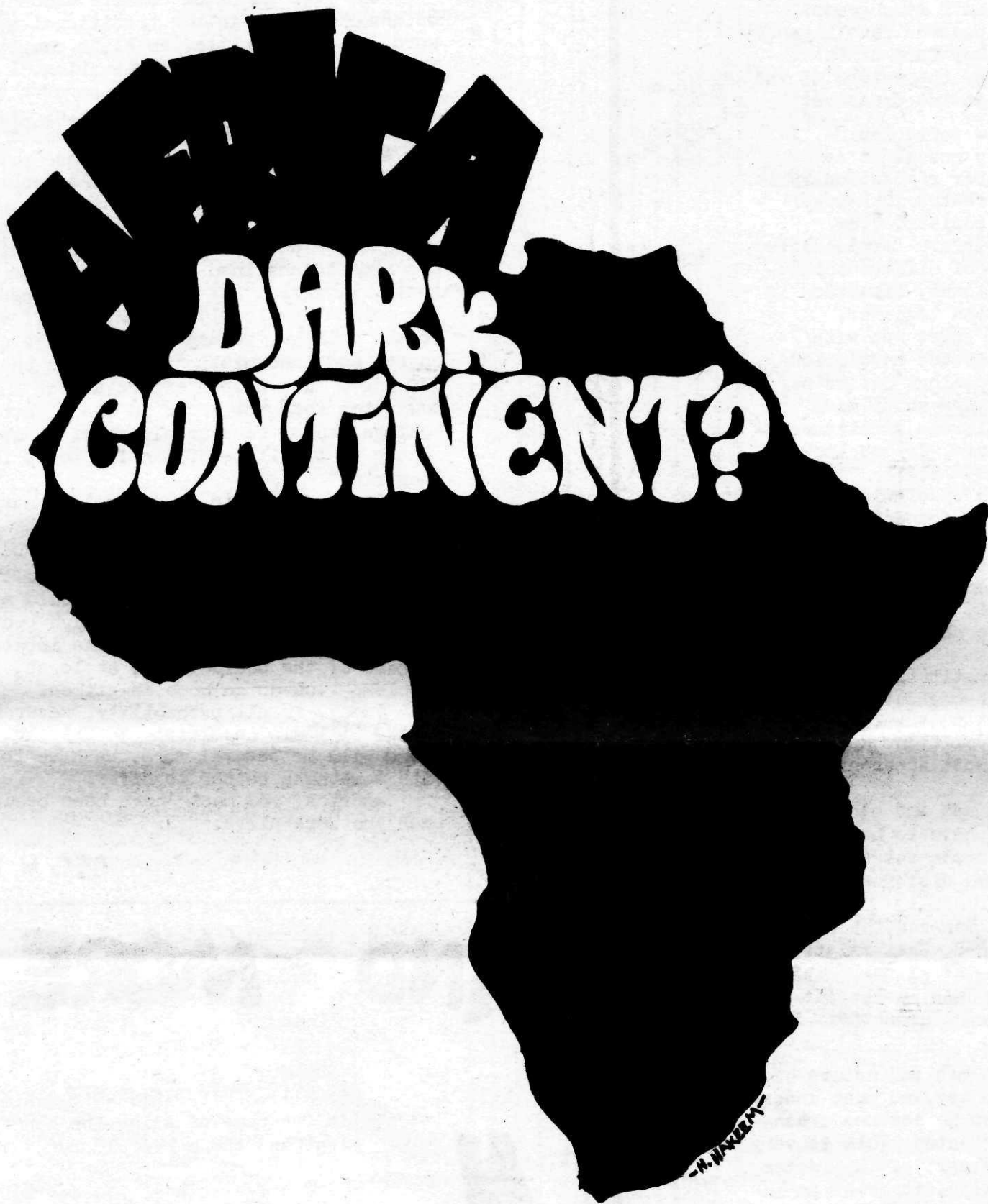


BLACK RAP

VOLUME II, NUMBER 2 *Black Students for Black Action of Lake Forest College* MARCH, 1970



**BLACK RAP[™] RAPS[™]
ON AFRICA TODAY** PAGE 8

*** EXCLUSIVE : THE CUBAN SCENE**
[an interview with Gerard SIMON, LFC student]
who just returned from CUBA!
PAGE 12

I suggest that you go down to see "Putney Swope," then re-read the article I'm presenting.

My thesis is that revolutions are formed by situations. That is, there are certain relationships in a society that force a group of people to seriously consider revolution. Before I go on, permit me to explain what I mean by revolution and what I mean by counter-revolution. I see revolution as a total progressive change in our society. What I mean by this is that justice (not abstract justice, but a concrete viable justice) has been redefined to the extent that exploitation of the masses is no longer needed to maintain the society. By counterrevolution I mean groups involved in processes that counter revolutionary movements. I see the means or form of the revolution largely decided by the nature of the society, unless there are outside pressures

(groups) which introduce new variables.

I see most revolutionary movements as counterrevolutionary. Counter revolutionary in that they are primarily interested in a power change than in a redefined society. The revolutionary movements in it are factionalized, fighting for power, and are of different ideological bases. The revolutionary situation is what brings all these factions together.

I think real revolution comes not with revolutionary rhetoric, projected revolutionary forms, or revolutionary psychology but rather, it is a process of Total Change which must occur on several different levels simultaneously. To give a clearer picture, let us look at some of the different levels:

- 1) It is a process of people redefining the institutional and philosophical foundations of the society (philosophy would include religion), that is, to understand the contradictions, compromises, and rationalizations of our philosophical and religious bases, discontinue our reactions toward them and be about deciding the proper roles for them.
- 2) Political and economic institutions have to be consistently redefined throughout the revolutionary period in order that we avoid the alluring trap of counter-revolution. Remember, these institutions are the most apparent reasons for a revolution.
- 3) The relationship between man and man, man and woman, and woman and woman, have to be redefined. The present society is so incoherent that personal relationships have been distorted to the point of total dis-function.
- 4) The relationship between man and the mode of production has to be redefined. What exists in our society is a subtle form of slavery, that is in some cases just as inhuman as the outright slavery of Afro-Americans upon their introduction to this country.
- 5) The relationship between man and nature has to be redefined. That is to say, we must understand what happens to man as he becomes urbanized and technologically oriented. This is very important in that it may be part of the factor of the alienation of man. Also, it means an in-depth view and, I hope, some thought on how resources (which to some extent are limited) should be used, and may answer the question of for Whom these resources should be used.
- 6) There must be a redefinition of the relationship between man and God. This will involve an understanding of how religion has been a part of a historical process of exploitation. I hope also, that it will involve making religion a part of life, not to be followed blindly, or used as a weapon, but rather a peace giving component which allows an individual open-mindedness.
- 7) There must be a redefinition of terms such as justice, freedom, and civil rights, in order that the masses receive a consistent and maximum treatment from these concepts. This will involve a stringent and time consuming process to straighten up the contradictions and double standards produced by our present society. The question for Whom, comes up again.

A careful and detailed look at our own Black Revolutionary forces is paramount. If they are found to be counter-revolutionary or fascist (nationalistic) orientated, call them so and move on. We need to develop a clear understanding of the concept of racism, what it has done historically, what it has been allowed

NOTES

and most important, what it has done psychologically to Black people in this country.

Our role as Black college students should be understood -- in the traditional sense of the word, we are an elite, an elite caught in a supposedly revolutionary situation. I believe that we should be totally aware of the education bag, aware of it to the point of not reacting to it, but rather making it react to us. In our situation, either one of these positions is impossible; but, there remains room for the creation of an underground that should be concerned with attempting (while at the same time being consciously aware of its limitations) to practice a redefined educational experience that will direct its attention towards some of the points previously brought up. If we react to the college, we may end up on the corner angry, mad, and missing out on the chance of gaining a much needed expertise or knowledge. Education does not occur in the classroom. The college cannot conceivably react to us in any manner that will be of benefit to us in the long run.

As Black people in a revolutionary situation, we should not be hung up in the form.

That is, revolution is very natural ---the means are decided by your situation. The ultimate alternative is very clear. We should move on. Real revolution comes only through people sitting down and redefining all the inputs and outputs of the society. We, at least, know our problems --we do go home sometimes.

Today, in all probability, several Black youths will die needlessly in Chicago. Each day there will be several more. We have to come up with something better to offer.

America, you must have been beautiful -- when you were alive.

CLEO R. BAKER

AND MORE...

NOTES

Bis-Millah-hir-Rahman-nir-Rahim
(In the name of Allah the beneficent and the merciful)

"The universe has, however not been created for the benefit of a class, section or individual. Man himself has been created for an object and a purpose which is common to the whole of mankind. Therefore, the exercise by man of the dominion that has been entrusted to him over the resources of the universe and the forces of nature must be for the benefit of all mankind. If this principle were recognized and accepted and the regulation of human relationships were based upon it, human activity in all spheres- individual, social, political- would become wholly beneficent and mankind would begin to live at peace with each other."

Moral Principles As the
Basis of Islamic Culture
by

Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan,
Judge, International Court
of Justice

CONT'D P. 15

THE COLONIAL SITUATION

CLIFTON P. HAYWOOD II

Racism in colonial societies never became standardized as being in one form. Its forms must change in proportion with the level of awareness of the colonized-it must change its appearance.

Archaic justifications such as comparing skulls, the size of backbone, the amount and shape of the folds of the brain, appearance of the skin, and biblical justifications (i.e. Hamites) are now obsolete in their physical form, but they are still for the most part, psychologically internalized by the oppressors (i.e., colonizers, or honkies). It is through these obsolete stereotypes that colonizers base their rationale.

Racism, itself, aspires to become rationally, individually, and genotypically and phenotypically determined.

The individual Blackman is not the target of racism. The target of racism is his form of existing (i.e., lifestyle culture, people, concepts, habits, skills, arts, instruments, institutions and ect.).

Military and economic oppression precedes, makes possible, and legitimizes colonial institutions.

A prime example of this is the turmoil that exists whenever there is a confrontation between Christians and Moslems. The Moslems proclaim that there is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his prophet. The Christians believe that there is but one God and Jesus is his son. There is a one to one correspondence between the dieties of both religions, but the major conflict comes when the lifestyles clash (i.e., cultural shock). Because the Moslems did not have the same values as the Christians the Christians recognized them as "enemies of the people", and denounced the Moslem religion and way of life as being inferior to their way.

