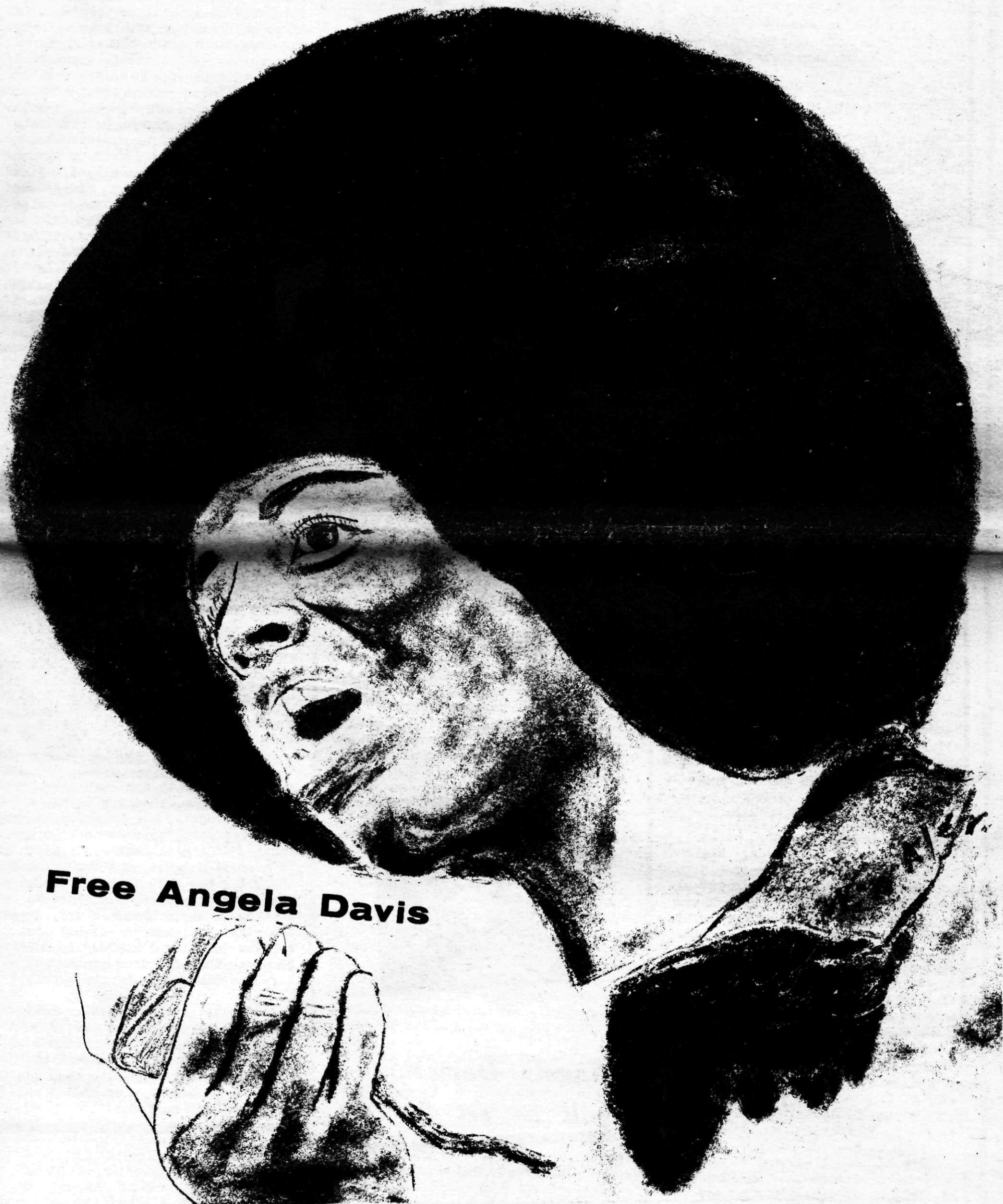


BLACK RAP

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Black Students for Black Action of Lake Forest College

February, 1971



Free Angela Davis

" I AM THE TARGET OF A POLITICAL FRAMEUP "

ANGELA DAVIS

On August 7, 1970, a young Black revolutionary named Jonathan Jackson walked into a courtroom in the state of California, and took control of the courtroom armed to the teeth. From beneath his coat, he produced other weapons which he gave to three other young Black men who had been brought from San Quentin Prison to face charges of murdering a prison guard. These three Black men, James McClain, William Christmas, and Ruchell Magee, were in prison for shooting an Oakland Pig. All four of these brothers were revolutionaries who had dedicated their lives to the struggle for the liberation of Black people. Three of them, Jackson, McClain, and Christmas were killed outside the courtroom in a gun battle with Pigs and prison guards. The presiding Pig judge was also killed in the shooting.

A few days later, the Pigs issued an arrest warrant for Angela Davis, charging she had purchased the guns used by these revolutionaries. However, it was approximately two months before the Pigs were able to find Angela. The Pigs case against Angela is, of course, very weak as are all their phony indictments of revolutionaries in this country.

Recently in an attempt to solidify their case against Angela, the Pigs sought another lackey in the mold of George Sams. (Chief lackey and states witness against BPP Chairman Bobby Seale). Their choice? Ruchell Magee, the lone survivor in the escape attempt. Being the only survivor, the Pigs have charged Magee with having fired the gun that killed the Pig judge. How would the Pigs know who killed the judge inside the van? It may have been one of their bullets. With a possible death penalty now hanging over his head, the Pigs offered parole and immunity from prosecution if he would perjure himself to convict Angela. Early in January Magee swore in a court affidavit that he was offered this bribe by the Pigs. Magee stated that his court appointed attorney, Leonard Bjorklund, offered him a judicial bribe to lie on Angela and say she gave him guns on Aug. 7, 1970. Under penalty of perjury, Magee swore that "the same attorney threatened my life with the gas chamber if I didn't lie" about Angela. Magee said he "refused to frame Angela for nobody." Magee has consistently rejected the appointment of Bjorklund as his attorney and has demanded his right to represent himself. On Dec. 22, he was chained and bound to his seat after he angrily walked back and forth in court accusing the Pigs (including Regan & Nixon) of conspiring against him and Angela.



Angela is scheduled to be arraigned on charges of murder, kidnap and conspiracy. She could be sentenced to death if convicted. In her first pretrial appearance in court, Angela came in with a smile and a clenched fist salute to well wishers that included her mother, father, sister, and brother. She surprised the court by requesting to speak. After objection by the prosecution she read a Statement declaring her innocence. "I now declare publicly, Before this court and before the people of this country, that I am innocent of all charges which have been leveled against me by the state of California." I maintain that my presence in this courtroom is unrelated to any criminal act. I am the target of a political frame-up, which, far from pointing to my culpability, implicates the state of California as an agent of political repression. Indeed, the state reveals its own role by introducing evidence against me, my participation in the struggles of my people, Black people, against the obvious injustices of this society, specifically my involvement in the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee. The American people had been led to believe that such involvement is constitutionally protected."

