

THE BLACK



EYE

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MBA MBULU, EDITOR

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Black Nationalism is the only practical answer for Black People in the United States of America.

Let's Get Busy!

INTEGRATION: A PIPE DREAM

One of the "brilliant" Blacks among Us has stated something to the effect that Black Nationalism is a "pipe dream." If We look the matter over without cowardice, We will see that it is integration that is the pipe dream. Nearly 100% of the Black population has been open to integration at one time or another over the past 150 years, yet integration is as far away from being a reality now as it was in 1850. If Black People were informed about Black Nationalism as fully as they are informed about integration, and if Black People gave Black Nationalism one tenth of the support they have given integration, Black Nationalism would already be a reality.

Why is integration a pipe dream? Because its success relies on people who absolutely despise Black People. For integration in the United States of America to be more than a pipe dream, white people have to support it without prejudice. That is unlikely to happen.

When it comes to the issue of Our equality, too many Black individuals are doing too much thinking. They are thinking too much because they do not want to accept the fact that words of reason and logic are not enough to sway white people. Reason exhausted its usefulness in this matter quite a while ago. However, those of Us who are cowards are afraid to face up to that fact, so their reason leads them to illogical conclusions. They continue to try to think the

RESPECT YOURSELF

Black People is a proper noun, not a common one; it should be capitalized at all times. Any pronoun that refers to Us as a people is a proper pronoun, not a common one; it should also be capitalized at all times. The term Black, when referring to Black People, is not an adjective. Black embodies the essence of Our being, it does not describe any particular trait about Us. Within that context, Black should also be capitalized at all times.

More importantly, the terms Black and Black People should be capitalized because Black Philosophy is a philosophy that centers around the group as opposed to the individual.

To Us the group, the Race, is supreme; Its identification and survival are of major concern and consideration. This is in contrast to the philosophy of white people, which stresses the individual by capitalizing terms that refer to the individual ("I", e.g.) while failing to capitalize terms that refer to the group (us, we, e.g.).

Black adults must break ranks with white America's preferences and priorities. We can begin by observing the Black rules of capitalization and teaching them to Our children-- and insisting that they be adhered to by others.

BE BLACK SMART

READ BLACK BOOKS

matter through to a reasonable solution, but it can't be done.

Integration is a pipe dream, but equality (self government) is well within Our grasp.

INDEPENDENCE: THE REAL EQUALIZER

Thebo Mbeki, President of South Africa, recently [2000] stated that Africans should chart their own course in combatting AIDS, with help from experts including scientists who dispute the prevailing views among white people about the causes and treatment of the disease. This action by Mbeki is critical for a number of reasons, but it is particularly instructive for Black People in the United States of America!

People who have been sucked into the belief that traditional white medical opinions are the only reliable opinions will be shocked by Mbeki's position. They will call his declaration "a dangerous denial." They will instantly jump to the conclusion that Mbeki is dooming Black People in South Africa to a medical catastrophe the likes of which have not been seen before. But readers of "The Black Eye" know that I have questioned the prevailing views on AIDS repeatedly. No one doubts that an immune deficiency is victimizing a lot of people! What non-traditionalists have demonstrated is that those people are NOT suffering from ONE disease, they are suffering from 35 to 40 separate diseases! Each of these diseases attacks and disables the immune system in its own way. Since each of them operates differently, there is no single drug that can cure every one of them!

To help clarify this, let's look at allergies. Millions upon millions of people suffer from allergies, but there is not a single remedy that relieves the symptoms of every allergy. The cure for one allergy might aggravate a different allergy, so each patient has to be examined in order to determine which allergy s/he has. After that determination is made, it can be determined which remedy to apply.

Unfortunately, the profit motive entered into the treatment of people suffering from immune deficiency diseases, and the "one cure fits all" ap-

proach was marketed and popularized. Who benefits from this approach? Drug manufacturers, that's who. And the drug manufacturers who jumped on the AIDS bandwagon early on began pushing certain of their drugs and making a lot of big bucks. The fact that their drugs have been totally ineffective (and probably damaging to many patients) has been mostly ignored, but not by people who are aware of a long line of medical failures and catastrophes that were promoted as "cures" by big businesses and white governments.