Immediately the Christians and Moslems started separate programs of recruitment. The Moslems lost (to a degree). The Muslim expansion was essentially for people, but the Christian expansion was for power, money, colonial gains, leaving the amount of people essentially insignificant.

The enslavement of a native population or the importation and then enslavement of a group of people and the sadistic of the native's cultural originality are the prime characteristics of a colonial body of people.

"It is impossible to enslave men without logically making them inferior throughly".

But, paradoxically, the main aim of the colonizer is not to destroy the sense of cultural originality of the native. The main aim of the colonizer is to cause the native to want to destroy his own cultural originality through a sys-

tem of "FUCKING WITH THE VALUE SYSTEM".

Inert institutions, functioning under the supervision of the native bourgeoisie (i.e. toms under the control of the colonizer), are both set up to pacify the native constituency spreading the colonizer's values to and to fuck with the values by the native body.

The colonizer makes many attempts to stereotype and standardize the cultural patterns of the natives (i.e. James Brown; Wayne Cochran; Janis Joplin; Ella Fitzgerald, Ray Charles; Clayton Thomas).

These forms psychologically attempt to break the natives desire to exist as a unique manifestation (Loss of identity).

Jokes about race, about social positions (Black Janitors, Shoeshiners); Films (i.e., "Change of Mind", "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner"), identification with racism survey results authorized and endorsed by the colonizers (Kerner Report, and etc.) all give the native bourgeoisie a feeling that they have finally assimilated into the colonizer's society.

Therefore the native no longer exists psychologically. They become patriotic (i.e., Americans not Blacks). Literature songs, proverbs, styles, and patterns, whether they set out to attack or vulgarize or not, in essence psychologically restore racism. A society cannot be unconsciously racist, neither a country, or civilization. The colonizers in their initial phase attempt to scientifically legitimize their superiority over the natives. If the native accepts this situation he acquires an inferiority complex. (1) Attempts to denounce his cultural originality; (2) Denies his identity as a separate race, and (3) adopts the convictions, doctrines, and philosophy of the colonizer's race.

"A state of thorough acculturation begins to threaten the native's ego. The native cannot ever wholly assimilate because the colonizer will never permit it. The natives begin to believe that their misfortunes are caused by their own 'natural' racial and cultural characteristics. A guilt complex develops in the 'psychic' of the native and he tries to escape his own 'identity' by adopting the colonizer's cultural modes".

....Fanon

The racist in a culture with racism is normal. He has achieved a perfect harmony of economic relations and ideology. The idea that one form of man is never totally on economic relations, but also on the relations existing historically and geographically among men and groups.

(from THE THIRD WORLD)

black men will never be free till they
learn not to have aspirations identical
to the oppressors; this is to say to the
rapist. let me steady your hand

WHITE FRIDAY

F. HOWARD BENSON

Led by Tony Peters, BSBA Chairman, nine Black male students went to the acting president's office, that of Dean Dunn, to meet and discuss the progress of recruiting Black faculty, on Friday, February 21. The confrontation lasted approximately twenty minutes, and if nothing else was accomplished, Dean Dunn was told that the Black students are far from satisfied with the administration and the majority of the department heads' "all-out efforts", and wanted positive action to be taken to contract ten Black professors by the Fall of 1971.

After entering the provost's office, Peters quickly declined the Dean's offer to sit. When Dunn said that it was impolite for him to sit while we stood, Peters vehemently retorted that it was not only impolite but humiliating for BSBA's faculty delegation (on Tuesday February 10), to have been granted a mere fifteen minutes to state their case and then be asked "to excuse themselves" while the faculty held a debate on their presentation.

Visibly shaken and disturbed, Dunn assumed a defensive position while the Black men pushed across the purpose of the meeting: to tell him that the department heads in reality were not putting forth as intense a search for Black candidates as they claimed to be doing, and that the cause of the communication gap lie not with the Coordinating Committee on Black Recruitment, but rather with Dunn and many department Chairman. In essence, the Blacks were thoroughly disgusted and not inclined to take the posture of waiting, holding lengthy meetings, and further having to prove the legitimacy of the entire idea of Blackness in the educational system. Get relevant Lake Forest and now; that's all there is to the matter. Dunn's attempts to appease us by illustrating past "accomplishments" and avoiding the central issue failed, and we left as we arrived, angry, frustrated, and definitely not optimistic.

So what did all this prove? We can argue the question for days as you can the deed itself. If the quota of five full-time teaching faculty is met by September, 1970, I'd like to be able to state that this confrontation influenced that possible outcome. On the contrary, the primary result of that Friday was that we put the campus' most powerful figure up against the wall and we were united in this encounter. For once Blacks took the crisis to the Lake Forest power structure, something significant for all Blacks in this college, not only for the present, but also when we must face the white man in the real world, when this "free education, all you can eat at Szabo, smoking reefers in a classroom dreamland" is all a memory.

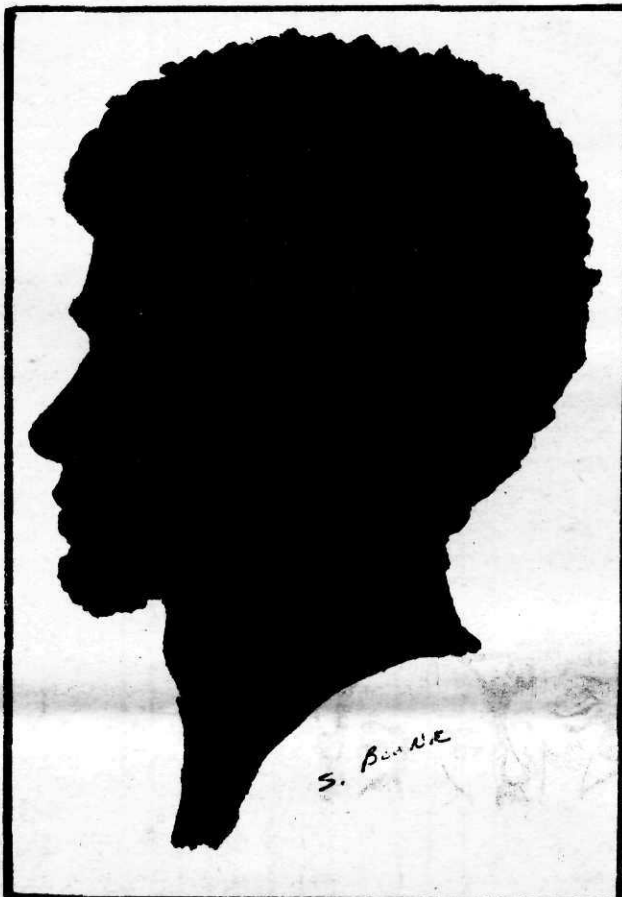
PLEASE SEND ALL SUGGESTIONS
AND/OR CRITICISMS TO BOX 697,
LAKE FOREST COLLEGE. PROMPT
ATTENTION WILL BE FORTHWITH.

ED.



ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE'S WARRIORS.

BLACK PERSPECTIVES



If any single event may be said to have triggered the Black slave revolt, it is the publication of David Walker's Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World in September, 1829. His petition lashed out at whites and called upon Blacks to rebel, for rebellion was a religious duty.

David Walker was born in North Carolina in 1785, the son of a slave and his free wife. His mother passed on to her son both her own freedom and a burning indignation towards the enslavers of her people. Though little is known about Walker's early life, it is known that he acquired an education and travelled widely throughout the United States, particularly in the South. He saw slavery in all its

aspects, and found that those who lived under it were "degraded, wretched, abject". Nor was the lot of the free Negro much better in a society dedicated to the doctrine of racial inequality. "It is a notorious fact," he wrote, "that the major part of the white Americans have, ever since we have been among them, tried to keep us ignorant, and make us believe that God made us and our children to be slave to them and theirs."

Sometime during the 1820's Walker settled in Boston and became actively involved in the abolition movement. Wherever he could attract an audience he spoke out against the peculiar institution. If the master will not free the slave, the slave must seize his own freedom, at whatever cost in blood, because death is better than life under such conditions.

As his Appeal was circulated, both the slaveholding South and the generally anti-slavery North saw in it only an incitement to servile rebellion and went to fantastic lengths to suppress it. As much as \$10,000 reward was offered for his live capture. Friends urged him to seek refuge in Canada, but Walker saw his work in adding new material to a second and third edition of his appeal which appeared in June, 1830.

Eight days later he was found dead near the doorway of his shop. The true circumstances have never been ascertained, but poison seemed the most likely cause of death. At 45, the most eloquent voice of the time in the battle for Black freedom had been violently stilled.

David Walker's Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in particular, and very expressly, to those of the United States of America contains a preamble and four articles. It is in the Lake Forest Bookstore and is a must reading for all.

Do you want
just a safe black
profession?

REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION

TONY PETERS

"When they came for the Panthers, I didn't defend them because I wasn't a Panther. When they came for SDS, I didn't defend them because I wasn't a member of SDS. When they came for....I didn't... And when they came for me, there was no one left to defend me."

-from the MOVEMENT

After all the "right ons" and "power to the people", each of us must stop and ask himself: "Why am I here?" It is obvious that we have mastered the rhetoric, but the four years and the \$3400/year is hardly a prerequisite. So why are we here? To avoid the draft? Nonsense. Under the new laws, a man is just as eligible to be drafted when he leaves college, as if he had never gone in the first place.

Another common, but more sophisticated answer is that one attends college in order to gain a passport (degree) "into the system". This is madness! Everyone of us was born into the system. Getting in is not the issue. The question is what are you going to do about this racist, oppressive and exploitative system?

Finally, it is only a fool who says that he is here to get an education. Ninety-five per cent of what



Brother and Chairman Tony Peters

you learn here is only useful in the classroom. Furthermore, this material has been so twisted and distorted, that it has no practical relevance to real world situations. It is hard to believe that we have government of, by, and for the people and Fred Hampton can be murdered in his sleep, and a jury "of the people" rule it "justifiable homicide".

