

THE CENTENARY REPORT OF THE  
**ALPHA PHI ALPHA**  
WORLD POLICY COUNCIL

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The Honorable Horace G. Dawson, Jr., Chairman  
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Bangladesh - Barbados - Belarus - Belgium - Belize - Benin - Bhutan - Bosnia  
and Herzegovina - Botswana - Brazil - Brunei - Bulgaria - Burkina Faso  
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Chile - China - Colombia - Comoros - Congo (Brazzaville) - Democratic Republic  
of Congo - Costa Rica - Côte d'Ivoire - Croatia - Cuba - Cyprus - Czech  
Republic - Denmark - Djibouti - Dominica - Dominican Republic - East Timor (Timor-Leste)  
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New Zealand - Nicaragua - Niger - Nigeria - Norway - Oman - Pakistan - Panama  
Papua New Guinea - Paraguay - Peru - Philippines - Poland - Portugal  
Qatar - Romania - Russia - Rwanda - Saint Kitts and Nevis - Saint Lucia - Saint Vincent  
and The Grenadines - Samoa - San Marino - Sao Tome and Principe - Senegal  
Sierra Leone - Serbia and Montenegro - Seychelles - Sierra Leone - Singapore  
Slovenia - Solomon Islands - Somalia - South Africa - Spain - Sri Lanka - Sweden  
Switzerland - Syria - Taiwan - Tajikistan - Tanzania - Thailand - Trinidad  
and Tobago - Tunisia - Turkey - Turkmenistan - Tuvalu - Uganda - United  
Arab Emirates - United Kingdom - United States - Uruguay - Vanuatu  
Vatican City - Venezuela - Vietnam - Western Sahara - Yemen - Zambia  
Zimbabwe - Afghanistan - Albania - Algeria - Andorra - Angola - Antigua  
and Barbuda - Argentina - Armenia - Australia - Austria - Azerbaijan - Bahamas  
Bangladesh - Barbados - Belarus - Belgium - Belize - Benin - Bhutan - Bosnia  
and Herzegovina - Botswana - Brazil - Brunei - Bulgaria - Burkina Faso  
Cambodia - Cameroon - Canada - Cape Verde - Central African Republic

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# MEMBERS



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# MEMBERS



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Charles Rangel, Member, United States House of Representatives; Dean, New York State Congressional Delegation; founding member, Congressional Black Caucus.



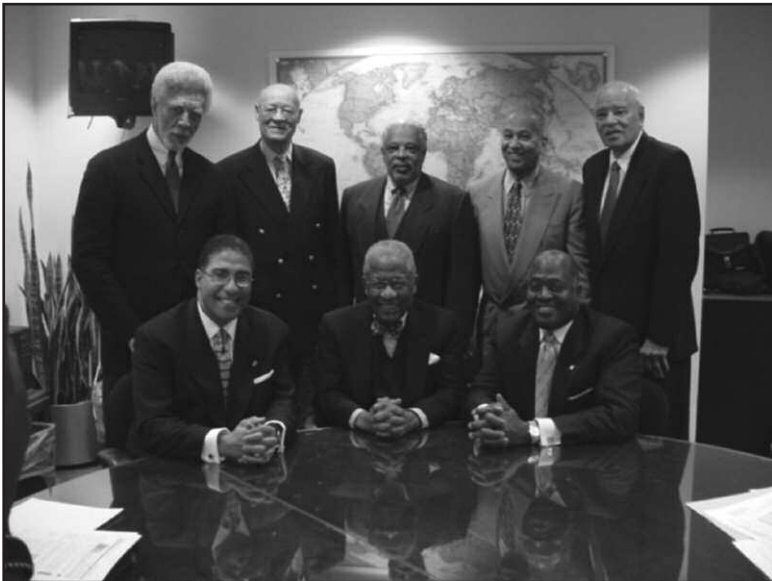
Cornel West, PhD., Professor of Religion, Princeton University



Clathan McClain Ross, Rapporteur. Staff, Howard University Office of Development; U.S. Foreign Service Information Officer (retired)

# MISSION

The mission of The Alpha Phi Alpha World Policy Council is to address issues of concern to our brotherhood, our communities, our nation, and the world. The Council has been charged with applying sustained and profound intellectual energy to understanding and alternative means of bringing about the resolution of problems at the community, national and international levels; expanding fraternal and public knowledge of such problems; and engaging public discussion about them. The Council, in fulfilling its mission, is non-partisan, gives consideration to domestic and international issues, seeks the counsel of experts in relevant fields, provides perspectives on specific problems and, where practicable, recommends possible solutions which may impact favorably African Americans, the community, the nation, and the world.



# SUMMARY

This report, the summary of World Policy Council deliberations, deals with five separate issues deemed to be of national and/or international import.

## The Black College Fraternity at One Hundred

Published as it is in connection with the Centenary of Alpha Phi Alpha, the report deals first with the history and significance of college and university based Greek letter organizations among African Americans. Alpha Phi Alpha was the first of these organizations, which now number nine and more viable fraternities and sororities throughout the United States. Despite serious questions of relevance that have been raised over time, the conclusion here is that these organizations have impacted and continue to have positive social impact in African American life.

## The Millennium Challenge

The Western approach to economic development and trade in impoverished areas of the world has undergone radical change over time, the Millennium Challenge Account representing the most recent – and most promising – program in this area. A leading MCA proponent, the Bush Administration has been encouraging democratic developments in Africa and elsewhere with the promise of rewards in the form of increased aid. It is recommended that full funding be provided and that the Administration accelerate the pace of spending in support of MCA.

## “Extraordinary Rendition”: Justice Denied

The practice of taking terrorist suspects to countries known for their practices of inhumane treatment and torture as a means of avoiding such treatment under detention in the United States, but at the same time encouraging it overseas, is strongly condemned. It is seen as contrary to civil and human rights, which are fundamental American values. According to many experts, such practices are, in any case, virtually useless and counterproductive. Nonetheless, they are seen here as one of many assaults by the Bush Administration on civil and human rights in the name of “the war on terror”.

## Katrina: Tragedy and Policy Implications

No one claims that local, state, and the federal government distinguished themselves in their reaction to Katrina, the hurricane which hit the Gulf Coast with such devastating impact in 2005. Nor is it surprising that the federal government, as represented by FEMA, and especially in view of its vast federal resources and experience, has come in for the largest share of criticism. This report raises such questions as what was known, what should have been known, and what the future holds.

## Toward The World House

It is suggested here that the United States, indeed, all nations pursue a philosophy advocated by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who felt that because of the continued existence of poverty, racism, militarism and other such ills that the world is headed toward chaos. King, a brother in Alpha Phi Alpha, espoused this view in 1968 in a famous book titled "Where Do We Go From Here: Community or Chaos?" We must undergo "a genuine revolution of values" to achieve the goal of what King called "The World House". Under a grant from the Ford Foundation, Brother Bobby W. Austin and a group of influential citizens organized as Citizen Diplomats and through organizations known as Civic Leagues and the Peoples Assembly are pursuing this ideal through advocacy and the training of others. It is recommended that Alpha Phi Alpha join this crusade in this Centenary and encourage others as well.





# **The Black College Fraternity at One Hundred**

## The Black College Fraternity at One Hundred

On December 4th of 2006, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Incorporated will celebrate the one hundredth year of its existence. Founded at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, originally as a study group to help members withstand the rigors of academic life at a predominantly white institution, it became the first African American college fraternity in the United States. The other Greek letter organizations were to come in succession with each of them having been founded on the campus of Howard University in Washington, DC, with the exception of Kappa Alpha Psi, Sigma Gamma Rho, and Iota Phi Theta which were founded on the campuses of Indiana University, Butler University, and Morgan State University, respectively.

The seven courageous men who took those uncharted steps at Cornell University armed with nothing but their vision are known to Alpha men everywhere as the Seven Jewels. These men were Henry A. Callis, Charles H. Chapman, Eugene K. Jones, George B. Kelley, Nathaniel A. Murray, Robert H. Ogle and Vertner W. Tandy. The substance of these extraordinary men was ratified as they graduated from the University and went on to distinguish themselves in the fields of medicine, architecture, education, social service and agriculture. Many of them lived well into the century to see their dream for an African American fraternity become a reality.