As the last sentence implies Black people are not protected by this constitution. However, this is not the issue now. The issue now is the freedom of Angela Davis!!! Will Black people watch Angela die as they have watched so many other Black people die? Check out an excerpt from David Nelson's poem Die Nigger.

NIGGAS WATCHED EMMETT TILL DIE
NIGGAS WATCHED MEDGAR EVERS DIE
NIGGAS WATCHED JAMES CHANEY DIE
NIGGAS WATCHED BOBBY HUTTON DIE
NIGGAS WATCHED FRED HAMPTON DIE
NIGGAS WATCH NIGGAS DIE
NIGGAS WATCH NIGGAS DIE

Will Black people watch
Angela die? I hope not! Angela
exemplifies the Black.

FREE ANGELA

Firepower to the Revolutionary Struggle woman. Dealing in the thick of the struggle, she became a target of governmental oppression long ago. Angela has a brilliant mind, yeah she is a smart nigger! But she refused to go for the bull that the racist's were cramming down to her. Indeed, it's getting close to home niggers, Angela you might say, was one of us! But she was into the truth dealing death blows to the American system and life and liberation to her people.

We can't let Angela die! Our love for her must provoke us all to do battle before that happens. And if we sit idly by and be content to just watch another nigger die, then the black race may be incapable of salvation. It's up to us!

*Angela Davis
will be set free!*

WE WILL HAVE OUR FREEDOM !

FASCISM RUNNING WILD IN D.C. L.J.

On February 1, the D.C. Crime Act of 1970 officially went into effect. When one looks at the hidden implications as well as the obvious, it is clear that oppression of Black people is being increased. Probably the most fascist and obvious section of the act is the no-knock provision. This provision allows the pigs to enter a house or apartment without announcing themselves, if they believe their lives are in danger or that evidence will be destroyed. (Remember the murders of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark). This provision is a direct contradiction of the united states constitution which insures a man a certain degree of privacy in his own home. "A mans home is his castle" surely applies only to honkies in america. The answeres to this provision can surely be found in the 2nd amendment to the same bullshit constitution which gives citizens the right to bear arms. If Black people in D.C. will take advantage of this right and arm themselves from block to block, house to house, door to door, and window to window; then when these foul pigs decided to enter by force they will meet with a destructive force.

Another important provision is one which allows all persons 16 or older charged with serious crimes be dealt with as adults. This is all well and good. However, why should youths have to bears the same responsibilities of adults and yet not be allowed to enjoy privileges of adults? Only because it benefits the pigs in D.C. who realize that the youth of today will make the revolution of tomorrow. Why the double-standard?

Preventive detention is another measure of the act which violates the u.s. constitution. Preventive detention allows for the jailing of an arrested individual without bail if the judge deems it necessary. All persons are entitled to bail by "our constitution"

unless they are believed to be a danger to the community. The preventive detention clause does not necessitate that the person arrested be deemed "dangerous."

Electronic surveillance is now the passage of this act. Supposedly there will be "highly" selective usage, but only a fool would believe this since it has been used illegally everywhere on a large scale.

In other sections of the law, resisting arrest becomes a crime even if the original arrest was not proper or illegal. It also becomes a crime to possess a molotov cocktail, where as the pigs used to have to see it thrown to make an arrest. This makes it very easy for the pigs to "plant" these just as they have done with dope. It will be only a matter of time before individuals will be in court charged with possessing an molotov cocktail with the only evidence being a pigs word.. Who is the pig judge going to believe? The pig or the defendant?

The preventive detention measure adds to the problems of the department of corrections. It will cause the jails to be more crowded than they are now. Overcrowded jails and prisons have been a problem all over the country and is a major reason that corrective institutions

The reasons given for passing these strong measures in the District of Columbia are that it has one of the highest crime rates in the country and because it is the "national capital" and should therefore set the trend for the rest of the country. However, let us take a closer comprise approximately 90% of the population in the District. It is the only major city in the country with a majority of the population being Black. This is the reason for these fascist provisions starting in D.C. and not somewhere else. Not the fact that D.C. has a high crime rate, because it couldn't be any higher than New York, or Chicago, no matter what Hog-head Hoover and the FBI say. Not because D.C. is the capital of the nation but because it is predominately Black.

Black people all over the nation should take note of this deed by the pigs because their city may be next. Black people must organize to deal with this situation when it arises. This does not mean to deal politically with the situation, but militarily through armed conflict. The political approach was tried in D.C. when Black people are in a majority and was unsuccessful.

Free Angela an Bobby Now!

“
... TOMMORROW,
THE PRESIDENCY
P.E.W.

Election time is here in Chicago. Gary, Newark and Cleveland have black mayors. Will Chicago blacks be able to grasp control of their city? Not under the present conditions! First of all our country is based on a two-party system and in order to prevent a radical third party candidate from taking control of the city's government, an independent candidate must have 59,000 signatures on a petition to run while the Republicans must have only 2,039 and the Democrats, who are presently in power, need only have 4,099. The so-called logic of this city ordinance is that a reactionary group could slander the other candidates or promote a scare campaign and thus cause the citizens to vote for him without much thought to his qualifications and what he stands for. On second thought maybe this isn't illogical because those are the tactics both Nixon and Wallace use. There are over one million blacks in Chicago. It is theoretically possible for a black to get this many names but...

1) It is reported that Daley uses such tactics as threatening to cut off welfare 2) he also reportedly pays blacks to vote for him and 3) the black vote is split. Jesse Jackson, who is fighting the constitutionality of the above-mentioned statue, is considering running. Robert Newhouse, an Illinois State representative, a young man with revolutionary ideas has his eye on the position and the Socialist Workers Party is running a white woman, Miss Linda Shepard and Willie Petty, a black for treasurer. To top it all off, Daley even has a nigger running on his ticket for treasurer.

Besides being black Jesse Jackson may lose because many people question what SCLC's Operation Breadbasket is doing with its funds. It is rumored that Jackson drives a Cadillac and lives in the upper-crust black section of Chi called pill hill. Also will he have time to be mayor? He has sickle cell anemia which also hinders his abilities now. Then there's that old call for separation of church and state which is enough excuse for whitey's not to vote for him.

The very fact that Newhouse is virtually unknown outside the black community hurts him. Well any black in this case is better than no black. He definitely is not a part of Daley's machine!

The citizens of Illinois decided not to let 18-year olds vote in their state (they may vote in national elections). Daley better thank his white God for that. This is a disadvantage to blacks because young whites are moving against Daley too. There are seven black men running for aldermen some of which are Daley men but if Daley loses and they are elected they must become our men so I urge all eligible blacks to back them despite their known affiliation with "the machine". This is another case where any black beats no black.

The mayor of Chicago rules not only Chicago but its surrounding suburbs and to a great extent, the whole state. Those of us with spare time will be doing the black communities in Chicago and this area a great service by campaigning for these candidates. Also consider the fact that the next big city Gary has a black mayor. A black mayor is not only hip and convenient but truly revolutionary.