So Mbeki is correct in looking beyond the model promoted by the medical establishment and white power governments. I only hope he is not talked out of pursuing alternative approaches, and that he deals with legitimate alternative practitioners. There are a lot of "alternative" capitalists and "alternative" scam artists in the alternative health field, and they could screw things up and make Mbeki look like a fool.

Why is Mbeki's move so instructive to Black People in the United States? Because it demonstrates what Black People can do when they are in control of their own government! Mbeki does not have to beg white power to try his methods. Mbeki does not have to be concerned about how "the authorities" will react to his proposal. Mbeki does not have to wait until white power provides funding for his projects. Nor does Mbeki have to raise monies in ways that meet the approval of white governments. Mbeki can get money from whomever he chooses to negotiate with, and there's nothing white power can legally do to stop him.

Since Mbeki and his people have their own government, they make the laws that determine what their future will be. They are able to do more than talk about how something needs to be done, they can legally do it the way they want to do it. If Black People in the United States could do that, We would be a lot better off than We presently are.

What Black People in the United States need is total independence. That way, We would be

able to govern Ourselves. That is the key to equality, the REAL equalizer!

INDEPENDENCE MATTERS

A comparison is necessary; between the Blacks in the United States who were dominated by white people here and the Blacks on the African continent who were dominated by white people in France.

The attitude of both white groups toward "their" Blacks is essentially the same: paternalistic at best, frequently disparaging and abusive whenever whites experience a little bit of stress. At no time do either of the groups look at "their" Blacks as complete, unquestionable equals. However, when you are "equal" in fact, it is not important that others think of you as an equal. What is important is their conduct toward you. Whether they want to or not, they relate to you as an equal. That means that their paternalistic, disparaging and abusive tendencies spring loose less frequently.

The French put forth a great deal of expense and effort to keep from turning "their" Blacks off. That is because the Blacks who were colonized by the French broke those colonialist chains and started governing themselves. They have their own sets of laws, their own economic priorities, their own political and judicial systems, their own diplomatic relations with other countries, their own educational system. In short, they have everything the French whites have that matters. If the French do not control themselves, the Blacks in Africa can tell the French to leave their country, and they can establish ties with other countries that provide whatever the French provided. Because they govern themselves, the Blacks in Africa can make it crystal clear to everyone that they are the equals of the French.

African Americans can not do likewise. African Americans are tied into a white set of laws, white economic priorities, white political and judicial systems, white foreign policies and white educational priorities. In short, African Americans do not have everything the white Americans have. If white Americans do not control themselves, African Americans can't

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do anything to set the record straight for fear of breaking "the law" and ending up in jail. Because African Americans do not have a government of their own, they can not make it crystal clear to everyone that they are the equals of white America. That is because African Americans are not the equals of white America.

AFRICAN AMERICAN POWER IN AFRICA

It has been noted that Asians have initiated a high level of activity in Africa recently. The government of China signed a multi billion dollar deal with Nigeria, more than a hundred businessmen went to Ghana with the Prime Minister of Japan, as did a delegation from South Korea. The question that is being asked is, "Why aren't African Americans heavily involved in African affairs?"

If that question relates to producing wealth and initiating developmental policies, it is important to recognize that African Americans are not allowed heavy involvement in American affairs. That sounds like a rancorous statement, but African Americans have been playing a pretty much secondary role in African American developments. African Americans have been deliberately and systematically limited by white America's policies and priorities, white America's political and economic objectives; and the result is that African Americans are

product users, not producers. African Americans are users of wealth, not creators of wealth. African Americans adhere to policies, African Americans do not enact policies.

African Americans do what white power America allows African Americans to do. What African Americans can accomplish in Africa is, for all intents and purposes, limited to what white America wants to accomplish in Africa.