While Alpha Phi Alpha was established on a predominantly white college campus, the second chapter of the fraternity was established on the campus of Howard University in Washington, D. C. The succession of the Greek letter groups which were to follow Alpha Phi Alpha's Beta Chapter which came into existence on December 20, 1907 were as follows: Alpha Kappa Alpha on January 16, 1909 at Howard University; Kappa Alpha Psi on January 5, 1911 at Indiana University; Omega Psi Phi on November 17, 1911 at Howard University; Delta Sigma Theta on January 13, 1913 at Howard University; Phi Beta Sigma on January 9, 1914 at Howard University; Zeta Phi Beta on January 16, 1920 at Howard University; and Sigma Gamma Rho on November 12, 1922, at Butler University of Indiana, and Iota Phi Theta in 1963 at Morgan State University.



The climate in which the first African American fraternity was founded was one of challenge and uplift. In 1905 a small band of Negro professionals met in the Canadian city of Niagara Falls and drew up a platform designed to assail the ears and conscience of white Americans. It was called the Niagara Conference and was headed by W. E. B. Du Bois. In 1909 the NAACP was founded dedicated to upholding the rights of Negroes by legal action and court battles. In 1911 the National Urban League came into existence to help blacks adjust to the problems of big-city life following the mass migration of Southerners to the north; and the Universal Negro Improvement Association was founded in 1914 by Marcus Garvey with the intent of taking Africa, organizing it, developing it, arming it and making it the defender of Negroes the world over.

The African American college fraternity takes its place in this array of organizations designed to better the conditions of Negroes everywhere. This desire was to play itself out in the various slogans and services of the Greek letter groups. Alpha Phi Alpha coined two phrases which were designed to uplift the race: “Go to High School, Go to College” which stressed the need for continuous education among blacks, and “A voteless People is a Hopeless People” placing emphasis on the right to vote. Both emphasis were to serve blacks in the years ahead. Kappa Alpha Psi, with its Guide-Right Movement, placed emphasis on counseling services for black youth. Omega Psi Phi celebrated the achievement made by the race in its Negro Achievement Week, and Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity stressed business as a means of upward mobility within the race with its Better Business Week.

From their inceptions, fraternities and sororities have come under attack. Critics of the fraternity system claim that the groups are snobbish, undemocratic and emphasize the social rather than the academic. Defenders of the system, on the other hand, contend that men and women are gregarious individuals, seeking the close relationship of kindred spirits. Men and women must necessarily find their relationships in smaller groups. On college campuses where there have been no fraternities or sororities, clubs have sprung up to serve this distinct need of individuals. The classic example is Yale University which does not permit fraternities but is home to the most renown and secretive club in existence—Skull and Bones. Individuals gain through contact with their friends. Fraternities and sororities give persons the opportunity to

choose their associates.

A classic example of this need to relate is found in Arthur Ashe's book *Days of Grace*. Ashe joined Kappa Alpha Psi while in college and wrote that he joined in that he was playing a predominantly lily-white sport (tennis) so that he could better relate to African Americans. Imagine his chagrin when upon meeting political activist Stokeley Carmichael in the sixties and boasting that he belonged to a black fraternity, Carmichael replied: "That's Greek. How could you do such a thing? Greeks are white." Ashe needed the association, and his membership in the fraternity served him well during his years at the university.

By the 1920s and the beginning of the significant literary movement known as the Harlem Renaissance, fraternities and sororities were firmly established. Then, as now, the various groups were eager to list those who claimed affiliation. Phi Beta Sigma could claim Alain L. Locke, author of *The New Negro* and James Weldon Johnson, composer of the Negro National Anthem; Zeta Phi Beta listed Zora Neale Hurston, author of *Their Eyes Were Watching God* as one of its members; Jessie Fauset, the author of *There Is Confusion* and *Plum Bun*, was a member of Delta Sigma Theta; Langston Hughes, celebrated poet, was a member of Omega Psi Phi; Arthur Schomburg, collector of Negro memorabilia, for whom a branch of the New York Public Library is named, as well as William Grant Still, composer, were members of Kappa Alpha Psi. Alphas who figured prominently in the movement were W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of *The Crisis Magazine*; Charles S. Johnson, sociologist and editor of *Opportunity Magazine*, later to become the first black president of Fisk University; Countee Cullen, celebrated poet; Noble Sissle, noted band leader; Paul Robeson, singer, actor, lawyer, athlete, political activist; and Roland Hayes, celebrated tenor and the first of the race to sing upon a legitimate concert stage.

Early on, fraternities and sororities came under attack. As early as 1925 an editorial appeared in *Opportunity Magazine* (February, Vol.3 No. 26), the house organ of the Natural Urban League, defending the black Greek groups. It said in part:

... We place the record of the Negro fraternities and sororities against those theories of the library-students of race who still write



in their textbooks that the mind of the Negro ceases to function after the age of twelve. These bodies represent nearly 10 thousand Negro college students and graduates from practically every university of standing. . . . And although they are college Greek letter societies, they do not follow the pattern of mere sociability and snobbishness set by their prototypes. Each has a definite, socially valuable interests and a program of attack upon the problems which beset their race in particular and society in general. One sponsors a "Go to High School --Go to College" movement; another promotes the study of Negro literature; another gives a foreign scholarship; another encourages business training for Negroes and the development of Negro business; another lends itself to the programs of social organizations and institutions; and still another offers vocational guidance. It augurs well for the picture when the youth of a race can find enthusiasm in such employment.

One hundred years after the founding of the first Black college fraternity, the debate still continues as to the value of fraternities on college campuses. Sadly, many fraternities and sororities have not helped to bolster the case for Greek groups by their actions. Hazing, which has been outlawed by each of the groups, still continues. Lawsuits against some of the groups have run into millions of dollars and threaten the very existence of some fraternities and sororities. And yet, the mystic of belonging to a Greek letter group still attracts college students in large numbers. Many of the Greek groups boast of the greatest enrollment of members in their history. Some general conventions of these groups have attracted up to 15,000 participants. For it is still true as John Alfred Williams wrote in his book *The King that God Did Not Save*, which was a commentary on the life of Martin Luther King, Jr., that a man clawing out his status does not stop with getting an education. There are attendant titles he must earn. A fraternity is one of them. He concluded that King was an Elk and an Alpha for those reasons. E. Franklin Frazier, author of *Black Bourgeoisie*, adds that it is through fraternities that the so-called intellectual members of the black bourgeois often gain recognition and power.

Recently, several important books have appeared concerning the history of black fraternities and sororities. In 2002, Lawrence B. Ross, Jr. published *The Divine Nine: The History of African American Fraternities and Sororities*, (Kensington Publishing Company) as a refer-

ence guide for those who wish to better familiarize themselves with these organization. In 2005, Tamara Brown, Gregory Parks and Clarendia Phillips edited a volume entitled African American Fraternities and Sororities: The Legacy and the Vision, (The University Press of Kentucky), which offers a comprehensive overview of the historical, cultural, political and social circumstances that propelled the creation of these groups. And in 200, a book entitled Wrongs of Passage, Fraternities, Sororities, Hazing and Binge Drinking (Indiana University Press), by Hank Nuwer, takes a closer look at such issues as degrading and dangerous rituals, practices which lead to death or psychological damage; and the propensity of black fraternities to engage in violent rites of passage as contrasted with their white counterparts.

As the black college fraternity system approaches its centennial celebration, it remains a unique phenomenon in American higher education. Born of the circumstances when rabid segregation did not permit white fraternities to accept blacks as members, all of the black fraternities now list whites as members. Likewise, white fraternities have liberalized their admissions policies and now admit blacks into their memberships. Yet, the college fraternity, black or white, remains the vehicle for choosing one's closest friends and associates; for identifying the best man at weddings of the brothers; for designating the God parents of one's children and for receiving inspiration from the achievements of members of the group who have striven to make this planet a better place to inhabit.



