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P.1. Southern Journalism: Media and the Movement

Interview P-0002

Harry Amana

13 October 2014

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ABSTRACT – HARRY AMANA

Interviewee: Harry Amana
Interviewer: Seth Kotch
Interview Date: October 13, 2014
Location: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Length: Approximately 1 hour and 30 minutes

Harry Amana is Professor Emeritus in the School of Journalism at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill School and an inductee into the UNC Journalism Hall of Fame who wrote for the African American news periodical the *Tribune* and taught black literature and composition courses at Rutgers University in Camden, New Jersey before his affiliation with UNC-Chapel Hill. Amana grew up in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, attending Temple University graduating with a Bachelor's degree in 1967 and a Master's degree in 1969; Amana also served in the US Military for two years in between his sophomore and junior years as an undergraduate at Temple. Topics in this interview include: the significance of the *Tribune*, the US's oldest black periodical, published twice weekly since 1884, to the African American community; "Amana-at-Large," the column Amana wrote for the *Tribune* between 1973 and 1976; his experience covering as a journalist and participation as an activist in the Black Power movement, the Black Activist Movement, and Black Student Movement; his position as editor of literary and newspaper publications of the Black Student League; time spent in revolutionary Cuba, working construction and "helping out with the revolution"; Marxist social theory introduced to Amana by his graduated advisor at Temple; his tour of Israel, sponsored by the Israeli government, and "going rogue" by talking to Palestinians and radical Jews about their experiences; covering the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), a Quaker group headquartered in Philadelphia that supplied Amana with his information on South Africa; his work for the AFSC Third World Coalition which sent him on a "fact-finding mission" in South Africa after the Soweto Riots; visiting Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana in 1976 and returning to Africa in 1991 to interview Kenneth Kuanda in Zambia, Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, Joaquim Chissano in Mozambique, and Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe; Sonia Hayes Stone and the Southeast Black Press Institute; the 1967 Kerner Commission and the Year 200 Plan for equitable participation in media backed by the American Newspapers Publishers Association (ANPA), American Society of News Editors (ASNE), American Press Managing Editors (APME); Renee Alexander Craft's *Sauit Mpya*, a literary magazine of the Black Cultural Center at UNC; J. Edgar Hoover's surveillance of black protest movements; WVSP and Africa News; Ester Iverem's seeingblack.com and the state of contemporary black journalism.

TRANSCRIPT: Harry Amana

Interviewee: Harry Amana
Interviewer: Seth Kotch
Interview Date: October 13, 2014
Location: Campus of UNC-CH, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Length: One audio file, 1:29:58

START OF INTERVIEW

Seth Kotch: This is Seth Kotch with the Southern Oral History Program and the Department of American Studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. It's October thirteenth, 2014. And I'm here on the Carolina campus with Harry Amana, Professor Emeritus in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication and recent inductee into the UNC Journalism Hall of Fame. And you were just talking about—you grew up in Philadelphia?

Harry Amana: Yeah, I grew up in Philadelphia, went to Temple, and, well, I have a—it's a checkered history. Got out of high school in [19]59 and got a track scholarship to go to Temple. But actually punched out [laughs] after two years and joined the military. Came to South Carolina for basic training and stuff after that. Spent—most of the time I was in the service, I spent almost two years in Iran under the Shah. Came back and went back to Temple.

And while I was at Temple—I graduated from Temple in [19]67 and in [19]69—and during the time I was at Temple, the Black Power/Black Student/Black Activist

Movement was going on. I was a part of that. Me and my colleagues started the [phone buzzes]—started the Black Student League at Temple, and I edited publications for that. [Clears throat] So, that was my first taste of actually writing. I edited the newsletter and I edited the [clears throat] the literary magazine. I was an English major.

SK: Just out of curiosity, as an athlete, were you aware of John Carlos?

HA: Oh, sure. Oh, sure.

SK: Can you tell me a little bit about seeing that or experiencing it?

HA: Oh, I mean, but that was later. That was much later. But, oh, I mean, every—you know, everybody in my circle was full inline with that. We loved it! [Laughs]

SK: [Laughs]

HA: Because, you know, we had been doing this—when I went to Temple, the whole time I went to Temple, undergrad and grad school, there were no courses on black literature. Anytime I wanted to do a paper, I had to fight to do a paper on a black author. And many things that I did got turned into—you know, the professors later used them in their, when they revised their courses. But at the time, there was nothing. And so, we started the Black Student League. I edited the black paper, the black literary magazine.

And then, later on, when I got out of school, I worked for a publication, a short-lived publication that was put out by a radio disc jockey named Jocko Henderson. He's in the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. And he created a magazine called *Philly Talk*. And I worked for that for about a year, mostly editing, but also doing some writing. [Clears throat]

And then, when I got out of grad school, I got a teaching position at Rutgers in Camden, which is right across the river, so Rutgers-Camden. I worked there, teaching black literature.

SK: And what was the graduate degree in?

HA: English.

SK: English, um-hmm.

HA: Yeah, it was a masters.

SK: Um-hmm.

JA: And so, I created four courses over there and I taught writing, of course, because that's what I did. [Phone buzzes] What is going on with this phone? I taught writing, because as a graduate student, that's what we did. We had to grade papers, and they gave us a composition class. You know how they do.

SK: Right.

HA: And so, I did teach at Rutgers. I taught—I was an instructor. I taught two writing courses and then I created four courses of my own: History of Black Literature, in two parts, before and after the Civil War; Black Writers in the Social Context, which was a sort of a Marxist interpretation of black literature. My advisor in graduate school was a card-carrying Communist [laughter] who really took me under his wing and turned me on to some things.

SK: Who was your advisor?

HA: His name was Gaylord Leroy. Terrible teacher!

SK: [Laughs]

HA: Boring as crack!

SK: Right.

HA: But he was—you know, he introduced me to teaching, actually.

SK: Yeah.

HA: You know. Anyway, that's a whole other story. And he introduced us to some Eastern European writers that his wife had translated. And so, I worked at Rutgers for three years. [0:05:00]

SK: So, how were you—I'm just curious. This is a fairly specific question.

HA: Um-hmm?

SK: But how were you doing your research? I mean, when you're talking about the history of these black publications and black literature—how are you—presumably this is the stuff on the top of the shelf at the library, right?

HA: No, it's not on the top of the shelf at the library, so—[laughs].

SK: [Laughs]

HA: I mean, so, and that was the problem.

SK: Right.

HA: That I had to do it on my own. But Philadelphia is a treasure trove of literature and a lot of stuff on African Americans, as you may know. Mother Bethel Church—it was a (freeing) ground for the Underground Railroad. Temple had been integrated a long, long time. The University of Pennsylvania—all those universities had been integrated. They were still predominantly and overwhelmingly white, but we were there and we didn't have to fight to get there. What we had to fight to do was to open up admissions, bring more people in, and also to change the curriculum.

SK: Right.

HA: And we created a program that's still there. The African American Studies program is still there.

SK: Right.

HA: And we created that. And shortly after that, I left Rutgers and I traveled. I spent eight weeks in Cuba, building and doing construction work, helped with the Revolution there and participated in the May Day parade and all that kind of crap. But then, later that same, in [19]73, the same year that I went to Cuba, I came back with another group for several weeks because there was a [sighs] an international conference going on in East Germany, the GDR. It was a cultural—it was a fun thing, but it was for leftists from all over the world, and I did that. And when I came back, I worked at the *Tribune*. I had applied for a job at the *Tribune* before I left. And when I came back, it was there.

SK: Had you—when you were coming up or when you were growing up, did your family read the *Tribune*?

HA: Yeah. Oh, yeah.

SK: Um-hmm.

HA: Yeah.

SK: So, you had that in your home?

HA: Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah, the *Tribune* and *Jet* magazine and *Ebony*.

SK: Um-hmm.

HA: And the *Tribune* came out twice a week. It's the oldest continuously published black paper, okay. It started publishing in 1880-something, [18]84, I think.

And, yeah, so we had it. It came out on Tuesdays and Fridays. And so, I was familiar with it.

SK: Were your parents, in subscribing to those magazines, did that make them more the norm in the African American community?

HA: They were the norm. They were the norm.

SK: Um-hmm.

HA: They were the norm. I mean, they were not radicalized by any stretch of the imagination. My family on my mother's side were all Catholics. My mother was at a Catholic boarding school. You know, my uncle—all her siblings, they were Catholic. One of my uncles went to St. Emma Military Academy in Virginia. And I went to the same school that one of my uncles went to, you know, and I ended up going to an all-Catholic boys school in Philly, overwhelmingly white.

SK: Um-hmm.

HA: No—I never had any black instructors. I never had any black teachers.

SK: Does that include at Temple?

HA: Yeah, never. Never. Not one! [Laughs]

SK: [Laughs]

HA: Not one! [Laughs] So, [laughs] you know. So, you know, you kind of realize when you're doing it as a black professor what it might mean. You know, you see people's faces when you come in the classroom. You see a little wonder on white students' and a little, "Oh, my God," on black students' faces, you know.

SK: Yeah.

HA: And they have to get acclimated for, you know, for the classes to get with it.
[Laughs]

SK: [Laughs] Yeah. But it's funny that you say they were the ones who have to get acclimated. If you're the only person of color to walk into that room, I think a lot of people would assume that you were the one who thought you needed to adjust.