PAMOJA

L.H.

"Niggers ain't s---!", and "I'm sick of this damn place!", are often heard phrases among the members of the black student body here at Lake Forest College. It was with an understanding of this prevalent attitude that the members of Pamoja created the idea of a black student retreat—a removal from the depression of this campus.

The theme of the retreat "Come together and create", was designed to inspire each of us to develop the attitude that if we allowed ourselves, we could appreciate and learn from the ideas and talents of our brothers and sisters. Though it may sound a bit idealistic, it is not an impossible goal and certainly is a worthy one. The various workshops (tutorial, photography, drama, political and cultural thought, etc.) will hopefully provide the opportunity to at least partially realize this goal. The group dynamics sessions which will be led by two black sociologists from the University of Chicago will also aide in an increase of our mutual understanding and respect of one another (an expressed goal in our newly adopted constitution).

Due to additional funds the cost of the retreat per person has been reduced from \$6.30 to \$4.30. It is not too large an investment for what may be formed as a result. Don't say it will not work—that's a jive copout—Come and make it work! COME TOGETHER AND CREATE!

NATHAN HARE RAPS

REPRINTED
FROM
THE BLACK SCHOLAR

In the mobilization of our full resources for black liberation, we must bear in mind that we are all oppressed and that history has made soldiers of every oppressed individual. We are all soldiers, and we must more and more begin to act like one. There is no other way.

It is a common practice, looking back on history, to think of a soldier as a man within an established army only. As if to say that revolutionary guerillas today or warrior hordes of days gone by were not established groups. The man on the other hand who kills for pay in an unofficial army is called a mercenary. But the word "soldier" etymologically derives from the old French "solde" (a coin, pay) through Latin "solidus" (piece of money). Both mercenaries and soldiers may fight within large bodies of men waging war for pay. The thing that separates them is that a mercenary fights for no principle but his pay check, but so do many soldiers. Still, by as much as anything else they may be distinguished by what they are fighting for.

The black man, whether he wore a uniform or not, historically speaking has been a soldier for freedom. And he remains so, and will remain so, until freedom is won. This includes the black woman and every able-bodied child. The black race is the only race that has been so circumscribed in this country; and the world, for what happens in South Africa affects us here as does also what happens in Vietnam. The white man, whenever he has become a soldier for freedom, has had to convince himself, to reject his station in life, as in the case of well-to-do-hippies. But the black man has not; and automatically that has placed him on the side of fighting for all the higher human values associated with freedom and related thereto. We are all soldiers.

The oppressor cannot monopolize the idea of a soldier, nor the power to define one. The martyr who dies for freedom is a soldier; the guerilla who kills and dies; the spy who infiltrates the enemy ranks, with or without uniform. All men in the fight for freedom are soldiers, not merely those in uniform or some other chosen few. We are soldiers day by day in the war for black liberation, and we must recognize this fact.

Frederick Douglass said more than a hundred years ago that he who would be free must strike the first blow—and we are just now getting around to holding high our fists; even then not so much in a gesture of defiance against the oppressor as in a form of ritualistic comradeship among ourselves.

It is not enough to clench our fists, to wear militant garb, or generally to acquire the most menacing look; not enough to read black history, listen to jazz music, smoke pot, or write down pretty poetry, author weighty books or revolutionary songs. Instead, in the words of Frantz Fanon, we "must fashion the revolution with the people. And if you fashion it with the people, the songs will come by themselves, and of themselves."

For, there is alive somewhere in all of us a smoldering anger for the wrongs we have suffered. Oppression is a cunning provocateur of feeling and rebellion. It gnaws away at the minds and hearts of men, destroying their insides even when it may not be visible from the surface. It is a jungle termite, always nibbling and exposing the choice between eradicating it or ourselves being devoured.

Yet there are among us many who remain afraid of struggle, afraid of dying, afraid of jail, afraid of combat, afraid of freedom, although we may go on risking death in the white oppressor's wars, killing our Third World brothers in the name of freedom for more and more white plunder. It is time to call a halt to this, time to turn the guns the other way. For we are all soldiers.

Black youths are soldiers. The young black men are the natural soldiers, the most vibrant and energetic soldiers, soldiers of the highest order. They are the most discontented and

too are torn apart by petty dissension and too often fail to recognize cohesion in the cause of liberation.

A revolutionary is a soldier, and we must all, in our way, be revolutionaries. If we can be called upon to kill and die in a foreign land in a war we never made, to help keep our enemy and his satanic system in power, then we can certainly do as much for ourselves. We can join the revolutionary battlefield. If it is all right to fight for an oppressor, even one supposedly wronged by another, it is all right, if not ennobling, to fight against an oppressor who persists in wronging an entire race. An oppressed race is a cruelly wronged race, and we owe nothing to our oppressors but death or defeat. The first duty of an oppressed man is to overcome his oppressors.

In the most violent world that history has ever known, our oppressors still tell us to cringe in nonviolent glee in the face of their attacks. But we cannot forget that the moral ancestors of our oppressors, the ancient white Christians, took up the sword and launched the holy hell of the Holy Crusades to teach us to turn the other cheek. And while we turned the other cheek they kicked us on our other two. After centuries of slavery we found ourselves "emancipated," possessing "the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" but with no apparent guarantee that we would ever catch up with it.

A Revolutionary is a guerilla, and guerilla is a soldier. This is not to say that all that is revolutionary is violent anymore than all that is violent is revolutionary. A revolution also implies a drastic change in values, in power and human relationships. There are many things to be done in a revolution, many roles to play.

There remains in the air today a foul tendency to call anybody not doing what we ourselves may do a "Tom," or to call those not on our particular squad, not in our organization or ideological camp some other derogatory name. All villains are not Uncle Toms, and it may even be a slight oversimplification to say that all Uncle Toms are villains. The difference is between the pathological Tom and a functional Tom, between a man born to his breed and one who wants freedom enough to ostensibly play the role in a revolutionary way.

We recognize, in the final analysis, that the oppressor has got to be eliminated. But in order to eliminate him, it may be necessary to make a distinction between one section and another. It may be a good strategy sometimes to isolate one group, to divide and weaken, in order to give a death blow to the most abominable and vicious clique.

Like any army, we too must have our spies and a variety of "civilian" specialists. These may be as important as the most dedicated foot soldiers. We need a man or a woman, for instance, who can apply for a \$2 million grant, whom we can publicly call an Uncle Tom but who privately will well know what we are about and somehow give us \$50,000 to buy our own apparatus with. An "Uncle Tom" can be a soldier, and within every "Negro" is a potential black man. Every black man, in his heart or in his dreams, has within him some will to right the wrongs he suffers. Black people want to be free. To want to be free is the first stage in the struggle to be free, and today's Tom may be tomorrow's urban guerilla. We are all soldiers.

A black woman is a soldier. Revolution is a woman, a black woman in a blond wig and a docile face, sitting sweetly in the Pentagon mistyping or somehow delaying the orders directing the National Guards to Watts or Detroit. Revolution is a woman with a baby in a blanket—and a bomb. A black woman is a soldier, and, in the months and years ahead, she will stand side by side with her man in the escalation of our struggle to a new and necessary level.