# The Millennium Challenge

# The Millennium Challenge

In 1988 an article appeared in the French newspaper *Le Monde* that sent shock waves through West and Central Africa. The article appeared under a pseudonym, but it was clearly expressing the views of French policy-makers. The thrust was simple: France was fed up with the corruption and economic mismanagement of its former African colonies, and big changes were on the horizon.

Since the end of the Second World War, France had propped up the economies of the 14 members of the African franc zone by pegging their currencies to the French franc and pouring in development funds. The author took a look at the results and saw a depressing panoply of military dictatorship, unrest and rampant corruption. He claimed that the entire debt of these countries was probably smaller than the wealth stashed in Swiss bank accounts belonging to African leaders.

Thus it came as no surprise when the French instituted a devaluation of the African currency in 1994. It could not have come at a worse time for these countries, as it coincided with a downward spiral in the world commodity prices on which many of them depended. Nor was it a surprise that a period of heightened instability and violence ensued.

Against this background, the Western world has been seeking solutions that would provide the necessary resources to lift Africa – and other impoverished regions – out of this situation while avoiding the hemorrhage of cash. The urgency of this necessity has in recent years been increased by the onset of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and bloody civil and ethnic wars.





Two major initiatives have been launched that deserve the attention of all who are concerned with the effort to eradicate poverty, especially in Africa and the Afro-Caribbean countries.

## The Millennium Challenge Account

In early 2003 the Bush administration launched the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), a new approach to providing and delivering development assistance. The approach emphasized the role a country's own policies and institutions play in its development. MCA was premised on the belief that poverty can be reduced only through economic growth. It placed emphasis on investments that raise the productive potential of a country, thereby giving it the ability to integrate its economy into global markets.

Tied to both monetary and technical assistance from the United States was the requirement that countries put their house in order. They would have to open their economies, develop their free enterprise and private sectors, build their capacity for trade and investment, and – especially – they would have to move toward more democratic political structures.

The U.S. established a unique structure to manage this initiative, the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), supervised by a Board of Directors composed of cabinet level officials and led by a CEO nominated by the President. It was believed that this kind of body would be more flexible in establishing genuine partnerships with developing countries. Countries would enter into a “contract” with the MCC, and funds would be disbursed in accordance with agreed milestones toward accomplishing goals.

In the view of the Council, this is the most positive initiative the

administration has undertaken in the fight against global poverty, and it deserves broad support. Funding has been building for the account since its establishment in 2003. Congress authorized \$2.5 billion in Fiscal Year 2005. The President requested \$3 billion for FY 2006, and has pledged to raise this to \$5 billion in the future. Congress has shown some reluctance to ramp up as quickly as the administration had wished because of the slow pace of spending. This does not mean that Congress is losing enthusiasm; there is broad support for the MCC on both sides of the aisle. Basically, countries have simply been slow to meet qualifying benchmarks.

MCA's sluggish start has raised questions about which countries are – or should be – eligible. The strategy was to start with the poorest countries and ramp up as money became available. In FY'06, all countries with incomes up to \$2,975 — the current World Bank cutoff for lower middle income countries — became eligible to compete as a separate pool.

In fact, the methodology of determining eligibility is quite rigorous, especially when measuring whether a country is “justly governed.” This brings into question, inevitably, which can come first: political reform or growth? The economic success of China and South Korea might argue for the latter. The Council considers MCC is correct in pushing hard on political reform and the fight against corruption. Perhaps the establishment of rewards for measurable progress should be more fully developed. In any case, the MCA is the result of visionary thinking. It deserves support.

Millennium Development Goals – The UN's ambitious push

In 2000, the developed world joined the under-developed world in pledging to make a serious effort to reduce poverty by the year 2015.



Much is heard about these goals, and it is worthwhile to enumerate them.

- Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
- Achieve universal primary education
- Promote gender equality and empower women
- Reduce child mortality
- Improve maternal health
- Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
- Ensure environmental sustainability
- Develop a global partnership for development

Most Americans regard the impoverished areas of the world with a combination of sympathy and apathy. But those who look beyond the pictures of malnourished children on the televised appeals for support realize that eventually our own way of life can be threatened by world poverty and the rage that is simmering among the have-nots. Will those chickens come home to roost?

Kofi Annan put it well when he said: “We will not enjoy development without security, we will not enjoy security without development, and we will not enjoy either without respect for human rights. Unless all these causes are advanced, none will succeed.”

We are 10 years along in the 15-year timetable and progress has been very slow. The UN’s 2000 report on the Millennium Development Goals laments that setbacks on hunger nearly outweigh any progress. There were 815 million hungry people in the developing world in 2002 -- 9 million less than in 1990. Yet in the worst affected areas – sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia – the number of hungry people has increased by tens of millions. Conflicts and disasters have exacerbated poverty and hunger. Out of 13 million deaths in large-scale conflicts from 1990 to 2003, over 12 million were in sub-Saharan Africa. Over 115

million children of school age are out of school, 80% of whom are in sub-Saharan Africa. Over 30,000 children a day die before their fifth birthday.

The AIDS pandemic continues its virulent course, and despite some glimmers of hope in places like Uganda and Thailand, there is no light at the end of that tunnel.

## The Challenge for Alpha Phi Alpha and Similar Organizations

What does all this mean for the fraternity and similar organizations? The most promising avenue toward an improved situation may be the success of the administration's Millennium Challenge, which could help governments take the necessary steps to halt the decline. The U.S. needs to pick up the pace of spending, and this may mean some adjustment of timetables within framework agreements. The administration should continue to focus on the full funding of the MCA, and the Black Caucus should be especially active in its support. Advocacy groups for African assistance should be unequivocal in their backing of the MCA.

Beyond this, we as a nation need to fulfill our promise of support to the UN's Millennium Development Goals. The frustration the administration has expressed toward the lack of reforms in the UN may have some justification, but much of what the UN does deserves support.

Finally, we should all realize that we don't live alone in this world. What happens beyond our shores will eventually have an impact on us all, especially our children. This argues at a minimum that we should keep ourselves informed. The website [www.millenniumcampaign.org](http://www.millenniumcampaign.org) is a good place to start.

# Extraordinary Rendition: Justice Denied

# Extraordinary Rendition: Justice Denied

“Extraordinary rendition,” a term which some commentators liken to a phrase from Charles Dickens or Gilbert and Sullivan, is one of those modern day, antiseptic euphemisms which cloak a process akin to the worst cruelties and barbaric practices of any age in human history. It was coined by the United States government for an extra-judicial procedure of sending criminal suspects, generally suspected terrorists, to other countries for imprisonment and interrogation to avoid the American requirements of due process and prohibition of torture. It is estimated that more than 150 individuals have been “rendered” since the process began.

The procedure was developed by Central Intelligence Agency officials in 1993 as they attempted to track down and dismantle militant Islamic organizations in the Middle East. It was expanded after 9/11 beyond recognition, becoming, according to former Agency officials, “an abomination.” What began as a program aimed at a small, discrete set of subjects --- people against whom there were outstanding warrants --- came to include a wide and ill-defined population that the Bush administration refers to as “illegal combatants.” Many of them have never been publicly charged with a crime.

To many, including members of this Council, “extraordinary rendition” is but one example of highly questionable policies and action by the Bush Administration in the area of civil and human rights. From strained interpretations of law and the Constitution to overt acts that many feel place government at odds with international rules and norms, an image of a government with little or no respect for individual liberty. Such acts as the holding without charge of prisoners at Guantanamo, the abuse of prisoners at Abu Ghraib in Iraq, the apparent mass, warrantless telephone surveillance by the National Security Agency (NSA), and threats to journalists are indications on an Administration has strayed rather far from standards of previous American governments. This report, however, is limited to one of these areas of major concern—“extraordinary rendition.”

In the typical rendition, suspects are abducted by often disguised



security forces, stripped of their clothing, forcibly given drugs, sometimes enemas as well, swaddled in diapers, dressed in orange jump suits, blindfolded or forced to wear opaque goggles, sedated, handcuffed and shackled with leg irons, driven in convoys to private jets and flown to the country of rendition where questions are given interrogators who then torture them in a variety of ways.