And that is generally the case. Chinese, Japanese and South Korean businessmen can operate in Africa for as long as they do what is consistent with their government's objectives there. It's even worse for African Americans because of their general lack of powerlessness within the white American scheme of things. For African Americans who are genuinely concerned about Africa's development, investment in Africa is all but forbidden.

The choice for African Americans is therefore to operate within white America's parameters or do nothing. Because African Americans do not have an independent national structure or reality, African Americans are the equivalent of international zeroes. That will not change until African Americans acquire sovereign political status.

BLACK POWER **MONEY IS NOT POWER**

Too many individuals are under the impression that money is power. Nothing is farther from the truth. Money is what individuals use to buy something, like a consumer product or a service, for examples. One of the services money can buy is access to those who wield power. However, We must remember that having access to

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those who wield power is not the same as having power. Power is oh so pervasive, oh so dominant, oh so everything. Power is the ability to dictate terms. When power talks, money keeps quiet.

Individuals and groups who think money is the key to getting things done are like sacrificial lambs when push comes to shove. That is why individuals who have money should use it to invest in many of the prerequisites to power. What are prerequisites to power? Prerequisites to power are materials and processes that, when correctly brought together, enable a group to defend itself and promote its interests.

In the 1790s, Toussaint L'Ouverture revealed one of the prerequisites to power when he told the Blacks in San Domingo (Haiti) that power comes out of the barrel of a gun. Since money can be used to buy guns (and other such goods), one could indeed say that money can be a key to obtaining power.

When money is used to **invest** in a system, having money counts. If your money is being used to invest in a system that will defend and promote your well-being and interests, your money counts **for** you. If your money is being used to purchase consumer goods and "live the good life," your money is being wasted; it isn't worth a dime to you. But, if your money is being used to invest in a system that will probably leave you hanging when push comes to shove, your money counts **against** you. Too many Blacks are either wasting their money or making it count **against** Black People.

Black individuals who are serious about protecting themselves and their families need to become responsible enough to use their money to accomplish that objective. Black individuals who are serious about securing what they work so hard to gain need to become responsible enough to use their money to accomplish that objective. And, Black People who recognize the importance

of being able to define terms need to become responsible enough to use their money to become definers of terms.

No, money is not power. But, if Black individuals **invest** their money properly and keep consumer spending to a minimum, money can help make Black People powerful.

ADDENDUM

Black individuals who have money should use it to invest in many of the prerequisites to power. I will explain more about those prerequisites in subsequent issues of The Black Eye Newsletter.

Black individuals in the United States who possess or seek money are either outside of the white power circle or barely hanging around its outer limits. Therefore, their money is practically powerless unless they are using it to establish an independent Black political and economic reality. Starting a Black business is not the same as helping to establish an independent Black political and economic reality. Will starting a Black business provide jobs for Black employees? Maybe so, maybe not. If white power determines that it is illegal or reverse racist for Black businesses to hire disproportionate numbers of Black employees, then Black businesses could not demonstrate a preference for Black employees. And who would determine if a "preference" were demonstrated or not? White power, of course. Under such castrating circumstances, how much power would that Black business' money have?

Here's another one. Suppose a Black business wanted to give humanitarian aid to the Palestinian people by making a contribution to the Palestinian government (Hamas)! It wouldn't be able to do so because white power says that is against the law. How powerful would that Black business' money be? Suppose a Black business wanted to provide plane fare for Black students who wanted to go to Cuba for a free medical education! It wouldn't be able to do so because white power says that is against the law. How powerful would that Black business' money be? Suppose a Black business that wanted to expand was granted a loan by the Libyan government! White power would tell that business that it would be committing a criminal act if it received that loan. The message is clear: Black money can talk, but only when it is tied to an independent Black reality. Money, in and of itself, is NOT power.