HA: No, I've been adjusting all my life, you know.

SK: Right.

HA: I went to—elementary school through eighth grade was all black, but we had nuns, and they were all white. And then, when I went to high school for four years, it was the Christian Brothers. These were white. They're like—it's hard to explain it, but they're sort of like white, the male components, the male opposites of nuns. [Laughs]

SK: Uh-huh. [Laughs]

HA: They weren't priests.

SK: Right.

HA: But they wore habits, you know, so, and they were my teachers there. And everybody in the school was white. It was four hundred and some people in my graduating class, and I think there were seven of us. So, but my sophomore year, I got in really good with the Italians, who ran the school, so I was cool.

So, no, I didn't have to adjust. I had been adjusting. There was a black professor in the English department at Rutgers [0:10:00] when I got there. There was a black math teacher. I mean, there were black teachers there. So, but it was overwhelmingly white. And when I went to Rutgers, the year before, there were only fourteen black students on

that campus. They took over, you know, did the whole thing. And as a result of that, they were looking for black people to come in.

SK: Right.

HA: And my advisor at the J-School, Gaylord Leroy, turned me on to it, said, “I think I’ve found the perfect place for you.” And I went over and there, you know, that’s how that happened. So, at the *Tribune*, I worked there from [19]73 to [19]76, covering everything. I had a column for a year and a half, or more, called “Amana at Large”. I covered all kinds of things during the Frank Rizzo era. I don’t know if you know about Frank Rizzo, but Frank Rizzo was a former police chief whose brother was a fire chief, who became mayor for eight years and was a homophobe, a xenophobe, a racist—seriously, he was! This guy was—he was crazy.

And during that time, we had the Bicentennial celebration in Philly, and I was a part of a whole group of people who did an anti-Bicentennial celebration. And in reaction to that, all kinds of things were attempted: you know, not to give us a parade permit to keep us out—basically, to stop us from doing it. We did it and we actually had more people than they did. We—their estimate was fifty thousand. It was more. And it kept a lot of people away, because Rizzo brought in armed police, these little things that looked like tanks, helicopters, and it scared a lot of people away.

SK: Right.

HA: Because they knew about the riots that had taken place in Philly in [19]64. And then, you know, during that period in the sixties, riots broke out all over the country.

SK: Right.

HA: And so, people got scared away. And basically, it was a bunch of high school bands [laughs] that came for the official thing. So, I was there for all of that. And during that period, I also had spent a week in Israel in the aftermath of the October War and did a series of stories that got an award. It was interesting because the consul in Philly didn't like my stories. [Laughs] And when I went to be debriefed and talked to him afterwards in this building, this old building in Philly, and security all around, and steel doors, and I was in this room like this, you know. I was talking to this guy, and he says—you know, I said, "Well, how did you like my stories?" He says, "I don't think I need to tell you, Mr. Amana, we were not pleased with your stories." I said, "Why?" I said, "I got sources from all sides." He said, and I swear this is what he said. It was like a James Bond, "You're a very clever man, Mr. Amana." [Laughs] I thought I wasn't going to get out of there!

But I had—it was sponsored by the Israeli government, so it was fact-finding tour, okay? But a bunch of us said, "Wait a minute. We're tired of being spoon fed. Let's get some other stuff." And I'd already made contacts with other people to have meetings with folks who were some Palestinians, some radical Jews, and so forth. And so, I was getting all kinds of things from people they didn't want me to talk to. So, you know, it was a four-part series. They weren't pleased with that.

And so, that whole time, I did that and I also did some freelance stuff for—I forgot what it's called now, but it's the PR component of the black press. I wrote stories for the National Newspaper Publishers Association, with is the national black press association. And then, I did some, you know, pub work, PR work for the other agency. But I was fed up with the *Tribune* because it catered to a lot of people, you know. The

black press, like a lot of the small press here in North Carolina, is easy to be manipulated because of advertising.

SK: Right.

HA: You know, you get a big advertising supermarket, what are you going to say about it?

SK: Right.

HA: You know, [laughs] if they're not up to standards and whatnot, and people are complaining, can you write a story? Yeah, it's hard.

SK: Were there businesses in the *Tribune* or elsewhere that you observed that were advertising white-owned businesses in black publications, or did it tend to be black-owned businesses? [0:15:00]

HA: Well, no, the *Tribune* did a little bit of everything.

SK: Yeah.

HA: They did a little bit of everything, I mean, and they didn't pay very much. And so, I had to make ends meet by doing a lot of club reviews, taking pictures, and, you know, I would cover something like Labelle. I don't know if you know who they are, but Patti LaBelle's group, and the people would come. And she was big in the gay community, so the gays would come out in regalia, and I would take a lot of pictures. And then, we would do a picture page in the *Tribune*, and people would call, "Can I get a picture? Can I get a picture?!" And so, I would sell pictures on the side. [Laughs]

SK: [Laughs]

HA: And also, before Atlantic City became a casino, there was a place called The Latin Casino. It wasn't a casino, but it was a really plush supper club about ten or fifteen

miles into Jersey outside of Philly. And they had top people—you know, Aretha Franklin, Barbra Streisand, those kind of people—and I had an in with, you know, I would go over there to cover it. Their opening night was Wednesday, and we would do a story to get it in Friday's paper for the weekend. And so, I would get a free pass, you know, me and a date, free meal, free show, interview with the people afterwards, pictures afterwards, you know, so the whole bit. And that was the way I made ends meet and had a really good life, because [laughs] with all the jazz clubs, you know.

SK: Yeah.

HA: It was like a side thing.

But our big thing during that time was basically the ongoing struggle against Frank Rizzo. Frank Rizzo, you know, just to give you one big thing that he's terribly famous for: The Black Panthers were active in Philly, and, under the pretense of looking for drugs or something, he raided their house, stripped them, stripped them bare, and put them like up against the wall. And so, I mean, you can probably Google that, and you'll see these black men and, of course, you know, what that—the image that that brings. And everybody was enraged about that. So, that was just one of the things he did. And he had all kinds of things that he had done, I mean, women, and he hated the gays. And there's a big statue of him in Philly, right in the downtown. He was Italian and he was a big hero in the Italian community there, next to Rocky. [Laughs]

SK: [Laughs]

HA: So, and also I covered a lot of stuff around South Africa, because there was the Antiapartheid Movement then. So, the Antiapartheid Movement was big. And then another, you know—at one point, I actually carried a little .25 automatic with me.

SK: Is that right?

HA: Unlicensed. I used to carry it in my camera bag because I was getting threats from the JDL, MOVE—I don't know if you know who MOVE is. MOVE is infamous because, later on, in the eighties, their house was burned down.

SK: Right.

HA: And five people were killed, and the kids. They torched the whole street.

SK: And that was when the firefighters were there but they didn't make any effort to put the fire out?

HA: Yes, exactly.

SK: Right.

HA: Exactly. And there's a whole other story about that, but that was after I left the *Tribune*. But they were active when I was there and they were always trying to get you to cover a story their way. And I did several stories that wasn't their way, and they threatened me. And then, I was doing stories on—at that time, the Nation of Islam renegade division was into the drug trade. And people were dying everyday, people were getting killed, and I wrote stories about that. And I was *really* scared of them.

SK: Yeah.

HA: [Laughs] And so. So, I used to carry my little .25, as I was going all in the neighborhoods and stuff, covering these stupid stories. And that's primarily what I did there. So, it was a combination of, you know, antiracist stuff, the antiapartheid stuff, and then, that other stuff. And then, continued after I came back from Israel to do, you know, not a lot of stories, but stories that came up about, you know, local support for the Palestinians and that kind of thing.

SK: How did you get your information about South Africa?

HA: How did I get it?

SK: Yeah.

HA: I had contacts with the American Friends Service Committee.

SK: Right.

HA: I don't know if you're familiar with them. It's a Quaker group, not religious. It's a service wing of their organization. Their headquarters is in Philly.

SK: Okay. [0:20:00]

HA: And they have people all over the world. And later on, I would work for them for a couple of years, for their Third World Coalition, and I edited the newsletter and publications. And then, after I left there, I came here. But they kept me on their board, on two of their boards, one for public relations and one for International Division—it's IDEC, the International Division Executive Committee, I-D-E-C, and I was on there for years. And, as a result, in [19]76, they sent me on a fact-finding tour for a month in southern Africa in the aftermath of the Soweto riots, with the refugees running across the border. So, we went to four of what they used to call the five frontline nations, which was Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia, and Botswana, and went to the refugee camps, interviewed, you know. And the Quakers are an NGO, so they have NGO status at the United Nations. Do you know what NGO status is?

SK: Um-hmm.

HA: Nongovernmental organization, yeah. And they also have lobbying organizations in D.C. So, whenever you did anything for the Quakers, the first thing you did when you came back, before you wrote your report, was you talked to

Congresspeople and stuff in D.C. And then, you had a national press conference at the United Nations and participated in some of the NGO stuff. So, in [19]76, they sent me there.