So why are we here? Secretly all of us are clinging to the material aspects which a degree holds. We are

all looking for that better job, that better car, that better house. This is the tragedy of the Black student. We are being co-opted by material prospects which in the long run amount to nothing more than "trinkets and goodies",...selling our birthrights for a pile of junk.

In a larger sense, this is the fatal mistake of the Black student. We will not always be students, but we will always be Black. History has shown that there were just as many diploma-ed, rich, degree-ed, awarded, and decorated Jews murdered in concentration camps as poor ones. Black people are only commodities to be consumed and exploited, and a degree imports no special status. We will definitely be discarded when our usefulness has expired.

In conclusion, the revolution is taking place in the streets and not in the halls of academia. When we leave here, we will either become part of the problem or part of the solution. The masses of Black people have nothing to loose but their chains and will not hesitate to kill any motherfucker, Black or White, who stands in the way of complete liberation!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Tony Peters

**A CON-
ARTIST
WILL
CALL YOU
A THIEF
TO TAKE
YOUR**



**MIND, WHILE
HE PICKS
YOUR
POCKETS,
YEAH,
RIGHT ON
NIXON**

cartoon from the BERKELEY TRIBE

NORTH CHICAGO TUTORIAL

DEBORAH R. FRISBY

To those of you who aren't aware of it, we are having trouble getting the tutorial project under way. The problem centers around some of the people in the community having the wrong impression of us and our aims.

The trouble we have been having getting the tutorial project going can be put in various terms. Like one could say it's disillusioning, a bitch, it's a damn shame, etc. However, the most important thing about the problems, to me, is that they serve the function of giving us reality contact with different strains of thought within "the Black community".

Sitting here, in our Ivory Tower world, it is easy for us to start thinking of "the Black com-

one particular voice or point of view. It's also easy for us to start thinking in the romantic terms of our destiny being to go out into the "community" to Blackwash and revolutionize it.

In the first place, as our experience in North Chicago shows, "the Black community" is composed of quite varied opinions ranging from knowing and caring nothing about Blackness to being all caught up in it. "The Black community" isn't stagnant, as we stay here the views of the occupants therein change. We are the stagnant ones. We are going to have to be flexible and thus receptive if we are going to get over.

To me, our being flexible does not mean that we are going to be

and/or revolution. Our views aren't shit anyway because they have no reality contact and thus can't possibly take in the essence of the Black man's (and oppressed peoples in general) situation in this country. If a point of view is taken without contacting the essence of a situation, how the hell can it offer a viable solution for the situation? This brings me to another point. If you accept the thesis of this paper--then you should either be about tutoring or setting up some other program which will put you in contact with Black people. Or you have decided instead to sit back and live with your shallow and nonfunctional points of view.

IT'S EITHER/OR.....

EXPRESSIONS



THE MISERY OF BLACKNESS

(Condensed from "Black Misery" by Langston Hughes and "Black" by Turner Brown, Jr.)

Misery is when you start
to play a game and someone
begins to count out
Eenie, meenie, minie, mo....

Black is
being so shiftless
and lazy you scrub
floors six days
a week.

Misery is when you heard
on the radio that the neighborhood
you live in is a slum but
you always thought it was home.

Black is
not having to
get in the mood to
sing the blues.

Misery is when you go
to the Department Store
before Christmas and find out
that Santa is a white man.

Black is
when you root for
the Indians to beat
John Wayne.

Black is
learning at an early
age that equality is
only skin-deep.

Misery is when you come back
from the beach
proud of your suntan
and your pals don't even know
you've got one.

Black is
being mayor in
the city and banned
in the suburbs.

Misery is when the taxicab
won't stop for your mother
and she says a bad word.

Black is
not needing a
psychiatrist to
tell you what's
bugging you.

Misery is when you start to help
an old white lady across the street
and she thinks
you're trying to snatch her purse.



endarkenmentation

painted on the canvases of simulated existence
like the new brick facade of a modest dwelling
lodge the expressions of momentary self-satisfying
cordiality
behind mythical black bodies
bull shit
it churns like gas in the gutts
twisting and spurting
damn pain
like the dry whimpering of a throat recently disposed of vomit
are the words consumed in their own falsification
fraternity
discernment
condemnation
the ego
- as long as it tastes the polluted stench of its own
glorification
then damn
surgically shread the layers of mask that bear smiles
caressing its image on shit piles
a muted word
a breath of untouched air
an attempt for "for realness"
a wasted effort...

millicent bolden

I love you, my brothers and
sisters, whoever you are.
You and I are all children of
one faith, for the diverse paths
of religion are fingers of the
loving hand of one Supreme
Being, a hand extended to all
offering completeness of spirit
to all, eager to recieve all.

You are my brothers and sisters
beacause you are human, and we
all are sons and daughters of
one Holy Spirit;
We are equal and made of the same
earth.

I love you for your Truth,
derived from your knowledge.
I respect it as a divine thing,
for it is the deed of the spirit.

Your Truth shall meet my Truth
and blend together like the
fragrance of flowers and become
one whole and eternal Truth,
perpetuating and living in the
eternity of Love and Beauty.

ALLAN O AKER

KHAIL GIBRAN

EXPRESSIONS

The moving finger writes; and, having writ, moves on....

There's gonna be a revolution!
Gonna be a revolution!
A revolution!
A revolution!
Who said that?
Man-n-n,
There ain't gonna be no revolution.
That is not unless you talkin' bout a CULTURAL one.
Sportin' all the latest in African rags,
Wearin' a natural that's two by two.
Proclamin' black power,
Shoutin' POWER to the people!
POWER to the BLACK PEOPLE!
What power?
You say keep black folk's money in the black folk's businesses.
Who do you think is pulling THEIR strings?
It goes round 'n round and it comes out ---
Naw.
I ain't gonna tell you.
You got one guess!
Damn fool.

By the way...
Any of you daisheki niggers out there
Figure out yet
How come black folk are livin' in ghettos-
Livin' in them cute ten-story projects
Shaped like boxes with the fronts kicked out?
Can you tell me how come the main roads and highways
Run straight through them ghettos
With a concentration (dehumanization) camp on one end
An' an Uncle Sam base on the other?
You sho' think you gonna have a revolution don't cha?
What you gonna off 'em with?
Raid?

Y'all think a revolution
Is a little shootin' here
An' a little scramblin' there,
An' that a revolutionary
Is a solar charged
Superman
Or some other lame punk like that.
Baby,
A lot of them R-E-V-O-L-U-T-I-O-N-A-R-I-E-S-
Are just in that bag
To make a little dust
An' get next to some of the sisters.
You just wait....
When that man is tired of playin' cat an' mouse with you mice,
An' sick of watchin' you clowns hoppin' up an' down
Like a bunch af Watusis
Humph-h.
You'll have a revolution alright.

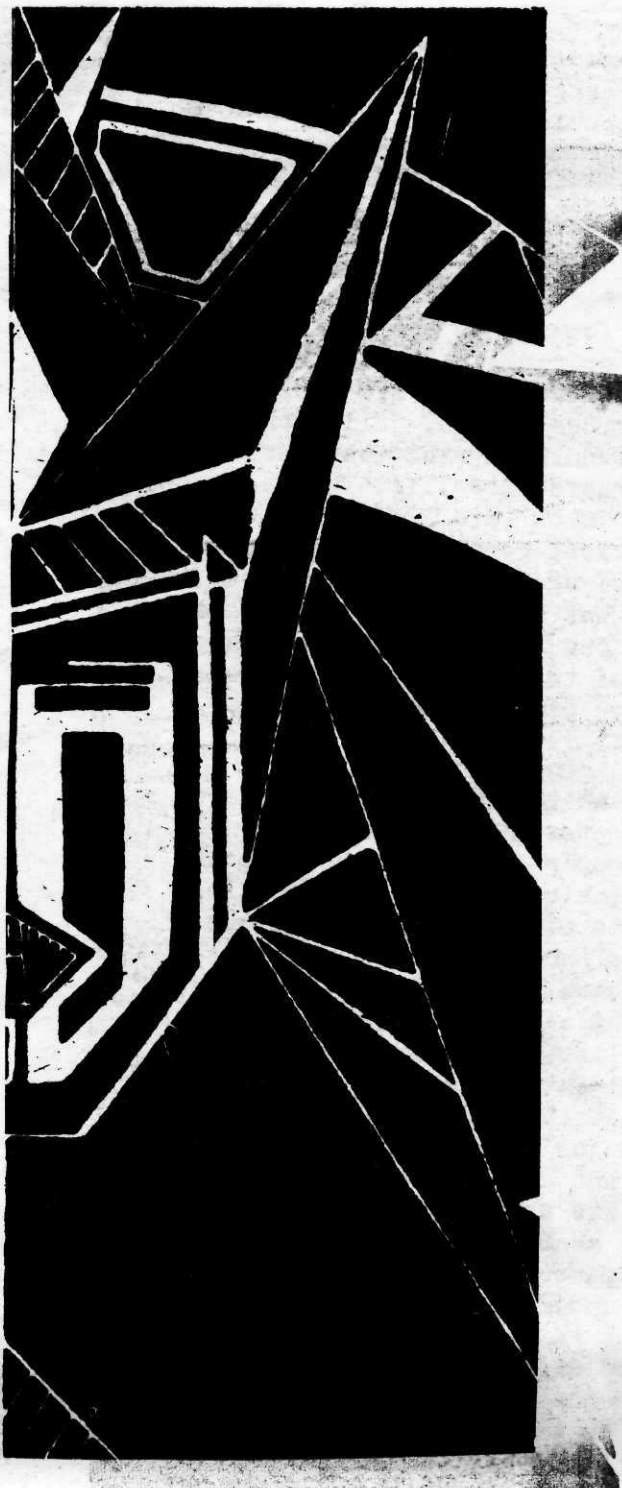
YOU'LL HAVE A REVOLUTION ON YOUR HANDS AN' YOU WON'T KNOW
WHAT THE HELL TO DO WITH IT!

What's that?
What?
There's gonna be a revolution!
Gonna be a revolution!
A revolution?
Wonder who said that.
Wonder who...???

All
The
Niggers
Are...

DEAD.