The private jets referred to here are in the inventory of the CIA, one of which, a Gulfstream V, was reportedly seen by spotters landing several times at a number of airports in Europe and Asia. It is registered with a series of dummy companies such as Bayard Foreign Marketing of Portland, Oregon, and has clearance to land at US military bases, writes Jane Mayer in the New Yorker.

Ms. Mayer's article, "Outsourcing the Torture" in the February 14, 2005, issue of the publication chronicling the ordeal of Canadian citizen Maher Arar and the practice in general of extraordinary rendition, was one of the first expositions of the activity by a U.S. publication. The earliest efforts of American journalism to report and describe the practice were undertaken by the New Yorker and the New York Times. The Washington Post and as few others have followed since.

The most common destinations for rendered suspects are Egypt, Morocco, Syria and Jordan. The conventional wisdom in the anti-terrorist community is that if you want a sound interrogation, send the suspect to Jordan; brutally tortured, send him to Syria; to disappear forever, send him to Egypt.

Standard measures of torture employed by these regimes include beatings with electric cords, application of electrical shock to the genitals, hanging by limbs from walls, being forced to stand in cold water up to the waist in a room no more than four feet high and then having to remain bent over for hours, being threatened with drowning by standing in water up to the chin, being threatened with electrocution, and being forced to remain in isolation for days in rat-infested cells.

Mr. Arar,---whose experience in extraordinary rendition has been reported in lengthy detail, notably by Ms. Mayer in the New Yorker, Wolfgang Kohler for the Middle East International magazine, and Bob

Herbert of the New York Times as well as others --- is perhaps the most well known victim of the process.

“On January 27th, (2005) “Ms. Mayer writes, “President Bush ...assured the world that ‘torture is never acceptable nor do we hand over people to countries that do torture.’ Maher Arar, a Canadian engineer born in Syria, was surprised to learn of Bush’s statement. Two and one half years ago, American officials, suspecting Arar of being a terrorist, apprehended him in New York and sent him back in handcuffs and leg irons to Syria where he endured months of brutal interrogation including torture.”

Arar was released a year later after the Canadian government took up his cause. By this time, the Syrians announced that they found no links between him and terrorism. As it turned out, Arar had been sent to Syria on orders from the U.S. government under a then secretive program known as “extraordinary rendition.” A recent, powerfully poignant article by Herbert in the New York Times makes the case that Arar has been psychically destroyed by his subjection to torture.

In a recent editorial under the title “Torture by Proxy,” the Times asserted that the US has become partner to some of the world’s most repressive regimes in pursuit of extraordinary rendition. It claims that the CIA maintains clandestine camps around the world for prisoners which it does not want the Red Cross or the American public to know about. Such prisons, the Times went on, are located in Thailand, Qatar and Afghanistan, among other countries. According to former government officials, many individuals have been flown to Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Pakistan, “each (nation) a habitual offender when it comes to torture,.” The Times declared.

The administration’s position on “extraordinary rendition” has moved from stonewalling and denial to defending the need for the practice. The President has said that US policy is not to torture, but senior officials in his administration have recently defended the practice, have asked that certain US officials be excused from a prohibition on torture, and appeared to try to minimize its importance.

These officials, claimed that “renditions are not unlawful” and that they “save lives”; Attorney General Gonzalez whose definition of





torture excludes all harsh treatment except that which causes organ failure; and Vice President Cheney who tried to persuade the GOP Congressional caucus to exempt the CIA from legislation it was proposing to explicitly ban torture.

Senate Leader Bill Frist seems more interested in cloaking the practice in secrecy rather than being worried about the possibility that crimes against humanity may be perpetrated by American officials. He declared that he was not concerned with what was going on in the jails that held suspects but more alarmed about how the information on the administration's pursuit of "extraordinary rendition" got to the press and wanted an investigation to uncover any illegal leaks.

These attitudes on the part of the administration and the congressional leadership persist despite the fact that congress passed legislation in 1998 declaring that it is "the policy of the United States not to expel, extradite or otherwise effect the involuntary return of any person to a country in which there are substantial grounds for believing the person would be in danger of being subjected to torture, regardless of whether the person is physically present in the United States."

That Senator Frist and other senior officials of the administration may be unconcerned about possible US violations of international law appears to underline the degree to which the Bush administration has set itself apart from the rest of the world. Many have raised the possibility that charges could be brought against US officials for crimes against humanity as outlined in international law.

In a 40 page memorandum to the Bush administration, State Department legal advisor William Taft IV warned that if the US took the war on terrorism outside the Geneva Conventions, not only could US soldiers be denied protection of the Conventions and therefore be prosecuted for crimes, including murder, but President Bush could be accused of a "grave breach" by other countries and prosecuted for war crimes.

Although the Bush administration asserts that Al Qaeda members are "illegal combatants" and outside of the Geneva Convention, Taft argues that "there is no such thing as a non-covered person under the Geneva Conventions. The protocols cover everything from world wars to

local rebellions,” he declared and urged Bush’s legal advisors to warn him that he would be seen as a war criminal by the rest of the world. Three days before Taft’s memo arrived, Bush decided to suspend the Geneva Conventions on January 8, 2002.

Apart from the serious breach in rules regarding treatment of prisoners, the practice of torture is creating a quandary for the US. Most lawyers agree that it would be impossible to convict prisoners who have been tortured. Whatever information is developed through torture would be tossed out as inadmissible by a court.

Secondly, information obtained through torture is notoriously unreliable. Retired FBI official Dan Coleman told the New Yorker that he warned his colleagues and CIA officers against using torture to get information, adding that a suspect will usually mislead an interrogator by telling the interrogator whatever he wants to hear, true or not, in order to end the ordeal.

One of the more notorious examples of this can be found in the case of Ibn al-Sheik al-Libi, the first high ranking Al Qaeda member captured after 9/11 whose “confession” under torture led to the false claim (later recanted) by former Secretary of State Colin Powell that Saddam Hussein had offered to train Al Qaeda operatives.

If it is not possible to convict those being held and thought guilty, what do you do with them? Let them go free? Killing them would not only compound the inherent immorality of the enterprise but expose US officials, of complicity in murder and in many ways place them in the same status of the leaders of those so-called “evil” regimes we are dedicated to oppose.

“Extraordinary rendition” not only frustrates legitimate efforts to prosecute terrorists, but it makes a mockery of the high sounding principles that we hear invoked constantly. It robs us of the moral high ground and our justification for leadership in the world. Finally, it lowers us to the level of all those rogue and evil regimes that we have fought against in the past and against which we claim we are now struggling. Surely, we can not prevail in a struggle for justice in the world if we become the unjust.



## EDITOR'S NOTE AND UPDATE:

### THE ADMINISTRATION ACTS TO RESOLVE STATUS OF THOSE CAUGHT IN EXTRAORDINARY RENDITION

**Editor's Note:** In the time since the preparation of this document, the issue of extraordinary rendition has been brought to the fore in a manner that could not be ignored by the Bush administration. A ruling in the Supreme Court on the administration's plan for handling those being held on suspicion of involvement in the September 11, 2001 attacks and other acts of violence against America was the trigger which crystallized the issue and gave it priority on the national agenda.

The court ruled that the administration's plan was in violation of the Constitution, and the ruling therefore precluded the U.S. from taking any action on those prisoners held in Guantanamo and at other sites as a result of extraordinary rendition. Faced with a stalemate in terms of what judicial disposition could be made of the prisoners, the Bush administration proposed legislation that would resolve the problem. The measure was passed by Congress and signed into law by the President on October 17.

The law suspends the right to habeas corpus, strips the judiciary of its power to review the constitutionality of the detentions, permits the introduction of hearsay evidence, does not require legal counsel for detainees, and, among other things, permits the President to interpret the meaning and application of international standards for treatment of prisoners.

The administration announced immediately after the signing of the measure that it would move to try some of the detainees held at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. However, some observers believe that the measure may contain fatal flaws which could cause it to be thrown out by the federal judiciary because of its departure from what are seen as requirements of the Constitution.

Many opposed the legislation because they said it eliminated rights of defendants considered fundamental to American values, such as the

ability of an individual to go to court to protest detention and the use of coerced testimony as evidence. Some see provisions of the law giving the President sole authority to interpret international conventions on prisoner treatment as opening the door to abuses, coerced confessions if not outright torture.

Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee Senator Arlen Specter, R-Pa., announced that he could not support a bill that is “blatantly unconstitutional...that suspends a right (habeas corpus) that goes back to (the Magna Carta) 1215....I would be willing, in the interest of party loyalty, to turn the clock back 500 years, but 800 years goes too far,” he added. The amendment that would have stricken this section from the bill lost by two votes, 51-49, in a vote largely along party lines. Senator Specter later defended his vote for the bill on the grounds that the courts would clean up the legislation.

The fact that Congress passed the legislation in the face of such publicly expressed doubts is due, according to observers, to the predicament in which the administration finds itself and the desire of a sympathetic, Republican Congress to come to the aid of the President. A combination of (1) the need to do something about continued media revelations about the fate of prisoners in judicial limbo as a result of the process of extraordinary rendition and (2) the Supreme Court veto of the original plan for trials forced the administration to create rules for resolving status of the prisoners. While many in Congress expressed doubts about the constitutionality of the resulting legislation, they deemed it best to pass the measure and then, in the spirit of Senator Specter, hope that the court would remove from it whatever flaws it contains.

Legal experts view the legislation as clearly unconstitutional. One of them, Richard Shragger, Professor of Law at the University of Virginia, asks, “Should the Supreme Court bail out Congress for the unconstitutional provisions of the new detainee legislation? ...It has no choice,” he concludes. Nevertheless, given the now ultra conservative make-up of the Supreme Court with new Chief Justice John Roberts and new Justice Samuel Alito, many believe that it is not a foregone conclusion that the Court will overturn the law.



# **Katrina: Tragedy and Policy Implications**

# Katrina: Tragedy and Policy Implications

Hurricanes are severe tropical storms that form in the Southern Atlantic Ocean, Caribbean Sea, Gulf of Mexico, and in the Western Pacific Ocean. Hurricanes gather heat and energy through contact with warm ocean waters. Evaporation of seawater increases their power.

Hurricanes rotate in a counter – clockwise direction around an “eye”.

Hurricanes have winds of at least 74 miles per hour. When they come onto land, the heavy rain, strong winds and heavy waves can damage buildings, trees and automobiles. The heavy waves are called a “storm surge”. Storm surges are very dangerous.

Hurricanes are rated by categories. The Saffir – Simpson scale is the rating system that helps project the hurricane’s potential damage as it hits land.

The Saffir-Simpson Scale follows:

- Category 1 has sustained winds of 74 to 95 mph
- Category 2 has sustained winds of 96 to 110 mph
- Category 3 has sustained winds of 111 to 130 mph
- Category 4 has sustained winds of 131 to 155 mph
- Category 5 has sustained winds of more than 155 mph

Editor’s Note: This paper undertakes a review of the tropical storms we call hurricanes, discusses their origins and reviews the response to Katrina, a most recent storm that visited considerable destruction on the Gulf Coast, including Louisiana, Mississippi and particularly, the city of New Orleans.

The authorities were aware of this hurricane information as Hurricane Katrina approached the Gulf Coast. There was sufficient warning for the necessary precaution to be taken in order to protect the population. That this was not done has created much debate as to why, and who is at fault?

The Washington Post (January 24, 2006) reported that “two (2) days before Hurricane Katrina hit New Orleans and the Gulf Coast, the White House received detailed warnings about the storm’s likely impact,



including predictions of breached levees, massive flooding, and major losses of life and property.

The Department of Homeland Security's National Infrastructure Simulation and Analysis Center (NISAC) warned that a storm of Katrina's size would "likely lead to severe flooding." It predicted economic losses in the tens of billions of dollars. Initial response and rescue operations would be hampered by disruption of telecommunications networks and the loss of power to fire, police, and emergency workers, the report said.

"On August 27, 2005, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) reported that Katrina's storm surge "could greatly over-top levees and protective systems and destroy nearly 90% of city structures." It further predicted, "incredible search and rescue needs (60,000+)" and the displacement of more than a million residents.

Hurricane Katrina made landfall near New Orleans, Louisiana, Monday August 29, 2005, at 6:10am CDT. When it made landfall, it was a Category 4 hurricane. The New Orleans levee system was built to withstand Category 3 hurricanes. Where Hurricane Katrina made landfall it had sustained winds of 145 mph., and hurricane force winds extended outward 120 miles. Its storm surge over ran the New Orleans levee system that was designed to protect the city from Lake Pontchartrain. Eighty percent of New Orleans was flooded by the Lake Pontchartrain water. This and other destruction along the coasts of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana have Hurricane Katrina listed as the most destructive and costliest disaster to occur in the history of the United States of America.

The city of New Orleans seems to have had a hurricane relief plan; however, as is true of many plans, it was on the "shelf." No one seemed to exercise the authority to carry it out. Faced with this inaction, it is no wonder the citizens of New Orleans suffered. The Mayor, C. Ray Nagin, at a news conference Sunday August 28, 2005, ordered the evacuation of the city.

The order to evacuate the city was given; however, there was no follow-up. Those with means of transportation left the city. Over 150,000 citizens, with no means of transportation, mostly African American and

poor, were unable to evacuate. Lisa Myers of NBC news said, “A draft emergency plan, prepared by FEMA and obtained by NBC news, calls for 400 buses to evacuate victims (citizens). Yet those 400 buses were left in Katrina’s path.”

The claim by officials that bus drivers could not be located fails the test since the first bus to arrive in Houston with New Orleans evacuees was a New Orleans school bus driven by an evacuee, Jabbar Gibson. The authorities know, or should have known, that any licensed driver is available in an emergency.

The over 150,000 citizens were seeking shelter where it could be found. They were stranded on rooftops, on bridges and any high ground they could find. Sixty thousand citizens made it to the New Orleans Superdome for evacuation. The Superdome was without running water, air conditioning, and electricity. The floor was used as a toilet facility. These citizens had to put up with these conditions from Monday, August 29 until Tuesday, September 6. Their pleas for evacuation were ignored. Twenty thousand citizens made it to the New Orleans Convention Center. These citizens made pleas for help on broadcast outlets but their pleas were ignored. Some citizens left the Convention Center to leave the city by way of the Crescent City Connection Bridge. They were met by law enforcement officials and turned back at gunpoint.

The Ninth Ward, which is the low income, African American district, was hardest hit by Katrina. Most of those who remained in the city were poor, elderly, ill, and African American. These groups had no means of transportation to leave the city. The government’s response to Hurricane Katrina was low and inadequate. Katrina exposed to the world the extreme inequality and racial discrimination that exists in the United States of America. The government ignored the plight of these citizens because they were African American and poor.

The White House may have missed the significance of a city with a majority of African American citizens in peril because the Bush presidency is organized around a different segment of the population.

Homeland Security made arrangements for other states to accept some of the evacuees. Texas accepted over 250,000, Arkansas accepted





over 30,000 and Oklahoma accepted over 20,000. The remainder of the more than one million persons displaced, were accepted by other states. There have been unconfirmed reports of wide spread acts of criminal activity after the hurricane. Some of the things reported were murders, rapes, robberies, beatings, and shootings at security units. A few stranded citizens have labeled these stories false.

The hurricane left homes in New Orleans flooded up to their rooftops. Trees were uprooted. Boats were deposited on land. Over 40,000 homes in New Orleans were flooded and destroyed. Over five million citizens were without power. The death toll is 1,281 and the property damage is over \$200 billion.

Is Humankind contributing to Hurricane disasters?

There is much discussion concerning the role of humankind in the increase in numbers and the ferocity of hurricanes. Global warming caused by greenhouse gases, levee system built along the Mississippi River, and developments of the wet and barrier lands served to increase the destruction of Hurricane Katrina.

The greenhouse effect is the sequences of phenomena comprising the absorption of solar radiation by the earth, its conversion and re-emission in the infrared, and the absorption of this radiation, especially in the wavelength region from 5 to 17 microns, by atmosphere ozone, water vapor, and carbon dioxide, preventing its dissipation into space and resulting in a steady, gradual rise in the temperature of the atmosphere.