And then, I think in [19]91—I think it was [19]91, they sent me back to South Africa for a month. And, you know, what I did, in [19]76 when I came back from the frontline nations, I interviewed the presidents of—one of them was Kaunda in Zambia, Nyerere in Tanzania, Chissano in Mozambique, and I actually interviewed [laughs] Robert Mugabe, who is still—you know, he was a guerrilla leader then. [Laughs]

SK: [Laughs] Yeah.

HA: But he's a tyrant now! [Laughs] And (Sam Nujoma), who was a member of SWAPO, who was a guerrilla leader, but became president of Namibia. So, because the Quakers had good contacts. They had people there. They had Quaker communities there. They are a peace organization, and so they're always looking at alternative ways to support progressive movements with not guns.

SK: Um-hmm.

HA: So, our job was to gain the facts, talk to some people, come back and tell them what they could do back here to organize or help. And also to identify a person or two who we thought would be good to then go around the country and speak to their constituents, because that was the other thing you had to do when you came back, you had to go around the country and talk to everybody.

SK: Um-hmm.

HA: So, um, but that was (down the line). But while I was at the Quakers, as I said, I edited their publications and then—well, not their publications. They had an organization called the Third World Coalition.

SK: Right.

HA: And I was the media person for the Third World Coalition. And that sent me to Indian reservations. I went to a Sun Dance ceremony in [slaps rhythm on table] South Dakota for a week. You know, they would send you—we participated in demonstrations, we talked to people at the embassies, and so forth. [Sighs] And of course, they had an international component, so I was still able to write. When I came back in [19]76 from the Southern Africa tour, I wrote a four-part series of articles for the National Newspaper Publishers Association, which is the black press, and that went to black press newspapers.

SK: Um-hmm.

HA: And I was also teaching at Temple. Temple asked me to come. After I quit the *Tribune*, Temple asked me to come, and I was teaching journalism there for two years. And then, here.

SK: Right.

HA: And I actually came here not for the journalism school. I came here because there was a program in AFAM Studies, Rockefeller-funded, called the Southeastern Black Press Association. Now, I don't know if you—they've got papers over here at the library. All their stuff is over here, probably in the Southern History Collection. Oh, you know what? They may have—you know what? I think they—I think Central has their papers.

SK: That would make sense, yeah.

HA: Yeah. But the Southeastern Black Press Institute was run by a woman name Sonja Haynes Stone, after whom the BCC is named.

SK: Right.

HA: And she—[0:25:00] I saw a thing on the board at Temple and I said, “Whoa! They want somebody to do something with the black press, and they want to train people, and so forth.” I said, “Whoa! Let me—,” but what I didn’t know, there was a major component for fundraising, which I hate. So, I got down here. and when I found out, I said, “You know, Sonja, I’m really not interested.” She said, “Well, look, just go interview anyway. Please, please!” She said, “Don’t tell anybody!” [Laughs]

SK: [Laughs]

HA: But the way it was constituted, it had affiliations with the journalism school, it was in AFAM. She was actually a sociology professor. But the committee was huge! [Laughs] And they were from all over the place, you know, including journalism. Anyway, long story short, I didn’t get the job. Because I didn’t want it, either, and when they asked me about fundraising, I told them the truth. And I could see Sonja’s face blanch. She trembled a little bit, you know. But I wasn’t going to lie. [Laughs] And so, that was it.

But then, Donald Shaw came to me afterwards. He said, “Look, we have a position at the J-School. If it stayed open, would you be interested? Do you think you might be interested?” I said, “Well, maybe, yeah.” You know? And so, long story short, that’s how I ended up.

SK: Right.

HA: Going over to the journalism school, but I was also a liaison for the Southeastern Press Institute.

SK: Okay.

HA: And so, I used to teach the history of the black press. Later on, at the J-School, we took that course away from AFAM and put it ()—and I redesigned it. So, we had it in—and it's still—it's still a part of the journalism school's curriculum.

SK: And you had come down to North Carolina once before, or you said earlier in this interview, you had come down through South Carolina as part of your army service.

HA: Oh, my God, yeah!

SK: Did you come through North Carolina like through Fort Bragg or somewhere else?

HA: You know, we came on a train from D.C. It was an overnight train. We slept. We woke up in the morning. I always—I say I'm going to go back and do this. [Sighs] I'm absolutely sure it was North Carolina we stopped in. It was probably Raleigh, but I don't know. You'd have to look at the train schedules from 1964.

SK: Right. [Laughs]

HA: You know? And also have to look at the business registry from 1964, because, as I remember it, the place that—when we got up in the morning, fourteen of us, and I was in charge of the tickets. They put me in charge of the group to get to North Carolina. We had been sworn in in Philly, so we were actually in the military. We didn't have any uniforms. And there was a place—I *swear*—maybe my memory—but the Purity Bar or the Purity Café, [laughs] right there at the train station. [Laughs] We went in there to eat. [Laughs]

And I went in there with—it was two other black guys, but they hadn't gotten up yet, so I went in there with all these white guys in the group. And I noticed when I went in, I was looking over at the jukebox to play some music while, you know, and I noticed they were looking kind of nervous. And one little old lady came up and said [speaking quietly], "Sir, we can't serve you in here. but if you go around the back, it's the same food." [Laughs] So, that was my first day in the military!

SK: Yeah. [Laughs] I like that she called you "sir".

HA: Yeah, she did say "sir"; she did say "sir". And she was really, you know, apologetic about it. This was the waitress, you know.

SK: Yeah, yeah.

HA: And she's a working woman, so. So, I walked out and took the tickets.

[Laughs]

SK: Yeah, yeah.

HA: Nobody is going to eat here. [Laughs] And then, of course, I ended up in Columbia, South Carolina. I would not go back there for another twenty-some years, you know, before I ever went back there again. It was terrible. It was racist. We had this terrible place where we could go to stay for, you know, if you got a leave, a little rinky-dink place. I heard from the white guys that, across town, their place was fabulous. Elvis Presley had come there! Hell! You know, we had a jukebox. And so, I went to town once during basic training and I never went back. Said, "To hell with this!"

Unfortunately, after my eight weeks of training, I got back there. They sent me back there for typing school for another eight weeks. But I snuck some civilian clothes back with me this time *and* ended up playing for the basketball team, so I had a class A

pass. So, I would go into town every day after practice and hang out at the two black colleges there, Benedict—what was it? I can't remember what they are now. It was two black colleges in Columbia, and I used to hang out there. [0:30:00] They thought I was a student there I hung out there so much. And then after that, I got transferred to—no, then I spent another four weeks at Indianapolis for administration school. I went to Upstate New York for several months, and then went to Iran for the rest of my tour.

And I was on leave, getting ready to go to Iran, and we had an emergency. They said, "Look, either check into your nearest post until further notice, or stay where you are and take advanced leave," which you'll, you know, lose later, because it was October of 1962, the Cuban missile crisis, and we had to wait to see what the Russians were going to do. You know, I mean, now we know it was really dangerous because the missiles were already there. [Laughs]

SK: Right, right.

HA: You know, it was this stuff about they blinked. This shit was there, man, and it was targeting the whole area where I was! [Laughs]

SK: [Laughs]

HA: [Slapping table] New York, Philly, you know! [Laughs] Anyway, so we got delayed, and then I went to Iran.

SK: Yeah.

HA: In Iran, I was there when the Ayatollah Khomeini attempted a coup.

SK: Right.

HA: And barely got out with his life. The Shah killed all his relatives, all his friends, and he went to France, where he ruminated for fourteen years and then, of course, came back with a vengeance later.

SK: Um-hmm.

HA: I often think that if he had been successful while I was there, I might have been one of the hostages. [Laughs]

SK: [Laughs] Brush with fame, right?

HA: Yeah, yeah, because the Shah, I mean, we had to stay in our—we didn't have barracks. We had to get our own apartments, but we got all kinds of money. And then, I had black-market money from selling my liquor and my cigarettes. I didn't smoke and I didn't drink, but I sold them. You'd have thought I was an alcoholic and a chain smoker if you looked at my carts. So, and I got on a State Department basketball team. So, for two years, I toured the country playing basketball. And I got to all the places all over that country: Tabriz, Mashhad, Yazd, Isfahan, all over the place, you know! And I got to see everything, because in each place, whatever they were famous for, they would take you to see it.

SK: Right.

HA: You know, and I could see how they made these rugs with these little girls, you know, hunched over this, a couple of bulbs in the ceiling, you know. It was terrible.

SK: Yeah.

HA: Terrible. And then, when I came back in [19]64, I took off. I was getting—as soon as I got back, I would get discharged because I was getting an early discharge. But I decided to spend a month in Europe. So, I spent a month going to, you know, Barcelona,

Paris, Copenhagen, Rome, and then I got back. And on my way back, all hell broke out in New York, the first riot. I think it was around August. And shortly after that, Philly. And then, in [19]65, [19]66, [19]67, every major city—North, South, East and West—had a riot. You know, and so, it was a whole change, you know.

And then, there was the—I mean, Kennedy was assassinated while I was there. I remember Kennedy being assassinated at night, because it was—that's when I got the word. It was night in Iran. So, that's my memory of—you know, everybody remembers where they were when (President Kennedy died).

SK: Yeah, right, right.

HA: And so, coming through Europe, everybody was concerned. They were trying to put these things together between Kennedy being killed, the Civil Rights Movement with the people being killed and hosed down and the dogs on them, and Barry Goldwater running—you know, it was like they were putting all this in conspiracy form.

