company, (as defined in section 3 (ii) of the Communications Act of 1934) strikes the

present overall limitation in the tax law on the value of new or used equipment that can be used for a tax credit.

VII. REPORT TO CONGRESS

The bill requires the Commission to include in its annual report to Congress information and data useful in determining the extent to which minorities have participated and will participate in the future, as employees and owners of telecommunications facilities.

* Introduced on February 2, 1983 and referred jointly to the Committees on Energy and Commerce and Ways and Means.

Appendix II
McCALL - SETTLES - PETERKIN

The Descendants Of

Daniel McCall Jr. and Dicie Jane McCall Peterkin

1981 Reunion Committee

Dorothy McCall Mattison - Chairperson
 Helaine McCall Jeffers - Co-Chairperson
 Shirley Clair McCall - Secretary
 Janelle McCall Simms - Treasurer
 Dr. Ann McCall Carter - Historian
 Gerald E. McCall - Genealogist
 Benjamin M. McCall - Accountant
 Brent Jeffers - Business Manager
 John Daniel McCall - Hospitality Committee
 Lynn Cleveland McCall - Program Coordinator
 James A. McCall - Attorney
 Broadus E. Mattison - Chaplin

February 12, 1981

Dear Family Members:

Plans are in progress for the fourth annual reunion of the McCall - Settles - Peterkin family. This year the two-day affair will be held on Saturday, August first (1st) and Sunday, August second (2nd) at the Ramada Inn (Beltway), Interstate 695 at Belmont Avenue and Security Boulevard, Exit 17.

The Inn is located directly across the street from the Security Square Mall, the largest shopping center in Baltimore, and one of the largest on the East Coast. An indoor pool and patio will be available for your enjoyment.

Those desiring reservations should submit their names to the committee no later than July 20, 1981. Reservations will be paid for individually at your time of departure. Check-in time is at 2:00 P.M. and check-out time is at 12:00 noon. Please keep in mind that if you are to take advantage of the following special rates, your name must be submitted to me (or any member of the committee) by July 20th.

Single	2 double beds*\$27.00
Double	2 double beds.....	33.00
Triple.....	2 double beds.....	39.00
Quads	2 double beds.....	45.00

A delicious home-cooked banquet and delightful program, with dance to follow, are planned for your enjoyment on Saturday evening beginning at

* Please note that all of the rooms have the same sleeping accommodations. There are no cribs or rollaway beds available.

7:00 P.M. Elegant or formal dress will be the attire for the evening affair, to be held at the Carriage Hill Village Center located a short distance from the hotel in the Liberty Road Section of Baltimore County.

On Sunday morning, church services will be conducted on-site at the hotel followed by a day-long picnic at the picturesque Patapsco State Park, where we will feast on a variety of foods and drink, and participate in soft-ball games, hiking and various other activities.

Although prices are continuously rising, an effort has been made to keep the cost per family at a minimum.

The following rates have been established:

Adults.....	\$25.00
Children 12 - 18 years	12.50
Children 5 - 11 years.....	8.00

Please forward all reunion fees to:

Ms. Janelle McCall Simms

Make checks payable to Reunited "1981." It is requested that all fees be paid as soon as possible, but not later than June 15th.

It is hoped that you will be able to provide time in your schedule to attend the reunion; however, if it is impossible, a contribution towards the production of the family yearbook will be greatly appreciated.

I trust that this letter will find you doing well. It is a privilege to serve on this family reunion committee; for the family is considered an institution of God and must be preserved if man is to remain above the level of beast. Looking forward to seeing you on August 1st and 2nd!!!

Sincerely,

Dorothy McCall Mattison,
Chairperson
1981 McCall - Settles - Peterkin
Family Reunion

