

Opening of Malcolm X U. *Duke Chronicle* 28 Oct. 1969 includes all-day ceremonies

By Les Hoffman

Assistant Managing Editor

Joining about 100 people in dedicating Malcolm X Liberation University (MXU) Saturday, Stokley Carmichael, in a letter from Guinea, said the opening of the university "is one of the most important events that have taken place in our struggle." Mrs. Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X, James Lee, Howard Fuller, and Nathan Garrett, also participated in the ceremonies held on Pettigrew Street in front of the university.

Carmichael said, "this is the first time we have gotten together among ourselves." The letter, parts of which Howard Fuller read, went on to say that Carmichael is working towards the "same goals" in Africa that MXU is "working for here." He said "we are moving ahead together" even though we are an ocean apart.

Carmichael said he is in Guinea working to return Kwame Nkrumah to power in Ghana.

"to protect...Africa"

Calling Saturday "One of the

happiest days of my life," Mrs. Shabazz said "we have a responsibility and duty to ourselves, our parents' generation, and the generation yet to be born...to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Africa."

She said black people in the U.S. are the "best people in the world" because of "all we've been through."

Talking about education, Mrs. Shabazz asked "If I can sit in school and learn about the accomplishments of the whites, why can't somebody learn about my accomplishments?"

Citing what she called Alexander the Great's invasion and "exploitation" of Africa, Mrs. Shabazz said "the white man has originated nothing."

Whites "stole it from the black people and today we don't even know the black contribution to civilization," she said.

Youth guilty too

Mrs. Shabazz called the present generation of white people "just as guilty as their forefathers because they're continuing the institutions of their fathers."

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She added that "if my children can't get all the rights they're guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights then your (white) children won't get them either."

Nathan Garrett, program director of the Center for Black Education in Washington, D.C., called for "progress," which he defined as "developing black pride for black citizens."

James Lee, director of training of the Foundation for Community Development, said MXU "shows the African people are moving toward complete political and economic freedom for African people."

March to MXU

Saturday morning a "people's picnic" was held in Hillside Park beginning the day's festivities. Later the picnickers marched from the park to the university, singing "Power to the people. Black, black power to the African people. Who shall survive America? Very few

niggers and no crackers at all."

Saturday night a pan-African Festival was held with participants coming from as far away as New York an.

Classes began yesterday at Malcolm X Liberation University while a federal grand jury was beginning its investigation of funds allocated to MXU by the national Episcopal Church, \$45,000, and by the interdenominational National Committee of Black Churchmen, \$200,000.

THE COLOUR OF THE CAMPUS

Malcom X

INTERNATIONAL PRESS-CUTTING BUREAU
1, Knightsbridge Green, London, S.W.1.

Extract from
Auckland Star, New Zealand

14 APR 1969

According to its founder, Nathan Garrett, an accountant who himself graduated from Yale, Malcolm X Liberation University is the first black college to have been founded in the State of North Carolina for about 40 years.

For Americans, who found universities rather more easily than English mothers found play groups, that is a long interval.

Never mind that Malcolm X is, and may well remain, more of an idea than a university. Never mind that its campus is the third floor of an office from which Garrett administers a Ford-financed fund for community development. Never mind that its potential students at present number 28 — the exact figure depends on how many black students quit, or are suspended from, Duke University near by after a recent bout of rioting.

Malcolm X is still part of a cultural revolution which many black Americans, and a few white sociologists, expect to be as important to the early 1970s as Martin Luther King's civil rights movement was to the early 1960s.

For young Negroes, the difference between the civil rights movement and the agitation for "black studies" which has been rocking a hundred campuses is felt as the difference between losing oneself and finding oneself, between social integration and social self-assertion.

Prospectus

One way to understand this is to read the prospectus of a college like Malcolm X, whose course on the "psychology of racialism" will include "discussion of the semantics and dynamics of prejudice and racialism, cultural and political paranoia, psychology of paternalism and tokenism, and the effects of racialism on motivational and perceptual variables." (It is encouraging to realize that academic jargon, at least, knows no barriers of colour, class, or creed).

A simpler route to understanding is a tour of a Southern, mainly white, university like Duke or Emory, finishing up in the Negro quarters of a Southern black college like (respectively) Durham, North Carolina, or Atlanta, Georgia. Duke, for example, is an immensely rich Methodist campus. Its founder the tobacco millionaire Washing-

ton Duke, left behind him a centrally heated chapel in the style of Canterbury Cathedral, a ruling that all adjoining buildings should be Gothic in perpetuity, and a statue which depicts him smoking a symbolic cigar.

An intelligent black from Durham's minimum-standard, still effectively segregated public housing can hardly fail to notice that Duke's Gothic extravaganza depended, and depends, on the money its endowment draws from the district's low wage economy.

The central argument of the white universities' black critics has been put by Nathan Hare, the recently suspended Special Co-ordinator of Black Studies at the embattled campus of San Francisco State. He writes:

"Even if it be so that Black Studies would ring more separatist in tone than Latin-American Studies, Oriental Studies, and the like, this is not the issue. . . . The goal is the elevation of a people by means of one important escalator — education. Separatism and integrationism are possible approaches to that end: they lose their effectiveness when, swayed by dogmatic absolutism, they become ends in themselves.

Integration

"Integration" was used in the second half of this century to hold the black race down just as segregation was so instituted in the first half. Integration, particularly in the token way in which it has been practised up to now and the neo-tokenist manner now emerging, elevates individual members of a group, but paradoxically, in plucking many of the most promising members from a group while failing to alter the lot of the group as a whole, weakens the collective thrust which the group might otherwise muster."

This thrust has brought many Negro students down from the north and Chicago to Morehouse in Atlanta. It is a good college but in the last resort its blackness is more important: indeed, one such student told me, on the campus which educated and last

year buried Martin Luther King, that the conformist style of its teaching horrified him.

That criticism would still shock most blacks, just as the televised spectacle of striking New York high schoolchildren lisping in improvised Swahili classes, and of black students barricading themselves in university buildings, to which they were scarcely admitted a decade ago, has understandably unnerved Northern liberals. ("I'm so disgusted I can hardly speak about it," said an alumna of Antioch, a winsomely progressive liberal arts college in Ohio, which gave its black students the separate courses and dormitories they demanded, only to be ordered by Washington to desegregate or face the loss of Federal funds).

Concrete causes

There is a pinch of rhetoric in the black students' demand for total separatism, and many do not want to play into the hands of the Klan by going so far. On the whole, where a university's internal communications have been good, students have limited their ardour to concrete causes, like the black canteen workers' strike in the University of North Carolina.

The difficulties are not only those of timing, summed up by the president of Mississippi Valley State College in the remark: "They told us they wanted all the demands met by Friday or they would stage a sit-in at the chapel. Jesus Christ could not come up with solutions to these problems that fast."

On the other hand, "Do not underestimate Americans," said a 20-year-old expatriate Englishman teaching Romance languages in Duke. "If enough of them want Black Studies they will construct courses, and find the teachers, by the middle of next week at the latest."

Berkeley and Harvard have their prospectuses out already, and it pays to be first in the field, while other universities are still trying to decide whether Afro-American studies should be a fully fledged department or merely an interdisciplinary curriculum. — Guardian service.

conicle

Tuesday, February 17, 1970

Fuller urges black identity

By Susan Tifft

"We are no longer moving toward our goals as black militants; we are moving toward our goals of five years ago; to be absorbed into the mainstream of White America," stated Howard Fuller in the opening address of Black Week yesterday.

Fuller, instrumental in the founding the Malcolm X Liberation University in Durham, addressed students and faculty in Page Auditorium on the two-fold problem of the black community: "Who Are We, or The Games People Play."

Fuller's speech, sponsored by the Duke Afro-American Society, emphasized the amount of compromise on the part of black people in their search for identity as a people. Blacks on campus, said Fuller, must carry the rhetoric espoused during Black Week over into real action and change during the rest of the year, not simply revert to "business as usual."

According to Fuller, blacks are "playing a hypocritical game" with themselves and with their white oppressors, by compromise with and assimilation into White America. The epitome of this compromise is found on TV shows such as "Julia" and "The Mod Squad." Fuller advocated a truly different black society, rather than simply a "black version" of a white society; this could be accomplished through a

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-Fuller for black society-

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worldwide movement for the liberation of black people.

The black people's search for identity, according to Fuller, stems from the blacks' involuntary dependence on the white people. As a result, he said black people are not allowed to control their own minds, their own goods and services, and their own mechanisms for controlling force and violence.

Through the educational system in America, whites have instilled the concept that white consciousness is a synonym for human consciousness, and that black consciousness is, in Fuller's words, "reverse racism." American education has thus further compromised blacks in their search for a singular and separate identity.

That goods and services are almost totally controlled by whites was epitomized to Fuller by the government-controlled and planned poverty programs and the

installation of black studies programs in many colleges.

He derided the concept of black capitalism, claiming that token wealth by a few would not alter white control of the means of production. Fuller cited such examples as Lou Brach, who received a "black capitalism" loan from the government to open a car dealership, although he makes \$85,000 a year, while dirt farmers in North Carolina are told that no funds are available.

Black studies were described as "empty rhetoric," usually consisting of several renamed courses still controlled by whites. He attacked them as failing to instill black consciousness, and instead designed primarily to produce more black capitalists.

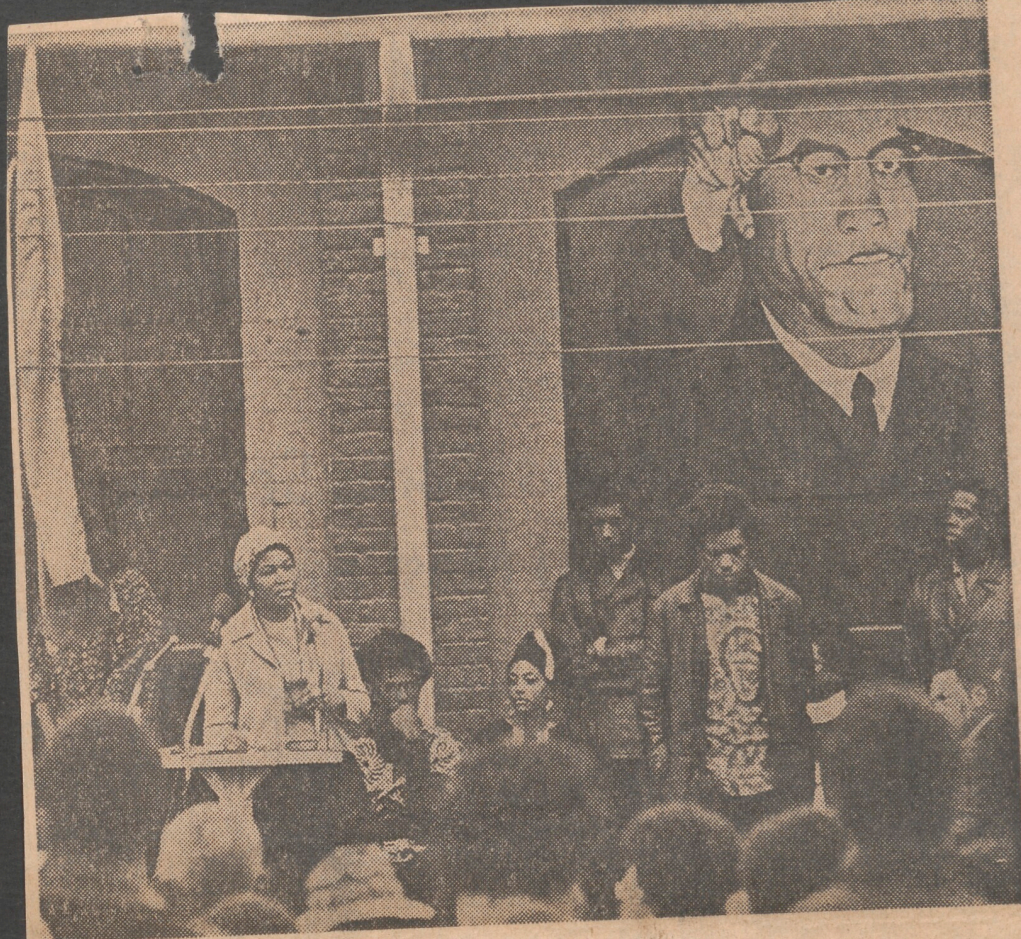
A separate black identity is needed, said Fuller, not a "struggle for equality in which we are merely equal to our oppressors. The ultimate question comes down to

whether we want to be integrated or liberated."

To achieve this different black society Fuller advocated starting with education, the "primary instrument in instilling consciousness." Colleges today, said the Durham leader, train black students for assimilation, not for the decision-making necessary for the blacks' "struggle in the real world."

To pursue this struggle, Fuller advocated a rejection of drugs. The immediacy of the black revolution, he said, does not leave room for the introspection which some claim to find through drugs.

Changes must also be made, said Fuller, creating blacks as teachers of blacks, teaching their people to be "full-time blacks instead of living compromises."



Widow Speaks At Dedication

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X, addresses a group taking part in dedication ceremonies for Malcolm X University in Durham Saturday. Located on Pettigrew Street, the school will open Monday

with about 40 students. Mrs. Shabazz, speaking at the opening, said black people "should be allowed to have their own culture."

(Staff Photo by Rumble)

Day-Long Celebrations Mark Malcolm X School Program

By DAVID NEWTON
Herald Staff Writer

About 1,000 black people from as far away as New York, New Jersey, and Washington, D.C., dedicated Malcolm X Liberation University Saturday from morning to night in song,

dance, and speeches, including an address by Mrs. Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X.

Apologizing for his absence in a letter, Stokely Carmichael said the school "is a major force in the drive for liberation." Carmichael is in Guinea working for a return to

power in Ghana of Kwame Nkrumah.

The crowd which massed in front of the red, black and green school building around 4 p.m. were addressed by James Lee, director of training of the Foundation for Community Development; Nathan Garrett, executive director of FCD; and Courtland Cox, from the Center for Black Education in Washington, D.C.

In a half-hour speech, Mrs. Shabazz said it "is a slap in the face" that black people in the United States are "treated the way they are because of the color of their skin."

If education is supposed to effect some type of change, she asked "why are black people in essentially the same position they have been in for the past five centuries in the United States?"