The effect of greenhouse gases on the Earth's atmosphere has increased 20 percent since 1990. Greenhouse gases result from industrial and other processes and remain in the atmosphere. These gases trap solar heat and the result in a gradual warming of the Earth's atmosphere. Perhaps because of this, the Earth's temperature increased approximately one degree Fahrenheit during the last century. This leads to global warming.

Hurricanes thrive in warmer weather. Scientists believe that greenhouse gases raise the temperature of Earth's atmosphere. Warmer air means warmer oceans, and warmer oceans create hurricanes. Kerry Emanuel, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, found that hurricane power, measured by wind speed and duration, had increased 50 per-

cent since the mid-1970s. “The storms are getting stronger and they’re lasting longer,” he says.

Time Magazine (February 6, 2006 P.18) reported that “the global average surface temperature was 58.3 Fahrenheit in 2005, the hottest year on record. It has been 10,000 years since earth has been this hot, according to estimates from NASA scientists.” The United States should join other nations in reducing global warming and the greenhouse effect. This, in some way, may help to reduce the number and force of future hurricanes.

Humankind, in an effort to improve things, has disturbed the Mississippi River and its delta. This has led to unintended consequences. The Army Corps of Engineers leveed and streamlined the Mississippi River. This leads to a reduction in sediment and nutrients on the continental shelf. As a result of this and oil-drilling operations, the Mississippi delta has been sinking. Every year, 22,000 acres of the delta are lost to the Gulf.

The channels dug for easier navigation allow the saltwater to flow into the freshwater swamps and bayous. The grime burns the marsh plants and kills the cypress trees. Until recently, New Orleans was protected from storms by barrier islands to break the waves, wetlands to absorb storm surges, and cypress trees to slow the winds. Most of these have disappeared in the name of progress.

The debate will continue on the role of humankind in increasing the number and intensity of hurricanes; however, it is clear that the ocean temperature is getting warmer and warm water fuels hurricanes.

## Government Response

It appears that Louisiana had an Evacuation Plan in place before Hurricane Katrina. It would appear that the official leaders were not aware of the plan. If they were aware of the plan, they failed miserably in executing it. The government made no provisions for the evacuation of the ill, old or the poor. These persons were left to the fury of the hurricane and its aftermath. They had to survive for days and nights on rooftops, high ground, bridges, in the Superdome and in the Convention Center. Rescue



was late coming.

There was a breakdown in police authority. Some police officers did not report to duty. Most of those on duty did not have current information to pass to citizens. When asked about rescue efforts, the police said it would be along soon when no help was on the way. Some police were involved with the mistreatment of citizens.

The government was late with the delivery of food and water to those stranded. The Louisiana National Guard delivered enough food and water for 15,000 persons for 3 days to the Superdome on August 28, 2005. By September 1, 2005, a National Guard official said there were 60,000 persons at the Superdome. The delivery of food and water seemed to be non-existent for a number of days.

Rescue efforts were extremely slow. Citizens were stranded on rooftops and high ground for days. Helicopters and law enforcement officials passed them by with not even words of encouragement.

The authorities were unable to locate and remove the dead from the buildings and streets. Dead bodies were allowed to float in the streets for days. This added to the health hazards of the already flooded city.

The government at all levels—local, state, and federal—has come to the aid of the Hurricane Katrina stricken area. The private sector has been supportive.

Different phases of government have established commissions to oversee the rebuilding of the area. The mayor has established a commission and so has the governor. The Congress is discussing a commission and the city council has established one. These commissions might be more valuable if their efforts are coordinated.

The government has approved contracts for rebuilding, but no one seems to be in charge of where and how to rebuild. Also there are not enough funds for all residents to rebuild.

Contracts are being awarded, but local contracts are not getting them. Displaced citizens are not being employed to do the work.

It is a fair assessment to say the government is doing something; however, it is not enough!

## Other Responses

Over seventy countries pledged money or other assistance. Among these countries pledging support were Cuba, Venezuela, Sri Lanka, Russia, France, Canada, Mexico, Dominica, Germany, Singapore, Bangladesh, India, China, and South Africa.

African American businesses came to the support of Hurricane Katrina victims. One food service company offers a free meal plan for the academic year to any student forced to relocate to a college or university serviced by them. One company provided fifty-two buses and vans that lift and secure wheelchairs. A construction company provided hotel rooms free of charge. Many companies held fundraisers and matched the funds raised. One company sent two truck loads of food and other nonperishable items. Some companies set up matching payroll deduction programs.

Funds have been made available for the three Historically Black Colleges and Universities to reopen. Dillard University is using the Hilton Hotel in New Orleans for the temporary campus. The three universities also have access to an extra 230 million in federal aid. These are not enough funds to do the job adequately.

The higher education community gave tremendous support to the Katrina-affected colleges and universities. Other colleges and universities accepted transfer students from the area schools without late charges and transcripts. Many colleges waived tuition for these students. Howard University accepted more than fifty students from the Katrina-affected colleges and universities.

## Hurricane Katrina Media Reporting

A 17 year old African American who drove a New Orleans Parish School Bus and almost 40 people from New Orleans, Louisiana, to the Astrodome in Houston, Texas, was called a “thief.” The bus was called a “renegade bus” and the hurricane survivors on the bus were denied access to the Astrodome because they did not come directly from the New Orleans Superdome on a designated bus and had arrived sooner



than the designated chartered busses. Had the young driver been white, he would have been called a “hero” not a “thief”.

When the displaced citizens of New Orleans arrived at the Houston Astrodome they were called “refugees.” A refugee is an individual who flees a country to escape danger. These citizens were “evacuees” from a flooded city, and the bus driver was resourceful.

In another news story, individuals were securing items for themselves and their families. When the individuals were white, the caption read “Residents wade through chest-deep water finding bread and soda from a local grocery store.” When African Americans were reported doing the same thing, the caption read, “A young man walks through chest-deep water after looting a grocery store.”

## Conclusion

Hurricane Katrina revealed to the world some of the hidden problems of the United States of America. New Orleans has a population that is 67 percent African American. Over 25 percent of its citizens are poor. These two groups were the hardest hit by Katrina. These groups were left in the city. They did not have the means necessary to evacuate. Perhaps, more than anything else, Hurricane Katrina revealed the stark difference between the haves and the have-nots and between African Americans and Whites. Most of the citizens shown by the news media were poor and African American.

In the aftermath of the Hurricane, more than 25,000 National Guardsmen have been used; Congress has approved \$62.3 billion for relief; Katrina contracts have been awarded in the amount of \$3,848.8 billion (this to the 10 biggest contracts); some 23,800 citizens had to be rescued; an estimated 170,000 public school students were displaced; many hospitals closed; and three HBCUs – Dillard University, Xavier University, and Southern University of New Orleans – were damaged and closed.

## Recommendations

In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, it is easy to “point fingers”, and access blame. There is plenty of blame to “go around.” The authorities, at all levels, did not perform well. If New Orleans had a disaster plan it was not implemented, we should investigate why, and put in

place structures so that there will never be recurrences such as happened in the case of Hurricane Katrina.

The following recommendations are offered:

1. The appointment of a nonpartisan commission to investigate “what happened” in New Orleans.
2. The appointment of a czar to oversee the rebuilding and settlement of all disputes.
3. Each city should develop a disaster plan.
4. The leaders of the plan should conduct periodic “dry-runs.”
5. Special plans should be made for the aged, the infirm, and the poor.
6. Displaced citizens should be given priority for jobs to rebuild the area.
7. Eliminate “red tape” for citizens to rebuild.
8. Establish a commission to relocate citizens back to the area.
9. Provide the resources necessary to rebuild the colleges and universities.
10. Provide employment for teachers and administrators.
11. Commit to the rebuilding of New Orleans.

Much has been broadcast about African American citizens of New Orleans looting, beating, raping and firing on rescue helicopter. It should be emphasized that these reports were not verified.

U.S. Army Lt. Gen. Russel L. Honaré, in charge of the military’s response to Hurricane Katrina, first, ordered patrolling National Guardsmen to lower their weapons. He told them, “This is not Baghdad. These are American citizens.” About the reports of crime and looting, the General said, “Some people call it looting, I call it survival.” He also said, “No one has yet to show me a bullet hole in a helicopter.”