As I just said, "If your money is being used to

invest in a system that will defend and promote your well-being and interests, your money counts for you. If your money is being used to purchase consumer goods and "live the good life," your money is being wasted; it isn't worth a dime to you. But, if your money is being used to invest in a system that will probably leave you hanging when push comes to shove, your money counts against you."

Black People's money has been counting against Black People for centuries because We insist on operating according to white power's dictates. That is why Black businesses that try to help Black People by playing according to white power's rules will do Black People more harm than good.

The Black dollars that are good for Black People are the ones that help create an independent Black political and economic reality.

MONEY MATTERS
YOUR CREDIT REPORT

A credit report is supposed to give potential creditors an assessment of how credit worthy you are, of how you have tended to pay your bills in the past. Potential creditors would use this information to help them decide whether to lend you money or not. If you have a history of good credit and proof of adequate income, a lender should consider you credit worthy and grant you the credit you applied for.

Any Black person in the United States should know it is not that simple. For instance, credit worthy Black individuals have been denied credit because of their race. Race should not be a part of the credit equation, but it is. Like so for politics. Your political activities should have nothing to do with your credit worthiness, but they do.

A clear example of this appears on your credit report. If you read your credit report carefully, you will see a line that states, "OFAC Compliance." OFAC stands for the Office of Foreign Assets Control. It is a branch of the United States Treasury Department, and its purpose is to discourage U. S. citizens from supporting foreign activities that the U. S. government does not support. For instance, if you support the struggle of the Palestinians against Israel, and you send money to an organization like HAMAS, the U. S. government, through OFAC, will fine you and

let the credit agencies know that you are not OFAC Compliant. Even though that has nothing to do with credit, it will signal to creditors that they should not do business with you. The implied message, for those creditors who realize that politics should not have anything to do with credit worthiness, is that the U. S. government will make doing business difficult for creditors who extend credit to customers who have been designated not OFAC compliant.

Individuals who might want to vacation in Cuba would not be able to do so without becoming non OFAC compliant and ruining their credit. The U. S. government does not like Cuba because the Cuban government does not give big business the power to exploit Cuba's people, so it makes it risky for you to carry on normal relations with Cuba. Pretty soon you might not be able to travel to Venezuela or Bolivia without risking the vengeance of the U. S. government, since those countries have begun placing restraints on big business. Those who travel to Iraq to see for themselves what is going on over there can be targeted by OFAC and lose their credit worthiness. And who knows: if the US should pull out of the United Nations, citizens of the United States who continue to support that international body might have to do so at the risk of having their credit ruined.

Black People, take note. This is another example of why you cannot do anything of note to help Africa or improve the condition of Black People in this country unless you think in terms of self determination, of establishing an independent Black Nation. If the U. S. government can open an Office of Foreign Assets Control, it can open an Office of Domestic Assets Control. That way, any individuals who support a domestic organization that the US government is opposed to, an organization like the Black Panther Party, Republic of New Afrika or All African People's Revolutionary Party among hundreds of others, could ruin their credit in the process.

The U. S. government frequently uses the authority of the state to control its citizens. On the financial front, not only can it ruin your credit, it can seize your property and freeze your bank accounts. The U. S. government understands that most individuals are either too cowardly or too attached to a "lifestyle" to challenge the gov-

ernment beyond a certain point. The only way Black People in the United States can effectively help Black People in Africa and here in the United States is by going well beyond the point the U. S. government is willing to tolerate.

Are you going to fight for Africa if it means you might lose your credit card privileges? Are you going to fight for justice for Black People if it means the U. S. government might punish you by seizing your property, house or other assets? Pardon me, Brothers and Sisters, but the only honest answer most of you can give to those questions is "No."

Someone who thinks he is brilliant once said Black Nationhood is a "pipe dream" for Black People in the United States. The real pipe dream is hoping to get equality when you don't have a nation that prioritizes your concerns and aspirations.

ATM ERRORS

As you watch an ATM dispense those twenty dollar bills, you have to be amazed. ATMs are designed to count and dispense money, print customer receipts and make a bank record of the transaction. They are also designed to sort the bills. When the customer asks for money, the ATMs are supposed to channel crumpled or torn bills to a designated destination rather than dispense them to the customer. As far as I have been able to determine, ATMs do what they are designed to do very well.