We cannot go on forever like cheerful black mummies, wagging a militant tongue in stereophonic rhetoric, as our only weapon, and reliving

WE

ARE

ALL

SOLDIERS

BLACK RAP SPEAKS TO



THE NEW CHAIRMAN

Elections were held on Thursday, January 28, 1971. Accepting victories were Florine Johnson as External Secretary, Gwen Burris and Cheryl Chisly as Internal Corresponding and Recording Secretaries, respectively, and Bernard Lee became the Asst. Chairman-Treasurer. The new chairman is Willie Philips who, as a sophomore, was elected with the above four juniors.

A native of Memphis, Tennessee, Philips is an English major and a dedicated worker in the Zion Tutorial Program. I asked the new chairman a few questions of general interest.

Q. JUST HOW SIGNIFICANT IS A CHAIRMAN OF BSBA IN THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AT LFC?

A. In order to answer this question I think it is necessary to make it clear that in order for the chairman to play a significant role in the revolutionary struggle here at LFC he must interact correspondingly to the struggle outside the bounds of this college campus. If this happens, and since it has usually happened in this way previously, I feel that the chairman does adopt a formidable position in the quest for the liberation of Black people.

Q. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT PEOPLE PLACE TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON THE CHAIRMANSHIP? IS THE IDEA OF A "BLACK LEADER" OVERPLAYED OR PERHAPS VIEWED FROM THE WRONG PERSPECTIVE?

A. Although I stated above that the chairman played a very determining role in our people's struggle I feel that too much emphasis should not be put upon the chairmanship but unfortunately, this has been true here. Oftentimes I think that formerly we tended to look up to our Black leaders too much, thus we often stifled our own leadership abilities, however, each Black student should prepare himself for the eventuality of a leadership position. And until we develop en masse this type of spirit our revolutionary growth will be continually inhibited.

Q. IN YOUR EXPERIENCE WITH WHITE FACULTY AND ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL ON THIS CAMPUS, HOW WOULD YOU COMPARE THEM IN HONESTY, STRAIGHT-ORWARDNESS AND CLEVERNESS WITH WHITE PEOPLE IN THE OUTSIDE WORLD?

A. I have found that in every aspect both the faculty and the administration manifest the same overall attitudes present in the dominant society. Although our situation here is somewhat different that Black people in urban or rural settings, the interactions of Black and whites are basically identical.

Q. GIVE YOUR VIEWS ON OFF-CAMPUS BSBA ACTIVITIES, I.E., THE TUTORIAL PROJECT VS. ON-CAMPUS PROJECTS, I.E., BLACK COURSES AND FACULTY.

campus activities of BSBA, since they are necessary and viable steps in our struggle for liberation. In both instances the situations should and will be improved upon for we as Black students should readily impart what knowledge we gain to our younger brothers and sisters. I tend to think that the tutorial program and other related dealings in nearby Black communities are more important than Black Studies.

Q. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THERE IS A CHANGE OF VALUES AMONG BLACK STUDENTS AND WHITE LIBERALS AFTER GRADUATION, AS FAR AS INVOLVEMENT IN THE QUEST FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND DIGNITY IS CONCERNED?

A. I don't think that I am fully prepared to answer this question. However, it would seem to me that besides external pressures, for example getting a further education, and financial problems, a few realize that they no longer must fit a role that was more important while in college. In other words there is less pressure after graduation to deal in Black politics and survival programs.

Q. "MANY WHITE KIDS ARE WILLING TO SACRIFICE VIRTUALLY ANYTHING IN ORDER TO PRODUCE A BETTER WORLD." THIS STATEMENT IS BELIEVED BY SOME BLACKS. DO YOU THINK YOU CAN COUNT ON WHITE LIBERALS' SUPPORT IN THE FUTURE? IF SO, IN WHAT MANNER?

A. To a certain degree, judging from past experiences, I am confident that we depend on white liberals for some support. No doubt this aid will range and vary in relation to the intensity of our demands of the system. In matters of more severe consequences than others, this allegiance from whites will definitely waver or become non-existent.

Q. THERE SEEMS TO BE A TREND AMONG BLACK WOMEN TO LOOK FOR CERTAIN QUALITIES IN THEIR BROTHERS THAT MAKE A TRUE BLACK MAN. DO YOU THINK THIS TREND WORKS FOR BOTH SEXES? SHOULD IT?

A. This trend of thought among Black women is very good. They should look for leadership and guidance in their men. On the other hand, Black women should strive to adopt similar qualities which would benefit our people as a whole.

Q. WHAT ARE SOME OF YOUR IDEAS ON BRIDGING THE SOCIAL GAP BETWEEN LFC'S BLACK COMMUNITY AND THE SURROUNDING BLACK NEIGHBORHOODS OF LAKE COUNTY?

A. I feel that the tutorial projects are very effective means of closing this gap. We must get away from the idea that we are not a part of the Black community as a whole. We should think in terms of a unified national Black populace, working together in a daily struggle for liberation. We must continue developing the type of sensitivity to the problems and needs that led us to collect money, food, and clothing for the needy families in this area for Thanksgiving.



CAIRO

The situation in Cairo, Illinois is extremely tense. This small Black community of three thousand brothers and sisters has been waging a successful boycott of White businesses for the past 20 months. The situation there has become even more shaky since Blacks have formed the United Front and started the boycott. The boycott began as a peaceful retaliation to White hostility but has now reached the point where in many cases, the brothers and sisters are trading bullet for bullet with militant White racists. This is so much so that the symbol of the United Front has become a gun and a bible.

White snipers in Cairo are attacking Black people as well as Black property. The Rev. Walter Garret, 23, of Cairo United Front and Wiley Anderson, 21, a Black GI, were both wounded by sniper fire into the Pyramid Court projects November 8th. Garret was treated at a Cairo hospital and was shortly released. Hospital officials said the minister was treated for "injuries suffered from a fall." Brother Anderson, home on leave from the Army, was not as fortunate. He was treated at a Poplar Bluff Missouri hospital for five gunshot wounds and is reported in critical condition.

That same night the Cairo Lumber Company burst in flames. This company is owned by Bob Cunningham, leader of the racist vigilante organization, the White Hats. The fire caused an estimated \$100,000 damage.

Cairo is a small dusty delta town bounded by the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers and the hills of Kentucky. Cairo's population is 6,000 people, half Black and half White. The economy of Cairo is extremely poor. Twenty-seven percent of the population (including Whites) is on welfare and the unemployment rate is twelve percent, this includes a thirty percent unemployment rate among Blacks.

Blacks are jammed into the Pyramid Court projects. Fifty-six percent of Cairo's housing has no plumbing and is made of cheap lumber and tarpaper that burns like a match. Six hundred houses have been destroyed and only ten new ones built in the past ten years.