Dorothy McCall Mattison

DMM:tj

voice
Appendix III of IV
Page 1 of 1
Page 122 of 129
Chinyelu

International News Consortium,

Appendix III

Baltimore +
Africa
Heritage +
Commitment

Sunday July 15, 1979
900 Block of
Belgian Ave

10 AM
TO
11 PM

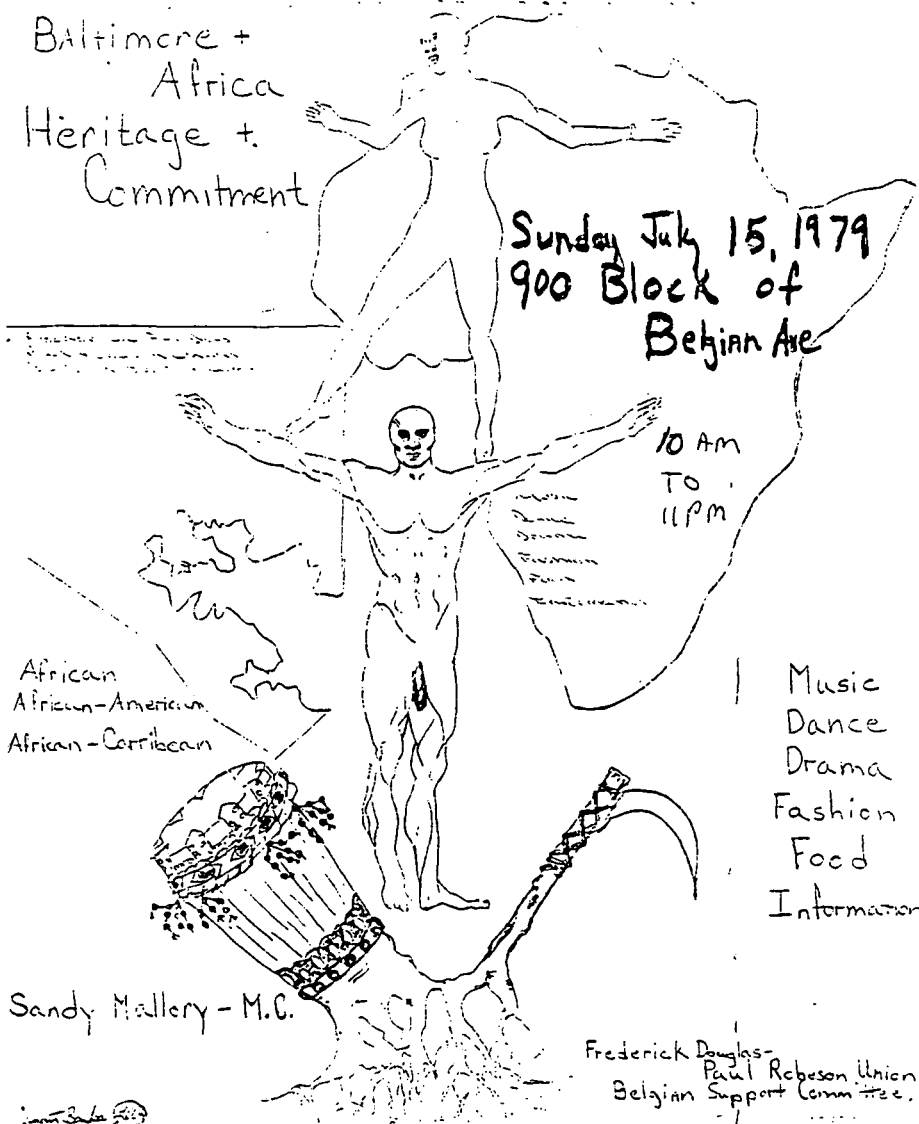
African
African-American
African-Caribbean

Music
Dance
Drama
Fashion
Food
Information

Sandy Mallory - M.C.

Frederick Douglas-
Paul Robeson Union
Belgian Support Committee.

[Handwritten signature]



Appendix IV

BALTIMORE BRANCH N. A. A. C. P.

2127 MARYLAND AVENUE - SUITE 103

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21218 - 837-6778 6779 6790

August 15, 1979

Dr. LILLIE M. JACKSON
IN MEMORADAM

PRESIDENT
MRS. PENOLIA P McMILLAN

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MR. NORMAN WATKINS

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
MR. PAUL SHOWELL

THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. DOROTHY POPE
SMITH

SECRETARY
MISS JOSEPHINE EVERSLEY

ASSISTANT SECRETARY
MRS PAULINE BROWN

TREASURER
MR RAYMOND WADE

COMMUNITY SERVICES
DIRECTOR
MR MARSHALL T BRIGHT
SR

PROGRAM DIRECTOR
MRS BARBARA A COOPER

Mr. Jerry McCall, President
Frederick Douglas-Paul Robeson Union
903 Belgian Avenue Apt. 3A
Baltimore, Md. 21218

Dear Mr. McCall:

The members of the N.A.A.C.P. Voter Registration-Education Committee thank you and your organization for the opportunity to have participated in your festival.

It was a successful and productive experience for us.

We rely on support from individuals like you and organizations like yours to help us succeed in our many community and civic endeavors.

Thank you for that support and much success to your developing union.

Yours truly,

Michael W. Skinner, Chairman
Voter Registration-Education Committee

Catherine E.P. Molland, Coordinator
Voter Registration-Education Campaign