She said black people are responsible for much of the knowledge upon which today's society is founded. She cited Alexander the Great's invasion of Africa as the time in which libraries were stolen by Greeks and incorporated into Greek thought and culture.

"The white man has originated nothing. He stole it from black people, and today we don't even know the black contribution to civilization. Teaching about the black contribution will improve white education and save the world from destruction," she said.

"The white people of today are just as guilty as their forefathers, because they carry on the tradition of their forefathers. You can kill as many

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Sunday Oct. 12, 1969

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ALEXANDER

NAACP Bars Fuller, Group

By JOHN DORE
Special To The Herald

Howard Fuller, head of Malcolm X University and a group of about 20 young blacks wearing Malcolm X sweatshirts were denied admittance to a NAACP Freedom Tribute Banquet Saturday night, "because they didn't have tickets."

Fuller said the group's purpose was not to disrupt or interfere with the banquet, but to listen to the speeches which honored 126 NAACP members who hold public office in North Carolina.

Fuller said he was under the impression from press releases he had seen that the meeting was open to the public. When told they would not be admitted without paying \$10 each for banquet tickets, Fuller and the group left.

However, in a heated discussion with Kelly Alexander, state NAACP president, prior to leaving, Fuller requested that Alexander make a public refutation of press statements which he felt were critical of Malcolm X University.

Addressing the convention Friday, Alexander said, "I'm not going to debate on whether you should go to a Malcolm X University or to any other kind of university. But I'm saying to you that if you're going to be a bookkeeper or an accountant you had better go where you can learn to be a bookkeeper or an accountant."

Fuller urged Alexander to deny these statements, if he did

not make them, so people would know that one group of blacks was not criticizing another.

Alexander, addressing banquet guests later, said, "I have never in my life been as insulted as I was tonight."

"Attacks on the association by a group of black militants are unwarranted," he said.

He added that he does not "dare be afraid of black activists" and that he too, like Fuller, had been "chased out of towns while working for civil rights."

Among elected officials honored for "outstanding accomplishment in the field of political activity through elevation to public office and likewise as an active NAACP member" were Howard Lee, mayor of Chapel Hill; Henry E. Frye, state representative from Greensboro; Elrita Alexander, District Court judge from Greensboro; and Clark S. Brown, a Masonic leader.

Principal speaker for the banquet was William Robert Ming, a Chicago attorney and civil rights leader, who is a member of the NAACP national board of directors.

penalty.

■ Hurricane Camille devastated the Gulf Coast, killing more than 250 people.

■ In July, Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin made history by landing on the moon.

■ A wreck in the village of Chapquiddick, Mass., involving Edward Kennedy claimed the life of one of his secretaries. Mary Jo Kopechne's death



FULLER

began a scandal that dramatically altered the ascent of the young senator's rising star.

■ Closer to home, Burroughs Wellcome was breaking ground in Research Triangle Park for a futuristic, \$10 million building. A few miles to the east, the small Raleigh-Durham Airport was expanding. Across the country, civil-rights and anti-war demonstrations were erupting, and Durham had its share.

One protest at Duke University led to a day-long occupation by black students of the Allen administration building on Feb. 13.

That protest, in turn, set in motion the events that resulted in Malcolm X Liberation University's creation.

"A group of black students at Duke met with the administration," recalls Bertie Howard, a Duke student at the time and now executive director of Durham's Africa News Service. "We discussed everything from playing 'Dixie' at sports events to recruiting more black professors to getting a black studies curriculum."

Although the takeover was considered an uprising, she said, it happened after students had met with administrators during the semester and felt communications had broken down.

"We renamed the building the Malcolm X Liberation University," Howard said of the Allen Building takeover. "My memory was that some of us walked into the building with some copies of the works of Malcolm X."

The demonstration led to the creation of a part-time school named for the slain Muslim leader.

Set up exclusively for black students, its founder was Howard Fuller, a Durham activist and a leader of the Foundation for Community Development, an anti-poverty organization.

"Initially, Malcolm X started out as a



The Herald-Sun/HAROLD MOORE

FOUNDER: Howard Fuller (right) represents Durham's Malcom X Liberation University shortly after he founded it in 1969.

complementary effort for those students who were attending Duke University," said Fuller, now the superintendent of the Milwaukee Public Schools.

The idea for the school came about "when students were asking questions about the value of the educations they were getting, not just at the predominantly white universities," he said.

After the school's organizers decided it should be made into a full-time university, they sought and received assistance that summer in the form of a \$45,000 grant from the National Episcopal Convention. The money came from an urban-crisis program and was given by the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina.

Some members of the church criticized the grant, saying the money should not have been used to support what they called a separatist school. But the Episcopal Church refused to withdraw the money.

News accounts dealing with the school spoke about revolution. But Howard said the focus was much more different.

"We talked a lot about African self-sufficiency. We were really talking about developing skills," she said. "You have to remember the tenor of the times in the 1960s."

A changing movement

In the late 1960s, the civil-rights movement was changing directions.

Gone forever were the days of nonviolent direct action that constituted the movement's greatest successes.

By then, the civil-rights movement had shifted to black nationalism, and Malcolm X Liberation University was in the forefront of that change.

The school's mission, following the nationalist slogan "It's nation time," was to cultivate "nation-building skills" — talents people could use to improve community conditions and lay the groundwork for future self-sufficiency.

The university was in a two-story warehouse at the corner of Pettigrew and Ramsey streets in the Hayti community. It was painted in the red, black and green colors of the black-nationalism movement.

After months of preparation, Malcolm X Liberation University opened on Oct. 25, 1969. Its first class had about 40 students, ranging in age from 15 to 40. Among those who attended the opening ceremony was Dr. Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X.

Howard remembers the day as a joyous one.

"When I look back on the opening of Malcolm X Liberation University, it was a community celebration," she said. "There were people who were from all over the country. We had a number of people in the community that were involved in planning and opening that ceremony."

Shabazz became the namesake for a

Pan-African educational center located near the old sanctuary of St. Joseph's African Methodist Episcopal Church, now the Hayti Heritage Center.

Many times, Howard said, people at the center would structure activities that attracted children from different backgrounds.

"The child-care center had kids from very affluent families and children who walked from Fayetteville street projects," she said. "We taught the kids about Africa, but we taught them some basic skills also."

Practical education

At Malcolm X, nation-building skills were important because the school's leaders hoped to send its students to Africa. There they would put their talents to work developing the continent's newly independent nations into successful, thriving countries.

The school was one of several in the country named after Malcolm X, and a loose consortium formed between them and the Durham school.

One school was set up at Federal City College in Washington, D.C. — now the University of the District of Columbia. Others were developed with elementary schools in Youngstown, Ohio; Atlanta; and Newark, N.J.

The ideas explored at Malcolm X Liberation University were to make education more practical and skill-oriented, while focusing less on hypotheses and ideal situations.

to those fast-paced changes.

In 1971 — less than two years after the school opened — Malcolm X Liberation University moved from Durham to Greensboro, opening at a site near N.C. A&T State University.

"It was a progressive move to have the space," Howard said. "It was, in essence, an expansion. We were able to buy a building and could take advantage of links at N.C. A&T. At the time, there were professors there, students and other elements that would help out."

At that time, the school's leadership was trying to forge links with African nations in a stronger racial bond. But after returning to America from a visit to Mozambique in 1971, Fuller said, he began to question whether race alone could be the basis for America's civil-rights movement.

It became clear to him that the movement had to be based on class and race, he said. But others didn't agree, and the questions he raised sparked a debate that eventually led to the closing of Malcolm X Liberation University in 1973.

Why did the university shut down?

"I think because we had an ideological difference as to whether we should work in America or whether we should work in Africa," Fuller said. "Then there began to be a debate about race and class. We just decided that we didn't have a basis to go on."

Fuller returned to Durham after the university disbanded and moved to Milwaukee in 1976.

Malcolm X Liberation University represented an attempt to find a way of uplifting people outside the established system. Fuller, however, said he didn't know whether the school had any long-term significance in the search for self-sufficiency.

Still, its importance could be measured in other areas, he said.

"It could have a certain historical significance, because of what people were going through at that time," he said. "You go back to the '70s and you understand that what people saw in these countries people didn't think was possible in 1969-70."

One example was the support school leaders gave to liberation movements in southern Africa, often led by groups like the African National Congress.

That support predated support from the United Nations and organizations like TransAfrica, the policy organization in Washington, D.C., that lobbies Congress for African and Caribbean interests.

Malcolm X University Policies, Procedures Outlined

Malcolm X Liberation University expects to function on less than a half million dollars during its first year of operation, according to cost projection figures compiled this summer.

The largest single expenditure listed with the projected totals was for salaries of school administrators with \$120,000 earmarked for \$10,000 annual salaries to 12 "resource people" (the equivalent of faculty on other campuses); and \$20,000 yearly salary to the chief educational adviser.

An interim committee, which decides on curriculum and makes administrative decisions, includes Bertie Howard, a student at Duke University; Nelson Johnson, a student at N.C. A&T State University; James Vaughan, a student at North Carolina Central University; Faye Edwards, a program consultant at Cornell University; Q. T. Jackson, a student at Howard University; T. D. Pawley, a "lecturer" at MIT.

Howard Fuller of MXLU; Jim Garrett, director of Black Studies Program at Federal City College; Jim (Kwame) McDonald, Rutgers University; Frank Williams, co-ordinator for Black Students United for Liberation; Cleveland Sellars, an instructor at Cornell University; Robert Brown, a Chicago, Ill., writer;

Ed Whitfield, a student at Cornell; Alvin X. Evans, a student at Voorhees College; Mike Harris, a student at Howard University; and a student named Smith at Texas Southern University.

The initial administrative functions of the school are due to be handled by a "task force" headed by Fuller, working with Miss Howard, Charles (Chuck) Hopkins, a student at Duke; and Miss Edwards.

The university was dedicated Saturday and was due to open its doors to students Monday.

Printed information circulated among supporters and prospective

supporters of the university outlines this history of MXLU's planning stage:

Plans for the university were formulated May 2-4 during a work retreat at Franklin Center in Bricks, N.C. Participants came from throughout the nation. They developed the basis structure of the university.

The selection of Durham as the home for the school resulted because "the logical thrust of the black movement in Durham demands that MXLU become a reality at this time."

Four years ago a concentrated effort began to organize poor blacks, to promote involvement of the poor in the decision-making apparatus of the local community action agency, Operation Breakthrough, and to create small neighborhood groups to press for changes in neighborhood living conditions, such as appealing for installation of stop signs, playground equipment and street lights.

Initial organizing efforts proved successful and neighborhood councils evolved. They pressed for housing repairs, street paving and more privacy and leniency in public housing. Included in an MXLU proposal is the reaction that "low-income people ran into a brick wall when they pressed for more substantive changes."

"Being frustrated by such opposition . . . the tone of the poor peoples' groups became more militant. The next two years saw important changes in the thinking and action of the poor black people of Durham: the neighborhood groups pressed for autonomy from the OEO-constricted antipoverty agency. A broad cross-section of the people worked intensely for political change locally and statewide.

"Tactics for change accelerated rapidly. Petitions changed to pickets, picketing evolved into mass marches; mass meetings gave way to protests at a mildly violent level — all this in two years.

"The militancy of the neighborhood groups drew the attention of

students at Duke University and North Carolina College (NCCU). In addition, links between the community and students were formed during a Summer Intern Program in 1968, in which black college students from throughout North Carolina lived and organized in the neighborhoods. The involvement of individual students plus the intern program created a new atmosphere of cooperation between black college students and the neighborhood people.

"This new cooperation soon led to important ideological changes in the black students at Duke. The students began to work with the (mostly black) non-academic workers at the university. The students began to think and talk in terms of critical questions of relevance of the entire educational process to the needs of the black community.

"The students concluded that the process as it exists is irrelevant. In the hopes of awakening the existing educational powers that be, the Duke students occupied a campus building early in 1969 (Feb. 13, 1969). When the students took over the building, they found they had the strong, immediate and active support of the organized neighborhood groups in Durham.

"So two important changes which are essential for black self-determination in this country had taken place in Durham: (1) the organization and awakening of the neighborhood poor black people; (2) the ever-strengthening link between Durham's neighborhood black people and black students."

MXLU lists its goals and objectives as: "it has become evident that the existing system of education does not respond to the needs of the black community; it does not provide an ideological or practical methodology for meeting the physical, social, psychological, economical and cultural needs of black people (so) to accomplish our goal we shall move to analyze the existing

political systems as they relate to black people, and study the institutions of colonizing societies, such as those in the U.S. which influence the thinking of black people. It is apparent that this effort must be built around the development of a concept of self-determination and undying love among black people."

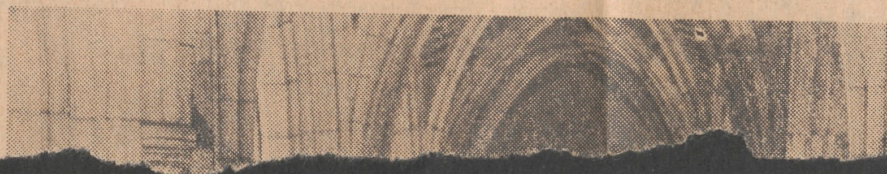
The objectives, alluding to "the revolutionary struggle of Africans in this country," suggests that the situation "has reached a level where there must be total understanding of the relationship between black people in this country and the whole Pan-African liberation struggle. We are oppressed because we are black and our community is not determined by geography, but it is a matter of black community being wherever black people are within this world.

"To further this goal, MXLU must develop a Black Revolutionary Ideology, crystalize and project positive self-awareness for black people, and create an educational process that builds and disseminates concepts and techniques to the black community."

Student eligibility will include "any black person who accepts the goals and objectives of the university" and a positive appraisal by the screening committee. Tuition is a minimum of \$300, although "any student capable of paying more will be requested to do so." However, financial aid will be provided for approved applicants needing assistance. Living expenses vary according to accommodations. Enrollment for the first year was expected to be restricted to about 30 students.

Also listed on the operating estimates, are "evaluation," \$10,000; rent and utilities, \$6,400; auto expense for resource personnel and consultants and chief educational adviser, \$20,000; travel and subsistence—field placements—75 students, \$42,000; books and films, \$15,000; miscellaneous supplies, \$3,750; contingency, \$5,000.