Jimetta



THE REVOLUTIONARY SCREW

brothers, (for my black sisters)
i
under/overstand
the situation: by Don L. Lee

i mean--
u bes hitten the man hard
all day long.
a stone revolutionary, "a full time revolutionary."
tellen the man how bad u is
& what u goin ta do
& how u goin ta do it.

it must be a bitch
to be able to do all that
talken. (& not one irregular breath fr/yr/mouth)
being so
foreful & all
to the man's face (the courage)
& u not even cracken a smile (realman)

i know,
the sisters just don't
understand the
pressure u is under.

&
when u ask for a piece
of leg/
it's not for yr/self
but for yr/people-----it keeps u going
& anyway u is a revolutionary
& she wd be doin
a revolutionary thing.

that sister dug it
from the beginning,
had an early eye.
i mean
she really had it together
when she said:
go fuck yr/self nigger.

now
that was
revolutionary.

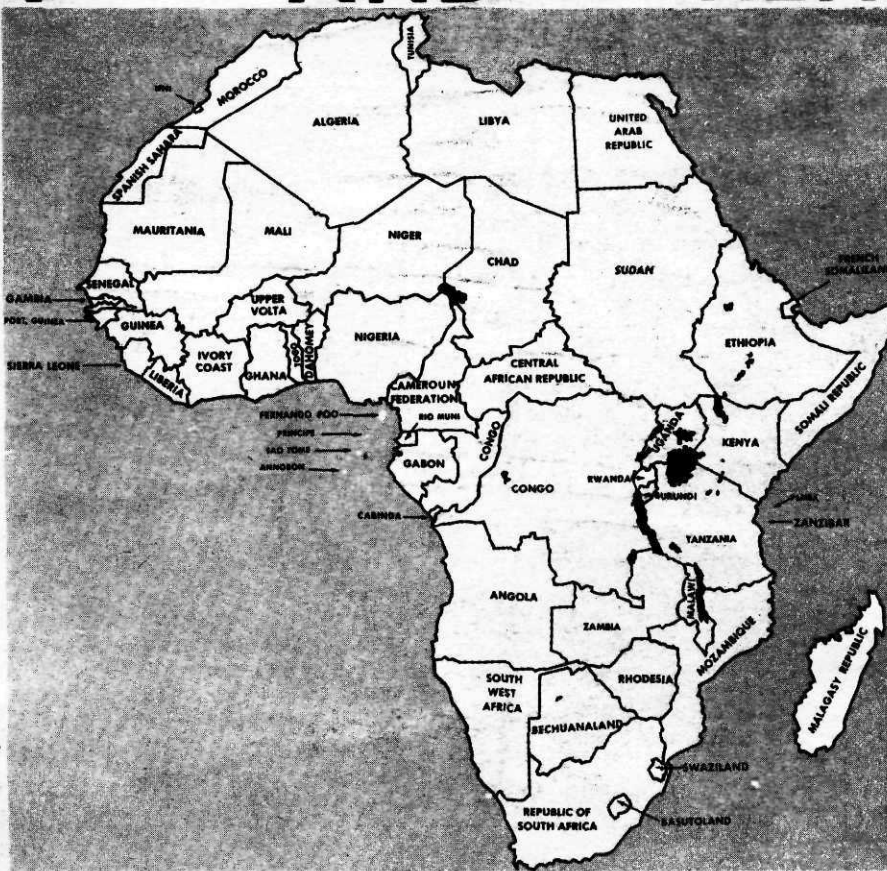
AFRICA TODAY

KENYA AND KENYATTA

In recent weeks, much attention has been focused on the political turmoil occurring in Kenya. President Jomo Kenyatta has had his political rival, Oginga Idinga, jailed on charges of planning a riot that threatened the President's life. The Kenya People's Union (KPU), Kenyatta's rival political party has been banned because of accusations by the government that they were receiving money from the Chinese Embassy. The banning of the opposition has come on the eve of preparations for Kenya's first election since independence.

The white press of the western world is presenting a false picture of the people of Kenya, their society, and their beliefs. In reporting the events of Kenya, they continue to stress the tribal rivalry occurring between Odinga's tribe, the Luo, and Kenyatta's tribe, the Kikuyu, but in actuality, it is the economic and political future of Kenya and the destiny of its people at stake. This is the major concern of the Luo, the Kikuyu, and all African people of Kenya. This aspect is not projected, not even mentioned, in western oriented newspapers.

To understand clearly what is happening in Kenya today, it is necessary to discuss events leading to independence and Jomo Kenyatta's succession to the presidency. By the late 1950's Kenyatta had become a hero and a symbol of independence to the people of Kenya. He had already gained fame for his struggle against the British to defend the Kikuyu system of land tenure. Jomo Kenyatta and his colleagues, all members of the Kenya African Union, were arrested and charged with being leaders of a group called the "MauMau". This was a fabrication of the British radio and press. There was a loose, but widespread guerrilla warfare being waged in Kenya by the peasants a-



gainst the British, but never did they refer to themselves as the "MauMau". It was not used in any of their songs, prayers, or oaths. They simply referred to themselves as "Muingi", when translated means "Unity of the Community".

This so-called tribal rivalry, that is now being exploited by the white press, between the Luo and the Kikuyu is essentially a myth. Tribalism is being blamed on almost every domestic political conflict concealing an economic reality that was formed during the period of colonization. The Luo, traditionally, are primarily agriculturist and pastoralist residing in water regions. Consequently, today most of the Luo people are centered around the Lake region in Kenya. On the other hand, the Kikuyu lands were seized by the British in establishing themselves. There-

fore, after the British started industrializing Kenya, the Kikuyu fled to Nairobi in search of a livelihood. This is the area where the majority of the Kikuyu people are residing today. In essence, this has created a class society, which rejects most African traditions.

At the end of the armed struggle, Kenya gained independence and Kenyatta became President because of his tremendous popularity as a leader of Kenya. The people needed a leader behind whom they could rally in their task of nation-building. In 1954, had the Black people of America been "granted" their independence, there is little doubt that Thurgood Marshall would have been elected president with absolutely no opposition. But today, his policies have become far outmoded and he no longer serves in the interest of Black people. This is also the position Kenyatta now finds himself occupying in Kenya. The armed struggle has succeeded in gaining independence; now the revolution is occurring and Kenyatta finds himself no longer the leader of the people of Kenya.

Let us leave no doubt Jomo Kenyatta fought, and fought valiantly for the people of Kenya; but we as other African people must learn not to make Kenyatta's mistakes. We cannot let the ouster of the enemy become an end in itself, but only the beginning of a long hard struggle of building a society. One of the greatest failures of Kenyatta was that he continued to administer Western standards of society and its class structure upon an African people. His policies of economic dependence from other nations meant political control by these same outside forces. And in doing this, he was defeating the purpose of the people whose fighting enabled him to assume his office of President.

(from the PAN AFRICAN)

CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN , CONTRADICTIONS WITHOUT

Growing out of years of unsuccessful negotiations with the British, in which Ian Smith's regime in Rhodesia fought against British demands for equal political rights for the Black majority of this racist country in the Southern part of Africa, Rhodesia unilaterally declared its independence in 1965. As reported in the summer issue of BLACK RAP, Rhodesia's predominantly white electorate overwhelmingly voted for Prime Minister Ian Smith's proposal declaring the country a republic. Having severed its eighty year old ties with Britain, today Rhodesia is an independent republic of 4.5 million Blacks suffering under the racist rule of 241,000 whites.

Regardless of this country's declared and blatantly practiced policies of apartheid, the United

States (boasting its Civil Rights Acts, etc.) still maintains, and for all intensive purposes (considering its many exploitative investments there) will continue to maintain a consulate in Rhodesia, though Britain and several other nations have discontinued all diplomatic contacts with this white-minority government, and despite the fact that many African leaders have been firmly urging the U.S. to follow the example of these countries in breaking diplomatic relations. The maintenance of the U.S. diplomatic consulate there can only set an example for other nations to do the same. This stance of the U.S. is in clear contradiction to Nixon's (via Rogers) stated position of the U.S. to attempt to establish "better relations with the Africans". Really, this is not a contradiction

of the U.S.'s intended policies as regards to Africa; in effect, it points out the U.S.'s real intentions, as before, to maintain its exploitative stranglehold on African wealth, while attempting to appease Africa's anti-colonialist forces. But, in the case of Rhodesia, the U.S. has to appease the obvious fascist and colonial forces there in order to keep its hand into Rhodesian riches. This two-faced posture of the U.S. regarding oppressed peoples is hardly novel, and the oppressed Brothers and Sisters here in the heart of the monster of international imperialism and colonialism and oppression are well aware of this and hope to defeat it right here in Babylon.

ALL POWER TO THE ZIMBAWE FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND ALL OF AFRICA'S LIBERATION FORCES - RIGHT ON!!

REPORT FROM THE FRONT BY A FREEDOM FIGHTER

As the struggle for Zimbabwe's freedom settles down to a true protracted guerrilla style, a freedom-fighter who is one of many in the country, gives a brief outline of what occurred between his group and enemy forces before the settlers gave up the fight.

In our first clash with Rhodesian forces, we killed 17 of them and wounded many of them who might have died later on. We were not able to establish this, but the amount of blood showed us that the enemy forces had suffered heavy casualties and had thus withdrawn. We lost four of our colleagues in this fight. The fight occurred when the enemy troops stumbled on our camp. As our scouts were on the alert, we were ready for them long before they realised that they were near us.

Among articles we captured from them were radios, arms and ammunition, uniforms and food.

After this clash, the enemy forces ambushed their own personnel at a water-hole. They had mistakenly taken them to be ourselves. During this fiasco, they killed seven of their own men and three were wounded.

The following morning they called in jet-bombers, but as we were aware of all of their moves, we took

the necessary cover and the bombers attacked the wrong place.

We later clashed again with Smith's ground forces and killed 24 of them. It was easy for us to establish the exact number killed because it was night and the enemy forces ran a-

way from the battle-scene leaving us alone.

The air-force refused to participate in the battle because it felt it would attack its own side as it was dark. We lost two of our men and three were wounded. We remained in this area.