SK: Right, right.

HA: LBJ from the South! And what's going on? I didn't know. I hadn't been in the States in almost two years.

SK: So, were you—I mean, if you're in Iran in those early years, were you getting news at all about the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S.?

HA: Yeah. Oh, yeah, yeah, because the March on Washington was while I was over there.

SK: Okay.

HA: Oh, yeah.

SK: So, that was big news in Europe?

HA: Well, I wasn't in Europe. I was in Iran.

SK: I mean—sorry. Sorry, I guess I'm thinking—.

HA: Right, right. Yeah, it was by the time when I went through Europe. When I came back, oh, everybody knew everything. They all knew James Baldwin! You know, and I had been reading Baldwin. So, everybody knew that, you know, because Baldwin was reporting it. And Baldwin was, you know, an ex-patriot but at the same time was participating in the Civil Rights Movement. He was writing for *Ebony*, you know. He had articles in the black press. And so, and *Jet* was covering everything.

So, Europe was really up on that stuff. We got it in trickles, you know, [0:35:00] because I was in the—you know, everybody was cleared for secret, top secret, and crypto over where I was, so we didn't get a whole bunch of shit, you know, and the internet wasn't, you know—so what we got was trickled.

SK: Right, right.

HA: Or from letters from people.

SK: Right.

HA: You know, but no, we didn't get all that firsthand stuff.

SK: Right. So, it was after those riots in [19]67 that the Kerner Commission publishes its report that attributes in a large way the riots to the lack of meaningful participation in the media.

HA: Right, exactly, exactly. And, as a result of that, right after that, the—shortly after that, the American Newspapers Publishers Association, ANPA; the American Society of News Editors, ASNE—there was a whole bunch of them. The Associated Press Managing Editors, APME. It was a whole bunch of them, and I can't remember

which one of them specifically took the leadership, but they came up with this Year 2000 Plan. By the year 2000, they wanted to have equity. They wanted to have minorities represented in the news media in proportion to their representation in the society. Okay, so, what was that? Chapter—because the Kerner Commission Report did—looked at everything, but it was Chapter 15, I think, that actually did the media and showed the flaws and how not having folks in, you know, hurt. And so, as a result of that, probably, let's see, in the eighties—it took a long time, but in the eighties, the national media said, “We’re going to do this.” And then, there was another study shortly after—oh, and by the way, there was lots of—Kerner Plus Ten, Kerner Plus Twenty.

SK: Oh, okay.

HA: And you can look at those, and they keep giving you updates [laughs] on how we still weren't getting it done. And then, oh, maybe in the early seventies, there was something called “Window Dressing on the Set”. It was a government report. It was civil rights—I can't remember who put it out now. But if you look up “Window Dressing on the Set”, it was a critique of minority presence in newsrooms, um, in media—in TV rooms. And as the title suggests, you would find them there but you wouldn't find them behind the scenes.

SK: Right.

HA: And so—and it would usually be a minority woman, because she covered two things, because now the women were getting upset. And so, you get yourself an Asian woman, a black woman, a Latino woman, and you've got two. Okay. But behind the cameras and those kinds of things, it was nothing. And so, you read “Window

Dressing on the Set”. It’s got all the stats. It’s another study. And then, I think there was a revisit of that ten years later.

SK: Okay. So, when you—you arrive in Chapel Hill, I think, around the same time the Ayatollah arrives back in Iran. [Laughs]

HA: Yeah, um-hmm. Right, uh-huh, [19]79.

SK: And you were there, I believe, in part because the Black Student Movement was putting pressure.

HA: Exactly, exactly. In fact, I mean, I was at Rutgers because of the Black Student—. [Laughs]

SK: [Laughs]

HA: Fourteen black students go. [Laughs] Okay, and then—.

SK: So, you’re the guy! [Laughs]

HA: I’m the guy! [Laughs] And then, of course, you have to be interviewed by the radicals, you know.

SK: Right.

HA: But, see, we’d already done our thing at Temple.

SK: Right.

HA: You know, we had already done that and gotten it established and everything: open admissions, black studies, the whole bit. [Slaps table] So, I knew what the—you know, how the stuff worked.

SK: Right.

HA: And so, here I am. [Slaps table] And then, even later, [slaps table] here I am. [Laughs] In [19]79, you know, ten years later, ten years after I get out of grad school, I'm here with the same thing.

SK: So, I don't recall—you wrote a piece about sort of arriving at the Carolina Inn.

HA: Oh, yeah, yeah. That was in the (27-something), the Chapel Hill (book). [27 *Views of Chapel Hill*] They entitled it "No Way".

SK: Yes!

HA: Yeah, because when I came in, I-40 only went to the Governor's Inn. It hadn't been completed. So, then you got on 54.

SK: Right.

HA: And there was nothing on 54, man.

SK: Right.

HA: It was like a black hole. There was no development on it, just—whew! It was a dangerous highway. People used to have little stickers saying, "Pray for me. I drive 54." Because there were all these accidents there, because people were always trying to get somewhere *fast* on that little road.

And so, here I show up at the Carolina Inn, and then they had the guys in livery uniforms. [Laughs] I think, "Oh, what the—! This is a plantation house, man!" [0:40:00] And that's where they put me up. And I was like, "There's no way I'm coming back here!" [Laughs]

SK: Um-hmm. So, that was for your interview?

HA: For Sonja.

SK: And that was for, okay, so that was the original interview.

HA: Yeah.

SK: Okay.

HA: Yeah. And so, and that would have been in [19]78.

SK: Yeah, okay.

HA: Yeah, and that would have been in—it might have been [19]77. I don't remember when, but—because I know when Don Shaw asked me about the job, and I said, “Well, yeah,” they contacted me in the spring semester of [19]78 to come interview, and I couldn't come. So, he said, “Well, if it's still open in the fall.” And they called me back in the fall. That's when I actually came down to interview for the J-School, and that's why I started in January. Had I been able to get free for the spring, then I probably would have started in September.

SK: Um-hmm. Yeah, right.

HA: So, and in that time, I had some time to do a little looking at the history here and I saw how the students had mobilized during the Red Scare times to get the speaker to speak out of the—on federal land at the post office into the campus.

SK: Right, right, Herbert Aptheker, yeah.

HA: Um-hmm. So, you know, I had been talking with Sonja and then I met with her at the National Newspaper Publishers Association that fall. I attended that national meeting. And, see, the thing was, one of the things that to apply for that job was you had to write an essay about your thoughts on the black press. Well, by the time I saw the notice, the deadline was there. So, what I did was, in 1976, lots of stuff happened in Philly for the Bicentennial. The National Newspaper Publishers Association met in

Philly. [Sighs] And I wrote a column. It was a critical column. I criticized them for being flunkies and, you know, catering, not standing up, blah-blah-blah-blah-blah. And so, at this deadline, I said, “I don’t have a chance to write about it, but I’ll give you a copy of this column. My thoughts haven’t changed on this!” [Laughs] So, I gave her that, and they sent it, and that worked! [Slaps table] So, they called me in. [laughs] That was my essay.

SK: Yeah. I’m curious. Obviously, Sonja Haynes Stone wanted you to come here. I’m curious if you remember anything about the content of your conversations when you were talking to her about making a decision about whether or not to come. Was she telling you things about what the climate was like in North Carolina or at UNC?

HA: Oh, I knew what the climate was like. I mean, we knew Joan Little.

SK: Yeah, okay.

HA: We knew Jesse Helms.

SK: Yeah.

HA: We knew the Wilmington Ten. [Laughs]

SK: Yeah, yeah. [Laughs]

HA: I mean, that was one of the reasons why I said, “I don’t know if I want to come down here.” And understand, everybody on my mother’s side of the family is here. They’re in New Bern, Craven County.

SK: Craven County, okay.

HA: Yeah. So, I knew about North Carolina. Plus, there was another thing. When was that? Somewhere between [19]73—four, five, six—and [19]76, when I was at the *Tribune*, I came down here. It was a national coalition. I can’t remember the initials, you

know, something against racism and national oppression or something. Anyway, it was a coalition. Gobs of people came down here because of a woman on Death Row, the Wilmington Ten, all that. Angela Davis was here. Bigwigs in—I think what's his name who was with the Wilmington Ten, Ben Chavis, I think.

SK: Ben Chavis.

HA: Yeah. And we marched around Central Prison and we marched up to the Governor's Mansion in downtown Raleigh, and I covered it for the paper, you know. And what happened was—and I ran pictures. And the Klan came out. And, of course, you know, it was a small contingency. But, you know, I took pictures of that, and the *Tribune* ran all of that.

SK: So, this was this like [19]76, [19]77?

HA: It was before [19]76, because I quit. I stopped the *Tribune* at [19]76. I only worked the *Tribune* for three years.

SK: Okay.

HA: [19]76. So, it was in [19]74, [19]75.

SK: Okay, because I know the Wilmington Ten story goes on and on and on for years, and there's appeals and things of that nature.

HA: Right. But it was [19]74, [19]75.

SK: Okay.

HA: And, I mean, you know, the article is in the *Tribune*.

SK: Right, okay.