Physics, Theology Open Duke Confab



Teacher Program Aim

Malcolm X Ready To Open

Nature Of Its Program Still Unclear

Oct. 19, 1969

In spite of the fact that the structure and goals of Malcolm X Liberation University have now been outlined for the public, there is still a considerable question in the minds of many people as to what the school really is. That question will probably remain for quite a while.

It is largely because of the nature of the school that this problem exists. There have been no others like it in the experience of this state.

At the press conference where plans for the university were outlined, Howard Fuller answered most of the questions asked by newsmen. At the end of the conference he told the reporters and cameramen they could look through the building, but added that it would be the last time they were allowed to do so.

This is unfortunate. Universities — even private universities — are by their very nature public things. By denying newsmen and other visitors access to the school the leaders of Malcolm X University are leaving themselves open to the charge that they are engaged in underhanded activity.

Fuller made the very valid point at the press conference that visitors tend to be a distraction from "the serious business of educating people." He further asserted that neither guns nor drugs will be allowed in the university building. However, to deny legitimate visitors the privilege of entering the school building only tends to increase the suspicions of those who would cast aspersions on the school and its purposes.

For the time being, the Durham community should accept the university for what its leaders say it is. This is in keeping with the American tradition of innocence until proven guilty.

And what do its leaders say it is? Its purpose, they say, is to provide a framework within which black education can become relevant to the needs of the black community and the struggle for black liberation.

"In order to fulfill the needs of a nation," Fuller said, "the university will produce: food scientists, tailors, architects, engineers, organizers, teachers, leaders, black expressionists, artists, medics, communica-



By Walter
Jackson

Herald
Staff Writer

tions technicians, physical development specialists and linguists."

His remarks tended to indicate, however, that this was more of a long-range goal. A more immediate goal is to produce persons who will go out into the community to "work for black people." The black community, he said, is "wherever black people are."

An ultimate objective, Fuller said, is "an independent nation of black people." This would entail, he said, creating an independent African continent.

Dedication ceremonies for the university, scheduled here Saturday in conjunction with the national conference of the Student Organization for Black Unity, are expected to attract a large number of interested persons and several national figures.

The featured speaker for the dedication is to be Mrs. Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X. Other nationally known persons scheduled for the conference who may also attend the dedication ceremonies include Cleveland Sellers, J. O. Killens and H. Rap Brown.

Some long lasting impressions of Mal-

colm X University will probably be formed at the coming dedication ceremonies. Leaders of the university should bear this in mind.

Oct. 22, 1969

Effect Of Episcopal Meet On Grant Dispute Unknown

By ED MARTIN
Herald Assistant City Editor

The bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina Tuesday said he does not know if a special meeting called Oct. 31 will have any effect on the national Episcopal Church's grant of some \$45,000 to Malcolm X University in Durham.

Bishop Thomas A. Fraser said the national church will not need to act if majority opinion at the meeting, called because of "an apparent division in the diocese" over the grant, favors the action.

If opinion at the meeting runs strongly against the grant, the bishop said he does not know what the national church will do.

However, Fraser said the grant has already been made by the national Episcopal Church and the meeting will not consider whether it should be withdrawn.

"The meeting will be part of an effort to explain to all that the decision was reached in a democratic manner and to hear from those who both support and oppose the decision," he said.

Fraser called the meeting

Tuesday, citing the division which had developed in the North Carolina Episcopal diocese over the national church's decision to award \$45,000 to the new black institution in Durham.

Some \$15,000 of the grant has already been made, and the other \$30,000 has been approved by the bishop and the national church administration.

Fraser, in calling the meeting, said "The Episcopal Church in North Carolina does

not belong to the bishop, it belongs to the people. The bishop is the chief pastor and one of his functions . . . is to carry out the will of the people expressed in the conventions of the diocese and the national church."

The convention to which Fraser referred is the National Convention held in Seattle, Wash., in 1967, at which the church approved a \$9 million "Urban Crisis Program." The

See BISHOP On 12A

Bishop Cites Episcopal Division

Continued From 1A

grant to the Durham school is from that fund, which according to the bishop, was given further priority at the convention in Greensboro last year. At that meeting, the Diocesan Council was directed to "adopt the Urban Crisis as their chief priority."

Fraser said the directive resulted in the appointment of an urban Crisis Committee in the diocese under the leadership of Mason P. Thomas Jr. of Chapel Hill.

Thomas Tuesday said he still supports his favorable vote on the proposal, despite the controversy over the grant.

"My basic thinking is still the same as when I voted favorably on this," he said, referring to the approval voted by his committee as a prerequisite to the grant.

He said the division in the church is "unfortunate," but it does not change his thinking on the matter. Ten of the 12 members of the committee were present when the matter was considered, and they voted unanimously for the grant, he said.

The decision by the committee was based on briefings by Howard Fuller,

head of Malcolm X University, and Father E. Nathaniel Porter, rector of St. Titus' Episcopal Church and director of the diocese's Urban Crisis Program.

Thomas said his committee is made up of 12 members, seven of whom are from Durham and are members of St. Titus', a predominantly black church. The members from Durham are Dr. Charles Johnson, Howard Clement III, Dr. Leroy Swift, Dr. C. L. Patterson, Mrs. Laurette West, Mrs. George Cox, and L. E. Davis. Other members, in addition to Thomas are R. Mayne Albright, Raleigh; Edwin M. Holt, Greensboro; Harold Webb, Raleigh; and William L. Thorp Jr., of Rocky Mount. Eight of the 12 members are black, Thomas said.

Thomas said approval of the first \$15,000 of the grant was made by the national church without consulting the diocese. That portion was made on an emergency basis upon the recommendation of Porter and Fraser.

Fraser Tuesday said he thought of the problem as one of "division" rather than dissent within the church. He said the "division" is simply that Episcopalians have "different points of view" on the grant.

Although he has not received a great deal of mail on the grant, he said much of it has strongly opposed awarding the money to the school.

"In my opinion, we have observed the democratic process in carrying out the will of the people as expressed in the diocesan and general conventions," the bishop said. He added that the regular meeting of the Diocesan Council is scheduled Nov. 23 and 24, with a representative of the national church. The 1970 diocesan con-

vention will be Jan. 30-31 in Salisbury.

"These meetings," he said, "will also give every clergyman, vestry and congregation an opportunity to express support of the decision . . . or if they feel that the bishop and committee have erred in their judgment, to express their dissent and to make that dissent known to the diocese and national church."

Fraser, in a letter to Episcopal clergy, senior wardens and members of the Diocesan Council, said in his opinion the will of the people expressed in the Diocesan and General Conventions had been carried out.

"There is no good reason why a member of this diocese should not know that the General Convention Special Program established by the General Convention in 1967 is designed to fund such projects as Malcolm X University," he said.

However, the national church is not bound to act upon any decisions coming from the meeting, he added.

Most of the controversy has involved the long-range purposes of Malcolm X University. Fuller, at a recent press conference, said the school will train young blacks to fill leadership roles in the black community.

However, he hinted students would also be trained to eventually set up an independent black Africa. He said part of their training would involve trips to Africa and the study of French and Swahili, languages widely spoken there.

Firearms, Ammo Found In House Here After Fire

Four high-powered military rifles and about 400 rounds of ammunition were found Sunday morning in a house at 1407 South St., where eight Malcolm X Liberation University students live, police reported. The house was destroyed by fire of undetermined origin.

Policeman E. R. Francis reported that he was assisting firemen in fighting a fire at the residence shortly after 5 a.m. when explosions began to occur inside the structure.

The weapons, along with a suitcase of ammunition, were found in a corner of one room, the officer said.

Patrolman Francis reported further that Howard Fuller, an activist leader, was at the scene and advised officer C. E. Baldwin while the fire was burning to tell firemen to be careful because there was ammunition in the house.

Investigating detectives said two rifles held telescopic sights. One student from Chicago claimed one of the weapons and was checked out by federal agents when it was determined the firearm was registered.

A second rifle is expected to be claimed today.

0161
January 13, 1970

Afros hold Nat Turner discussion

Duke Chronicle

By Rob Poole

Wed. Nov. 12, 1969

A crowd of about 200 attended a forum on Nat Turner presented yesterday by Duke's Afro-American society. The forum was a memorial to the black rebel who led a slave uprising in Southhampton, Virginia, and who was executed November 11, 1831, 138 years ago yesterday.

William Styron's *The Confessions of Nat Turner* was said to be lacking as a true historical account of Nat Turner's revolt.

In the words of Eleanor Campbell, an instructor at Malcolm X Liberation University, "the book should be received as no more than white sensibilities and the perpetuation of Southern myths. The history of Nat Turner has yet to be written and it must be written by us."

She also said that "Nat Turner and his men were ultimately killed but struck a blow against inhuman oppressors. The revolutionary fervor of men like Nat Turner will destroy the present system of oppression."

Miss Sandra Green, also an instructor at Malcolm X Liberation University, suggested that Styron's book could more aptly be called "my personal hang-ups with Nat Turner." She said that "the real Nat Turner was a dynamic, virile person" and not Styron's "snivelling Sambo which must exist for the ante-bellum Southern white."

The two addresses were followed by the burning of *The Confessions of Nat Turner*. John Hudgins, presiding over the forum, exclaimed "Come on, black people, we view this as beautiful!"

Bill Turner, another member of the society said that an up-dating of Nat Turner is needed.

"We have a perfect example of the misuse of history in Styron. Turner told slaves how to free themselves and how to find blackness in the midst of whiteness. He was a prototype of black sentiment in the ante-bellum period. In my mind, Nat Turner stands about 10 heads taller than 'Tricky Dicky' Nixon."

He also added that "to destroy symbolic figures of the oppressed is how the oppressors stifle a revolution."

Sept. or Oct 1969

Reparation Not Aim In Episcopal Donation

By The Associated Press

Leaders of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina and South Carolina are trying to convince churchmen that a decision to donate \$200,000 to a black economic development group is not tantamount to meeting James Foreman's demands for "reparations."

Several weeks ago, the general convention of the Episcopalians agreed to raise \$200,000 for improving the economic life of American Negroes. The money will be given to the National Committee of Black Churchmen (NCBC) for distribution.

However, many white Episcopalians, especially in the laity, fear that the money will go to Foreman's Black Economic Development Conference and be used to foment social disorder. Supporters say it will not.

"I would say there is a great deal of concern and confusion in the church," said the Rt. Rev. Gray Temple, Bishop of South Carolina. "Many persons, especially in the laity, are concerned where the money is going."

The concern has been so great that a few churches have considered reassessing their financial connections with the diocese. This is

interpreted to mean refusing to contribute for the donation.

However, after weeks of persuasion, supporters of the action think the opposition is diminishing as the significance of the convention's action becomes clearer.

"Gradually the picture is clarifying," said the Rev. Huntington Williams Jr., Charlotte. "The general convention specifically ruled out reparations and was not in favor of Foreman's position. I think this (the opposition) is merely an instance of people's inclination to react rather than think."

Another Charlotte minister, the Rev. R. L. Ladehoff, agreed that opposition in his church seemed to be lessening.

"Fewer people have come to me complaining about it," he said. "But I don't know, maybe the people who are against it don't want to talk to me about it."

Several ministers blamed reports in the news media for the confusion, claiming that the reports tended to lump the NCBC with Foreman's group and obscure the differences.

"I'm afraid some reporters were more interested in drawing conclusions than in presenting facts," said one priest. He did not cite specific references.

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Malcolm X University to Open In Durham as Militants' School

NY TIMES
10/28

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

DURHAM, N. C., Oct. 27—The building was once an abandoned warehouse, collecting the refuse of neglect deep in this city's Negro section.

Now, adorned with the red, green and black striped insignia of the black revolution, it is the home of the Malcolm X Liberation University, a school for members of a "new generation of black people who have become disenchanted with the entire system and who are ready now and willing to do something about it."

Those words painted in black on a peach-colored wall just inside the door, were spoken by the school's namesake, who was murdered five years ago as he expounded the doctrine of militant black separatism that has made him a hero to many young Negroes.

There are 59 such youngsters enrolled at the school, which opens tomorrow. They will begin classes in "Independent African Civilization," "Slavery," "Colonialism," "Neo-Colonialism" and "Independent African World."

They will study French and Swahili and participate in a physical development program—and at the end of 10 months they will go to Africa to examine the origins of the Negro.

"But this isn't a 'back-to-Africa' thing," Howard L. Fuller, its director, explained as he moved quickly from one administrative task to another today, preparing for the first day of classes.

'Nation-Building School'

"This university will provide a framework within which black education can become relevant to the needs of the black community and the struggle for black liberation," he said. "This is a nation-building school, a school for people who want to build an independent African nation some day and who want to be doing the right things right now."

Mr. Fuller, a tall, lean, articulate young man with a master's degree from Western Reserve University, was a member of the original study group that developed the school from an idea to a reality. In ceremonies yesterday, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X, was the main speaker.

The school had its origins on the campus of nearby Duke University after disputes last year over a black-studies program.

A compromise curriculum devised at the school was held unacceptable by many of the Negro students. From their dissatisfaction emerged the idea of a school that would offer alternatives.

The bulk of the school's operating funds come from a \$45,000 grant from the Episcopal Church and, according to Mr. Fuller, from individual donations.

Mr. Fuller said he was concerned about finding sources of support for the school and wanted to develop a basis of black funding.

Tuition to Cost \$300

The students pay \$300 annually for tuition if they are able, or more or less, according to their ability. When they return from Africa, a year from now, they are to begin preparation for professional specialties.

"We are beginning to build a nation," Mr. Fuller said. "In order to fulfill the needs of a nation, the university will produce food scientists, tailors, architects, engineers, organizers, teachers, leaders, black expressionists, artists, medics, communications technicians, physical development specialists and linguists."

Durham, a city of 75,000 that prides itself on its large tobacco industry, is none too happy about the presence of the school. Today, a Federal grand jury in Greensboro, N.C., announced plans to investigate the grant to the school from the church.

"We're keeping an eye on it, of course," said a Durham police spokesman. "We'd be crazy not to."

Mr. Fuller has stressed publicly that there are to be no guns or drugs in the school, and students have been warned that they are to do nothing that would increase pressures from the white community on their school.

The graduates will receive no formal degree. "They will be black people who know what they're doing," Mr. Fuller said—and went back to work.