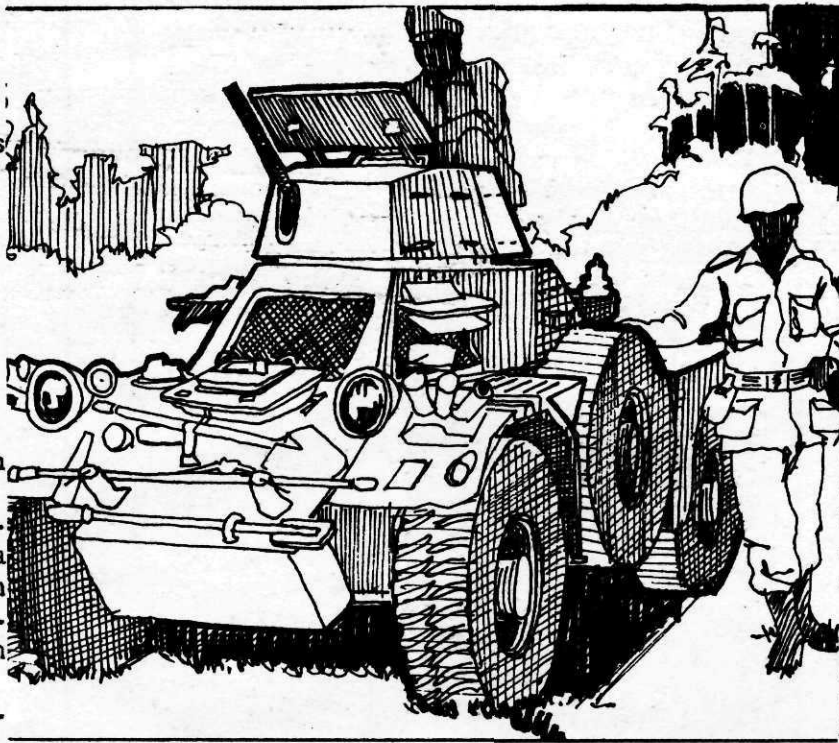
In all, we captured eight FN rifles, one FN light machine-gun, 12 sten-guns and a lot of hand-grenades and ammunition, including bazooka shells.

Our only disadvantage in the field is the lack of anti-aircraft guns with which we could bring down the jet-bombers. It is obvious that the fascists rely more on their air power than on anything else.

The morale of their ground forces is so low that they now dare not move into those areas they think are occupied by freedom-fighters. Whenever they venture near, they start by shooting at every tree and bush and thicket. This shows just how frightened they are.

We are now securely settled among the people and are definitely confident that it will not be long before a free Zimbabwe is born through the barrel of a gun and with blood and sweat.

(from the ZIMBAWE REVIEW)



AFRICA MUST UNITE

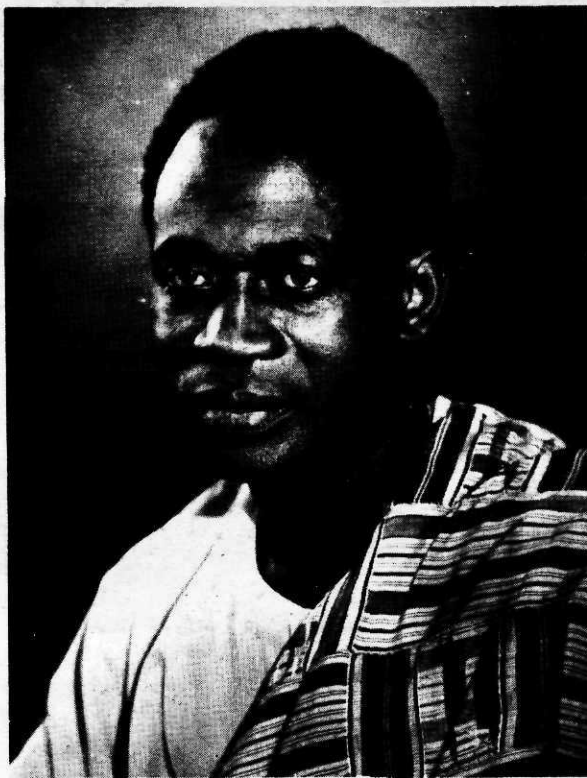
AXIOMS OF KWAME NKRUMAH

There are 46 states on the African continent including the racist settler states of South Africa and Rhodesia. Not one of these states is independent of Euro-American finance capitalism. The new flags have been unfurled and the houses of government opened, but in the words of Kwame Nkrumah, "the naked fact, alas, is that Africa is still an impoverished continent, immobilised by the lack of political cohesion, harassed by imperialism, and ransacked by neo-colonialism...What use is it to us Africans that our continent is so rich in natural and human resources?"

Kwame Nkrumah was deposed on February 24, 1966 by a so-called "bloodless" military coup. After study of the facts of Nkrumah's administration of Ghana, one may agree or disagree that he knew what was best for Ghana. But there can be no doubt that he knows what is best for Africa and African peoples as whole: Africa must Unite!

This is the paramount principle to be derived from Nkrumah's latest book. It is subtitled a "Freedom Fighter's Edition", for Nkrumah feels that one who would seek freedom for African people should be cognizant of the principle he discusses. The axioms consists of quotes from speeches, books and pamphlets by Nkrumah.

Nkrumah was prominent in Ghana's struggle for political independence from Britain. Many of his ideas were forged in the crucible of action and agitation for political independence carried on by the Convention People's



Kwame Nkrumah

Party of Ghana. But the most important of his ideas came from his development into a Pan-Africanist who now sees the political and economic unity of Africa as the only method to end the "exploitation of man by man."

Nkrumah juxtaposes neo-colonialism and Pan-Africanism. He wants Africans to remain ever aware of the deceit and evil of the former colonial powers now "standing behind the screen and pulling vicious wires to make us cut each others' throats." As the people of Tanzania say, the agents of Euro-Africa work chini-chini -- underhandedly.

Under the guise of "investment

and foreign aid", the same Europeans who were booted out at the beginning of the African revolution now have a fast hold on the economies and thus the politics of Africa. Nkrumah makes it clear that control of the country's economy means, in essence, control of its politics.

The primary tactics of neo-colonialism are divide and rule and continued siphoning of Africa's bountiful resources for European wealth. The plan goes like this; tell Africa that she is poor and must "develop" against overwhelming odds; keep Africans fighting among themselves; encourage splitting up of countries; then through private investment of large European corporations and manipulated government aid, prostitute the African continent.

Showing a limitless optimism for the triumph of African socialism and the death of Euro-American imperialism, Nkrumah calls for the struggle to be taken up by all Africans. The heart of the struggle rests in the masses of the people, led by "a strong well-organised, broadly based political party."

Nkrumah calls time and again for a continental union of African nations. Each country specialize in its products, but all would pool their efforts to improve communication and transportation for the good of all citizens of a Union of African States. An economically united Africa will lead to a politically independent Africa.

(from the Black Student Press)

FIASCO AT THE MALCOLM X REVOLUTIONARY FILM FESTIVAL

RONALD WAYNE COOK

It appears that the word "revolutionary" in the above title had little meaning for some of the spectators at the Film Festival held here recently. For, some of the notions forwarded at the Sunday showings were clearly counter-revolutionary. If we even want to think about being revolutionary, let's be serious about it and not just use words that sound hip. A revolution is a total and drastic change! Note, it does not simply say destroy the oppressive government, or off all honkies or simply hate the pigs - it says **TOTAL AND DRASTIC CHANGE!** As this relates to the events of this past weekend, some of the notions presented were clearly very parochial, racist, and counter-revolutionary. Those events pointed out very clearly the confusion and tunnel vision and thinking forced on the oppressed. If we are to survive, we can't be mere reactionaries to the oppression and racism around us and in us - we must be critically creative and undying in our determination and dialectical reasoning, and definitely not parochial-minded reactionaries (America has its full of the latter).

The events that sparked the reactions on Sunday were not too very complex. Two films had been shown - **MAY DAY** and **OFF THE PIGS**, both concerning the Panthers; next, a film was shown concerning women's liberation. Still, everything was cool; everybody dug everything - or so it seemed. The **BATTLE OF ALGIERS** was supposed to be the next film. But, before this film, a broad from Newsreel Films spoke briefly on what the Women's Liberation Movement was all about (which incidentally, was very hip). Her main points concerned the oppression of (White) women by various institutions of this society, and very briefly on the double oppression of Black women because of their color as well as their female status. Well, this was when the shit began to fly! The audience was quite nearly void of Whites, and so many Sisters, and Brothers, felt that there was no sense in this White chick rapping about the oppression of (White) women. And, though she admitted that she could not speak realistically about the double oppression of Black women, her mere mention of this inflamed the tempers of several Brothers and Sisters. There followed quite a bit of fiery accusations and expressions of contempt for the mere advocacy of the idea of women's libera-

tion and the role (or non-role) of Whites in the "revolution".

My comments are not meant to slander or deride anyone who participated this past weekend - but, let's be serious - what kind of a revolution could possibly come off with the kind of attitudes which were presented there? We ain't real if we keep on thinking that all we have to do is off the honkies and send capitalism limping off to Japan or hell somewhere. Revolution, all you hip political brothers and sisters, is **TOTAL AND DRASTIC CHANGE!**



Did anyone LISTEN to this Brother?

There must be a revolution within (our minds and our ways of relating to situations and things) as well as a revolution without (i.e., the governmental structure) - the first being the most important. Otherwise, we will wind up like some of the newly independent African states; during their "revolutionary" periods, they were so narrow-minded in their determination that all they wanted to do was off the Europeans and kick them out. And now, many of these newly "independent" African states, having undergone "revolution", are still suffering from their parochial ideas of revolution, hung up by Toms, ego-trippers, and all of the evils imprinted by acculturation. And brothers, we are headed for a fate even worse if we are being guided by an "elite" which professes the type of mentality witnessed this past weekend. Like, we are going to have a revolution, then come back and off each other and fuck over our women and our collective minds

worse than the oppressor could have ever done. Its like we have caught the disease of the oppressor and figure that if we off him, then everything's gon' be hip. Shit, you still gon' have that disease, and until you off that mentality that fosters that disease, then you always gon' be oppressed and fucked over. Never mind the particular opinions expressed in that diatribe of this past weekend - that ain't important. What matters is the overall mentality and attitudes assumed and expressed - that which clouded the reality that was presented by "that li'l honky". If you don't think that Black women are oppressed in a special way (by Black men as well as by other Black women) and that this needs to be dealt with in **REVOLUTION**, then you are a fool or just plain dumb when you say that we are going to have a **REVOLUTION**. Wake up brothers and sisters, we got a lot of things to change in a revolution, and changing our minds and the way we look at things is an integral part of it all. (Check out the very relevant discussion in **NOTES** in this issue.)