HA: The column and the pictures around it, including the pictures of the Klan and whatnot. And so, yeah, I knew about North Carolina. [Laughs] And I had been here. So,

no, it wasn't like I was just discovering it, but this plantation thing [0:45:00]—and then, they were playing on the Bell Tower “Camptown Races”!

SK: [Laughs]

HA: On the Bell Tower! [Sings] “Doo-dah, doo-dah!” You know, it was like, “Where the hell am I? Do they know what they’re playing?” [Laughs]

SK: Yeah, it’s funny that you say that because, I mean, there’s been a lot of conversation about this recently about what kind of a place North Carolina is. Is it this progressive place, or is it not? And is it red or blue or purple? And then, the “reputation” of the state, however you want to understand that word, has always been that, you know, “It’s not Mississippi.”

HA: Um-hmm, right.

SK: Right?

HA: Right.

SK: I don’t know if you want to hang your hat on that, but—.

HA: Right. No, you’re right. And in Chapel Hill, in particular, because Jesse Helms said, “This is a pat of butter in a sea of grits.” No, we used to say that! And he said, “You need to put a cage around it so they could watch the animals.”

SK: Right. Yeah, I think it was when they were deciding to build the zoo, and he said, you know—. [Laughs]

HA: Yeah, a zoo. Watch the animals. Yeah, right. [Laughs]

SK: So, it’s interesting to hear then, that, you know, at least one outside perception was that this was not the kind of progressive utopia that progressive Southerners thought it might have been.

HA: No, no. And again, it's perspective because, you know, there were people in power who didn't want North Carolina to be like Mississippi and those places, you know. And so, they found other ways to negotiate. There were some people in Greensboro, for example, who specifically said we don't want this and negotiated with the students, who did their thing there. You know, you had the students there and you had the students at Shaw, who were some of the first students in the country to start doing that stuff.

SK: Yeah.

HA: But we didn't have the big stuff that went on in Alabama and South Carolina and Mississippi. You know, we didn't have that. But we did have that sort of systemic legal stuff going, you know, and we had Jesse Helms. No, so I knew.

But Sonja had some visions about some things that she wanted and that I was really interested in. And when I couldn't do the fundraising she said, "Well, you know, if you come down for the journalism school, we'll arrange it so that you can still be a liaison with this. You can still work with the students in our summer project," which I did. So, it was okay. And I came down for her, you know. And that was one of the reasons why, after she died, and the students said they wanted a place, I worked for years on that, you know.

SK: Right.

HA: I was on the—I was taking the brunt of stuff on that committee, I mean, on that advisory board, advisory committee, man. I was catching flak from the students, who thought I wasn't radical enough, catching flak from the people who thought I was racist. You know, it was like—and then, later on, they asked me to be interim director.

SK: Right.

HA: So, I had a long history with that.

SK: Yeah. So, one—I know that the Southeastern Black Press Institute and the journalism organization of Black Studies were instrumental in putting pressure on the School of Journalism to create the position or to hire the position. Was that unique to the journalism school? I guess I'm sort of wondering—I can sort of answer the question or I can assume the answer, but—.

HA: I don't know, because I know there was a Black Studies program here.

SK: Right, right.

HA: Okay, so there was pressure put on to get that from the beginning. And then, they get Sonja in. So, they had pressure before. Okay, and then they kind of extended it and said, I don't know—a person you could have talked to was here yesterday, over the weekend. His name is Sam Fulwood.

SK: Okay.

HA: I don't know where Sam is working now. I think he's in D.C., but Sam was here.

SK: Is that Sam Forward, like—?

HA: Fulwood, F-U-L.

SK: Okay.

HA: He graduated in [19]78, but he was a part of that whole thing and he was on my search committee.

SK: Okay.

HA: So, he could tell you. And there's another guy who is in Charlotte, named David Squires. David was a part of that. And there's another one named Allen Johnson.

And Allen is, I think, still at Winston-Salem at the—I think he teaches at Winston-Salem State, and he may still write for the paper there. But they were the people who were instrumental in this.

SK: Okay.

HA: Okay, and David ended up also coming to graduate school here, getting his masters here. So did Allen.

SK: Okay.

HA: Yeah, I was on both their committees. Yeah, and Allen was the first person to teach the black press.

SK: Okay.

HA: Yeah.

SK: So, when you arrived on campus, you were certainly already well aware of the Black Student Movement and things of that nature. And what was your sort of role in relation to the BSM and Black, Inc.?

HA: Well, I mean, I didn't have a [0:50:00] formal relationship with them, but all their students had relationships with me.

SK: Okay.

HA: You know, if they asked me to speak at certain things, of course, I would do it. If they asked my advice on things, of course, I would handle that. And then, later on, as I said, with the whole thing around the BCC, you know, I assumed some leadership in that. It's one point that one of the students—actually, she's still here. She's teaching over in communication studies. This was much later. She wanted to start a black literary magazine. And I'd had kids come in and do that before, ask, and I would give them a

series of tasks to do and come back to me, and they never came back. And she came back like the next week with all the things checked off. [Laughs]

SK: [Laughs]

HA: Her name is Renee—I can't remember—.

SK: It's not Renee Alexander Craft, is it?

HA: Yeah, um-hmm.

SK: I never knew—.

HA: Um-hmm, yeah, she's the one.

SK: Oh, cool. Okay.

HA: Yeah, she's teaching over in—she's actually teaching in the same department as her mentor, Soyini Madison.

SK: Okay.

HA: And she actually lives in Soyini's house. She bought the house. [Laughs]

SK: Wow! [Laughs]

HA: Soyini went to Northwestern. She's distinguished professor there. Yeah, Renee.

SK: Yeah.

HA: So, Renee was—you know, it was like that. Students would come to me with ideas and stuff. I'd talk to them, feedback and then, like I said, I gave her, "Here's what you do," [taps on table]. Yeah, and then, a week later, here she comes. "Okay, I did all that. [Laughs] What should I do now?" You know? So.

SK: Yeah. [Laughs]

HA: And she started a magazine. I don't know if they still have it or not, but it was a part of the Black Cultural Center, *Sauti Mpya*. I can't spell it.

SK: Yeah, I've seen it in print. I'll ask ().

HA: Yeah. S-A-U-T-I M-P-Y-A, or something like that. But, anyway, yeah, she was a person. Yeah, she's here.

SK: Great. Yeah! Yeah, I see her fairly regularly.

HA: Um-hmm, ask her. She'll give you all kinds of stuff about that period.

SK: I will. So, what's the general timeframe on that?

HA: That is late eighties, early nineties, that is.

SK: Okay.

HA: That's much later.

SK: Sure, sure. So, when you came, were you aware at all of—oh, I guess, of course, you were. What was your sense of the media environment generally in Chapel Hill or in the area?

HA: [Sighs] I remember actually writing a letter—it never got published—to the Durham paper criticizing their coverage, or their take on South Africa. I mean, I didn't think it was good at all. And truthfully, I didn't think that much better of the *Carolina Times*.

I met another group of people you might be interested in talking to, who had an independent radio station in Henderson. I mean, they—and the guy who was responsible for the programming, getting up to fix the aerial, the whole thing—.

SK: Yeah.

HA: Is Jim Lee.

SK: Yeah.

HA: You know him?

SK: Yeah. I didn't interview him, but my colleague did, on WVSP.

HA: Yeah.

SK: Um-hmm.

HA: Yeah, Jim. And, see, Jim was a part of all of that, before I got here, with Duke.

SK: Right, right.

HA: Yeah. And [laughs] so, and I met them, you know, and I met them sometime—in fact, when I came back from South Africa the first time, in [19]76, one of the people that went around the country talking was a man named Bill Sutton. Was it Sutton? What was Bill's last name? I'll have to remember it. But anyway, we brought him down here to speak at the radio station, because they were a big antiapartheid group. And they were also on the Wilmington Ten thing. They were all on a progressive thing. And everybody around here catered to them, all the radicals and progressives.

And also, when I first came down here, the *very first thing that happened* was the Klan-Nazi shootout in Greensboro.

SK: Right.

HA: And so, people from all over the world came to that, and we mobilized and marched through Greensboro, and I was there. I think I may have written for—I may have covered that. I was writing—I was freelancing for, um—oh man, it's a—it's actually a Marxist newspaper. [Laughs] I can't remember. [0:55:00] Is it Communist

Workers Party? No, it didn't have "communist" in it. [Laughs] But it was—I used to write for them. And people came from all over for that.

SK: Yeah?

HA: I mean, even from the Eastern Bloc.

SK: Wow, yeah.

HA: Yeah, there were Eastern Bloc reporters there covering that, because they saw the Radical Black Movement as a partner, a coalition partner.

SK: Sure, sure.

HA: And so, um, and that may be one of the reasons why we got as much leeway here with legislation and stuff, because we know now that there were people here who were really concerned that we might go with the Communists, [laughs] you know. They accused us of being red anyway!

SK: Yeah, right.

HA: You know, they accused the black press of being red. You know, there's a "Radicalism and Sedition Among the Negro Papers". That was one of the—that's in the Congressional Record.

SK: Which is ironic because—I'm not well-versed in the black press, but from what I've read in the *Carolina Times*, for instance, it seems like a fairly conservative publication.

HA: It is. It is. But, you know, see, politics was so rightwing. And then, you have somebody like—like in Philly you had a Rizzo. Nationally, you had J. Edgar Hoover—.