Sat. Nov. 1 1969

Episcopal Body Urges Grant Process Review

RALEIGH (AP) — After meeting for seven hours behind closed doors Friday, the governing body of the North Carolina Episcopal Diocese issued a resolution "urgently" requesting the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church to review its screening processes for awarding grants.

The meeting was called by Bishop Thomas A. Fraser to discuss a \$45,000 grant by the national church to black separatist Malcolm X Liberation University in Durham. The bishop said the grant had caused an "apparent division in the diocese."

The resolution passed by the Diocesan Council expressed "confidence in the judgment of the bishop and the Urban Crisis Advisory Committee and the processes they used in approving this grant even though individual council members feel the grant is in error."

It also resolved "that the Diocesan Council be informed of all future requests for grants within the diocese so that they may express their concern and advice" to the bishop and the committee.

It requested that the church's executive council submit future applications and the screening committee's evaluations to the bishop in advance.

The grant drew heavy fire from Episcopal quarters and there were expressed fears that it would hurt the church's annual canvass for funds. Other Episcopalians supported the grant.

Although the recipient of the grant is called a university, it is actually an unorthodox experiment in education under the direction of Negro militant Howard Fuller.

Fuller has said the aim of the institution is to prepare Negroes for leadership in black communities and eventually in a black separatist nation in Africa.

Bishop Fraser announced be-

fore the meeting that no consideration would be given to withdrawing the grant, since it already had been made by the national church.

The church granted the money from its \$9 million urban crisis program after getting approval from Bishop Fraser's office.

The bishop described the meeting as "part of an effort to explain to all that the decision was reached in a democratic manner and to hear from those who both support and oppose the decision."

As the diocese's top officials gathered, statements both for

and against the grant continued.

The North Carolina chapter of the Union of Black Clergy and Laity endorsed the grant in a formal statement.

Meanwhile, messages of opposition came from two Greensboro churches, Holy Trinity and St. Andrew's.

The 40,000-member diocese covers 39 counties from Edgecombe to Mecklenburg in central North Carolina.

The diocese's governing body is made up of the Diocesan Council — nine clergymen and laymen—and deans of the diocese's five convocations, all clergymen.

Churches Take Stand On Restricted Pledges

Some Episcopal churches in Durham will accept restricted financial pledges in their annual Every Member Canvasses, but at least one, St. Philip's, has voted not to accept such restricted pledges.

St. Philip's, however, has gone on record as opposing the denomination's controversial \$45,000 grant to Malcolm X Liberation University.

A spokesman for St. Stephen's Church in Durham said Friday that its vestry had gone on record as accepting restricted pledges in the coming financial drive. He would not comment further.

At St. Lauke's Church, a spokesman said its vestry had expressed opposition to the grant to Malcolm X University and that the church would accept restricted pledges, but that it has accepted such pledges in the past.

St. Joseph's Church has not adopted any official position yet but it is reported that a congregational meeting will be held Sunday to discuss the grant to MXLU and the church's Every Member Canvass for funds.

In addition to expressing opposition to the grant to the Malcolm X University, the vestry of St. Philip's recommended to Bishop Thomas Fraser and the Diocesan Council "that a new procedure for dealing with General Convention Social Program grants in this diocese be established whereby:

The vestry of St. Philip's also requested the bishop and Diocesan Council "to petition the presiding bishop and Executive Council to notify the diocese as soon as possible concerning applications for future grants within its bounds so that appropriate study can be made."

Malcolm X University Chartered

RALEIGH — "Malcolm X Liberation University," an outgrowth of Negro militancy in Durham, was incorporated Friday in the office of Secretary of State Thad Eure.

Articles of incorporation of the school as a non-profit institution were filed by William A. Marsh Jr., Durham Negro attorney.

The articles included an exemption from federal income tax liability and the customary provisions contained in non-profit corporation charters, including the right to obtain and sell property and a pledge not to participate in political campaigns.

Listed as incorporators were Bertie Howard, Sanda Philpott and Timothy Harris, all of Durham. They were also named as the initial members of a 15-member board of trustees.

A movement to establish Malcolm X Liberation University started after a series of bloody outbreaks on the Duke University campus in March. The disorders grew out of complaints by Negro students at Duke.

Malcolm X University Dedication Here Today

69615, 1969

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, widow of former Black Muslim Malcolm X, will be the featured speaker at dedication ceremonies for a black university named in honor of her husband here this afternoon.

The dedication ceremonies will be held in the street in front of the red, black and green university building, a renovated warehouse, at 426-428 E. Pettigrew St.

A series of events, including a parade, is planned in conjunction with the dedication ceremonies.

From 10 a.m. until noon, a welcoming program is scheduled in Hillside Park. Scheduled participants include

Reginald Hawkins of Charlotte, an unsuccessful candidate for governor last year, and the UOCI singers of Durham.

A "soul food luncheon" will be held in the park between noon and 2 p.m. The parade is scheduled to begin at 2 p.m. and move from the park down Umstead Street to Fayetteville Street, up Fayetteville Street to Pettigrew, and on Pettigrew Street to the university.

Scheduled speakers at the dedication ceremony include Mrs. Shabazz, Howard Fuller, head of the school, and Nathan Garrett, executive director of the Foundation for Community Development.

Fuller To Confer With Urban League On MXLU Funding

Howard Fuller, head of Malcolm X Liberation University, will meet with officials of the National Urban League in "a few weeks" to discuss funding for the university, Whitney M. Young Jr., Urban League executive director, said Thursday.

"Mr. Fuller is coming up in a matter of a few weeks to talk about funding for the university," Young told a press conference in Durham Thursday.

Young said he was not aware that the university had already opened. "I'm delighted to know that it has already been established, so they don't need funding," he quipped.

Young, critical of the black separatist movement, said he is only concerned that a university prepare people to "compete in the society in which they live. If Malcolm X University prepares people to compete in the mainstream, to get the substance of power, as well as the rhetoric of it, then I'm all for it. If it does not prepare people to do this, then I'm against it."

He said he has met Fuller and has great respect for him. He said he would like to meet with Fuller and "share with him the reality of building a university."

Malcolm X University opened last week, with a student body of about 30 people. Its leaders say its ultimate goal is to train people to return to Africa to develop an all-black African nation.

Oct. 31, 1969

Episcopalians To Discuss Grant

Leaders of the North Carolina Episcopal Diocese will meet in Raleigh Friday to discuss a controversial \$45,000 grant the national Episcopal Church made to Malcolm X Liberation University.

Meeting to discuss the grant but not to act on it will be the Diocesan Council, composed of nine clergymen, 13 laymen and deans of the diocese's five convocations, all of whom are clergymen.

In announcing the session last week, Bishop Thomas A. Fraser noted the grant has brought "an apparent division in the diocese."

But he said that since the

grant has already been made by the national church, no consideration will be given to withdrawing it.

"The meeting will be part of an effort to explain to all that the decision was reached in a democratic manner and to hear from those who both support and oppose the decision," Bishop Fraser said.

Although the recipient of the money is called a university, it is actually an unorthodox experiment in education under the direction of Negro militant Howard Fuller.

Fuller has stated one aim of the institution is to prepare Negroes for leadership in black

communities and eventually in a black separatist nation in Africa.

Meanwhile, the North Carolina Chapter of the Union of Black Clergy and Laity issued a statement supporting the action of the Diocesan Urban Crisis Committee in recommending the grant and the action of Bishop Fraser in accepting the recommendation.

"We support the bishop and commend the Diocese Urban Crisis Committee for its action in meeting the request of the black poor," said the group.

"We are of the unanimous opinion that they did not err," it said. "As Christians, there was no other course of action."

Friday, October 10, 1969

Malcolm X U. Set To Open Doors Oct. 27

By DAVID NEWTON
Herald Staff Writer

Some 35 to 40 black students will begin classes on Oct. 27 at Malcolm X Liberation University, which is part of the long range goal for an African continent controlled entirely by black people, Howard Fuller said at a curbside press conference Thursday morning.

Holding session outside of the green, black, and red university building presently being renovated, Fuller said he will not return to the Foundation for Community Development. "I am now employed with Malcolm X. This is where I am and where I'll be," he told about a dozen newsmen and some 30 onlookers.

Fuller read a prepared statement which said the purpose of the university is to "provide a framework within which black education can become relevant to the needs of the black community and the struggle for black liberation."

There will be neither guns nor drugs in the university building located at 426-428 E. Pettigrew St., he said, and "We will consider any invasion as an act of aggression against the black community that this university is set up to serve, and we will respond accordingly."

He said students will come from North Carolina, Arkansas, Mississippi, Chicago, New York, Washington, D.C., Massachusetts and Georgia.

Fuller said funding for the university could not be revealed at the present time, but that individuals in the area and around the country have made contributions. Some of the school's present operating funds were received from the Foundation for Community Development, he also stated.

"I don't consider Malcolm X a permanent institution. Malcolm X makes sense today," said Fuller. Inflexible institutions tend to be unresponsive and self-defeating, he said, in explaining the school's present role of educating black people so they can assume control of their institutions.

Black people controlling their own institutions in America will have an effect on America's present policies toward Africa as well as preparing black people for the roles they will play when Africa becomes an independent black continent, Fuller said.

"The struggle is not a one, two, 10 or 20 year struggle. It is a 40, 50 or 60 year struggle," he said, wearing a grey Malcolm X Liberation U. sweatshirt which carried a likeness of the assassinated black leader.

As to the university's involvement in politics, Fuller said the university itself would not be involved in political action. Where the plight of black people is involved, he said, individuals of the university would probably be involved as individuals but not in a university capacity.

To fulfill the needs of the present black community and the future black nation the university will train food scientists, tailors, architects, engineers, organizers, teachers, leaders, Black expressionists, artists, medics, communications technicians, physical development specialists, and linguists, Fuller said.

The first year of the university's two-year program will concentrate on independent African civilization slavery,

colonialism, neo-colonialism, and the independent African world as well as Swahili and French (spoke in a good many African nations).

After a two-month trip to Africa, the second portion of the curriculum will be taught by experts in various technical fields with extended periods of field work in the community, he said.



(Staff Photo By Moore)

Discuss University Plans

Hopkins, Left, Publicity Director, And Fuller

Aim: 'Work With Black People'

By WALTER JACKSON
Herald Staff Writer

Malcolm X Liberation University will be unique as an educational institution in North Carolina, remarks by Howard Fuller at the press conference Thursday indicate.

The goateed Fuller, sitting behind a table on the sidewalk in front of the university building, said his function with the school is that of HNIC — "Head Nigger In Charge" — which is a cultural expression to say that I'm it — that the buck stops here."

He announced that Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X, will be the featured speaker at the university's dedication ceremony Oct. 25.

He said the dedication will be held in conjunction with a conference of the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU) at North Carolina Central University, which is expected to bring in national figures including Cleveland Sellers, J. O. Killens, and possibly H. Rap Brown.

A red, black and green banner bearing the university's name was draped across the front of the table at which Fuller sat. Asked what the colors symbolized he answered:

"They symbolize the liberation flag; they symbolize the struggle of black people, they symbolize black for the people, green for the land, and red for the blood that if necessary we will shed for the liberation of our people."

Fuller said students at the school will range in age from 15 to 40. Some of them have not completed high school, he said, whereas some others have completed two or three years of college.

When asked if course work would be graded he answered, "Courses will be evaluated."

Asked to describe the average student at the university he said, "He's black — and he wants to learn."

Fuller said that approximately 12 faculty members have been secured for the first session of the school. "Previous teaching (experience) is not a prerequisite," he said. "The only requirement is that a person be competent and be willing to relate this competency to black people."

Some of the instructors may not hold academic degrees, he said. . . . "If we find people who have something to give our people they may not hold high school degrees, but we're not hung up on degrees. We're hung up on what do you have in your head to give, and we don't care what kind of degree you've got."

Fuller was asked if all of the faculty members are black. "Black as they can be," he answered. He also said the students will be black, the administration will be black, and the people who clean up the building will be black. He further said there is about an even split between males and females in the student body.

At one point he said that the university will produce food scientists, tailors, architects, engineers, organizers, teachers, leaders, black expressionists, artists, medics, communications technicians, physical development specialists and linguists.

Later he said the profession of those who finish the school will be "working with black people. And so what we expect them to do is go out in the community and work with black people."

"Let me clear up one thing," he continued. "There is always a difference between a job and a hustle. You never take your hustle seriously, but you always take your job seriously. We may very well have to engage ourselves in various types of hustles in order to eat, but we don't take that seriously. Our job is the development of black people. We take that seriously."

N.C. Episcopal Diocese Cuts National Offering \$70,000

Sunday February 1, 1970

By ROSS SCOTT
Herald Staff Writer

SALISBURY — The Diocese of North Carolina approved a budget Saturday for 1970 which will lower its contribution to the national church by more than \$70,000 from the 1969 total.

The delegates voted a deficit-spending budget totaling \$617,160 for 1970 after rejecting other alternatives in a three-hour floor battle. In another action they voted to give young people a voice in their church.

Officials said the reduction in funds for the national church was necessary because 50 of the diocese's 138 parishes failed to send in their full quotas of revenue. Because of the reduced funds, the diocese voted to eliminate support for world missions, the North Carolina Council of Churches and Camp Vade Mecum in Stokes County.

The budget is comprised of \$162,869 for the Episcopal Maintenance Fund and \$454,291 for the Program Fund. It includes an allotment of \$115,852 to the national church — scaled down from an original proposal of \$193,906 for national programs — after parishoners sharply curtailed their pledges in dissatisfaction over a church grant to Malcolm X Liberation University in Durham.

Reduced church collections left the N.C. Diocese about \$160,000 short of anticipated funds after national Episcopal Church grants totaling \$45,000 were approved for the militant black separatist institution

founded by Negro activist Howard Fuller.

Bishop Thomas A. Fraser has said he was asked to approve the grant to Malcolm X University without sufficient knowledge of where the money was going.

The \$45,000 grant sent shock waves through Episcopal congregations last year when it became known the money would go to finance the Negro-operated university.

The school, in its first full year, is unaccredited and proclaims a mission to teach black nationalism to its all-Negro student body.

It is run by Fuller, a master's

degree-holding militant who is a familiar figure at civil rights struggles across the state.