The political situation in Cairo has been termed "unstable." This is a result of twenty years of civil rights activity. It began in

1946 with a battle for equal pay for Black and White teachers. In 1963 Blacks fought to open up a public swimming pool. They won in court but the city closed the pool altogether. In 1965 when Blacks attempted to desegregate movie houses and bowling alleys, they were beaten and had their homes and cars burned. In 1967, a Black soldier was killed while in jail. A 72-year old man (Black) gardener was bludgeoned to death with a base by preacher Larry Potts. Potts claimed that the old man was trying to rape his wife and of course the courts believed it. Potts got off clean... justifiable homicide."

The situation in Cairo has grown more unstable since the formation of the United Front in April 1969. The United Front has demanded fifty percent control of all levels of political and socio-economic situations in the city. White reaction to the demands has been hostile. There have been 142 sniper attacks on Pyramid Court by shooting, the White Hats have resorted to arson attacks. They have destroyed a grain company which hired Blacks, a pentecostal church, Pop's Sweet Shop and a Black owned tavern. The United Citizens for Community Action, a guise for the White Hats, has close ties with the White Citizens Councils of America (the Ku Klux Klan) and the American Nazi Party.

Even though poor Whites in the city have been suffering from the vast exploitation racism has prevented them from forming a coalition with Blacks. Even the U.F. program of giving food and clothing to poor Whites has not eased the racist animosity. UF SPOKESMAN Rev. Charles Koen says, "First the racism has to be destroyed, which is really a manipulation kind of thing with poor Whites. Until then you can't do it. They've been told that Blacks are the cause of their problems. And there's no one there redefining things for them."

Although nearly everyone in Cairo is armed, the possibility of Black armed self defense does not seem overly feasible for now. Whites are still granted the privilege of legal violence against Blacks. No Whites have yet to be arrested for crimes against Black people.

Although Blacks appear to rule out violence, the sisters and brothers are by no means totally

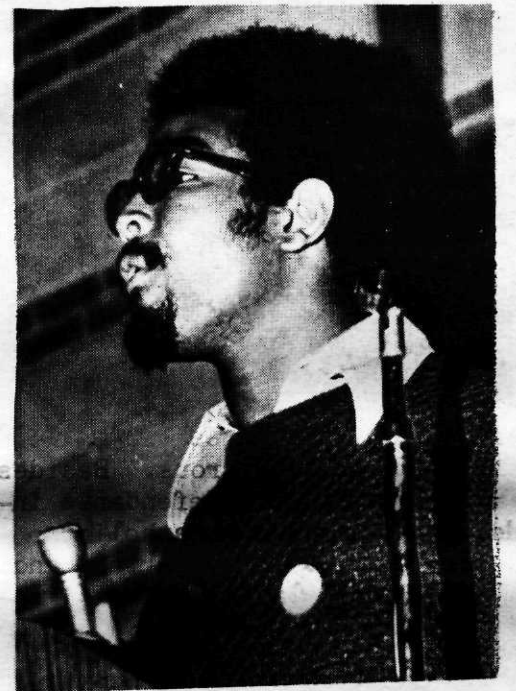
passive. On September 14, 1969, they held a march to challenge a city council ordinance prohibiting gatherings of two or more people. As police met them and prepared to make arrests, rifles emerged from the windows of the Pyramid Courts projects. An elderly woman with a little girl at her side came out of her house, one hand on her cane, the other on her gun. She walked up to the police line and laid down her ultimatum: "If we can't get along, lets get it on. One more step and I'll start."

The twenty long month war of attrition is strangling what can be considered a dead city. The boycott has definitely hurt Cairo's failing economy. Eight White businesses have gone bankrupt. To quote one White businessman, "The boycott's killing Cairo," and a UF spokesman says, "If this continues through Christmas there's gonna be a lot more businesses closed." White merchants admit their receipts have dropped forty percent.

Blacks, due to a cooperative effort, are surviving the boycott better than the Whites. They travel either 32 miles west to Cape Girardeau, Missouri, or 35 miles east to Paducah, Kentucky, to shop. The Chicago based Operation Breadbasket has also provided aid for the brothers and sisters. A team of Flying Black Medics, also from Chicago, have started a free health care clinic for poor Blacks. But once again, only through a COOPERATIVE EFFORT are our sisters and brothers able to survive. Without a cooperative effort among ourselves, there can be no struggle. We must first unite before we can fight.

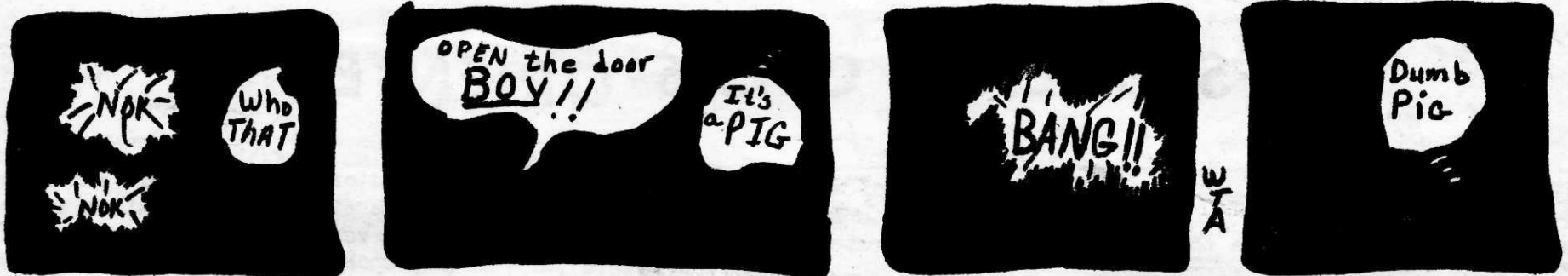
The siege which has begun in Cairo is destined to be a long and bitter one. The White police and other racist pigs have shut off the electricity, water, and gas to the Pyramid Court projects, along with their numerous sniper and arson attacks in an attempt to defeat this Black Community. The question isn't how long they can hold out, but what are we as Black people going to do. We as a people must come to the aid of our gallant brothers and sisters of Cairo. We must truly realize and understand that an attack against one is an attack against all.

Editorial by
United Front Bulletin



"They set up the courts; they set up the police; they set up the army; they set up an educational system; they set up the newspaper; they set up all the apparatus to brainwash and to keep in subjugation. If we're going to be free, and we will not be fully free until we smash this state completely and totally...no people in this world have ever achieved independence and freedom through the ballot or having it legislated to them. (They) got their freedom through struggle and through revolution."

William Epton



FASCIST INVENT ANOTHER CONSPIRACY

L. J.

Several weeks ago, Pig Hoover told a Senate subcommittee that the Reverends Philip and Daniel Berrigan were masterminding a spectacular kidnaping and sabotage conspiracy. At the time Hoover didn't mention prosecuting the conspirators and was told by Senators and Congressmen to shut up or prosecute. To save face, during the second week of January, the Justice Department indicted the Berrigans and several others. The government charged that the plotters planned to destroy the heating systems of government buildings in Washington, D. C. on "our beloved George Washington's birthday by setting off explosives in tunnels beneath the structures. The day after the indictment was announced, the government decided that the conspirators also had planned to kidnap Henry Kissinger, a Presidential adviser for national security.