SK: Right.

HA: Who was totally paranoid and sick about everything.

SK: Right.

HA: And so, from his perspective, all of these people needed to be shut down. You know? I remember some of the research I did. I was looking at a—an editor from *Ebony* wrote Hoover. He was interested in doing an article on “Crime Does Not Pay,” you know, “What can you help me with?” Okay, so they’re sending this around. You know how it is with FOI files; half of it is blacked out.

SK: Right.

HA: But in the margin, somebody writes, “He’s probably of dark-skinned complexion. This is a Negro paper.” [Laughs] I mean, what does that have to do with anything?

SK: [Laughs]

HA: You know? But, I mean, and they didn’t black that out, which is so stupid. [Laughs]

SK: Right. [Laughs]

HA: So, he was paranoid and he had them—you know, there’s been stuff published about the Red Scare, the black press, and how the black press was—I mean, one time—I’ve never done it. I never got my files. But I did get files on the Black Student Movement where I was. And in the files, there’s a letter that someone writes directly to Hoover, a woman. “I was at the supermarket and this pamphlet, this newsletter was being handed out, and I think it’s so disgraceful and radical and, you know.” And I was reading it. I saw the—“That’s pretty hip. Who wrote it?” And it was me—I wrote the damn thing, right? [Laughs]

SK: [Laughs]

HA: Anyway, as a result of that, he directed the Philadelphia bureau to spend months and months and months and months and months tracking this organization. You know, that COINTEL Program of his was *crazy!*

SK: Right, right.

HA: And so, yeah, they thought the black press was—anytime the black press was critical of the federal government, and especially during the Vietnam era, you know, that was *big*, and we wrote a lot about that. That was the other thing that I did at the *Tribune*. I was constantly doing a thing around people coming back wounded, critiquing the—I forgot I did a little series on that, man, you know, criticizing the—.

And then, I'll tell you another paper you look at for that period, (not) for civil rights, but *Muhammad Speaks*. *Muhammad Speaks*—I did a paper on this once where I looked at—I can't remember the exact dates now, but for a period of over five, six, seven years. It came out weekly. There was not one issue that came out that did not have at least an anti-Vietnam article, cartoon, or picture. They would take stock pictures, you know, off the wire, and then they'd caption them: "Here are [1:00:00] another case of—"and they would have blacks running—"our misguided brothers, you know, inflicting harm on their relatives, on their brothers that they don't recognize as themselves," you know, stuff like that.

SK: Yeah, yeah. So, it was very explicitly connected with a sense of the Black Freedom Movement and sort of Pan—international sort of relationship between oppressed people of color.

HA: Oh, yeah. Yes, yes. I mean, and consistently. Consistently. And even to actually criticize—and they were also critical of King.

SK: Um-hmm.

HA: And so, you would see—it wouldn't be King, but it would be a minister, you know, who kind of looked a little like King, and he was always, you know, kissing up to white folks. And they criticized black folks, you know, who were—with the Afros. They showed them with big Afros and high platform shoes and all this [laughs]—they looked like dandies.

SK: Yeah, um-hmm.

HA: Yeah, they were very critical, you know, because the Nation—short haircuts, bow ties, very clean, suits, you know.

SK: Right, right. So, was this part of this divide that I certainly can't claim to understand even the beginnings of it, but this divide between a Black Nationalist Movement that was very politically oriented and a sort of Black Cultural Movement that was about sort of cultural presence.

HA: Yeah. I mean, some of it started with SNCC.

SK: Right.

HA: You know, because they didn't want to turn the other cheek.

SK: Right.

HA: I mean, when I first went to Temple in [19]59, I was a member of the NAACP.

SK: Um-hmm.

HA: And we were picketing at Woolworth's in support of what was going on down here. You know, because they—we got a letter saying, you know, "We have a black person, and we'll hire another one if you'll stop picketing."

SK: Interesting.

HA: And we were like, “It’s not about that. It’s about what your organization represents in the South.”

SK: Right.

HA: And, you know, that was in [19]59. I was like seventeen years old. [Laughs] And so, you know, there was already—to some extent, that was sort of radical, okay, because it wasn’t popular, and you had to make connections. It was more than just saying, “these people are—,” [slaps table] you know. You had to make some connections about the parent company and what was going on in the South and all that. That was more difficult to explain to people. You know, you had to get that together.

And then, by the time you got to SNCC, their whole thing was, you know, “We’re not going to do this anymore.” And then, it rose to the Black Power thing and then demonstrations of Black Power. And so, it depended on which university you were at, how savvy the leaders were, whether it was all-cultural. And, you know, in any kind of a movement, a lot of times people have what they think are common goals, but the common goals are pretty simple. And then, when it gets more complex, there are splits. And that’s pretty much what was happening.

And in the Nation of Islam, which was really conservative—if you track their roots, you know, they’re coming from Booker T. Washington through Marcus Garvey through Elijah Muhammad—do for self, separate, build businesses, shops and stuff like that. Yeah, okay. But then, they were also taking this anti-imperialist thing.

SK: Right.

HA: And that was because of individual cartoonists and individual people who were working with them.

SK: Right.

HA: Okay? It wasn't, as I understand it, a blanket consensus, you know.

SK: Sure, sure. Just out of curiosity, were you aware of Robert Williams's broadcasts?

HA: Um-hmm, um-hmm. Out of China.

SK: Yeah.

HA: Yeah.

SK: I just knew he had connections with Cuba, and you had been there, and I'm not sure how much overlap or not there was.

HA: Um-hmm, yeah. Yeah, we would cover some of that. I mean, I would do that in the paper. Yeah, I was aware of that. [Laughs]

SK: Yeah. Speaking of one version of radicalism, right? [Laughs]

HA: Right, exactly! Exactly.

SK: So, did you listen to WVSP?

HA: Once I got down there, yeah.

SK: Yeah, yeah.

HA: It wouldn't go much farther. [Laughs]

SK: Yeah. [Laughs] It had a pretty strong signal, but yeah, that's a little much to ask.

HA: Um-hmm. And I don't know if you know his wife?

SK: Yeah, Valeria.

HA: Valeria. Yeah, okay, because she went in with Z. Smith for a while, and I don't know who she's with now.

SK: Yeah. She was at Golden Leaf for at least a little bit, but I'm not sure if she's still there.

HA: Right, right.

SK: Yeah, they've actually loaned us recordings that we're trying to digitize.

HA: Oh, okay. Oh, good!

SK: So people can listen to them again. [1:05:00]

HA: And their son, Marc?

SK: I don't know Marc.

HA: Marc works at Hayti.

SK: Okay.

HA: He's the organizer for the Blues Festival every year.

SK: Oh, alright.

HA: Yeah, Marc Lee. He—I saw him a couple of months ago. I went to a concert there. You know where Hayti is?

SK: Yeah.

HA: Yeah, the Cultural Center. He works there.

SK: Alright, good to know.

HA: In fact, he was one of the first students in our summer program for the Southeastern Black Press Institute.

SK: Oh, okay.

HA: Because when we had the opening day for the parents to come so we could tell them what the rules were, I saw Jim and Valeria. I said, “What the hell are you guys doing here?” And they said, “Marc’s here!” I said, “Who’s Marc?” They said, “Our son.” “Oh! That’s your son?!” And I didn’t even know it. He got in on his own merit.

SK: Right.

HA: Because he was at—I think he graduated from Xavier. But, yeah, he was a kid then. And I was surprised to see Jim and Valeria. I didn’t even know that was their kid.

SK: Yeah, yeah. So, I’m curious if you remember anything about VSP?

HA: Well, like I said, I bought Bill’s—God. Anyway.

SK: Yeah.

HA: And so, yeah, I listened to all of those. I listened—you know, they had jazz. They had blues. But then, they had the—oh, and I also wrote for Africa News.

SK: Right.

HA: You know, I did some things for them. And Africa News at the time was here. That was the other thing that got me, that Africa News was here. This radio station was here. Sonja was telling me about stuff. And I said, “Well, you know, there’s some stuff happening here.” You know? I had gotten introduced to the Regulator Bookstore. You know, I said, “Whoa!” You know? Africa News. And I had been looking at Africa News for years for stuff. You know, we subscribed to that.

SK: When you were in Philadelphia?

HA: Oh, yeah, yeah, because—.

SK: Is that Reed and Tami Kramer?

HA: Yeah, yeah.

SK: Okay.

HA: Yeah, yeah, because they had actually—they had relationships, working relationships, with the Quakers.

SK: Right. And they had done service in South Africa, which is maybe—.

HA: Um-hmm. I don't know if it was South Africa, but it was southern Africa somewhere. Oh, yeah. Yeah, Reed and Tami.

SK: Okay. Great. So, you were reading Africa News in Philadelphia?

HA: Yeah, we were using it, because they had an Africa News—it was like a—they called it a press service.

SK: Yeah, right, exactly.

HA: But it was printed.

SK: Right, right.

HA: Um-hmm, it came out every week.

SK: Okay.

HA: Yeah, I had forgotten about that. They were other connections that I always had.

SK: Yeah, yeah. That's very good to know. And, well, tell me about the Regulator. Did you buy books there or meet people there?

HA: Oh, well, I met people there. And at the time, Africa News was down in the back of it.