This year's budget represents a drop of \$91,699 from the 1969 budget and will require churchmen to dip into reserve funds for about \$20,660 to make up the deficit. In 1969, the N.C. Diocese budgeted \$545,990 for its operation including \$186,375 for the national church. North Carolina Episcopalians have cut their share of the national church funding by \$70,523.

Delegates passed without question the \$162,869 Maintenance Fund

See EPISCOPALIANS On 4A



McCRACKEN

Sept. 21, 1969

Black, White Alliances Said Good Only In Specific Aims

By KEN FRIEDLEIN
Herald Staff Writer

Duke University students Saturday were told "blacks and whites may be able to work on a specific objective at a specific time," but a "permanent alliance" is no longer possible.

Malcolm X Liberation University organizer Howard Fuller told incoming Duke freshmen and upperclassmen black people are now acting "as our own movement dictates," independent of ties with white liberals.

He charged that white leftist students are limited in their ability to support any movement without reservations and fears.

"You cannot confront this system of government and not expect something to happen to you," Fuller said. "You cannot confront this school and not expect to get kicked out, because when you confront Duke University, you're going to get kicked out."

"You as students are the new

'niggers' because black folk are tired of being the 'niggers,'" Fuller said.

Students filled Baldwin Auditorium on Duke's East Campus for "Counter-Orientation" program sponsored by the Student Liberation Front as an alternative to the university organized introduction during Freshman Week.

Fuller said Malcolm X University "grew out of a struggle that began at Duke last spring."

"Malcolm X is no longer an ideal, it is a reality and it is going to open this fall in Durham," Fuller said.

Addressing himself to Duke's black upperclassmen, he spoke of the movement started by the Afro-American Society to end racial oppression on the local campus.

"A lot of people are waiting around to see if you are all still serious about being black," Fuller said, adding "Duke helps prepare people to participate in the oppression of people all over the world."

He told the students "your role as students is irrelevant unless it meets the needs of black people outside these walls."

The black movement is no longer for equality, he said, "the question for black people is a question of control — control over black people's lives."

Speaking of Durham to the new freshmen, Fuller said blacks are governed by white people, "people who are racist — like the mayor, like the councilman — these are the people who govern Durham."

"We have some people on boards but never enough to control" what is important in black people's lives, he said.

Fuller said he spoke as an individual with "prime consideration for black people." His goal, he said, was for the total independence of blacks,

"ultimately going somewhere else" under new organization.

"But while you're moving for total independence, you also have to deal with the question of survival today," Fuller said.

Also speaking at the SLF counter-orientation was Harry Boyt, of ACT, an organization of poor whites in Durham.

He said black people are a "super exploited part of America," but that the situation of the poor white working class is beginning to emerge.

"This society exists today under a myth of expertise and specialty," thinking of independent components and separation of technology and policy, Boyt said.

The welfare system, he said, is in an advanced state of decay, and often officials know less than recipients.

"Working people feel increasingly depersonalized" in an era of "super-organization" and computerization," said Boyt, adding the poor are maneuvered to believe the real threat is between black and whites, instead of being aware of the struggle between the poor and "real target — those who rule America."

ACT, Boyt said, is attempting "to build a solid base of working people in Durham" as a social community, and offering services such as day care, medical clinics and emergency aid.

Also addressing the crowd were three members of GI's United, an organization formed at Ft. Bragg to aid soldiers "stand up for the privileges guaranteed by the Constitution as men."

Dave O'Brien, who maintains his status as conscientious objector after induction into the Army, charged the students with acting immediately to "join anything that has to do with liberation of oppressed people."

Williams Ordered Before Senate Group

Sept. 21

DETROIT (AP)—Black militant Robert F. Williams, has reportedly been instructed to appear before a U.S. Senate Internal Security subcommittee Sept. 30 with financial and membership records of the separatist Republic of New Africa, of which he is president.

Sources in Washington refused to comment on the report.

Williams, 44, is free on bond in connection with kidnap charge in Monroe, N.C. He fled

to Cuba in 1961 to avoid prosecution for the charge.

He was elected president of the group while living in China. The organization seeks to create an independent black nation from the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi.

The doctors they call on the hospital intercom all have numbers—but our medic apparently can't count.

The Chapel Hill Weekly

Second Section — Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Episcopal Rector Speaks

About That Money To Malcolm X U.

An address delivered by the Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher at the Chapel of the Cross Episcopal Church here on Sunday, Oct. 19.

In all my ministry I have not seen as much anger and distress among people of good will as I have seen in the past few days. It all centers on two grants totalling \$45,000 made by the Urban Crisis Program of our National Church to an institution in Durham which is called The Malcolm X Liberation University, run by Howard Fuller.

It would not have been easy to find two names more calculated to raise the hackles of the white community than these two names. The image of Malcolm X in the white community is that of a black, militant, Muslim—eloquent, incendiary, and revolutionist, interested only in getting even with the whites and eager to establish in some Southern state an independent black republic. Howard Fuller also stands for militant separatism. He is an able, articulate, and intransigent advocate of a new black world in which whites are to have no part.

The Liberation University professes to be a means of training blacks for the establishment of a black, independent republic on the continent of Africa. Those of us who have been interested in the improvement of race relations for all these years, and have brought ourselves through painful steps to believe in an integrated society, where everyone has the right to be "in" and to have an equal shake, are suddenly made painfully and shockingly aware that these Blacks don't want "in." And we thus seem to find the Church, our Church lined up with the militants against us.

May I just remind you of how the Church is organized? We have a representative form of government which roughly corresponds to the way the

government of our country is set up. The parish elects the vestry. The vestry elects delegates to Diocesan Convention. The Diocesan Convention elects delegates to General Convention. General Convention elects the Presiding Bishop and the Executive Council. There are two houses of General Convention: the House of Bishops and the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies. Each diocese is represented by its bishops and by four clerical and four lay deputies. Every measure passed in the General Convention must be concurred in by both houses.

However, between sessions of General Convention the business of the Church is carried on by the Executive Council which is not quite so close to the people as General Convention. Like the U.S. Government, these servants of the people sometimes make decisions displeasing to the people. In Church politics it is not so easy as in secular politics to "throw the rascals out." We owe it to ourselves, however, and to the Church to let them know what our feelings are with reference to this decision and others they have made.

There are certain frustrating things about this whole business. Among them is the knowledge that nothing we can do can undo what has already been done. Being Southerners, we also know that our opposition will by certain people be discounted as the expression of Southern racism.

We know also that regardless of our good intentions, we carry the burden of past injustice perpetrated by some of the people of our region. We are in a revolution, and it is the characteristic of revolutions to go too far. It is therefore too much to expect in this revolution that rational counsels will prevail. We have adopted vis a vis our Negro brethren the principle of "self-determination." This means that blacks must be allowed

to make their own mistakes, and whites also. And all of us have to live with those mistakes.

This whole matter was discussed at length in a convocation meeting of vestries last Thursday night. The dean of Convocation, Rev. James Beckwith, kept bringing up for us the fact that our reaction to this one act might endanger the whole missionary enterprise.

As much as we disagree with the principle, we really ought to try to put it into perspective. We are talking about \$45,000 out of a budget of \$14,000,000—about 32/10,000ths of 1%. Our Lord plainly told us to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. Is this one mistake to be allowed to endanger that whole enterprise?

We cannot allow our anger and frustration to force us into schism. Or, as a friend put it to me, "Errors of judgment on the national level offer no justification for pulling out." The Church is bigger than any of its members or administrators. And, just as in our nation we reserve the right to criticize the administration, we reserve the same right in the Church.

In neither case, however, do we have the privilege of withdrawing. Our brethren of the many denominations have taught us the dangers that beset the path of those who withdraw when things don't go to suit them. And the Civil War at enormous cost in blood and treasure showed us we are One nation indivisible. We must avoid as we would the plague, the wretched tragic way of schism.

I am sure some of the young who are here will characterize what I am about to say as hopelessly old-fashioned. I believe in the possibility of one society, one world, if you will, with liberty and justice for all. It seems to me that this goal is one

on which America and the Church can sincerely and earnestly agree.

The influences which would divide us are ultimately the influences that would conquer and destroy. I am not naive enough to feel that ours is an ideal society coveted and sought by all. But I do believe that ours is a system which offers more hope for improvement than any other system ever devised. It will be a better system when all its citizens have their rightful part in the decision-making process.

I am not giving up on America. I am not giving up on Christianity. For it seems to me that they are partners in attempting to build a world nearer to the kind of world God intends.

Finally, may I issue a warning against what we call "polarization." I understand this to mean the assuming and statement of an extreme position to which those who agree rush and take their stand. Those who disagree, then, rush to take up the opposite position. And there is no meeting ground between the two. The way of democracy is the way of accommodation, of give and take—of compromise.

So whether it be in Church or in State I call for a more reasonable frame of mind, a willingness to settle for something even though it may not be all we want at the moment. After all, the conflict is not between angels on one side and devils upon the other but between men—some black, some white, some brown, some yellow—but all terribly human.

Of course, what we want is perfection, but by now we are surely wise enough to know that for perfection we will have to wait a little longer.

Bishop Interrupts N.C. Diocese Support To National Church Unit

Jan 20, 1970

In the midst of a financial crisis brought on by parishioners' reaction to the national Episcopal Church's \$45,000 grant to Malcolm X Liberation University in Durham, the bishop of the North Carolina Diocese has temporarily withdrawn the diocese's support of the national church.

Bishop Thomas A. Fraser has informed Leon E. Modeste, director of special programs for the national General Convention, that the withdrawal of support will stand until the Diocesan Convention meets in Salisbury Jan. 30-31.

He told Modeste "the whole picture of involvement of the diocese in the national church picture" will be considered at the Salisbury convention, and that, "At the present time, we are \$164,525 short of meeting our diocesan's church's program budget."

Financial deficits in individual church and diocesan budgets are reported throughout the nation as a result of the church's Urban Crisis Program grants, including the \$45,000 grant to black separatist Malcolm X Liberation University, and a \$200,000 grant to the National Committee of Black Churchmen by the Episcopal General Convention Special Program.

The Malcolm X grant has been felt in the Every Member

fund canvass just conducted by Durham Episcopal churches, with many parishioners' reducing or restricting their pledges or not making them at all.

At least one church here is known to have eliminated the post of assistant rector because of a lack of funds.

Fraser told Modeste, "We are faced with drastic cuts in our diocesan program and in our quota to the national church.

He said it is impossible to draw up a budget for 1970 "since many of our quota acceptances are tentative, some acceptances have been reduced or withdrawn and others are dependent upon our Diocesan Convention" this month.

"We cannot determine the extent of our deficit in spite of vigorous efforts . . . to arrive at a firm figure," Fraser wrote Modeste.

"If we eliminate the national church almost completely the diocesan programs can survive. If the diocese shares the deficit with the national church, the support of our own urban crisis program, St. Augustine's College, St. Mary's Junior College and our summer conference centers are highly threatened."

Fraser has also been refused a copy of the Malcolm X project's grant application and of the General Convention staff field appraisal of it, as re-

quested by the North Carolina Diocesan Council in October.

In correspondence to all clergymen and senior wardens in the diocese, Fraser said he feels the handling of business involving Malcolm X Liberation University violates "simple management procedures" and that Modeste's action in refusing reports on the grant puts the diocese in "an impossible position in providing leadership for that program in the diocese."

Fraser wrote Modeste, "At the advice and with the consent of standing committee, I must give notice that as bishop of North Carolina I cannot further support the procedures of the General Convention Special Program without a full copy of the application by the project to the General Convention Special Program and a copy of the staff field appraisal, as requested by our Diocesan Council on Oct. 31, 1969.

"The history of this diocese has been one of full cooperation with the national church. We regret the necessity of this action but it must stand until Jan. 30-31 when our Diocesan Convention meets."

Fraser said the coming convention will be "decisive" in determining "the diocese's relationship with that of the national church organization."

Oct. 27, 1969

Herald

Local, Sports, Classified,
And Radio

Federal Grand Jury Probes MXLU Grant

GREENSBORO (AP) — A federal grand jury is in its third week of investigating events connected with the National Episcopal Convention in South Bend, Ind., amid mounting opposition to commitments of \$200,000 to the Interdenominational National Committee of Black Churchmen (NCBC) and \$45,000 to Malcolm X Liberation University in Durham.

Some tense confrontations at the Episcopal Convention, including disruption of a session by Mohammud Kenyatta of Philadelphia, appear to be focal points for the grand jury investigation.

Kenyatta, a Baptist and Black Muslim, represents the Black Economic Development Conference (BEDC) whose Black Manifesto demands \$3 billion in reparations from churches for injustices to blacks.

Two leaders in the national committee of black churchmen serve as board members of the black manifesto group. NCBC has voiced support for BEDC's proposed projects and indicated that group will ultimately get the funds.

Assistant U.S. Atty. Guy Goodwin of the Justice Department in Washington is leading the grand jury probe. He noted that grand jury proceedings are secret and refused to reveal anything about the investigation.

Goodwin refused to say who initiated the grand jury action. Several delegates to the convention and news reporters who covered it were among witnesses summoned for questioning.

One of them, the Rev. Dudley Reed of Danville, Ill., indicated that some witnesses think blacks instigated the investigation and said, "If it's an attempt to embarrass the church, I want no part of it."

He said the church "took a stand to help the black community" and he could see no basis for them "turning around and clobbering it with a court action."

Kenneth Kinter of Mishawaka, Ind., was among a number of others summoned by the grand jury who blamed conservatives, particularly those from southern states, for the investigation.

Some Episcopalians charged that the federal government stifled information about its investigation by calling as witnesses the reporters who normally would inform the public about it. Among those called were George W. Cornell of the Associated Press, Dolores Liebeler of the South Bend Tribune and the Rev. Lester Kinsolvi of the San Francisco Chronicle News Syndicate.

Nov. 3, 1969

Malcolm X University Aims Told

RALEIGH (AP)—Black activist Howard Fuller told Episcopalians Sunday night that Malcolm X Liberation University, which he founded with the financial aid of the National Episcopal Church, is not a Communist institution and will not teach violence.

"No, we do not teach violence. I don't think it's necessary. But we do not intend to let anybody spit on us or beat on us. Consequently, we will do anything to maintain that position," he said.

"If you're going to require us to be non-violent," then you'll have to require your (white) people to be non-violent," he said. "Then maybe we can talk about violence."

Fuller said the arms of the black separatist university in Durham clash with the ideals of communism and socialism. "There's a lot of racism in (the two ideologies) and I don't want any part of them either. No, we're not Communist," he said.