Although the plot itself seems far-fetched, the identities of the other conspirators makes the whole affair even more ludicrous. Besides the Berrigans, the co-defendants included two other Roman Catholic priests, a nun, a former priest and a Pakistani scholar. Their objective? Even the indictment was vague but Hoover's original statement was that the conspirators aimed to disrupt government operations and to demand as ransom for Kissinger (1) an end to U. S. bombing in S. E. Asia along with (2) the release of all political prisoners. The whole thing is absurd, and as their lawyer, William Kunstler stated "the government had itself created a grotesque conspiracy to destroy the peace movement by creating caricatures of those who oppose the war." The most violent act any of the conspirators had ever been involved in before was the burning of draft records by the jailed Berrigans. Three of the defendants stated that they had "neither the philosophy nor the resources to support the activity" they were charged with.

If one looks closely at the details of the conspiracy, he will see clearly it is an attempt by this fascist and imperialistic country to silence any form of dissension. No one in his right mind would think that this fascist government would leave S. E. Asia and release all political prisoners in exchange for a damn nobody like Henry Kissinger. (A few senators and cabinet members maybe, but not Kissinger). Also, on Washington's birthday, all government buildings are closed in D. C. Therefore, there would be no disruption of this country's "great technology". Some form of heat could be supplied by the time the offices were due to be opened again.

Let's look at the other co-defendants beside the Berrigan brothers. They are Egbal Ahmad, 40, a citizen of Pakistan and fellow of the Adlai Stevenson Institute in Chicago; Sister Elizabeth McAlister, 31, of Marymount College in Tarrytown, N. Y.; the Rev. Joseph Wenderoth, 35, of Baltimore, a former priest. Wenderoth, McLaughlin, and Sooblich once took part in separate raids on Selective Service offices, where they destroyed draft records in symbolic protest against the war. The remaining defendants have had no such excitement during their lifetimes. Students at Marymount College describe Sister McAlister as a "gentle idealist", careful to keep politics out of her classes. At Chicago's Adlai Stevenson Institute of International Affairs of which Ahmad is a member, colleagues have described him as being among the most respected authorities in the world on the subject of revolution in underdeveloped countries. Ahmad has been a professed pacifist for many years: when he was four years old his father was assassinated and Ahmad stated that "that particular experience left me with considerable abhorrence for violence."

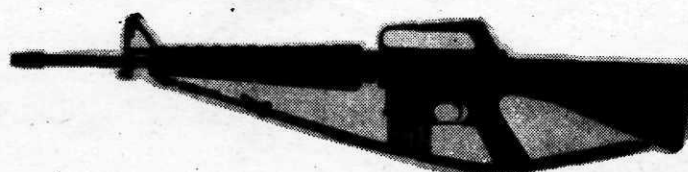
Hoover and his cohorts have again fabricated a story in an attempt to rid themselves of "very dangerous subversives to this country", just as they did with the famous Conspiracy Seven trial in Chicago, the New Haven Panthers and the massive wo-

man-hunt and indictment of Angela Davis. In the present case, the American public should easily enough be able to "see through" this frame-up and realize the desperation with which the lie of democracy is being perpetrated. Clearly the facade is weakening. Bit by bit the true nature of America's motives for various and sundry actions against humanity are being exposed. The indictment of men such as the Berrigan brothers and Egbal Ahmad are glaring testimonials to the "pains" to which the fascist elements in this government will go to suppress the most precious gift of mankind—liberty! Who can doubt that overt genocide will next be manifest against the colored peoples of the world?

Unite and Overcome!!
Suppress the Oppressor
for Humanity's Sake!!



FREE ALL



POLITICAL PRISONERS

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

LFC STUDENTS CRISIS-ORIENTED

C.G.

A Wednesday in January of 1971 brought to campus one of the most memorable events since the Great Spring of 1970. Never before (in both cases) had so many students come together to partake in one event. For some it meant political awakening, to others it meant an educational experience beyond the realms of Lake Forest academis, but for all it was an occasion that would stand out in the annals of Lake Forest College history. For those of you who remember the Great Spring of 1970, and also those who missed this remarkable period, let us go back for just a moment. During the period there were meetings of the college student body that were unrivalled by any others; meetings where the silent majority could not be quieted and the noisy minority was all but stifled out of existence. This was a period where every student recognized his ability as a political leader, and exercised every ounce of his intellectual and physical strenght to show the college community that he was politically aware and socially active - to the hysteria, chaos, and utter nonsense of the Great Spring was the killing of four all-American students at Kent State. As I watched the boycotting of classes, the marches to Fort Sheridan and Great Lakes, the

organizing of students to show their opposition to America's policies concerning protesting students, I was shocked but not amazed. Here were all these students upset because four white, middle-class straight American students had been killed. Students were actually coming together (although they were not too organized) to show that they were sick and tired of America, and to show that there would have to be some changes made. Again I was shocked, but not amazed. It had never happened before, but it had been happening to niggers ever since we got here. What about the Orangeburg Massacre, what about the trials and tribulations that brothers like James Meredith go through, what about the killings of countless brothers and sisters in the ghetto-day in and day out. What's the matter, Lake Forest College students can't relate to that? It took the killing of white students to put Lake Forest College students in a frenzy, while the killings of niggers goes about unnoticed. Egbal Ahmad is a brother who is hipped to the things that happen to niggers everyday, and he showed it in his speech. He showed his love and concern for brothers and sisters everywhere, and it did not take Kent State to make him show it. When he spoke of Frantz Fanon he

spoke of all the people who face oppression and degradation rendered upon us by white imperialism. When he spoke of American governmental policies, he spoke of those policies that affect all people. Egbal Ahmad spoke of things that we all should be able to relate to - he spoke of overcoming this demented, racist, society - he spoke of ending the exploitation of all peoples. HE spoke of those things that we all should come to hear, but we all did not come to hear them. We came because Egbal Ahmad was sought by the F.B.I. - he made the headlines of every major paper in this country. That's why we came. Now Lake Forest College students can relate to that!

I hope that I have conveyed my feelings concerning the major portion of Lake Forest College students. I also hope I have shown them for what they are - crisis - oriented opportunists. In reference to the Great Spring of 1970 I have only to say to Lake Forest students that more niggers are catching more bullets than there are students at Kent State and every other college in this country. In reference to what it took to get you to come see Egbal Ahmad - Angela Davis still ain't free - and in reference to the niggers - we better relate to all of that.



LFC SOUL MUST SUPPORT ALL BLACK CAUSES

P.E.W.