The fervent hope is that when Hurricane Katrina’s damage is corrected, this country will eliminate the disparities between the haves and the have-nots and between Blacks and Whites. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, the German poet and dramatist said, “If you treat an individual as he is, he will stay as he is, but if you treat him as if he were what he ought to be and could be, he will become what he ought to be and could be.” The United States would do well to follow this in its race and poverty policies.



# Toward The World House

# Toward "The World House"

In his prophetic work, "Where Do We Go From Here: Community or Chaos," Dr. Martin Luther King develops a specific philosophy and social/political agenda around what he calls the "World House."

"These are revolutionary times," he wrote. "All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression.

"And out of the womb of a frail world, new systems of justice and equality are being born. The shirtless and barefoot people of the earth are raising up as never before. The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light. We in the West must support these revolutions."

King went on to blame "our loss of the revolutionary spirit" on "comfort, complacency . . . a morbid fear of Communism" and "a proneness to adjust to injustice."

He advocated as "our only hope today" the recapturing of the revolutionary spirit which would send individuals and groups "out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal opposition to poverty, racism, and militarism.

"A genuine revolution of values means in the final analysis that our loyalties must become ecumenical rather than sectional. Every nation must now develop an overriding loyalty to mankind as a whole in order to prove the best in their individual societies."

The point of this article in the Alpha Phi Alpha Centenary Report is to suggest Brother King's prescription for America today and for other countries which might embrace the prophetic vision for the World House. It is to suggest that group within the body politic should proclaim and fight to realize such a vision in today's world. It is important to note that King does not back away from the conflicting ideologies of the day. He proclaims the vision from his home nation, both indicting and praising her, while advocating the same vision for other nations. In making this statement in 1968 after numerous Civil Rights accomplishments, King realized that the vision was broader than African Americans alone but must include "The World Household".





Now some 50 years later as we look at the state of African American men and boys, the question of chaos or community remains. The illicit drug trade continues to bring havoc into the poor neighborhoods of America. Men and women are dropping out of society into prisons and depression, dying prematurely from poor health; and are without skills that would make them productive. These same condition prevail in other countries of the West such as France and Germany, particularly among immigrant populations.

Here at the advent of the 21st Century, we are at an epic moment to re-envision who we are in the world and how the King vision - the only hope to broaden the world view of our community, our nation, and our world - can be operationalized. We may go in a search for community values, for universal, world values that resists militarism, upholds social justice, and seeks to resolve social conflict throughout the world by treating people as individuals worthy of being members of the Household of Mankind. It is not too much to hope that, in the spirit of the American Revolution, the life of the common man can be restructured such that nations rid themselves of the evils of race, poverty, and classism. In Dr. King's words, there is a "fierce urgency of now" to bring this agenda about in our own nation as an example to others.

Standing solidly against this kind of development today is a strong surge of neo-conservatism, which has the power to set back progressive ideas, precisely those espoused by Dr. King. These forces continually expose our nation to the world as mean spirited, reckless, and war minded. The only antidote to such self-inflicted pain is to bring new thoughts to the table causing America to re-think its own self-image.

Negative attitudes among the neo-conservatives toward global governance institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, indeed, the United Nations itself, are a case in point. While it is true that these institutions increasingly impact the lives of even ordinary citizens through vast networks of programs and controls, their influence for good or for ill depends upon the willingness of nations to work together for the common good. Providing financial assistance to poor nations under stringent conditions which lead to political instability is no favor. It assures continued poverty among the poor by actions of the rich. Brother King's vision is antithetical to such a view. His vision of the World House is one in which people (and nations) care for each other and is centered in a spirituality that

uplifts humanity, seeking the best as well as the highest ethical and moral standard for all.

As the role of the Fraternity is considered at this Centenary point in Alpha history, it is well to recall that such Alpha Phi Alpha giants as Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. DuBois, and Charles S. Johnson used the international stage upon which to dramatize atrocities committed against African Americans for all the world to see. Until his death, Douglass was actively involved in abolition causes.

Referring to some of his experiences in England, where there was no segregation, Douglass wrote:

"If riding in the same car makes one equal, I think that this little puddle I saw sitting in the lap of a lady was made equal by riding in the same car. Social equality is a matter between individuals; it is a reciprocal understanding. I don't think that when I ride with an educated polished rascal that he is thereby my equal or that when I ride with a numbskull that it makes me his equal or makes him my equal. Social equality does not necessarily follow from civil equality . . ."

The important point here is that by establishing a background of what freedom and equality meant in Europe, and the status of social equality, Douglass sought to lay a foundation which pitted the irrational behavior of some Americans to the behavior of people that he and some other Americans would see as clearly not his or their social equal. Yet, they could use public accommodations together and have civil rights without grave harm being done to individuals. He thus brought an international sense of values to weigh in against the American segregationist's point of view and to call attention to the plight of the common man.

DuBois used the international arena in many different ways, presenting his views on the status of the African American in such international fora as the first Universal-Race Congress held in London in 1911. It was through the influence of John E. Milholland, one of the founders of the NAACP, that DuBois was able to attend this particular meeting, where he served as the American secretary. Hearing a different perspective in London on the African in America by Booker T. Washington, Milholland immediately arranged for DuBois to become involved. It was here that the impressive DuBois set the tone and social philosophy of race (the color line) being the



harbinger of the 20th Century. The article growing out of this experience, titled "The Negro Race in the United States of America," contained his very thoughtful presentation of the importance of the abolitionist movement and the good work of the Southern Reconstruction. They succeeded, DuBois said, in giving to the New South 1) a more democratic form of government; 2) free public schools; and 3) the beginnings of a new social legislature.

It was this quality of work by DuBois which was to continue throughout his life as an activist scholar working at home and abroad. His acute sociological imagination gave the Europeans a much deeper understanding of who the African American was and what he had achieved. DuBois presented to the world the achievements, the glory, and the intellectual prowess of the African American, the building of institutions, and the style and strength of the community of freed slaves. As David Levering Lewis records, DuBois, in response to a request, produced a book entitled "A Small Nation of People, W. E. B. DuBois and African American Portraits of Progress" for the 1900 Exposition Universelle de Paris. DuBois selected a treasure trove of the most varied and unique portraits of African Americans in business, farmers, cooks, teachers, students, musical bands, baseball players, among other, giving an interior as well as an exterior view of ordinary people going about the business of building a life for themselves and their children. The product was so stunning that the African American, Lewis notes, was no longer silent but real and tangible. In a quite different context, DuBois and other, beginning in 1919, virtually set the stage for eventual de-colonization by their insistence on freedom, human rights, and dignity through meetings of the Pan African Congress.

Also drawn into the international arena, Charles S. Johnson was an astounding, pioneering sociologist. Appointed by Secretary of State William Benton to the National Advisory Commission to advise the State Department on its potential participation in UNESCO, Johnson was among delegates attending early meetings of UNESCO in Europe. He was a delegate to the 1947 UNESCO Congress in Mexico. Against a background of expertise in race relations and his seminal studies in this area, Johnson used his appointment to exert real pressure on the U.S. government to begin to look at itself and its racial policies. As he stated over and over again, it would be impossible for the US and UNESCO to project ideals of social uplift to the world when African Americans were mired in Jim Crow and segregation. America had to deal with this issue, he said, noting over and over that "UNESCO begins at home."

Johnson knew that working internationally, he could espouse the cause of freedom at home. He warned Americans that they would have to deal with diversity of people and cultures if they wanted to play an international role. One year after making such a pronouncement to an audience at Vanderbilt University, the city of Nashville, Tennessee, was denied the right to host a UNESCO conference because of its racial policies. Johnson had made his point.