But the tall, angular Fuller refused to say whether he professes to be a Christian. "I don't think that's any of your business. Whomever I believe in is my own personal thing," he said.

Fuller commented on his personal philosophy and that of the black university in a question and answer session at the Church of the Good Shepherd in Raleigh.

The Episcopal church was packed for Fuller's appearance as part of the Episcopal Forum, sponsored by three Raleigh episcopal churches—Good Shepherd, St. Mark's and St. Ambrose.

Episcopalians across the state have sharply criticized the national church's recent approval of a \$45,000 grant to the black school from its urban crisis program set up in 1967.

The grants originated with the national office, but they were endorsed by a committee of the local diocese representing 39 North Carolina counties from Mecklenburg to Edgecombe.

The whites and a smattering of Negroes who attended the session bore down on the possibility that Malcolm X university is related to communism or would foster communism.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1969

Episcopal Funds Said Used In Malcolm X U.

Recent reports indicate that Malcolm X Liberation University, scheduled to open Oct. 27 in Durham, is apparently receiving substantial financial support from the national Episcopal Church.

The university reportedly will receive a grant of some \$45,000 from the national office of the Episcopal Church.

Negro activist Howard Fuller Thursday announced plans for the opening of the school and said he could not reveal "at this time our exact funding source."

However, he said, "We have a very sizable grant" from an organization that will announce the donation within a couple of weeks.

Bishop W. Moultrie Moore of Raleigh reportedly said the North Carolina diocese "has no information other than what the national office might have to say" about funds for Malcolm X.

Regarding the possibility of an Episcopal grant to the Durham school, Bishop Moore said "There is probably going to be an announcement on that" forthcoming from the national office of the church in New York City.

Fuller said Malcolm X Liberation University was organized "to provide a framework within which black education can become relevant to the needs of the black community and the struggle for black liberation."

The Episcopal Church has recently received heavy criticism from some members. In September, the General Convention of the church authorized a voluntary fundraising effort to aid black economic development.

The proceeds are to go to an ecumenical organization of black churchmen under controls specified by the Episcopal church. Funds would then be passed on to other black groups for economic development.

The move by the convention drew fire from some churchmen who feared such funding was tantamount to meeting the demands of James Forman's Black Economic Development Conference.

Forman, a Chicago black militant, was the black leader who wrote the Black Manifesto demanding three billion dollars in "reparations" from white churches.

Malcolm X School To Get \$45,000

Oct. 14, 1969

RALEIGH (AP) — Bishop Thomas A. Fraser of the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina announced Monday that the national church has approved grants totaling \$45,000 for Malcolm X Liberation University at Durham.

Fraser said the grants of \$15,000 and \$30,000 will come from a \$9 million "Urban Crisis Program" approved by the national church at its 1967 general convention in Seattle.

The Diocese of North Carolina includes the central part of the state.

Black activist Howard Fuller announced plans last week in Durham for the operation of Malcolm X Liberation University. Its goal, he announced, will be to train Negro Americans to set up an independent nation in Africa.

Classes will start Oct. 27 in a renovated warehouse for 30 or 40 students ranging in age from 15 to 40. A dozen teachers, not all of them with college degrees, will train the students to be food scientists, tailors, architects, engineers, organizers, teachers, black expressionists, artists, medics, communications technicians, physical development specialists and linguists.

At the time of the announcement, Fuller refused to disclose the university's source of funds but said tuition would be \$300 a year and financial aid would be available to those who need it.

Bishop Fraser said in his an-

nouncement, "One of the goals of our national church's urban crisis program is to help the poor and disenfranchised gain social, political and economic power in order to have an effective voice in decisions which affect their own lives.

"The grants for Malcolm X Liberation University did not originate with the Diocese of North Carolina," he said. "However, the diocese was requested by our national church to review the \$30,000 grant request" and after study found it "quite appropriate for funding," he said.

The \$15,000 grant for the school was made earlier on an emergency basis after endorsement by the Rev. E. N. Porter of Durham, director of the diocese's

See SCHOOL On 2A

—School—

Continued From 1A

urban crisis program.

The school also received a planning grant several months ago from the Foundation for Community Development, a Durham anti-poverty organization.

Malcolm X got its start on a part-time basis last spring after a clash between students and police on the Duke campus at the end of a day in which Negro students seized the Duke administration building.

Cloudy And Humid

High, Near 90

Low, Near 70

More Data On 2A

Durham Morning Herald

On The Inside

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Comics 8A Radio-TV .. 10A
Deaths 9A Sports .. 2, 3B
Editorials .. 4A Women .. 5, 6A

FINAL EDITION

SEVENTY-FIFTH YEAR

DURHAM, N. C., WEDNESDAY, JULY 23, 1969

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Fuller And Temporary Replacement

Negro activist Howard Fuller, left makes a point during a news conference here Tuesday at which it was announced he will take a leave of absence from the Foundation for

Community Development to devote time to Malcolm X University. James S. Lee, inset, will replace Fuller as director of training for FCD. (AP Wirephoto)

Fuller Granted FCD Leave To Push Malcolm X Work

James L. Lee Replacing Him

Howard Fuller, who some observers consider the primary obstacle between the Foundation for Community Development and the balance of a \$900,000 Office of Economic Opportunity grant, has taken an indefinite leave of absence from FCD to push plans for opening Malcolm X Liberation University.

Nathan Garrett, FCD executive director, said during a news conference Tuesday that Fuller would be temporarily replaced by James L. Lee of Raleigh.

Reporters for the Durham Morning Herald and the Durham Sun were barred from the meeting, although John Justice,

FCD public information officer, denied the session was closed.

Garrett was confident that the community capitalism projects will be funded by OEO, but mentioned the possibility of legal action if the grant is not forthcoming. FCD received the initial \$40,000 block allocation in May, but since then no additional funds have been forwarded.

Both Fuller and Garrett said they will encourage the black separatist movement, stressing they thought "white society owes black people a debt — a debt for slavery. Every white man in this country is reaping a harvest from the debt of slavery."

Fuller emphasized that Malcolm X Liberation University, located a floor above FCD offices in the same building, will seek to give Negro students training that is "relevant to their needs."

"Black people have to get to the point where they are not interested in going out and getting ahead in the white world."

He said the school would not give Negroes the same kind of education as is provided at Duke University or the University of North Carolina but would strive for "a better education as relates to them as black people."

Garrett also attacked testimony by Greensboro Police Chief Paul C. Calhoun presented before a Senate subcommittee July 11 in Washington. He described the chief's remarks as "half-truths, distortions, unsupported accusations, false conclusions and statements so remote from the facts that they must be considered lies."

The Gate City police chief had been requested to appear before the group hearing evidence on campus unrest across the country.

Garrett referred to several remarks directly concerning FCD. One comment dealt with Black Panther organization.

See GARRETT, FULLER On 2A

Garrett, Fuller Back Separatist Movement

Continued From 1A

Calhoun said, "During January, 1969, three individuals reportedly members of the Black Panther Party . . . were very active in organizing Black Panther Party affairs in Greensboro. They held training sessions at . . . the home of Nelson Napoleon Johnson . . . in 1968 he was employed by the Greensboro Association of Poor People which is funded by the FCD." He also alluded to Student Organization for Black Unity, a militant organization, "having temporary headquarters in the Malcolm X Liberation university."

Garrett said lawyers are studying "Chief Calhoun's testimony for possible libelous or slanderous statements."

The FCD executive director also announced that during a trip to Washington July 16

"OEO officials (said) they are looking forward to receiving requests for additional funds for United Durham, Inc., projects." He said officials denied that the President's office had sent out any word regarding revocation of the FCD grant.

He said a \$60,000 Economic Development Administration grant had been delayed due to "internal difficulties," and quoted EDA officials as saying that "FCD will get the money."

Garrett said "Nixon appointees to EDA are the prime cause for the grant's delay. FCD has carried out all its obligations under the terms of the grant, including some work that has cost FCD money; therefore, the foundation will do whatever is necessary, not excluding possible court action, in order to put these grant funds to use for the benefit of Durham's low-income citizens."

Episcopalians Support Voice For Youth In Church Affairs

Continued From 1A

appropriation, but balked at major cuts affecting their magazine, the N.C. Churchman, and sharply curtailing appropriations to St. Augustine's and St. Mary's colleges — both Episcopal-supported institutions in the Raleigh area.

The budget finally approved included salary cuts for the director of racial and urban affairs and for college and hospital chaplains. It doubles to \$9,000 the appropriation to the N.C. Churches Urban Crisis Program, eliminated all funding for the church's Vade Mecum Conference Center and funding for the World Mission Task Force.

Funding of \$14,000 for St. Augustine's and \$7,000 for St. Mary's College was included in the final budget. The original budget proposal would have granted only \$7,000 to St. Augustine's College and would

have eliminated all funds for St. Mary's.

Earlier in the day delegates approved resolutions calling for the national church's General Convention to pass legislation requiring every bishop, in consultation with the standing committee and Diocesan Council, to consent to any grant made for a project in his geographic jurisdiction.

Other resolutions urged the national church to insure that bishops receive copies of full applications for grants to minority or underprivileged groups within their dioceses before approval of the grants.

The Rt. Rev. Thomas A. Fraser, bishop of the N.C. Diocese, told the convention "We can't spend the rest of our lives hung up on Malcolm X." But, "No, I will not say that we may have made a mistake" with the Malcolm X grant.

"I asked the (Urban Crisis Advisory) committee for assistance and abided by their judgment," he said. It was this group headed by Mason Thomas Jr. of Chapel Hill that told the bishop the Malcolm X application was acceptable under the guidelines set forth by the General Convention Special Program.

One delegate said privately that, despite the efforts of many North Carolina

Episcopalians to make the Urban Crisis Committee the "villains" in the grant dispute, the real trouble lies in guidelines set by the GCSP.

After some debate the delegates approved wording changes in their canons to permit active participation of 17-year-olds in the affairs of Tar Heel Episcopal churches. The amendments will be taken up for final action at the 1970 General Convention set in Houston, Texas.

Final actions Saturday included filling of several elective posts within the diocese.

Elected to the Diocesan Council were the Rev. Richard N. Ottaway, Church and Industry Inst., of Winston-Salem; the Rev. Charles M. Riddle III, Calvary Church in Tarboro; the Rev. B. Daniel Sapp of Christ Church in Raleigh; Lee Doolittle of St. Andrew's in Greensboro; Dr. Arthur Jackson, Redeemer Church in Greensboro; J. Emmett Sebrell of Christ Church in Charlotte.

Elected to the church's Standing Committee were: the Rev. Thomas Eugene Bollinger of St. Philip's Church, Durham; Dr. Prezell Robinson, St. Augustine's College president, Raleigh; and Sherwood H. Smith Jr. of Christ Church Raleigh. Dr. Fred N. Mitchell of St. Martin's Church, Charlotte, was elected a trustee to the University of the South and A. L. Purrington Jr. of St. Timothy's Church, Raleigh, was elected a trustee of the diocese.

The convention's resolutions committee refused to report out a proposal from C. C. Eller, a delegate from Statesville. Eller's proposed resolution would have called on the national church to fire Leon Modeste, the head of the national Episcopal committee that accorded the grant to Malcolm X University.

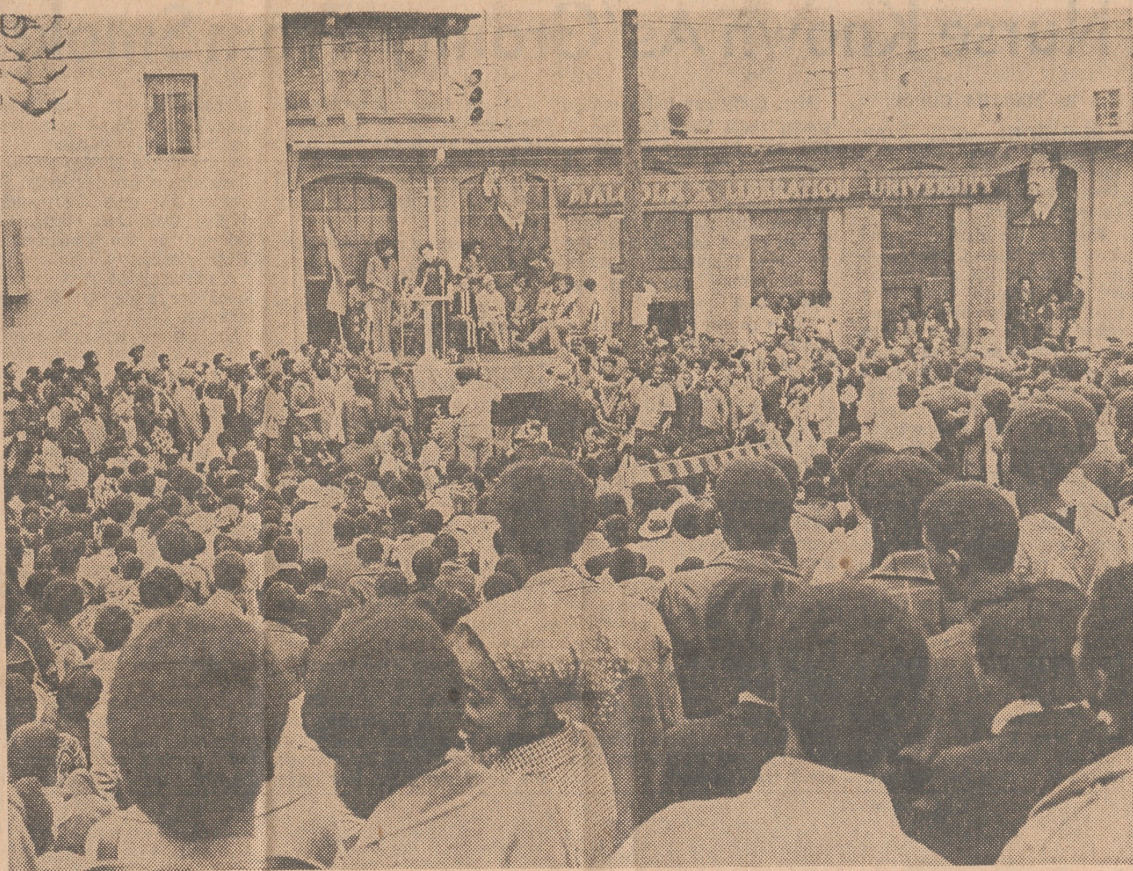
In other action Saturday, the convention decided to decline an invitation from the national church to send minority-group representatives as nonvoting members of the diocese's delegation to the national convention next fall.

