

[9]

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**DR. KHALFANI:** Well, thank you all for being here and thank you for the opportunity to testify here today. I think it's an appropriate time for us to think about some things that we maybe haven't thought about or maybe we thought about, but we haven't done the necessary steps to transform.

To celebrate a kind of scholar, Kenneth Clark testified at the original hearing commission and what he said at that time is that when he had read the reports from the 1919 Chicago riots, a report from the Harlem riots of '35 and the Harlem riots of '43 and the Watts riots of '65, he said it was all like the same thing. And we have heard this again today, that these things are recurring and recurring, and when do we get to a solution, when do we get to some type of transformation that talks about how we begin to do and think differently.

One of the things that even the Eisenhower -- Eisenhower Foundation, one of the things it did in the 30 -- well, the 30th anniversary was a document called the Millenium Breach, and the Millenium Breach in essence said that there was -- 30 years have passed and we haven't still gone to this place, and now we're at the 40th, ten years later, and once again -- so we still haven't. There's almost 100 years have passed and what is it that has been changed? What is it that is different?

Well, the difference is that we have not focused on solution-oriented holistic wake up resolve in our problems. We focus on the problems and we talk about the problems, further specify the problems, and all we think about is well, these are the problems, but what are the solutions?

Although there are some solutions in the documents, what we don't do is we don't as a society deal with the whole issue of transformation.

And I say that in the context that today is no different because also if we look back at the riot seekers, it wasn't just the urban rebellions, right?

If you look in Plainfield, what happened in -- also at the same time. Plainfield, well, there was an urban -- it was a suburban rebellion and what happened in Plainfield was that there was an issue about -- people here, we haven't talked about -- Herman talked about folks moving out to the suburbs. Well, today we're at the brink of the same type of thing.

If you look at what's going on in Montclair, what's going on in West Orange, what's going on in South Orange, you have these same types of issues recurring where white folks or white supremacy has (indiscernible) as a way of thinking. People don't want to relinquish power and people don't want to relinquish privilege.

See, it's about privilege and until we begin to honestly address the issues of privilege, we're not going to transform what we're talking about. We're not going to be able to get to the places and spaces where we're actually going to push to a new reality.

We have to both on an individual and a collective level begin to rethink what we do, and rethinking what we do, I say we have to base it again on a holistic approach.

We still a lot of times talk about economics or education, but it's not just economics or education. It's economics, education, culture, diet. It's spirituality. It's economics. It's politics. It's sociology. It's historiography. All of these things are important for us to come up with some type of solution of how we address the problems, and until we begin to transform our thinking, transform our ways of doing -- you saw Malcolm X with a rifle, but Malcolm never shot anybody. What did Malcolm shoot? He shot buttons. He wanted us to revolutionize our minds.

Martin Luther King had the same idea. He wanted us to revolutionize the way we thinking so that we begin to do differently. We have to think about ways to do differently and it can't be self based. As leaders we can't be about self.

I always tell people that I'm a brick. Well, one brick doesn't make a wall. And so if we're going to build a transformation, we're going to build institutions, in essence, how we come get together collectively to think about us as bricks to build the institutions that are going to transform.

What you have here -- I participate and deal with a bunch of grassroots organizations. I see a bunch of folks here from them and in the community who are here, and I think that one of the things that we have to do is that just because grassroots organizations are not viable 1-C3s, they get ignored. How do we incorporate what we think about in terms of grassroots organizations in the essence of what we're doing, in incorporating them as part of the strategy for solutions. Not just hearing their voices in some panel here and there, but actually incorporating them into the process of transformation.

Folks who are scared of transformation have to get unscared of transformation because transformation is coming whether you like it or not and if you don't accept the fact that it's coming, then what we end up with is we end up with another riot or another rebellion. I don't know if they call them riots. I call them rebellions. Another rebellion.

And so, therefore, we have to think about is that the reality. And those realities of the rebellions, do they bring the type of transformation that we want. In some levels they do because without those rebellions you wouldn't have had the electoral politics transform Newark the way it was transformed, right?

But then how do we get that to manifest into sustained change. We need to develop and think about systemic transformation. Not just one or two things, but how do we transform things on a systemic basis.

One thing I wanted to say to you is that when we think about how we do this, we must -- we must begin to think outside the box and analyze the problems, like I said, from a holistic perspective. Otherwise, asking the question about how did Newark and other cities deal with transition, it becomes a situation where we have -- whether it's an urban rebellion or we have something else where you have more people who are disenfranchised, and the more people you get that are disenfranchised, we're going to end up with where we were in Los Angeles.

I was in Los Angeles in '92 and as I was driving down the street thinking about what was going on and hearing people in the streets listening to the verdict of the Rodney King incident being unveiled, I saw and felt the tension rising in the air, and the further I got down the street and the further the verdicts were being read, the more and more people came out in the streets and the more and more people you had who were upset.

And so that upset reaction was one that was not just based on the Rodney King incident. The Rodney King incident said that you don't see what you think you see. So, therefore, you have no control, no ability to influence things.

People thought that finally they had a documented case of someone being videotaped being abused and the police and the judges and the court system said that you only think you see that, but the reality is that Rodney King wasn't beat. The reality is that he was resisting arrest. The reality is that he was actually threatening the police, threatening the police with all the numbers of cops that were there.

But the reality is that that's what happens all the time. It's just not documented. And now they said that now that what you see is documented, it's up there, that what you see that's documented is not a reality.

So we have to begin to determine our own reality and begin to transform things. I know my time is almost out. It's not out.

And so in closing, I just want to say that we have to provide honest -- an honest beginning because we've had certain stuff -- we have to provide an honest beginning and that honest beginning can be here, but it has to be how do we take this and go out to the community. How come we don't take this and we're not in the heart of Newark? How do we take this and we're not in the heart of East Orange? How do we take this and we're not in the heart of all these other places where we need to go and be so that the folks who are in the trenches begin to see that these issues are at the heart of concern of the American populous and begin to move from there.