But ATMs are less than perfect. So the question that needs to be answered is "When an ATM makes a mistake, what guarantee is there that the customer will get his or her money back? We hear quite a bit about how safe, secure and accurate the ATMs are because the banks benefit financially when customers feel safe using ATMs. If customer confidence about ATMs drops, customers might reduce their use of ATMs so much that the banks will have to withdraw them. This is what happened nearly 70 years ago when ATMs were first introduced.

ATMs make errors. I am not talking

about errors related to fraud, but errors due to failure of the machine to function as it should. At times, the customer might know that the ATM made an error but not have proof. It is not unusual for an ATM to record a transaction twice; thus reducing the customer's account balance by more than it should. They have also been known to dispense the wrong amounts.

Suppose an ATM recorded that it gave you \$100.00, but you only got \$80.00?

Is the bank going to give you your other \$20.00 without making you jump through loops? And, suppose the ATM dispenses a bill that was torn and missing a serial number. What would you have to do to get a bill that you can buy something with? Your bank should have a policy that covers unusual errors, and it should assume the customer is right unless proof exists to the contrary. In fact, when it comes to something like a torn bill, your bank probably does not have a policy at all.

ATMs are not perfect, but the bank will tend to believe the ATM before it believes the customer. And white America's policies tend to support banks rather than bank account holders. You should pressure your banker to initiate a policy that gives its account holders the benefit of doubt when any ATM dispute crops up.

THE UNITED SNAKES OF AMERICA THE CLASS STRUGGLE DEFLECTION

We hear a lot about the "class struggle," but that term hides the fact that the only struggle that presently exists is less about classes than greed and selfishness. The "class struggle," then, is in reality a struggle of the greedy and selfish against those who place a priority on sharing.

Let me repeat: The so called class struggle is a struggle of the greedy and selfish against those who are willing to share. When discussing this question from now on, We should not use terms that make the greedy and selfish look less greedy and antisocial than they are. Class is not the pri-

mary issue here, greed and selfishness are.

In the United States, an increasing number of those selfish individuals have Black skin. White America has bought off many of the Black individuals who fall into this category (many might call themselves "Republicans"), and the bought off Blacks in turn have used money and access to resources provided to them by white power to recruit other Blacks into a similar frame of mind (even though the other Blacks aren't being rewarded the way the bought off Blacks are). Most Blacks of this ilk are simply chump change makers (they work eight hour shifts and are paid paycheck to paycheck wages), and are not that much different from the poor whites who lived during the slavery years. Those poor whites, rather than side with their natural allies, the Black slaves, fell prey to a myth called white superiority and sided with those who despised them. Today, bought off Blacks and their dark skinned tag alongs are siding with those who despise them when they should be siding with the Black masses.

The bought off Blacks distort reality the same way their white sponsors do, with the objective of misleading and disinforming the Black masses. They manipulate figures and assert that anywhere from "25 to 53" per cent of the Black population is middle class, even as they acknowledge that the Black middle class "is disadvantaged relative to the white middle class." If they were honest, they would come right out and admit that what they are calling middle class among Blacks is less than what qualifies as middle class among whites.

But they are being rewarded to disinform and misinform the Blacks among Us who are not as politically astute as they should be. On the national and international levels they are quite visible, from within the corporate world they are less visible but just as sinister, and on the educational front they dominate Black university campuses and are speckled here and there on white university campuses. They are dark skinned white

people, they despise the Black masses, and their top priority is to follow the white conservative agenda because they are convinced that white conservatives will give them financial access if they dance to the white conservative beat.

In addition to being greedy and selfish, they are dangerous. There is hardly an act that could be committed against everyday Black People that they would disagree with. Those of Us who give priority to sharing should view them the same way We view greedy and selfish whites. When We get serious, We should remember to treat them the same way We treat the whites who have harmed Us.