The three extra delegates would have carried the banner of youth, women and Negro church members. But the convention voted a resolution not to send them on grounds their presence would rumple the smooth parliamentary procedures worked out for the national proceedings.



On Top Of The Situation

An unidentified man attending dedication ceremonies for Malcolm X University attempts to silence a warning horn on a Seaboard Coast Line train after it was sounded at a crossing several times during the ceremonies. Later, when the horn was sounded again, the train was pelted with rocks and debris. (Staff Photos by Rumble)



Part Of Crowd At MXU Dedication Ceremonies

African-Clad Group Marches To School

Continued From 1A

black people as you like, but the revolution will go on. To fight for one's rights is legal and right," she said.

The activities began at Hillside Park where Dr. Reginald

Hawkins, a dentist from Charlotte and 1968 candidate for governor, addressed some 500 people who were entertained intermittently by a choir and a "soul" music band.

Hawkins called for "black distinction, not black extinction" and warned onlookers not to forget "when in 1876 the Ku Klux Klan was turned on us. Be mindful of what Nixon and his likes are doing to us today by turning loose the forgotten man in the name of law and order."

"Let our star shine," he said. "We will be free come hell or high water."

Other speakers included James N. Potter, president of the United Organizations for Community Improvement, A. J. H. Clement III, chairman of the Black Solidarity Committee; Oliver Hardy of Local 77 at Duke University; and Herb Eaton, minister to North Carolina Central University.

The welcoming ceremonies, at which Mrs. Shabazz made a brief appearance, was followed by a picnic in the park.

A parade of some 500 people clad primarily in native African costumes, left from Hillside Park around 3 p.m. At the head of the procession was the red, black, and green tricolor of black liberation, followed by Howard Fuller and Cleveland Sellers, followed by the Malcolm X Liberation University flag.

Singing "Power to the people, Black, black power to the African people. Who shall survive America? Very few Negroes and the crackers that are," the marchers wound from Hillside Park, up Umstead Street, to Fayetteville Street, and down Fayetteville Street to Pettigrew Street and the school.

A Pan-African Festival was held in the Shepard School gymnasium Saturday night, featuring African dancing and music.

During the dedication ceremonies, rooftops were patrolled by dashiki-clad young men.

Howard Fuller, head of the school, said any aggression against the Malcolm X Liberation University will be considered aggression against the black community. He said if aggression was committed on the school, things would "begin to go" all over the state and country.

A Seaboard freight train, working along the line running

in front of the school, caused speakers to halt their remarks four or five times as it sounded its horn approaching the Dillard Street crossing. Slowing down on its final crossing, a young man boarded the front of the engine, scrambled to the top and began pulling the wire connected to the horn.

The engine stopped and was immediately boarded by other young men, one of whom talked

with the engineer who leaned out of the window. When an agreement appeared to have been worked out, the original boarder got off the engine which immediately started in an easterly direction.

Several feet down the track the horn was sounded for about five seconds drawing a broadside of rocks from a small crowd which had rushed toward the train when it stopped.



Spectators Converge On Train

Friday *August 21, 1970*

Malcolm X University Going To Greensboro

Howard Fuller, director of the yearling Malcolm X Liberation University in Durham, was unavailable for comment, but a spokesman for its funding sponsor confirmed Thursday that the school will move its headquarters from Durham to Greensboro.

The Rev. Quinland Gordon of the Episcopal Church's Urban Crisis Program in New York City said "We have been informed of this move but have not received a formal request for additional assistance."

The Episcopal Church Urban Crisis Fund last fall drew the fire of many Episcopalians when it awarded \$45,000 in unrestricted grants to Malcolm X University.

The grants launched the unorthodox and unaccredited university and ignited a major dispute in the church's North Carolina diocese.

"It is our understanding that a small, continuing phase of the university will continue in Durham but that the focal point and headquarters will be located in Greensboro," Gordon said.

It was reported Thursday that several Greensboro residents had received city water connections under the auspices of the university.

The university was set up last October, with an enrollment of about 50, in a converted warehouse on Pettigrew Street. The building is in an area scheduled to be razed as part of a federal urban renewal project.

James Kerr, administrative assistant for the

Durham Redevelopment Commission, emphasized Thursday that it could be several years before the building is demolished and that the school could continue to use the facility during the coming school year and possibly the next.

Reports this summer indicated that the university's leaders felt the school could draw greater support from the student body at North Carolina A&T University at Greensboro than it had from North Carolina Central University at Durham.

Fuller, 29, said at the time of the school's opening that it would be aimed at "nation building." He defined that as the preparation of Negroes for a separatist society.

He said students this past year were trained as food scientists, tailors, architects, engineers, teachers, artists, medics, communications technicians, linguists and in other specialized fields "to fulfill the needs of a nation." Classes were conducted behind closed doors.

Reaction among North Carolina Episcopalians against the national church's grant to the university was so strong that action was implemented to control future grants.

After a sharp decline in financial contributions in some parishes, the diocese asked the national church not to make another grant in North Carolina like the Malcolm X one without giving local officials a greater voice in its consideration.

No opening date for classes has been set at the university, but reports state it may be in early October.

National Church's Ruling Respected

Oct. 15, 1969

Continued From 3A

the founders of the university mention anything about training black Americans to form a new nation in Africa, nor did the proposal for the grant mention such a program.

In that respect, he said he feels black people's identity with the past is necessary and wholesome. However, he added he does not think the school will attempt to form a separate nation "as we see it in the usual geographical concepts."

His congregation supports the program "as much as it is possible for any congregation to do so," Porter said. And, he said he does not think his church's finances will be hurt.

"Some congregations may react negatively," he concedes, but others will see the grant as new hope for the church.

The Rev. Paul Morrison, of St. Joseph's Episcopal Church, reflected Spong's faith in the judgment of the national officials who ruled on the grant.

The grant, he said, is part of a larger program of the church. And, he says he has confidence in those who made the decision

on the grant. Morrison said he does not expect the decision to hurt his church financially, but he does think it will spark more interest — and more participation — in the church's general convention programs.

On the other hand, Episcopal laymen were more outspoken about the grant.

One church officer complained that local Episcopalians knew nothing of the grant until reading about it in the press.

"The middle-class WASP's wallowing in his own delicious guilt is disgusting enough, but it would seem intelligent people once committed to an integrated society would not be swayed to give their money to an organization devoted to separation and the 'Amos-'n'-Andyism' of a solidly black community," one young Episcopal layman said.

"Moreover, it is rather ironic that one of the founding Protestant churches would adopt the Roman Catholic device, long in disuse, of indulgences. To wit: that one can buy away his grandfather's racial sins for \$45,000."

September 27, 1969

Malcolm X U. Taking Shape

By WALTER JACKSON
Herald Staff Writer

In a two-story red, black and green painted brick building on East Pettigrew Street, once the heart of Durham's black ghetto, Malcolm X Liberation University is taking form.

Howard Fuller, chief architect and prime spokesman of the university, says that work on the school is progressing "pretty well," and classes are scheduled to begin in October.

Plans for dedication ceremonies late next month are also being completed, he said.

The idea for establishment of the university grew out of student disturbances at Duke University last spring. When it was established it was designed to operate on a supplementary basis to black students' instruction at Duke, but it is apparently intended now to be a complete learning institution in itself.

Pettigrew Street was once the location of most of Durham's main black businesses, including a hotel, a moving picture theater, a "dime store," and a weekly newspaper, and the street served as a main thoroughfare into and out of the Hayti area, the largest community of blacks in the city.

This area is now the heart of the city's urban renewal efforts, and many of the black businesses which were there have moved from the area. A large segment of Pettigrew Street has been closed to allow passage of the East-West Expressway, and all of the buildings in the area are slated to be torn down within the next three or four years for urban renewal.

All of the students and staff at Malcolm X University will be expected to live in the Durham Black community and "work closely with the people and resources therein in order to develop their subject matter to the fullest," according to a university brochure.

Fuller said he feels it is very important for students at the university to live in the black community. "If there were a million locations available in Durham I would want to put the university right where it is," he said.

The red, green and black colors of the building are the colors of the liberation flag and will also be the school's colors, he said.

Fuller indicated an unwillingness to go into further details about the school at this time, but said a press conference is scheduled for Oct. 9.

A brochure put out by the university indicates that its overriding purpose is "to provide a framework within which Black education can become relevant to the needs of the Black community.

"Training will therefore be geared toward the analysis of the existing political, social and economic systems and all the institutions of colonizing societies which negatively influence the thinking of black people."



(Staff Photo by Rumble)

Garrett At Dedication
 "... What Black People Can Do"

Idea Of Independent Black Africa Gets Boost

By DAVID NEWTON
 Herald Staff Writer

In a day of ceremonies and music, Malcolm X Liberation University Saturday was termed part of what could become "the salvation of all mankind."

And the school's eventual goal of an independent black Africa received a shot in the arm when Howard Fuller read a letter sent by Stokely Carmichael who is now in Guinea.

Nathan Garrett, director of the Foundation for Community Development, addressed an

audience which flooded back to the railroad tracks along Pettigrew Street in front of the school. "In considering the problems of all mankind, the agenda for black people is the agenda for the salvation of all mankind," he said.

"Malcolm X is the center into which will flow the best thinking, and out of which will flow the agenda for the liberation of black people," said Garrett. It is an example of what "black people can do when they decide to do it."

He said what white liberals,

bigots, and moderate blacks call progress is merely making black people accept white thinking. "The future is in our hands now," he said.

The dedication ceremonies were interspersed with the appearance of six black women from Atlanta, Ga., named the Harambee Singers. Their accompaniment was the audience which joined with them in song.

The upraised right clinched fist brought smiles from dashiki and aubua-clad "brothers" and "sisters" who frequently

greeted each other with the black handshake. The bussing of both cheeks was also a familiar greeting.

Amid the color of swaying dashikis and aubuas the chant "Black power to the African people" was repeated.

Reading the letter from Carmichael, in Guinea with Kwame Nkrumah, ousted leader of Ghana, Howard Fuller told of Carmichael's hope that Nkrumah could eventually regain control of Ghana, and initiate a "Pan-Africanist movement for English speaking

black people" to come to Ghana.

Nkrumah was ousted from Ghana in 1966 by the National Liberation Council of Army and police officers who ousted Chinese Communist and East German teachers and technicians.

During her address, Mrs. Betty Shabazz said the first time she saw Howard Fuller was on television, and she was immediately impressed. "Stand by him and protect him," she said.

Fuller generated the greatest crowd response, which at the

end of seven minutes saw him, with eyes closed, reciting verbatim Frederick Douglass' statement which begins "Without a struggle, there is no progress."

As announced at a press conference, Fuller, the former director of training at FCD, will remain at Malcolm X as chief administrator where classes are scheduled to begin with 40 students Monday.

Malcolm X is funded in part by a \$15,000 and \$30,000 grant from the National Episcopal Church.

Malcolm X Liberation Univ.



◀ **FANTASTIC FINISH:
SKINS EDGE COWBOYS**

OTHER NFL SCORES
Falcons 35, Bucs 7
Lions 24, Browns 14
Chiefs 27, Patriots 20

Eagles 20, Seahawks 17
Saints 37, Rams 14
49ers 20, Vikings 17
Bears 30, Steelers 6

▶ **UNC LOSES BIG LEAD,
HANGS ON AGAINST HOUSTON**

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

The Herald-Sun

ESTABLISHED 1889

FINAL

MONDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1992

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MONDAY *briefly*

Electoral College to make it official

WASHINGTON — More than 100 million people went to the polls six weeks ago, but the 538 who will elect Bill Clinton president are only now about to cast their deciding ballots.

Members of the Electoral College meet in state capitals across the nation today to vote for the 42nd president of the United States. While the outcome is clear, it won't be official until the results are formally presented to a joint session of Congress on Jan. 6.

If all goes as planned, Clinton and his vice presidential choice, Al Gore, will receive 370 of the 538 electoral votes that will be cast.

Spill eclipses Valdez

LA CORUNA, Spain — Official estimates released Sunday indicate the

Durham school held name of Malcolm X

By JAMES C. BENTON
The Herald-Sun

Discussion has been intense recently about the life, book and movie of Malcolm X.

But few people may know that Durham once had a school named after the fiery, controversial civil-rights leader.

Much has changed here

since Malcolm X Liberation University opened in 1969.

The warehouse that was its home has long been demolished, a victim of the urban renewal that ripped apart the Hayti community and rammed the Durham Freeway through its heart.

Even the intersection where the school stood no

please see **SCHOOL/A2**

Debt: The d

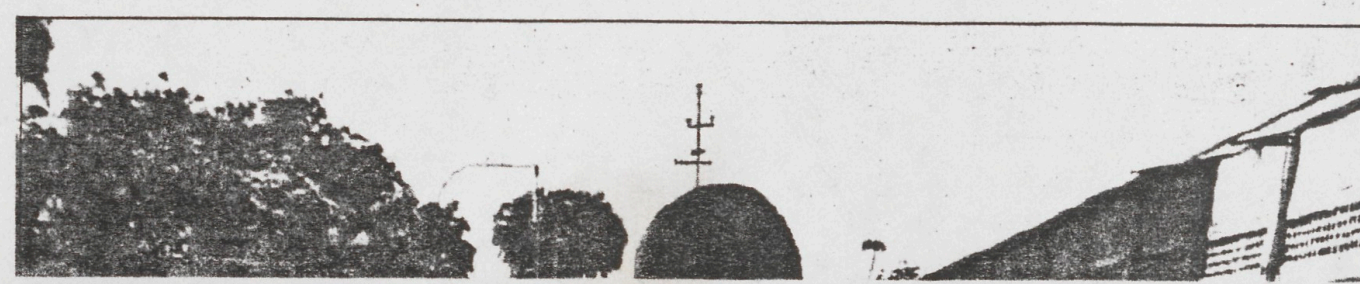
Falwell finances are victim
of Bakker, Swaggart scandals

By DAVID REED
Associated Press

LYNCHBURG, Va. — Over the years, as Margaret Durbin watched the Rev. Jerry Falwell on "The Old-Time Gospel Hour," she began to view him as "the one televangelist you could trust and believe in."