SK: Okay.

HA: Yeah, it was all in the same building.

SK: Yeah, I interviewed Tom Campbell last month, who still owns it and goes there regularly.

HA: Um-hmm.

SK: And I was talking to him about the role the Regulator played in that kind of cultural world as a meeting place.

HA: Well, if you wanted to get those kinds of books, there were only two places you could get it, Regulator and that other big bookstore that went out of business.

SK: The Intimate?

HA: Huh?

SK: Intimate?

HA: No, no, no!

SK: That was—.

HA: That big bookstore—they claimed it was the biggest something in the South.

[Note: The Book Exchange at Five Points in Durham]

SK: Oh, man! Okay, I'll have to dig that up.

HA: Yeah, they had everything in there. They had textbooks, but they also had all kinds of stuff. It's right at the—oh, God! It's a series of businesses there at that building now. I can't remember what it was. But, yeah, I got to be introduced to all of those folks.

SK: Yeah.

HA: And like I said, I had been here for the demonstration against the criminal justice system. So, I didn't come here completely cold.

SK: Right, right. And then, WVSP gave plenty of coverage to the, you know, the PCB dump in Warren County that—.

HA: Yes, yes.

SK: That Chavis was involved in that movement.

HA: Exactly.

SK: And a few years after you arrived, the North Carolina *Independent* would have started publishing, which you know—.

HA: And I was on their editorial board for years.

SK: Is that right?

HA: Yeah.

SK: Okay.

HA: And I wrote some pieces for them, um-hmm.

SK: I was looking at—.

HA: And *Southern Exposure*. [Slaps table several times]

SK: Oh, of course! Right. So, the Institute for Southern Studies would have been operating, and *Southern Exposure* comes along.

HA: Yes, they were all here.

SK: Right.

HA: The Institute for—*Southern Exposure*, Africa News, Regulator Bookstore, WVSP.

SK: *North Carolina Anvil*?

HA: I'm not familiar with that, no. And Sonja!

SK: Sonja, yeah.

HA: So, I said, "Whoa! You know, there is stuff going on there. I could come down there," you know. And so, it was okay.

SK: Yeah.

HA: But my first impression was—[laughs].

SK: Well, for better or worse, the Carolina Inn, right? Yeah.

HA: Yeah, it took me a while, talking to Sonja and then making the connections with the other stuff, you know, because I don't think I knew that Africa News was coming out of here. I don't think I knew that before.

SK: And they're still publishing.

HA: Yeah. I mean, once I started looking to see [1:10:00] what's going on down here, and Sonja was talking to me, then I said, "Oh! Okay, alright." And then, I had another friend who had come up to Jersey to do some stuff with the Black People's Unity Movement in Camden named Bertie Howard, B-E-R-T-I-E. She's in South Carolina now.

SK: Okay.

HA: But she—Jim would know how to get in touch with her. They were really close and they were part of that. She went to Duke.

SK: Okay.

HA: And they were part of all that. And what's his name? Oh, God, I'll have to think about it, because there was another. I see his face. It will come to me. But at any rate, yeah, I knew a lot of people. I made some connections with some people. So, when I came—when I did decide to take the job, it was—you know, it was alright, and I could immediately start doing things again.

SK: And you said earlier that you had been adjusting all your life, so this idea that you were the first black instructor, faculty member, in the School of Journalism wasn't something that was uncomfortable or new to you?

HA: No. As a matter of fact, a few years ago, they did a whole thing on the history of the J-School. [Phone starts buzzing] They interviewed all of us and everything. And so, and apparently they sent it out to—hold on a minute.

SK: Sure.

HA: [Answers phone] Hey, honey. Hello? Yeah, nothing. I'm alright now. I was gonna—.

[Recording stops and then resumes]

SK: So, you were talking about Bertie Howard?

HA: Um-hmm. Let's see, the guy. What's his name? His African name at the time was Shanga.

SK: Oh, my gosh! I—.

HA: Donald! Donald Baker!

SK: Donald Baker! Yeah, okay, great. Thank you.

HA: Yeah, he was another part of that.

SK: Yeah. My colleague interviewed him a few years ago.

HA: Okay, alright.

SK: Because he had been at WAFR, which I don't know if they—I don't think they were—they weren't still broadcasting when you arrived in [19]79.

HA: No, they weren't, um-um. Yeah, he's another one. And, see, I knew all those people.

SK: Okay.

HA: They were all my friends when I first came here. [Laughs]

SK: Yeah, yeah. [Laughs] So, you were very quickly plugged into this network of activist journalists.

HA: Yeah. Oh, yeah, yeah.

SK: And this is maybe the—well, I’m going to ask it anyway. But, you know, one of the things that I’m interested in is this sense of self-definition among activists and among journalists. And there were people who were writing for the *Indy*, for instance, who consider themselves journalists, you know, through and through. But they were writing on subjects that were kind of activist subjects, fair housing, the environment. Then, there were activists who saw themselves entering journalism to do activism.

HA: Um-hmm, right. Yeah, that was me.

SK: Okay. So, this is—that’s your sense?

HA: Oh, yeah. I’ve said that at forums, you know. When I first came here, there was some kind of a forum at Shaw. And Gerald Horne was a part of that. And he and I were both in agreement, you know. You know Gerald Horne?

SK: I mean, I can’t say I know him. I know who he is, yeah.

HA: And you know he ran the Black Cultural Center for—?

SK: Right.

HA: And I knew him before. In fact, I couldn’t believe he was applying for that job. I called him and I said, “Gerry, are you serious for that?” And he said, “Oh, yeah! I wouldn’t have done it if I hadn’t.” I said, “Well, as far as I’m concerned,” because I was on the search committee, “the search is closed.” [Slaps table] [Laughs]

SK: [Laughs]

HA: And I told them, I said, “I don’t care who—I’m pushing for this man!”

[Laughs] He’s at Texas now.

SK: Okay. He’s always been—I mean, his interest, if I’m not incorrect, is in this sort of international scope of civil rights generally, the movement.

HA: Um-hmm, and you should talk to Gerald.

SK: Yeah.

HA: Because Gerald has written for the black press.

SK: Okay.

HA: If you look at Gerald’s CV, it’ll floor you. You won’t be able to believe that a person could produce what he produces in such volume.

SK: I know that he’s prolific, yeah.

HA: And just a part of it—there will be probably ten pages of just Op Ed pieces that he’s written for the newspapers, half of whom are the black press.

SK: Okay.

HA: I mean, he’s the most prolific people that nobody’s heard of.

SK: Right, right.

HA: Because he never pushed himself like Dyson. Because they were both here at the same time.

SK: Oh, okay.

HA: Michael Eric Dyson was in charge of the Institute for African American Studies, and Gerald was in charge of the Black Cultural Center. And the two years that I—I took over both of them. But they were here at the same time.

SK: Speaking of the press, there's a—I think it was—well, Julian Bond, who of course you know, has said that radio, more so than the press, was such a mass kind of culture phenomenon that it was particularly effective in getting activist messages across. And part of the reason for that was just because black presses tended not to publish daily, whereas the radio was always on.

HA: Yeah, except that the black press [1:15:00] had a pass-around (rate).

SK: Oh, um-hmm.

HA: Of five-to-one, or six or seven-to-one, in some cases.

SK: Interesting.

HA: And you didn't throw it away.

SK: Right.

HA: And it was in the beauty shop.

SK: Right.

HA: And it was in the barbershop.

SK: So, it *was* always on. [Laughs]

HA: It was *always* on. [Laughs] You know, it wasn't always up-to-date, but it would come out the next week. It was behind in that sense. But, no, it was always on. And even now, if you go to [laughs] a black barbershop, there are some *Ebonys* in there. [Slaps table]

SK: Yeah, yeah.

HA: You know, and *Black Enterprises* now, too, and *Essences*. But, no, the black press stays in those places. And you would never throw it away. You never read the *Tribune* and threw it away. You saved it, because somebody else would want to read it.

SK: Right.

HA: And it had this other value, because if you were looking for a job or if you were looking for a place to stay or a house to rent, you didn't have to worry what's going to happen when I show up. Are they going to say it was taken? If it's in the black press, it's possible you can get it.

SK: Right.

HA: And so, that was there. And it had always been a pass-around instrument, because in the old days, the Pullman porters used to distribute it.

SK: Well, I recall people telling stories about, you know, the porters going through, you know, the segregated South on those North-South lines to Chicago and Kansas City, etcetera, and throwing the papers off the train because they wouldn't stop in the, you know, in certain places.

HA: Um-hmm, right.

SK: And that's how people learned about Emmett Till.

HA: And the post office wouldn't take them.

SK: Right.

HA: You know, it was illegal, of course, but the local postmen, they didn't think a (shit) of throwing them away.

SK: Yeah, right. And that's how people learned about Emmett Till and other—right?

HA: Oh, sure! Well, they learned about Emmett Till through *Jet*, really.

SK: And through *Jet*, yeah, sure.

HA: That picture, yeah.

SK: Right. Incidentally, there was an *Ebony* piece on WVSP where they had, you know, a photo of Jim and Valeria and—.

HA: Oh, really?

SK: I'll send you the picture.

HA: Oh, when was that?