Late last year, a young black man was shoplifting in National Food Store on 87th and Cottage in Chicago. The shoplifter was shot in the back by a National Food Store Security guard. The black community is asking black people to boycott all National Food Stores. They are not trying to justify the thief but are concerned with the fact that a loaf of bread is worth more than a black man's life. Many brothers and sisters are getting offed by pigs daily for stealing trinkets. America has a sick sense of values! When the community asked the store to disarm their guards, they refused. Besides this, I went to the above-mentioned National while I was home this Christmas and the prices were substantially higher than the Lake Forest National Food Stores. Food chains such as National rape the black communities

Do you want
just a safe black
profession?

of their income and put little or nothing back into them! Check the deal out below cause their dealing with us all the way 'round.

Operation Breadbasket has called for a national boycott of the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company (A&P) because of their refusal to hire blacks. They are presently picketting A&P's national headquarters. Both of these stores have branches in Lake Forest. Since there are seven food stores in Lake Forest, please support our black brothers in Chicago and boycott these stores. It has been remarked to me that our efforts will do little but its the principle involved and the same old cop-out on our parts! We should definitely get in the habit of supporting black movements everywhere regardless of how small the gain may appear at the time.

Life & Liberation!

THE FOLK TRADITION

If you missed hearing Elma Stuckey Wednesday night, then you'd better make sure you don't miss hearing her at Northwestern on March 1.

Brothers and sisters, I am well aware that our existence at L.F.C. is comparable to a wonderland scene. I am well aware of the many wonderland changes that are thrust upon us. I am well aware that the irrelevant daily grind of class room attendance can sometimes ooze us into zig-zag states of mental lethargy. I am well aware that when you saw the sign in Commons saying "Come hear Elma Stuckey read poetry in the Black Folk Tradition" you immediately ignored it. You ignored it mainly because you're so deep into this thing of turning the performance trick towards getting a degree that it immediately came to your mind that because you never hear of the Black Folk Tradition then there really isn't one. I'm sure you said that this is just another game the man is running down and that Elma Stuckey's just another "authority" on some aspect of what's supposed to be Black. No, Elma Stuckey couldn't possibly relate to you.

I'm almost sure you felt this way. I know I did. Thanks to my English department, I wanted to hear her. Usually, when poets are on campus the instructors in my dept. will advise us to go hear them. This time, nothing happened. I figured then that she must have really been about Black Things. And know something? She was. Her poems were all about us and our mommas, daddys and grand parents, too. Her poems were about things our grandparents had told us. You know, the things nobody else could and would tell us. Yes, she told us all about how it was way back when in places like "Old Miss." where our people constantly prayed and waited for the sounding of "The Trumpet." She told it in a way that not only carried me but flung me up out of my seat in Reid Auditorium to way down home in Georgia and set me



to rest at the side of my sweet grand-momma with her tales of how she relates and out-smarts the oppressor. Elma Stuckey could've done the same for you had you been there.

I really enjoyed my trip home. So why don't you go on over to Northwestern, March 1, and get a free trip home? Now, don't say you ain't from the South. Think about it—we all are.

Power to
Free your mind and
your ass will follow,

Randi

NOTES FROM ISLAM

During the month of February, Muslims throughout the world will be preparing for the Hajj, of the pilgrimage to Mecca. The Hajj is one of the Five Pillars of Islam and it is obligatory only to those who can afford it, but every Muslim must try at some time in his life to make the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Mecca located in Saudi Arabia stands at the site of the house that the Prophet Abraham (peace be on Him) built for the worship of Allah. Muslims when praying to Allah turn towards the East and pray in the direction of Abraham's house.

The pilgrimage to Mecca is not a tourist visit to the Middle East. When the Muslim undertakes the pilgrimage, he is required to suppress his passions, refrain from bloodshed and be pure in word and deed. The pilgrimage is unlike any other journey. Here the Muslim pilgrim will come upon Muslims from Russia, China and Africa; all with same intention of collectively praying to Allah.

The Muslim pilgrim also benefits from the knowledge that can be gained from the different cultures. Thus the pilgrimage unites the Muslims of the world into one international fraternity.

Compiled by Muslim Student Union
Lake Forest College

Remember Brother Malcolm

born May 19, 1925 - Assassinated Feb. 21, 1965

EXPRESSIONS

The Beast

EXPRESSIONS

Well Whitey the word is out
 I read it in a book this morning,
 Said man originated from animals
 And to think I've been fighting for my manhood!
 Hell no Whitey, I don't want no parts of it!
 Took this Honkey a long time to discover that
 I coulda told him that.
 Member when you gave me that Bible to read
 Said God gave human dominion,
 Over beast, and fish and fowl
 Guess that includes you huh?
 Don't get mad, Boss
 We'll be nice to y'all
 Heard they got a Society against cruelty to Animals
 Told you don't get mad!
 Animals that can't live in harmony with humans
 Die like the animals they are! P.E.W.

33 $\frac{1}{3}$ %

Walking down the street
 Black and proud
 Kissing honky's feet
 Laffing loud

Waiting for the day
 Soon to come,
 Looking for a way
 With a gun

Licking honkey's ass
 Moving fast
 Keeping us last
 Is a Gass

W. WATER



ON HOPE

BY Mahmoud Darweesh

Do not tell me:
 I wish to be a baker in
 Algeria
 Inorder to sing with the
 revolutionaries
 Do not tell me:
 I wish to be a shepherd
 in the Yemen
 To sing for the uprising
 of the age
 Do not tell me:
 I wish to be a waiter in
 Havana
 To sing for the victory of
 the poor
 Do not tell me:
 I wish to be a stone car-
 rier in Aswan
 To sing for the rocks
 My friends:
 The Nile will not pour into
 the Volga
 The Congo and Jordan
 Rivers
 Will not serve the Euph-
 rates
 Each river has its own
 Our land is not barren
 Each land has its own
 Each dawn has a date with
 revolution.

EXPRESSIONS

THE TRUTH

What fools be men who, like castrated kittens
 find life here so dear.
 Ha! go on damned fools here ignorance is bliss,
 like shit filth and fear.

Dream on fools of gods promised land can
 you still be so blind?
 St. Peter's nearly gates have already been,
 before your minds time.

You, like Tantalus, are made to strive
 long for what can't be.
 peace love freedom and satisfaction,
 now, Fools, can you see?

W. WATER

EXPRESSIONS

EXPRESSIONS

EXPRESSIONS

Black Consciousness

A need to
Blackness
hurts the known
shadow
falling softly
on the leaves

From the begging
of sufferers
comes the
game that alot
Our lives; and so
Our souls have
the need to cry,
to be at times
felt, and
so,
pitied

Perhaps
pity slept beneath
the sand dune and
bought a taste,
a hunger which will not die
in milk cartons and traveling,
temporarily sated
by a lie.

Or the inconsistency
of the lie
sticks tomorrow—
clings to teeth,
or, yet
will not be lost

who lie
reject
it.

It
Alone
conscious. A Black man
aware and so to be forced
A need
to blackness thrills
the old leaf falling
softly
to the ground.