Captivated by Falwell's unflagging optimism and assurances, Mrs. Durbin and her husband, retirees in Dallas, invested \$10,000 in his ministry.

They never suspected it was in trouble. They did not know that Falwell's Liberty



U.S. bron

FROM PAGE ONE

SCHOOL FROM A1

longer exists.

And some even consider the university a passing fancy that never caught on.

But the school's goal of teaching self-determination and the skills to improve the human condition are timeless, supporters say.

Malcolm X Liberation University was born during a turbulent year for the country and for Durham. The news came especially fast and furious in the summer of 1969:

■ Sirhan Sirhan, who assassinated presidential hopeful Robert F. Kennedy in 1968, was sentenced to die. The sentence was commuted to life in 1972, when California outlawed the death penalty.

■ Hurricane Camille devastated the Gulf Coast, killing more than 250 people.

■ In July, Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin made history by landing on the moon.

■ A wreck in the village of Chappaquiddick, Mass., involving Edward Kennedy claimed the life of one of his secretaries. Mary Jo Kopechne's death began a scandal that dramatically altered the ascent of the young senator's rising star.

■ Closer to home, Burroughs Wellcome was breaking ground in Research Triangle Park for a futuristic, \$10 million building. A few miles to the east, the small Raleigh-Durham Airport was expanding. Across the country, civil-rights and anti-war demonstrations were erupting, and Durham had its share.



FULLER

One protest at Duke University led to a day-long occupation by black students of the Allen administration building on Feb. 13.

That protest, in turn, set in motion the events that resulted in Malcolm X Liberation University's creation.

"A group of black students at Duke met with the administration," recalls Bertie Howard, a Duke student at the



FOUNDER: Howard Fuller (right) represents Durham's Malcom X Liberation University shortly after he founded it in 1969.

The Herald-Sun/HAROLD MOORE

complementary effort for those students who were attending Duke University," said Fuller, now the superintendent of the Milwaukee Public Schools.

The idea for the school came about "when students were asking questions about the value of the educations they were getting, not just at the predominantly white universities," he said.

After the school's organizers decided it should be made into a full-time university, they sought and received

Gone forever were the days of nonviolent direct action that constituted the movement's greatest successes.

By then, the civil-rights movement had shifted to black nationalism, and Malcolm X Liberation University was in the forefront of that change.

The school's mission, following the nationalist slogan "It's nation time," was to cultivate "nation-building skills" — talents people could use to improve community conditions and lay

Pan-African educational center located near the old sanctuary of St. Joseph's African Methodist Episcopal Church, now the Hayti Heritage Center.

Many times, Howard said, people at the center would structure activities that attracted children from different backgrounds.

"The child-care center had kids from very affluent families and children who walked from Fayetteville street projects," she said. "We taught the

"As I look back on it now, I don't think it was so much the difference in teaching methodology as it was in the theory," said Fuller. "We tried to relate theory to practice — you don't sit there and talk about theory."

"It wasn't about people picking up a technical skill; it was a well-rounded education," added Howard. "We had people who were learning foreign languages, so you had people taking French, Spanish, Swahili ..."

Focus shifted quickly

But the focus of the civil-rights movement was shifting quickly, and the school's goals became susceptible to those fast-paced changes.

In 1971 — less than two years after the school opened — Malcolm X Liberation University moved from Durham to Greensboro, opening at a site near N.C. A&T State University.

"It was a progressive move to have the space," Howard said. "It was, in essence, an expansion. We were able to buy a building and could take advantage of links at N.C. A&T. At the time, there were professors there, students and other elements that would help out."

At that time, the school's leadership was trying to forge links with African nations in a stronger racial bond. But after returning to America from a visit to Mozambique in 1971, Fuller said, he began to question whether race alone could be the basis for America's civil-rights movement.

It became clear to him that the movement had to be based on class and race, he said. But others didn't agree, and the questions he raised sparked a debate that eventually led to the closing of Malcolm X Liberation University in 1973.

Why did the university shut down?

"I think because we had an ideological difference as to whether we should work in America or whether we should work in Africa," Fuller said. "Then there began to be a debate about race and class. We just decided that we didn't have a basis to go on."

Fuller returned to Durham after the university disbanded and moved to

Grant To Malcolm X University Gets Varied Reactions From Episcopalians

Oct. 15, 1969

By ED MARTIN
Herald Assistant City Editor

The rectors of Durham's Episcopal churches Tuesday expressed opinions ranging from cautious acceptance to a fear of financial losses stemming from a \$45,000 grant to Malcolm X University by the national Episcopal church.

One rector said he thought much of the concern over the grant comes primarily from people who are overly concerned about Howard Fuller's association with the school.

Another said he fears the grant may drive the church into bankruptcy.

One of two rectors who declined to comment on the drive said he was talking to his vestry about the grant and would be willing to comment later.

The grant, announced Monday by Bishop Thomas A. Fraser of the Diocese of North Carolina, originated from the national office of the church, but was "studied carefully" by the diocese's Urban Crisis Advisory Committee.

Fraser said the grants of \$15,000 and \$30,000 would come from a \$9 million Urban Crisis Program Fund approved by the national church at its 1967 general convention in Seattle.

The Rev. J. E. C. Harris, rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, said he understood the request for the grant was made to the national church office by Malcolm X University.

He said by attempting to look at the "positive side," he thinks "the church tried to translate its goals and ideals into specific strategy."

Harris said he realizes there are strong feelings about the grant, but he believes the national church acted in "good conscience."

These strong feelings, Harris said, "could result in the church's bankruptcy." Harris said he feels the financial effects will be felt primarily in the local area, where Episcopalians are more familiar with the new school.

The Rev. William Spong, par-

rish priest of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, expressed the same opinion as at least two other rectors. "I trust the fact that appropriate studies were made and I trust the judgment of the people who made them. I assume Malcolm X University, as conceived, met the qualifications for this grant as outlined by the Episcopal church in 1967."

The Rev. John W. S. Davis, of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, said he is "still in the talking stage with the vestry and will have no further comment at

this time."

Father E. Nathaniel Porter, rector of St. Titus' Episcopal Church, is also the director of the North Carolina Diocese's Urban Crisis Program.

In that capacity, he recommended both the initial grant of \$10,000 and the subsequent grant of \$30,000 to Malcolm X University.

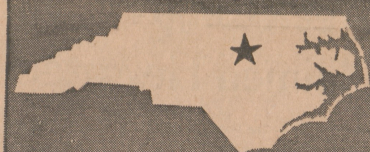
Porter said his recommendations were based on the proposal submitted to the church's executive council by the university, and that the proposal met the church's guidelines

pertaining to program for minority "self-determination" and so forth.

In that respect, Porter said, Malcolm X University is a unique educational program which does not fit the usual university patterns. For example, he said, it will work with those who are not academically talented in the traditional university sense, in cases, with persons who do not necessarily have high school degrees.

Porter said he has not heard

See NATIONAL On 8A



Opinion
Analysis

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Interpretation
Background



By Ann
Colarusso
Herald
Staff Writer



Pan-Africa Idea Keynotes Fuller's Thinking

Blacks After More Control Here In U.S.



FULLER

What does Howard Fuller think about the state of the world, the nation, the state and the City of Durham?

His views, expounded in an interview last week, are enough to cause some deep thinking on the part of Durham and North Carolina, if not the nation and the world, because Tar Heels by now are well aware that what Fuller thinks frequently seems to become what the majority of young North Carolina blacks think.

Fuller, currently on a leave of absence from the Foundation for Community Development in order to devote more attention to the establishment of Malcolm X Liberation University, explained why he places such high importance on close links with Africa — a subject which he has at other times called a "Pan-African" movement.

He believes that Africa first must be freed of what he terms neocolonialism in the form of leaders and governmental systems which are white-oriented.

This doesn't necessarily mean enmity with whites, as Fuller sees it. But it does mean African ownership and control of national assets and resources. And that would mean expropriations of U.S. and European-owned businesses, industries and properties.

And it means turning back to what Fuller said was the traditional form of government in Africa before whites took control. He calls it "communism."

There would be community ownership of the means of production and the educational system would give a different set of values to its young people.

Fuller said American schools teach an "ideology of individualism."

"It's hammered into you that you have to look out for yourself and keep advancing. That means protecting what you've got from the other guy," he said.

This is the sort of system which leads to the exploitation of many people by a few of the most aggressive members of the society, he believes.

He predicted that before too long there will be news of happenings from Africa to indicate that this process of change has begun.

In the meantime, in this country, a sort of parallel movement will continue.

"I think you'll see more and more blacks fighting for control and as this happens repression will begin," he said.

The repression of blacks will be strongest in areas where fewer black people are concentrated. It will cause those blacks to migrate to places where there are larger numbers of blacks — major cities and certain states, Fuller predicted.

"Then they'll start their communal societies and the question is, will they be interfered with?" he asked.

He thinks they will be interfered with. "America cannot allow that to happen. It has too many implications," he commented.

At this point, in reply to a question, he digressed to say that a black communal society would not be Communistic. He said the blacks reject communism because they feel it really is an integration philosophy and also, blacks see no difference between Russian Communist imperialism and Western capitalist imperialism.

If they are "interfered with," what will happen?

Fuller shrugged. "Either the blacks will fold — that is give in to the system — or there's going to be a fight. And if we don't have an independent Africa to rely on we are going to lose."

And this is why Fuller and those like him who have rejected integration as a sham and a fraud have placed so much stress on removing white influences from Africa. This, he said, is why Stokely Carmichael is devoting so much of his time and energy to Africa.

Getting down to specifics, Fuller said the cry for control of public schools by the community they serve is part of the black drive for more power and control.

He believes it necessary that central school boards be abolished.

"You might end up with 20 little school districts, each governed by the local population. It would mean white control in some areas, black control in others and an evenly balanced board in integrated areas," he said.

The local districts would control the budget, the curriculum and hiring and firing practices. "If you don't control that, then you have no control at all," he commented.

Is that realistic, considering two facts: that the federal government is enforcing integration and that graduates from black schools have to earn a living in present society, despite any changes which may come about in the future as the result of black separatist activities?

On the integration subject, Fuller admitted to difficulties.

He said the present generation of young blacks has a different mentality from the generation of 1954 and it no longer wants integration, even though this is now the law.

"The only way to get a change is if there is a significant number of eruptions. Then, with a more conservative Congress and Supreme Court, there's a chance of getting the law changed," he said.

Another difficulty, he conceded, is that the black community itself is divided on the subject, to say nothing of the white differences of opinion.

"You have the whites who are against integration and always have been; you have whites who are against it but because it is the law and they're worried about federal funds, they are for enforcing it; you have blacks with an integration mentality because they have been fighting for it so long; and you have the young blacks who are more concerned with the realities of being black than with integration," he said.

It is this last group he thinks will foster "eruptions" in order to force the various governments to give them their own

schools, from which a different kind of graduate will emerge.

This leads to the second problem. Fuller said the new graduates will not be equipped to work as personnel in white businesses.

How will they live? "The graduates will have to be subsidized by black money from those blacks who are making it in white society," he replied.

Through the educational processes which these new black graduates will be instilling within black people, there will be a trend toward black patronization of black businesses exclusively, he said. This will free black businessmen from the pressures of competition with their white counterparts and they will be expected to pour more money into the black community — without the traditional regard for profits, Fuller said.

This thrust for more black control eventually will lead to demands for the same kind of community control of governmental processes — local councils which will have control over land use, zoning, urban renewal — instead of the city council.

"There won't be any urban renewal in black communities. What urban renewal does is buy black-owned land, clear it and sell it to landed whites. In Durham, all we'll have is the shopping center because everything around it is being bought up by whites since blacks do not have enough capital," he said.

He smiled. "That means blacks will have to assume control of land," he said.

What does that mean?

"Move in." He named a certain apartment complex in southeast Durham. "We move in and let people know that from now on rents will be paid at such and such a place. And maybe we'll work out some kind of payment to the owner for the property," he explained.

Is that on the agenda soon? Fuller grinned again. "Not for a long time. It's not going to happen soon but it's going to have to happen eventually, if we are serious about this."

After Fuller had talked a while it appeared that his attitude is to set some basic goals — like black community control and black-oriented educational systems and play the rest by ear on a day to day basis.

He agreed. "Any one who thinks he can draw up a blueprint or a plan of action is dreaming. You just have to play it by ear," he said.

There is no enmity or hostility per se against whites in Fuller's conversation as he discusses his philosophies and beliefs, although there is some evidence that he may use these devices in speeches to black people in order to arouse them to action.

He feels that most whites, to a degree less than blacks, are exploited also. But he doesn't see any chances for cooperation or a coalition anywhere in the near future because he believes racism is so deeply ingrained in whites.

He is prepared to go along doing his own thing, leading black people, and if clashes with whites occur in the process, they will occur.

Nothing he said indicated Fuller is looking for clashes with whites but everything he said indicated that he is prepared to meet them if whites interfere with black plans. Considering some of the things he has in mind, this appears to be inevitable.

About the political process, he couldn't care less. He doesn't think young blacks should even bother to vote because it doesn't do them any good.

"We don't have enough power to really influence a decision. Even if you elect a mayor, or say, take over a whole county government, you still are dependent on the state and the federal government. They control things," he said.

But isn't there the possibility that political strength could at least block some actions blacks don't want? "What have you done if you just block something? If you don't have the power to make the decision you just have to compromise — and we don't have that power," he said.

In addition to what he feels is futility in trying to achieve goals politically, Fuller said that each black mayor or other official only serves to add strength to a system which he doesn't think is right to begin with — even though that official has no real power to change things.

For that reason, he feels, blacks should more or less drop out of the system in order to bring it to a halt more rapidly.

"Under another kind of system we'd already have found a cure for cancer and all those other big problems. But we haven't because we don't have the right priorities," he said.

Meaning what? That too much time, money and effort is put into finding a new way to package green beans rather than on cancer research?

"Exactly," he said, "because there is more profit in finding a better way to sell green beans."

Then, what Fuller really is talking about is the abolition of private property and state ownership of the means and goals of production?

He agreed that this is basic to the kind of system he feels is necessary to free black people. He also agreed that what he is talking about probably means a revolution of one sort or another.