Like, since so many of the people present seemed to have dug what was going down in the first two Panther films, you must have been some purely emotionalistic revolutionaries, because it appears by your discussion that you missed the point of the films. The films pointed out that in destroying the racist pigs, we must not become like them - but you were acting like some narrow-minded racist motherfuckers! Because that White broad was up there giving a little run-down on women's liberation, she was assaulted by brothers and sisters who came out of a purely racist bag, completely missing the points re oppression and liberation. And this is not an isolated incident. I admit that many times honkies get up and try to run down some purely absurd shit. But, this type of thing that occurred happens quite often when we get so hung up in being "revolutionaries" that we become parochial and tunnel-visioned, and we become immediately and extremely intolerant of anything White, and must prove our disgust and **BLACKNESS** by violent racist attacks before the fact. The real **REVOLUTION** MUST BE IN YOUR MIND FIRST and from there right on down through the structure of society and our daily lives. Let's wake up people, let's wake up..... we ain't gon' get it like this.

إِنَّمَا الدِّينُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ السَّلَامُ

"VERILY THE TRUE RELIGION IN THE SIGHT OF ALLAH IS ISLAM"

AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT IN
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THE PITFALLS OF NATIONALISM

R.W. COOK

"History teaches us clearly that the battle against colonialism does not run straight away along the lines of nationalism."

A bourgeoisie that provides nationalism alone as food for the masses fails in its mission and gets caught up in a whole series of mishaps. But, if nationalism is not made explicit, if it is not enriched and deepened by a very rapid transformation into a consciousness of social and political needs, in other words into humanism, it leads up a blind alley.

The above two statements by Frantz Fanon begin to give a very clear picture of the pitfalls of national consciousness (i.e., nationalism), regarding throwing off the shackles of colonialism. While nationalism before and after a struggle for independence is a prime driving force for the masses, if this nationalism (especially post independence) does not assume definite characteristics of transcending the basic structures of political, social, economic, and psychological aspects of colonial society, then this nationalism in effect does not accomplish destruction of colonialism, but only purports to do such, and in the final analysis creates a neo-colonial society in the image of the previous colonizers. For a revolution is not simply terminated when the colonial power has been successfully removed from dominance in one's homeland, but in all due thoroughness, the revolution continues after "military victory", and invades the established fibres of institutionalized thought and action as regards the social, economic, political, and psychological spheres - i.e., the very substances of human existence in

Because nationalism (which must develop into inter-nationalism) is, in my mind, the prime battleax of a people bent on revolution. It is the force, indoctrinated, capitalized, and headlined as the banner of an oppressed people determined to unite - nationalize - and overthrow an oppressive system of government. It is also under nationalism that a militarily victorious people hope to improve their conditions and perpetuate a government of and for the people. And so it is nationalism and its pitfalls that I purport to examine here, taking special note of the bourgeoisie, or middle class, as the proponents of the forces of nationalism.

First of all, one must develop some type of understanding of the position of the bourgeoisie before independence is won. In this stage of colonialism, the bourgeoisie have risen to a position of an intermediary in the colonial scheme. Here, the bourgeoisie takes care of all of the "menial" tasks of the colonial relationship, become privileged as civil servants, and more or less is an elite of the colonized, who holds certain positions in the colonial system. It is the bourgeoisie, much more than the peasants and others of the homeland, who have a vested interest in the colonial structure as it presently exists; it is they who have something to lose (and also, something to gain), in the rupturing of the colonial relationship; it is also they, with the technological skills, who will be most heavily relied upon to lead the government after the eventual overthrow of the colonial powers.

Consequently, when the country peoples begin to shout down the colonialist regime, the bourgeoisie cautiously joins in and takes up the cry of nationalism. Basically, it seems that this cry of nationalism is shallow; it attempts to

people, institution-wise, after the colonizers have been evicted. For nationalism to be effective, it must be substantiated and perpetuated to provide a viable political institution (i.e., a government that makes for political economic, social, and psychological stability...).

The mistake of the bourgeoisie, who will become leaders (in the economy, at least...), is that they are hung up with 'self interest' - are not given to think in terms of community and intend to take advantage of the departure of the colonial regime, and assume the same positions once occupied by them, i.e., fill the same mold and produce the selfsame results, but only with a different color. The problem here is that the economy left by the colonizers is one gauged for colonialism, thus it feeds the mother country the benefits, keeps the colonial people in poverty and squalor, and accrue benefits only for the rulers in the homeland. Thus, at best, the only thing the nationalism of the bourgeoisie could do is to continue to exploit their home nation, and sow the seeds for future discontent and revolution.

To be successful, then, the propounders of nationalism must be able to do away with the colonial economy and its parallel institutions. Dependence on the indigenous people must be the main thrust. Innovations and directives for new means of development must be sought and had. Strives must be made to readjust the means of production, along with research for better (via inventions) productions. Social changes must be had to reestablish the rapport between the peoples (especially the peasants) and the government. Politics must be re-oriented towards dealing with problems peculiar to the indigenous peoples. The main point here is that the presentation of any type of nationalism must



"HISTORY TEACHES US THAT THE BATTLE AGAINST COLONIALISM DOES NOT RUN STRAIGHT AWAY ALONG THE LINES OF NATIONALISM."



"THE BOURGEOISIE HAVE A VESTED INTEREST IN THE COLONIAL STRUCTURE AS IT PRESENTLY EXISTS."



the world today. After invasion, these spheres must assume an air of operation and direction that are fully and realistically in the sole interests of the nation as a whole, and not a privileged few. After these basic transformations, and then and only then, can a national leader truly say that his people have had a revolution.

Why pick on nationalism?

organize and unify (which it usually does) via slogans of independence and promises of better times. But, these expounders of nationalism usually lack the substantive aspect of nationalism, i.e., the plans and expertise to lift the country onto its collective feet after independence. This is the main pitfall of nationalism - uniting the people under this slogan to destroy the colonial power, yet failing to be able to effectively aid the

avoid the pitfall of partial fulfillment of the expectations of a revolutionary activity before, and even more importantly, after independence is won. For, nationalism itself is a very revolutionary fire (especially, and mainly, in a colonized society), and must be handled in a revolutionary way, and unless one is ready to handle a lot of fire, don't spout nationalism, because if you don't handle it right, you sure as hell gonna' get burned!!!

CUBA : REVOLUTION IN MOTION

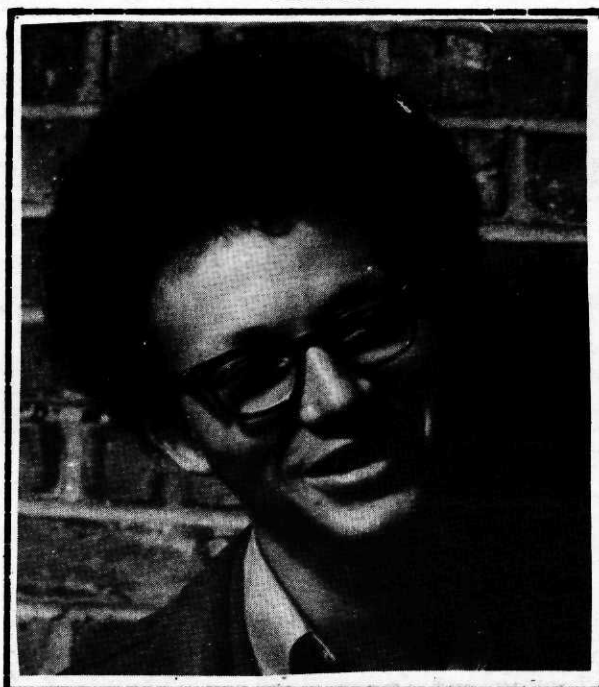
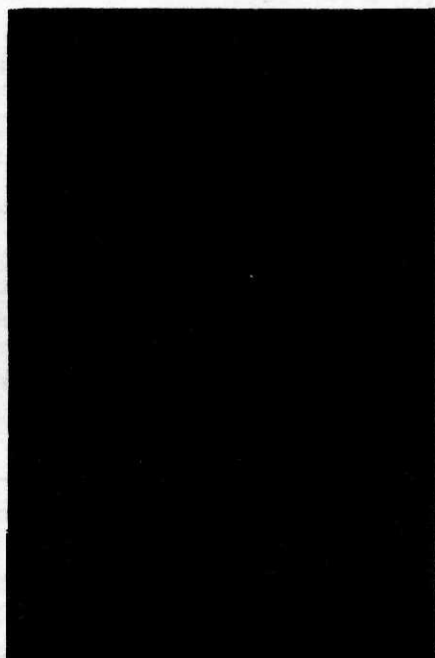
GERARD M. SIMON

About two weeks ago I returned from a 2 month trip to Cuba with 215 other American radicals and revolutionaries. Our purpose was to show our solidarity with the Cuban Revolution by helping in the "Zafra" or annual sugar cane harvest. In Cuba's effort to raise itself out of economic underdevelopment, the production of 10 million tons of sugar is of primary importance. Before the revolution the only segment of the economy that was developed in any real way by imperialism was the sugar industry, since much of the needed infrastructure was already present, quick development was possible in this area.

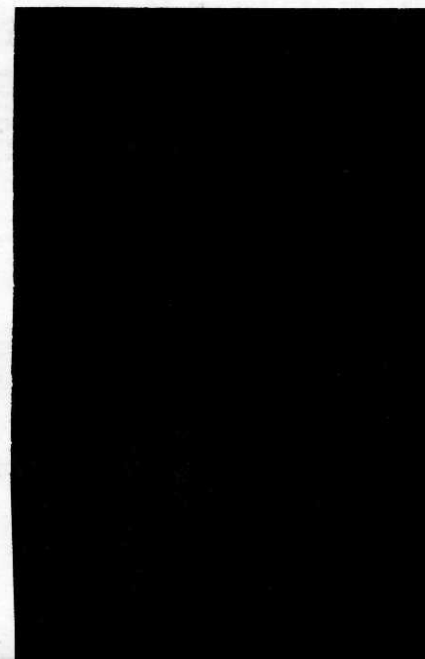
One of my personal reasons for going to Cuba was to check out communism and socialism first hand, and to see how relevant these concepts could be to Black people and the Black struggle in America. To my way of thinking, a socialist economic system and a political structure along the lines of the Cuban Party structure can be very relevant models for any new society built with Black people in mind.