SK: Gosh, you know, I want to say—if I had to guess, I would say it was [19]76, [19]77, you know, right after—.

HA: No, I didn't know that.

SK: Yeah, right after it started broadcasting, yeah.

HA: Yeah. Huh.

SK: There's also this notion, and this is more in connection with the, you know, the Civil Rights Movement of the sixties, that black issues—to use a phrase that we could talk about at length, right—only get covered if black people are victims. And this idea was used profitably by civil rights leaders who got pictures of people being bitten by dogs, right?

HA: Um-hmm.

SK: But when the narrative changed and, really as a result of the success of that strategy, black people began appearing in newspapers as actors rather than people who were being acted on, or as the beaters rather than people who were being beaten on.

HA: Well, the black press, also, always had a reputation in the black community about covering crime. You know, they always did that. In fact, the *Chicago Tribunes* do it with red headlines. [Laughs]

SK: [Laughs] Interesting.

HA: You know? I mean, no, they always—in fact, a lot of people, a lot of the really middle-class people who loved *Ebony*, and would not read *Jet*, and had stopped reading the black newspaper except for the social pages and the, you know, deaths and stuff, didn't like it because "it's always so much violence." They did not like that.

SK: Interesting.

HA: And so, you know, some newspapers had to—and some newspapers carried that reputation long after they had toned it down. It just stayed with them. And so, it always covered crime in the black community. If you look at the Pittsburgh *Courier*, the Chicago *Defender*, the Philadelphia *Tribune*, the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, any of those papers in here, look at some of the papers here, you'll see that during the Civil Rights Movement, they were covering the Civil Rights Movement but they were also covering local crime.

SK: Interesting, yeah.

HA: You know, if somebody stabbed somebody or got killed, [laughs] they covered that crap.

SK: Yeah, yeah. I guess it sold then like it sells now.

HA: Oh, yeah. Oh, yeah. The model that they used for years is the model of the Chicago *Defender*. You know, Robert Abbott, he was really slick, man. He knew how to—as a matter of fact, I mean, since he's a conservative—the black press is really conservative. [Clears throat] But sometimes you have a person on there, like I was on the *Tribune*, and we had a couple of other people on there who would do radical kinds of stuff to get it mixed, and you get a mix. And the editors, if they got readers, they didn't care, you know.

SK: Right.

HA: But the Chicago *Defender*, for example—remember that’s a business, the newspaper’s a business—they weren’t really initially supportive of the Pullman porters.

A. Philip Randolph [1:20:00] threatened them, reminded them, you know, “We deliver your papers.” [Laughs]

SK: [Laughs] Right.

HA: And that’s how they really got him to change his position. [Phone tone rings]

SK: One thing that strikes me: if you read, for instance, the *Carolina Times*, for any stretch of time, especially really before the Movement, the degree to which it seems in a way to be aimed towards a white readership to represent the black community.

HA: Oh, yeah, yeah. There’s that element in the black press, too. It’s sort of, on the one hand, a copycat, and on the other hand—you know, Robert Abbott, just around the Depression time, had a magazine. It only came out for three years, but—and he called it “A Magazine That’s Different”. [Laughs] And he wanted to show the positive side of black life, so he covered the fraternities, sororities, but he had articles in there, historical articles by Schomburg, and he covered the black college tennis and stuff like that, you know.

I actually think it’s a model for *Ebony* for later. And when Johnson created *Ebony*, it was something that he wanted people to put on their coffee tables, you know. And every cover, you know, was a celebrity, a politician, you know, and all positive, you know. As a matter of fact, *Ebony* was accused of not really covering hard news like apartheid, the Antiapartheid Movement, you know. It was a nice coffee table, staid—and then, later on, he was able to do some of that with *Jet*, you know, [laughs] turn to the

other part of it with *Jet*. He was very clever, a very good businessman. But, yeah, it was not—you know, it covered a lot of firsts. That's always a story, the first.

Oh, I remember—I got distracted. I was telling about how they wrote that history of the journalism school, and apparently they put it out in some of the alumni stuff. And my son is an alum, and he called me. This was about three or four years ago. “Dad! You're the first black person—?” [Laughs] I said, “Oh, yeah.” He said, “How come you never told me?” I said, “Well, what was I going to say? You know, ‘Son, I'm the first black professor—?’” [Laughs] You know?

SK: “Sit down. I have something to tell you.” [Laughs]

HA: Yeah. [Laughs] That's crazy! So, but you need to write your history, I guess, so people know stuff, before they put stuff on there. I mean, and people were telling me, “I just heard that you were—you never told me about—!” I said, “Well.” You know, “I've known you for ten years, and you never told me this.” I said, “It never occurred to me to be a big thing.” I said, “My thing would be: *Why*, in 1979, was I the first?”

SK: Yeah. So, speaking of that kind of issue, and we'll wrap up so we can both go to our respective obligations, you know, can you give us a state of the field at the moment, as far as the visibility of people of color in the media and the roles of people of color in the media?

HA: Well, I mean, now we're all over the place. And to some extent we can control our own image because of Twitter and all of that.

SK: Right.

HA: I mean, Serena Williams, Shaq, Tiger Woods, they do their thing. They bypass their agents, you know. And everybody gets on their Twitter feed because they

won't know what's happening. It's mandatory for a reporter at the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, etcetera, to have a Twitter account, to have a LinkedIn account, to have a Facebook account, and maybe even to have some of the others, you know. But they have to have them now and they have to be savvy with this crap, because otherwise they won't get the story. And so, because of the internet and social media, a lot of famous people are controlling their image now. And so, that's one point.

And the simple fact is print newspapers are going out of business. Okay? There are no afternoon papers in this country at all, no afternoon dailies, period. And some of the major ones, *Times-Picayune*, *Christian Science Monitor*, they're gone. And they still haven't figured out a way to make money on the internet. So, social media, internet, TV, radio—and not even radio, really, but, you know, podcasts maybe. That may be something new coming up. But [1:25:00] I think that—and then, when you look at the reactions to the things that happened in California and Florida, you know, immediately you get the attention and you can force the mainstream media to cover it, because otherwise they're going to be beat by the internet.

SK: Right.

HA: So, I think we're more empowered now. I think we're much more empowered. And actually, there's nothing, if you're industrious and aware, there's nothing that you can't find out about in this world now. I mean, there's no way there's a conspiracy to keep you away from this, that or the other, as long as you have the internet and as long as you have access to all of these things. We've seen that with Arab Spring. We've seen it with China. They go around when their governments try to stop them.

They still go around. There's no way you can stop it now. It's out of control. There's a little bit of anarchy going on.

And so, and I think there's actually some room for some black media folks to make a business even in this, you know. I mean, right now, you've got this—what is it? They've got some black websites and things. And I have a really good friend who's been in business now for twelve, thirteen years with her seeingblack.com, Esther Iverem out of D.C., S-E-E-I-N-G black dot com. I've written some stuff for them, too.

And Esther comes out of Philly. She's a young woman. She's in her early fifties, went to Columbia, you know, got a master's at Columbia, worked at *Newsday*, worked at *Washington Post*, worked at the *New York Times*, and just got tired of it and decided she wanted to do her own thing. And so, about twelve or thirteen years ago, she started this publication, and it's still going.

SK: That's a good run for an independent publication.

HA: Yeah. And meanwhile, she's done independent stuff with *Huffington [Post]* and stuff like that.

SK: Yeah.

HA: And she does interviews for, she does movie interviews for—um, I can't remember who, but a black website. She's got a book out called *We Gotta Have It*, and it's really a collection of her columns from her website over ten years or so, critiquing black film. So, you have a niche for something to happen. Nobody, no newspaper is making money online. And they're just going out of business. I mean, unfortunately, I don't know what that means for the public, you know. I mean, like I said, everything is out there. You can learn anything you want to learn. But if you're lazy and you're used to

having really quick stuff, you're not going to be informed. And that's the paradox there: You've got more information than you ever wanted, but at the same time, you're conditioned not to want it.

SK: It's interesting that, along with the rise of Twitter, there's the rise of this long form journalism and this partnership journalism that seems to be on the opposite end of that spectrum, where people—there seems to be a hunger of some kind for in-depth—.

HA: But it's not with the masses.

SK: Right, right.

HA: [Laughs] That's the problem. It's with a group.

SK: Yeah, I guess that is an elite sort of style of taste. But it's interesting to see both of them flourish on either end of the spectrum.

HA: Um-hmm.

SK: In the middle, you've got the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* that are struggling and putting up (walls).

HA: Um-hmm. And then you've got TMZ to—[laughs].

SK: [Laughs] Yeah, right, exactly. And they're doing investigative work, in addition to their own proclivities.

HA: Yeah, in addition, right, right. I mean, there's room. There really is room. And it's going to be interesting to see how this all fills up, because right now it's flux. We don't know what's going to come out at the other end. We don't even know who's going to survive at the other end and what it's going to look like. The innovators—this is a good time for the innovators to come through with something.

SK: Yeah.

HA: There's an app for that. [Laughs]

SK: Right. [Laughs] Maybe that's a good note to conclude on. I will say thank you very much indeed for talking to me and I hope we'll have a chance to talk more another time.

HA: Okay.

SK: Alright.

[Recording ends at 1:29:58]

END OF INTERVIEW

Transcribed by Sally C. Council