As these Alpha brothers understood and used the world podium, so must today's Alphas in the current time of challenge. Under the leadership of the 29th General President, Brother Milton C. Davis, the World Policy Council was established a one mechanism for projecting the broad vision espoused by Brother Martin Luther King. Unique among African American organizations, Alpha has had such a voice since the mid-nineties, raising its voice in periodic reports on both national and international issues. These efforts can be re-doubled if the World Policy Council joins the crusade of advocacy for the establishment of Brother King's World House. Uniquely positioned to do so, Alpha Phi Alpha already boasts at least seven present and former United States Ambassadors, including Ambassador Andrew Young, the first African American to serve as U.S. Representative to the United Nations

In "The World House," Dr. King calls on us to: 1) transcend tribe, race, class, nation, and relations to embrace the vision . . . ; 2) eradicate at home and globally the Triple Evils of racism, poverty, militarism; 3) curb excessive materialism and shift from a 'thing' oriented society to a 'people' oriented society; and 4) resist social injustice and resolve conflicts in the spirit of love embodied in the philosophy and methods of nonviolence. He advocates a Marshall Plan to eradicate global poverty, a living wage, and a guaranteed minimum annual income for every American family. He urges the United Nations to experiment with the use of nonviolent direct action in international conflicts. The final paragraph warns of the "fierce urgency of now" and cautions that this may be the last chance to choose between chaos and community.



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12. Ibid, October 10, 2005, pp31-37
13. FEMA for kids: Hurricanes, P1. [www.fema.gov](http://www.fema.gov)
14. Ibid, [www.WWLT.com/News](http://www.WWLT.com/News) for New Orleans, Louisiana/ Local news, list of top 10 biggest Katrina contracts awarded pp 1-5.
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# About Alpha Phi Alpha

## FRATERNITY MISSION STATEMENT

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc. develops leaders, promotes brotherhood and academic excellence, while providing service and advocacy for our communities.

## FRATERNITY VISION STATEMENT

The objectives of this Fraternity shall be: to stimulate the ambition of its members; to prepare them for the greatest usefulness in the causes of humanity, freedom, and dignity of the individual; to encourage the highest and noblest form of manhood; and to aid down-trodden humanity in its efforts to achieve higher social, economic and intellectual status.



2005 Academic Convocation, Cornell University-Sage Chapel, Ithaca, NY

## THE ALPHA PHI ALPHA LEGACY: A BRIEF HISTORY



Since its founding on December 4, 1906, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc. has supplied voice and vision to the struggle of African-Americans and people of color around the world.

Alpha Phi Alpha, the first intercollegiate Greek-letter fraternity established for African-Americans, was founded at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York by seven college men who recognized the need for a strong bond of Brotherhood among African descendants in this country. The visionary founders, known as the "Jewels" of the Fraternity, are Henry Arthur Callis, Charles Henry Chapman, Eugene Kinckle Jones, George Biddle Kelley, Nathaniel Allison Murray, Robert Harold Ogle, and Vertner Woodson Tandy.

The Fraternity initially served as a study and support group for minority students who faced racial prejudice, both educationally and socially, at Cornell. The Jewel founders and early leaders of the Fraternity succeeded in laying a firm foundation for Alpha Phi Alpha's principles of scholarship, fellowship, good character, and the uplifting of humanity.

Alpha Phi Alpha chapters were established at other colleges and universities, many of them historically black institutions, soon after the founding at Cornell. The first Alumni Chapter was established in 1911. While continuing to stress academic excellence among its members, Alpha also recognized the need to help correct the educational, economic, political, and social injustices faced by African-Americans.

Alpha Phi Alpha has long stood at the forefront of the African-American community's fight for civil rights through leaders such as: W.E.B. DuBois, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Edward Brooke, Martin Luther King, Jr., Thurgood Marshall, Andrew Young, William Gray, Paul Robeson, and many others. True to its form as the "first of firsts," Alpha Phi Alpha has been interracial since 1945.

## ALPHA PHI ALPHA TODAY

Alpha Phi Alpha today continues its commitment to members of the Fraternity and the African-American community through Alpha University. It is through the groundbreaking Alpha University training program, the Fraternity has rededicated itself to fostering a spirit of Brotherhood within the ranks of the Fraternity, preparing a new generation of leaders and bringing consistency to chapter operation and to the implementation of the Fraternity's national programs.

## NATIONAL PROGRAMS

The Fraternity's National Programs are community outreach initiatives that have been adopted by the organization's governing body and mandated for implementation by all of its chapters. The organization's National Programs include:

### Go-To-High School, Go-To-College

The "Go-to-High-School, Go-to-College" program, established in 1920, concentrates on the importance of completing secondary and collegiate education as a road to advancement. Statistics prove the value of this extra impetus in making the difference in the success of young African-American men, given that school completion is the single best predictor of future economic success. Through the Go-to-High-School, Go-to-College educational initiative, young men receive information and learn strategies that facilitate success. Alpha men provide youth participants with excellent role models to emulate.



### Project Alpha

Project Alpha is a collaborative effort between the March of Dimes Foundation and Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc. This program was developed to increase the knowledge of the African-American male of the consequences of teenage pregnancy from the male perspective. This program seeks to assist young men in developing an understanding of their role in preventing untimely pregnancies through responsible attitudes and behaviors.

The goals of Project Alpha are to: Reduce the rate of adolescent sex and pregnancy; stress the concept of abstinence as a personal choice while promoting the use of contraceptives to those that choose to be sexually active; increase the knowledge of anatomy and physiology of the human body and the awareness of sexually transmitted diseases; clarify and emphasize the roles and responsibilities of fatherhood; and reduce the rate of sexual abuse and violence among African-American teens.

### A Voteless People Is A Hopeless People

"A Voteless People is a Hopeless People" was initiated as a National Program of Alpha during the 1930's when many African-Americans had the right to vote but were prevented from voting because of poll taxes, threats of reprisal, and lack of education about the voting process. Voter education and registration has remained

a dominant focus of this outreach activity for over 65 years. In the 1990's, the focus has shifted to include political awareness and empowerment.

### Special Projects

Alpha Phi Alpha's Special Projects are programs and activities that are sustained through collaborative efforts, memoranda of understanding, and/or outside financial assistance, which Chapters are encouraged to implement. Current Special Projects include:

- (1) Big Brothers / Big Sisters mentoring partnership—implemented in 1991, Alpha Phi Alpha and BB/BS assist each other in mentoring African-American boys and young men.
- (2) Boy Scouts of America—through this alliance, Alpha Phi Alpha focuses on mentoring through the Scouting program.
- (3) Leadership Development Institutes—the program prepares outstanding high school students in the vital skills of leadership, college preparation and effective group interaction.

## ALPHA PHI ALPHA'S FOUNDATIONS

The Alpha Phi Alpha Education Foundation, Inc.

The Alpha Phi Alpha Education Foundation, Inc. is the non-profit charitable arm of the Fraternity, which focuses on scholarship, programs, and training and development of the membership. Education Foundation encompasses the implementation of Go-to-High School, Go-to-College, Project Alpha, voter Education / Registration efforts, The Belford V. Lawson Oratorical Contest, the Collegiate Scholars Bowl, Leadership Development Institutes, and the professional and personal development thrusts of the Fraternity-Alpha University.

The Alpha Phi Alpha Building Foundation, Inc.

The Alpha Phi Alpha Building Foundation was established as an "economic development corporation to promote, preserve, and protect the infrastructure of our community. The Foundation has developed a unique approach to effect positive change." The Alpha Village represents a project built and purchased by Alpha men and a forward step towards an economic development movement.

The Alpha Phi Alpha Economic Development Foundation, Inc.

The purpose of the Alpha Phi Alpha National Community Economic Development Foundation is to "promote and encourage economic development in minority and disadvantaged communities by expanding the opportunities for the residents of those communities to enter into, own, manage, operate and/or be employed in business enterprises which are based upon the substantial participation of the low income community." Additionally, the Foundation's aim is to promote a dynamic business environment in underserved communities through franchise opportunities, family financial planning and an aggressive Wealth Building Initiative.

Washington, D.C. Martin Luther King, Jr.  
National Memorial Project Foundation, Inc.

Established to oversee the development of the memorial project, the Washington, D.C. Martin Luther King, Jr. National Memorial Project Foundation, Inc is a non-profit fundraising arm of the fraternity. The foundations mission is "to commemorate the life and work of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. by leading a collaborative funding, design and construction process in the creation of a memorial to honor his national and international contributions to world peace through non-violent social change."