A class struggle? Anyone who takes a good look will realize that class is not the least common denominator here. The so called "class" struggle is generated by greedy, selfish individuals, the type of person who is the greatest threat to justice and equality. We can't continue to allow those selfish, greedy individuals get away without being called what they are.

EMAIL

I received the following email from Dr. Uhuru Hotep of the Kwame Ture Youth Leadership Institute in Pittsburgh, PA. It is printed here as it was sent to me. Dr. Hotep can be reached at hotep@duq.edu.

Word to My Brothers: Freedom, Sovereignty, and Black Leadership – Time for Re-Definitions

“Let every tub sit on its own bottom.”
– African American Proverb

When Black leaders refer to our struggle for freedom, they usually mean our struggle to secure the right to access or even contribute to White America's major institutions. Surprisingly, seldom, if ever, do our political, economic, educational and other leaders speak to us about other forms of freedom, like sovereignty, for example. In short, sovereignty is a political science term meaning self-determination through nation-building, but in our case, it also means self-reliance through institution-building. In this regard, sovereignty is Black families and other community organizations pooling resources, buying land, and then establishing political, economic, educational and other life-enriching, life-sustaining institutions (like family-owned businesses) that we control and

can pass down to our children. This is also a pathway to freedom.

In fact, upon close inspection, sovereignty turns out to be a much higher and more advanced form of freedom than simply integrating into the White American mainstream, which is an option only for the Black elite. But sovereignty, which is the very bedrock of freedom, is seldom discussed by our leadership. Why? Historically, Black leadership has been locked into one-dimensional, eurocentric analyses and one-dimensional, eurocentric solutions stemming from its eurocentric values and eurocentric belief systems. For example, when it comes to the present and future role of Black men in American society, our Black leadership posits no higher calling for us than faithful, life-long service to institutions controlled by White men simply to earn money to purchase goods produced or sold by White men. And rather than seek financial independence from, our leaders encourage us to seek employment in the very same economic system that enslaved and robbed our foreparents and under-employs and underpays us. Given a lifetime of humble service to White male-controlled institutions as our only life goal, it's no wonder that millions of Black men are totally disenfranchised not only with the quality and direction of their lives, but also with Black leadership.

If we truly expect to progress as a people, it's high time for Black leaders to re-define freedom as sovereignty, because for us to only make contributions to American society for the ultimate benefit of others is to define freedom in the very same way as our foreparents who built this country, yet received nothing in return. This we must not do. By way of contrast, while Black leadership pines for mainstream inclusion, White leadership speaks and acts globally continually exercising sovereign power on behalf of the White collective. As a consequence, most of the world and all of Africa is controlled by and for the benefit of White men. To free Africa's mineral and human resources from White leadership for Black World development will require not only a radical re-definition of freedom, but unified leadership with a global vision of and plan for African redemption and empowerment. At present, we have neither.

One of the critical differences between White men and Black men is that White men would rather die than surrender their sovereignty. When it comes to

Black leadership, Europeans, historically, have chosen death rather than life under the dominion of Black men. As historian Chancellor Williams points out in *The Destruction of Black Civilization*, the White male desire for sovereignty runs so deep that White men have never allowed themselves to be ruled for long by Black men, even when it's to their advantage. Remember the expulsion of the Moors from Spain in 1492? This is perhaps the most blatant example of White men rejecting superior Black leadership in favor of inferior White leadership in spite of the fact that Moorish Spain under African rule was the most democratically, technologically, and culturally advanced region in Europe. In more recent times, Whites have fled Zimbabwe, Kenya, Mozambique, South Africa, etc., in droves rather than live under the authority of Blacks.