These people continue in their jobs as before while taking a direct part in the running of the country.

Another aspect of the Cuban situation that I felt was very necessary for me to see first hand was the way they dealt with the question of racism. Anyone who goes to Cuba and views racism in an American perspective will absolutely gain nothing from the experience. In looking at Cuban racism, certain facts are necessary to gain any understanding of the situation. First of all the Cuban people are much more culturally and racially homogeneous than people in the United States. Also the Cuban people as a whole were visibly oppressed by imperialism under the guise of the Batista Regime. Racism did exist in Cuba on the basis of color (Spanish heritage also) starting with white on down to black. This racism was exploited by American big business to fuck over everybody. There still is this type of personal racism in Cuba - both among some whites against anyone darker than them and among some Blacks who just don't dig the honkie. The difference is that the Cuban government and political struc-



Brother Gerard Simon



Under socialism, goods and services are all produced for the consumption of the people; in other words, the main propelling force behind the economic structure is meeting the needs of the people. -How this type of system is better for Black people than one whose main aim is profit and profit alone is very evident.

The Cuban party structure (unlike the bureaucratic bullshit Russian system) is set up such that the will of the people will always be known and most important of all, will always be carried out. In Panther phraseology that's "All Power to the People". The party is made up of the best workers from plants, farms, factories, etc., the best teachers and students from the schools and universities and generally the best people picked from all walks of life by their peers.

ture is adamantly anti-racist and the new ideology of the people is a continual force against personal racism; therefore, racism is fought on both fronts, institutionally and personally.

In the final analysis, the most important thing that my experience in Cuba showed me was that revolution is possible - hard, bloody, and long - but possible. The bullshit we live in can be changed and there are other ways and other systems that we can use to build a kind of society that people can live in and stay human. I'm not saying Cuba is any Latin American Utopia, what it is is a Vanguard, an example to follow - something to look at that's real and beautiful, something to see other than fucked up Babylon.

All Power to the People!!

THE ABSURDITY OF RHETORIC

EMANUEL COLEMAN

On March 21, and 22 The Malcolm X Revolutionary Film Festival was held. It was first my intention to give a brief synopsis of each film. However, during the course of the films and afterwards there were some things that continued to haunt me. First, there is the problem of the absurdity of rhetoric. This was brought out in the discussion period. Some people were just rattling off expressions that sounded good, but do not conform to reality. There are still those of us who use Blackness as an end instead of as a means. So they spend a lot of energy trying to appear Black, which they could use in combating some of the evils of reality.

Out of the above problem comes the notion of the glorious revolution of the future. There are some of us so naive to the point of thinking that

we will pick up guns, go wipe out the enemy and live happily ever after. This is not only evident in their talk, but also in the sighing that occurred during some of the films. People were shocked at the sight of wounded people and at some of the conditions they had to endure. Not to be pessimistic, however, revolutions are ugly. That is why it takes a lot of stimulation to get people to revolt. There are also those of us talking about after the revolution. The fact of the matter is that revolutionaries die during the revolution. For being a revolutionary is the commitment to death.

Some of our so-called revolutionaries do not know anything about guns, self-defense, survival, and etc. Yet, instead of getting into condition mentally and physically, we are arguing over who is going to be in the revolu-

tion, is there going to be one and anything else that avoids dealing with reality.

If one wants to be realistic, just check out Malcolm. After all, Malcolm is the one that the Panthers got their revolutionary ideas from. Malcolm says prepare for the revolution, at the same time take care of daily matters. Sure there is racism, exploitation, oppression, but they are not each singularly the reason for revolution. Capitalism is the reason for their existence. So one destroys Capitalism. Then there is equality of rights, wealth and the alleviation of racism, exploitation and oppression. Capitalists do not care who they exploit. There are a lot of people saying they love Malcolm and do not understand what he was about. But maybe that's rhetoric, too.

MARXISM AND THE BLACK REVOLUTION

WANYANDEY SONGHA

"Marx's brand of revolutionary was one pitched in a fight against property owners of his own race."

<p>A deep Black awareness is growing and with this "enlightenment" the words "revolution" and "revolutionary" have become rampant in our poetry, the "new literature." Yet at the same time, an unfortunate confusion regarding the involvement of a permanent manifesto of our political "revolutionary" vanguard seems to be overtaking our commitment to our race. This confusion is arising precisely because Black demands and goals pose very tricky questions which transcend the aims of the Marxist revolutionary.</p> <p>The Marxists claim that removal of the capitalist class automatically erases racism, but history raises sharp doubts as to whether this is, in fact, true. Marx's brand of revolutionary was one pitched in a fight against property owners of his own race, and from whom he was forced to be separated merely along money lines. His was, then, essentially a homogeneous society within which, if one removed wealth differentials, class barriers did automatically evaporate.</p> <p>But, although Marx lived at a time when the institution of slavery was at its apex, he failed to amply deal with the issue of Black slavery. The African worker in the New World did not fit the definition of a member of the proletariat because he was not an underpaid wage earner but one whose services were had for zero wages. His cause to overthrow his master, as exemplified by Nat Turner's revolt, could not then and can never be viewed as part of a proletariat upheaval for the share of capital ownership. His cause would be for his freedom from oppression, slavery and all its inequities.</p> <p>We can only speculate, but Marx's lack of concern with slavery is probably due either to utter</p>	<p>than the cause, and his panacea does not necessarily, therefore, apply to both cases.</p> <p>When the colonial subjects eventually rose in Africa against the imperialist powers exploiting them, declared socialists in the Western countries (in England, France and Holland, for example) failed paradoxically -- given their theoretical espousal of the overthrow of exploitative oppressors -- to identify in practice with the African revolutionaries. These socialists, of course, had by that time vested interests of their own to protect, earning as they did their living from the exploitation of the colonies and still strongly believing in their "civilizing mission" toward the savage Africans. "Socialist" Great Britain today has all its workers screaming for the exclusion of nonwhites inside the country and staunchly backing their government in its indirect and vicious support for their white brothers in Rhodesia.</p> <p>The problem of racism, then, which is at the very bottom of Black oppression and segregation, is not equatable with that of the capitalist system. After all, there are many Blacks in this country who are members of the upper or middle classes but whose horizons, in terms of vertical and/or horizontal mobility, are sealed because of color. It is race and not wealth which forces them to share camp with the rest of the Black population, and their fight is not that of "a classless society."</p> <p>Afro-Americans are coming face to face with the fact that the GOP and Democratic parties have also failed to offer them answers to their problems, and that they lack a genuine party to carry forward their manifesto. Recently it appeared as though the Black Panthers, given time and allowing for mistakes and the might of the</p>	<p>stomachs know no race. Tantalum to saying that the oppression of Blacks is an artificial coincidence and not racial, this stand can only serve, at best, as a fallacious apology for racism. If and when the white Appalachians staged a revolution, they would wipe out classes and become ordinary equal whiteys. But there is nothing to indicate that their Black comrades would pull the same luck given their pigmentation.</p> <p>There seems to be very little difference if any between the "revolutionary integrationist" approach of the Panthers and the integrationist call of the NAACP. Black people are again losing their Black personality, Black identity, Black goals and demands and are now combining them with those of whitey in the vain hope that regardless of race they are bedfellows. <u>That is sheer defeatism, copping out.</u> There is nothing in SDS or the other white radical groups that would neatly define and give life to Blackness.</p> <p>In the spring of 1965, this writer shared the challenges confronting SNCC in the South, and by coincidence was under the field directorship of Bro. Carmichael. It is at that time that the relevance of whites (whose only reason for coming South was sympathy) was debated night in/night out in a dilapidated building somewhere in Wilcox county. As their ideas matured, SNCC eventually removed whites from its operations. Today it seems that history is repeating itself, with the young idealistic white Northerners seeing another chance to invade and take over Black organizations. And there is no one who stands a better chance to destroy a Black revolutionary group than a white romanticist revolutionary.</p> <p>History has taught us that there are two different causes of classes in a given society -- unequal wealth distribution, and</p>
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"black peoples' liberation does not run straightaway along the lines of cultural nationalism, marxism, or any other forms;

<p>negligence and/or some degree of racism, for, after all, the Europe of his time was racist to the core. At any rate, the capitalist that he beautifully analyzed owed most of their wealth to the African slaves whose sweat produced the raw materials -- sugar, cotton, tobacco, molasses, etc. -- that fed Europe's industries. By taking into account only those of his own race who were not benefiting from slave production, Marx dealt with the effect rather</p>	<p>enemy, might fill the gap in all-Black politics. But this hope is fading fast as these brothers increasingly consider themselves integrated revolutionaries dauntlessly following the footsteps of Marx, waging their war against capitalism as a system. They have, as many before them, embraced the notion that there exists an international revolutionary regardless of race. They argue, as Cleaver answered Carmichael, that empty</p>	<p>racism. Marxists are only equipped to solve the first. The American case combines both, and Black revolutionaries, be they genuine or fake, must acknowledge this. The solution to Black problems must come from pure Black approach, and it seems to me that we had better achieve our maximum unity first as a group before we begin to dilly-dally with ideologies.</p> <p>(from the LIBERATOR)</p>
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our real salvation and development lies in yet undetermined formulas and applications as per dialectical materialism..."

THE TIME IS NOW

A major controversial issue today among Blacks is whether or not there will be a revolution and if so when. The purpose of this article is not to discuss this because I feel that the revolution is inevitable but to talk about another possibility that might be much closer to us in terms of time.

This alternative course of action also uses violence as its major tool but on a smaller scale and as a stepping stone to the revolution. This is really the only difference. The reasoning behind this is that the majority of the honkies in Amerikkka will not listen to or pay attention to anything said by or done by Black people unless violence or crime is involved. Think about it! Think about the majority of the honkies here on campus, old and young. Think about the majority of honkies that

that violence and rebellion leading up to the revolution is not the answer. FUCK 'EM. They are ignorant, blind, and brainwashed. Open your eyes and look around you!

It should be obvious that violence and armed rebellion are needed. Look at all the Black people killed by the pigs system everyday in the Black community. Look at the bullshit taking place during the Conspiracy trial. Look at the attempts to kill off and jail the Black Panther Party. The next step is an overt attempt by the pigs to commit genocide on the entire race of Black people, and the power structure won't be alone, they will be aided by various racist white power groups (as the advertisement well demonstrates).

BEAT THE BAN!

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P-38 Semi-Automatic Pistol. New, at \$89 each. Used, outside condition like new, bores worn: An excellent buy at \$69.95 each.

**Negro
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Important sales information: All orders should be addressed to: NS Arms—Box 34—Triangle, Virginia 22172. Include an extra \$2 for shipping charges on riot guns and rifles. Pistols, ammunition and Chemical Mace sent via REA collect from Triangle, Virginia. The following statement must be signed and returned with your order:

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Signature

Chemical Mace. First time offered to the public. The only brand used by thousands of policemen across the country. Completely disables attackers for several minutes without causing permanent damage. Chemical Mace comes in two sizes: MK IV, large canister; will control a whole crowd; contains approx. 80 bursts, \$10.95; with holster, \$13.95. MK II, small size with clip for shirt pocket; used by most detectives, \$5.95.

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control this country and the money. They only react to us when pressured or forced.

This is somewhat in the past. Honkies are now realizing the threat of small scale armed rebellion. Dig the advertisement shown here which was taken from a White Power Newspaper printed shortly after Robert Kennedy's death in the spring of 1968. Check it out! What are they advertising---GUNS! "Negro control equipment!" Weapons for the coming race war! The honkies are getting ready because the only thing they understand where Blacks are concerned is violence. We had better be getting ready too if we wish to survive. Could the Panthers have survived in Los Angeles if they hadn't been ready? There are many who think

It should be obvious that in a short while it will be time to start dealin'. Now is the time to get your shit! NOW!! You can't wait until you actually need it to get it. Be prepared brothers and sisters. Get it now if for no other reason than for self-defense. Huey's ideas for self-defense are beautiful and should be heeded more strongly by Black people. Remember, the second amendment to the constitution of the United States gives the right to bear arms. This should apply to Black people as well as white people. Make it that way! POWER!

SEIZE THE TIME
OFF THE SLIME
HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!!

Seize the Time



WE TALK OF

I have formulated, through my experience (not only through my own, but also the experience of others), what I feel is the most efficient method of bringing about change, which is something we all claim to be concerned with. I am quite sure that most of us have formulated methods of bringing about change in the same way; but too often we discard them, replacing them with the more attractive and dominant American societal methods - methods that coerce us into believing that the possession of some power is mandatory, even if the attaining of this power means that we must step on each other. There are, however, those of us who claim to have rid ourselves of this way of thinking, and who claim to be attempting to change this decadent American society, in hopes of improving it. But that quest for power still prevails. There is still a desire to persuade others into thinking that our way is best, and a desire to impress others with our so-called concern for the problems of our society is still present. Both of these can only result in one desire, that desire being the attainment of a semblance of power. But these are only desires - desires which, if made into realities, will never compensate for our needs. These needs consist of the need to know that we have actually contributed, or at least have attempted to contribute to society, something that all will hopefully benefit from - the need to know that what we are doing, and the way that we are leading our lives is just and is what we believe in, and most of all - the need to know

CHANGE CHANGE CHANGE CHANGE

that we reflect our real selves through our actions, and not the superficial selves that society demands us to reflect. These needs may seem abstract, and an attempt to meet them futile and perhaps impossible, but until we deal with ourselves and others on a more personal, humanistic level - until we each ask ourselves who we really are, what we really need, and - until we ask ourselves what is the best road to take in attempting to meet these needs, any change in our society would only be superficial. Any change would only be a fulfillment of individual or group desires, not needs, because until we attempt to meet our needs we can only deal with each other from a base of power - each of us trying to attain more than at least one other person.

As to the abstractness of the needs I mentioned, and the abstractness in attempting to know ourselves is concerned - I can only say, check it out yourself. I am attempting to check it out, but I find it so difficult that I go back into my role - my front - that hip and ready nigger from Chicago. Although I may wind up keeping this front, I still feel obligated to at least deal with others on a humanistic level, and to know and be my real self. I said check it out yourself, but on second thought - don't check it out because that would make this article seem to be an advisory one and surely I cannot advise. Just take this as a feeling I want to share with others - for that is what it is.

I've learned, through what little experience I've had, that the most efficient method of bringing about any means of change (be it political, social, economic, or what have you), is by working and living on a more real, or what I choose to call a humanistic level. This is a level which compels one to deal with other people as human beings, and not merely as social animals. It is a very basic level and by existing on this level people would be influenced very little by the social forces and laws which exist in this society. The stress would, of course, be placed on each individual improving his own condition - an infinite search for oneself. Because until we attempt to know ourselves we can by no means know each other, and can only deal with each other on a very superficial level, the level on which we are dealing with each other now. We are all projecting a front.

Now the question, which we all claim to be concerned with, of how an attempt to know and improve ourselves will change the conditions of this society, is probably coming to mind. I can only answer this by saying that by attempting to know and improve ourselves morally and spiritually (not as defined by this society) we would not be so concerned with changing the conditions that exist, but change would inevitably come about. A concern to improve ourselves would demand that we adopt standards that we sincerely believe to be just and beneficial, not only to ourselves, but also to those we come in contact with. This would automatically result in a changing of the wrongdoings that exist. We would be so concerned with improving ourselves, that we would not let anyone or anything hinder this improvement - nothing would stand in our way.

CAVIN GANTT

CONT'D / P.2 ... AND MORE NOTES...

This is the basic principle of Islamic culture. The basic principle is the absolute ownership over the whole of creation belongs to God alone and that dominion bestowed by God upon man over the rest of creation is in the nature of a trust. Man has a big job in this world, but man is making it hard by talking in terms of dealing with world problems by controlling power. Throughout time man has seen that power does nothing more than create oppression and disorder amongst the people of the world.

Man now talks in terms of Black Power, Yellow Power, White Power, Brown Power -- Bullshit!!! It is time for us to become aware of the existing problem. We who call ourselves oppressed people will have to resent alternatives to the situation

created by those who deal with people through power. We'll have to deal with these people by uniting on revolutionary principles. When I speak of revolutionary principles I'm not talking about socialism, communism or an updated version of capitalism. All of these principles have been tried and retried without success on the international scene. The most revolutionary principles presented to the world today are to be found in the religion of Islam. For those of you who are "turned off" by the word religion or the word God, but you sincerely search for a new way of life, I say investigate Islam. I will state that all cultures are based upon a religion whether it be Christianity, Judaism, Islam or Hinduism.

For those of you who have some comprehension of God, Allah or whatever you choose to call this supreme being, I say investigate Islam. Investigate Islam as a human interested in the other human beings. We of the west should be particularly interested in Islam since most of us have only known how Christian nations deal with human beings.

As Salaam Aleikum
(Peace Be Unto You)
Hasan Hakeem

THE NEGRO'S GOD: BLACK PHILOSOPHY THROUGH SONG and DANCE

Directed by Maurice Tucker, entitled "The Negro's God: Black philosophy Through Song and Dance." The notion of presenting a concert started out as a project for the "Black Thought: Independent Study Seminar", of which Maurice is a participant; but, as the actual instituting, planning, and rehearsing of the program progressed, Maurice found himself becoming more and more engrossed in an attempt to get a message across to the audience - to share what he had with others.

The ideas that have hopefully been presented to the audience, are the conceptions that Black people have had of God; starting from the beginning of our existence to the present time. The concert not only deals with how religion has been used to exploit Black people, but it also contains a remedy that may perhaps end this religious exploitation, and cleanse our minds of the religious beliefs that our Christian oppressors have coerced, or perhaps I should say, have forced us to accept and abide by. The concert, as I mentioned before, centers around Black people's conceptions of God. I feel, however, that it should be known that the concert does not attempt to illustrate one-sided conceptions, but a diversification of the opinions expressed by a variation of Black people during different periods of history. The depiction of the diverse opinions range from rituals of worship practiced by our ancestors in Africa, to the "pie-in-the-sky" type of worship practiced by our ancestors

in slavery - from the religious beliefs of Martin Luther King, to those of Malcolm X. These, along with the other opinions that are expressed present a clear view of how Black people have, and will continue to accept, reject, and express our conceptions of God.

As far as the quality of the directing and the performers is concerned, I would just like to say that although I do not have the authority to judge their actions, I, and hopefully everyone else, has the authority, desire, and willingness to commend a task done for the benefit of all. A task that was not conceived of and performed through a desire to gain attention and/or praise from others, but from a feeling that our knowledge of the ideas of others, along with our own personal knowledge, should be conveyed to and shared with each other. Unfortunately, with the exception of what Maurice conveyed to me, I am unaware of the intentions and types of satisfaction the participants had in mind while making this performance possible; but, from what I can see, their energy was not exerted in hopes of appeasing themselves. They went through some changes to get it together - but they did get it together.

In closing, I would like to say that I acknowledge and appreciate (for what its worth) what you have done. And since the singular phrase "right on" carries a message that most, if not all of us, can identify with, then "Right On Ya'll - Right On."

Calvin Gantt

B.R. POLICY

Since conception, BLACK RAP has been used mostly to exhibit the literary talents of Black students here on campus. Although at times a slight glimmer of genius has appeared, these few times do not warrant the continuation of BLACK RAP as such a vehicle. However, at this stage of development, Black students across the nation should be more concerned with what is happening with the political and economical de-

velopments in Black communities. As a result, an attempt shall be made to change (not radically) the make-up of BLACK RAP. We will continue to accept for publication poems and other artistic materials while keeping in mind that revolution can only progress as its people are made politically aware. The expanded scope of BLACK RAP will supply the means by which we can so educate ourselves.

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BLACK RAP

HINT:
Don't PUNCH out or FLIP out
We Need EVERYBODY!