While White men deeply cherish their sovereignty, project it world-wide, and gladly die to maintain it, we Black men, in spite of racism, classism and the like, seem content living under the (mis)rule of White men. In truth, we are so taken with our 2nd and 3rd class American "citizenship" that we have neglected to develop even a modicum of sovereignty. The end result is that we, our women, and our children are totally and completely dependent on White men to feed, clothe, and house us. If White men grow no food, sew no clothing, or build no housing, we are left hungry, naked, and homeless. With the exception of Minister Louis Farrakhan, our national leadership has been compromised, so it cannot or will not tell Black men this simple truth: To truly prosper in this nation, we must come together, pool our resources, buy land, and begin to produce the essentials of life for ourselves and our people.

We must become sovereign to be respected as men by men and to insure our group survival. The Christian Bible, through a parable, teaches this universal truth: No one respects a beggar, and Black men have been begging for decades, like Lazarus, for crumbs (jobs) that fall from the rich (White) man's table. Black men, as long as we beg others to do for us what we can easily do for ourselves, we'll never be respect as men by men. Furthermore, climatologists and counterterrorism experts have warned us that we must prepare now for both the natural and the man-made disasters that are sure to come.

In the 21st century, restoring our sovereignty so that we control the production, distribution and consumption of our food, clothing, shelter, education/

recreation, medical and self-defense needs is the only way Black men can simultaneously restore their manhood, insure their survival, and get fabulously rich in the process. The massive governmental abandonment of Hurricane Katrina's Black survivors clearly demonstrates that it was naïve for us to believe that we could depend on the largess of White leadership to do for us what we must now unite and do for ourselves. To advance economically, politically, socially, and even spiritually, Black men, beginning first with those who occupy leadership positions, must re-define freedom as the restoration of sovereignty. Our collective survival demands that we set this as our highest group priority. To do otherwise will embolden our enemies and court our very destruction.

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Power Quotes

"Sometimes you have to go through hell to find out there isn't one."

Julius Stephen

"One of the keys to success is to maintain control of your decision making process"

"When serious people get involved in serious matters, extremist activities take on an everyday demeanor and everyday terms are redefined. Such is the nature of progress, such is the nature of war."

"In spite of appearances to the contrary, the reality of white and Black is getting more and more one-sided."

"To overcome your weaknesses, you need to get the most out of your strengths."

"When the Jews walked dead into Europe's extermination camps, were they in search of integration or were they trying to escape from themselves? Can the same question be asked of Black People in the United States?"

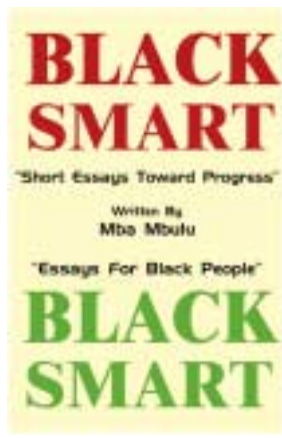
"Time does not stand still while you do something irrelevant."

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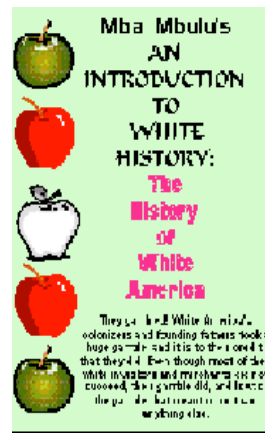
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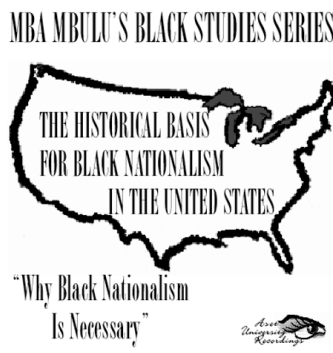
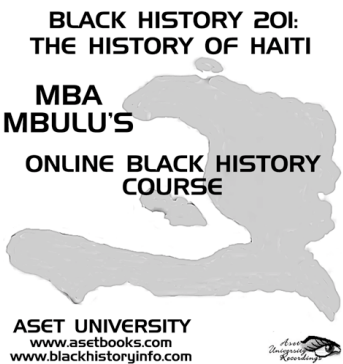
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