J. SCOTT



On Blackness

What is it to be Black?
is it to be brown?
Then take MANTAN off the market
is it to have curly hair?
Then give Grossman a conk
is it to have rhythm?
Then Tom Jones is Soul Brother No. 2

What is it?
this thing we hold sacred,
and honkies seek to destroy
In what does its essence lie?

Blackness has created wonders
of the Ancient and Modern worlds
In Blackness God created the earth,
From the Continent of Blackness did man come

To be Black is to love,
to have compassion, for all
Black is the presence of all color
Yellow, red, brown, even white
To know you are part of an eternity.

P.E.W.



Awakening

Stiff
from mystic sleep
there they lie,
young man of blackness
young black woman
warming
in hip morning sunlight.

Gone:
middle - class mama's
mojo dreams;
some bad dad's pride;
soft singsong
screams
of expectation
and subtlety.

and now
the sister's no longer a girl-toy—
Inclusive
of a good-night kiss
on a gone - far
brother - boy.

"Friend of unsocial things,
newly - beautiful woman;
Is this any way to run
a young life?"

hey;
you bet it is.....
love;
no caste
nor parent-past
is love.....
is me.

A.W.



EXPRESSIONS

EXPRESSIONS

EXPRESSIONS

EXPRESSIONS

IN DEFENSE OF SELF-DEFENSE

In the last issue of BLACK RAP we dealt with the difference between guns and what you should know when buying one which will fit your needs. The next matter that should be dealt with is that of marksmanship. Although it is necessary to practice on a rifle range or in the woods (both of which are hard to find for most city-dwelling niggers), much can still be done at home.

One of the first things to learn is how to get a correct sight alignment, which means having the front sight blade (at the end of the front part of the barrel) centered and even between the two rear sight blades, with your bull (target) "sitting" on top (see illustration below).

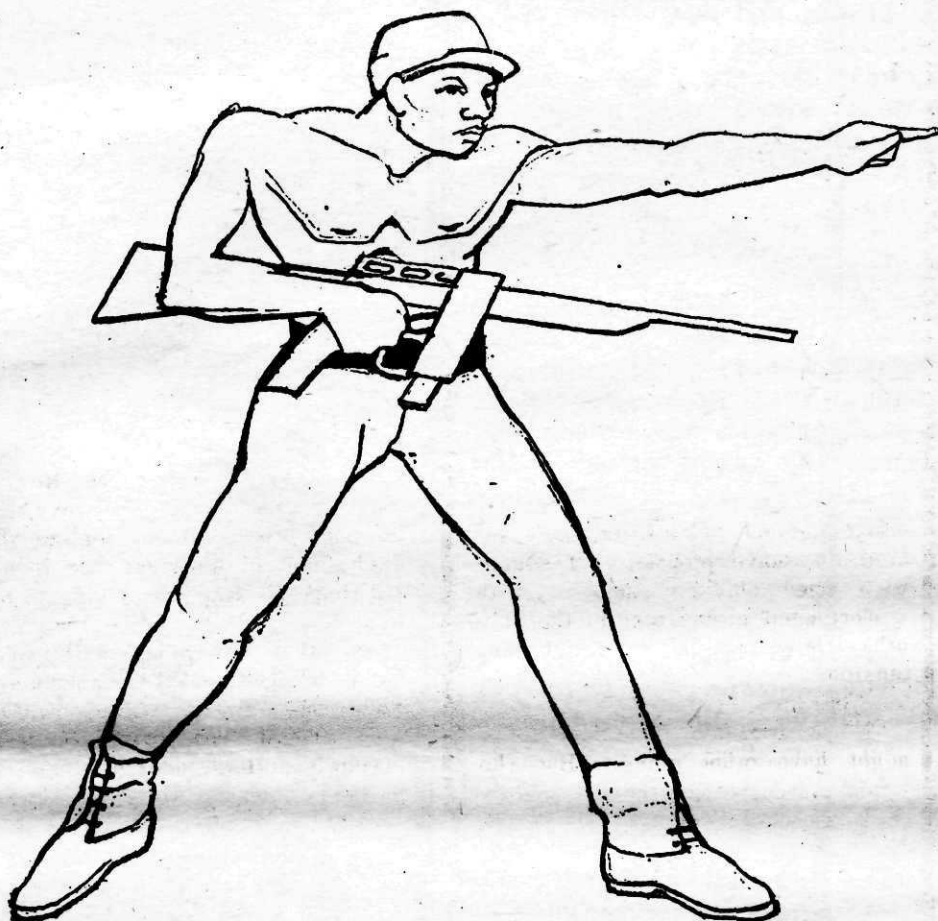
First, pick up your pistol. Hold it firmly but don't tense your hand unnecessarily (being too tense will cause your hand to tire too soon). When getting ready to dry-snap (meaning, firing the gun when it is empty), remember a handy code word used in the military when teaching new recruits to shoot - B.R.A.S.S., which means;

Breathe
Relax
Aim
Slack
Squeeze

First, take a deep breath, let it half way out and then hold it. Next, relax your body, don't tense up all over. Then, aim at your target remembering correct sight alignment. Slowly pull the trigger to the rear until it reaches the point where you feel the greatest resistance. This is known as "taking up the slack." Finally, squeeze - don't jerk it -- but smoothly squeeze the trigger back.



You can practice this way by taping a penny on a wall as a target. Your ability to steadily hold the gun and being able to overcome flinching is one of the desired results of this exercise. It may sound easy but it does take some practice. A few minutes a day will greatly improve your marksmanship when you go to the shooting range. Of course it is possible that you may have to overcome flinching all over again when you begin to use live ammo on the range.



(CONTINUED FROM PG. 4)

while the flames of exploitation simmer untouched.

We are not a race of sheep, and we cannot allow ourselves to be pushed around, to be low duck in the shooting gallery, to be demoralized and dehumanized, to war and bicker with one another like a pack of blind dogs. We must purge all masochistic feelings from our collective mind.

A few years ago it was the fashion among black militants to speak of a willingness to die for freedom. Today we know that revolution is more about living than it is about dying, that in these times black men are dying for a freedom that does not necessarily follow in their wake. We are coming around to the notion that we must live, live to fight and fight to live and all that that implies, in whatever direction.

We have had our share of martyrs, and a martyr should never die unless his death in reality pushes his people farther along the stairway to freedom in a manner which would have been accomplished in no other way. But martyrs are soldiers, and their deaths are never truly dishonorable. Malcolm and Martin may now be subject to criticism, but they live on with even more esteem in death than they did in life. Which proves that some men may die young, but the heart of their dreams will live and beat forever.

On the other hand, on the other side of the coin of martyrdom, there remain those among us who have no strong sense of sacrifice and struggle, no all-embracing commitment; so that we sit back and watch the world go by or take part earnestly in brief skirmishes for freedom,, only to give up too readily when the going gets rough.

There also remain those among us who too easily sell (or rent) ourselves out to our op-

pressor, who sincerely believe that money is just about everything and so are strongly inclined to do just about everything for money, selling our souls for a small-time job, a small-loan grant, for two bits and a bowl of chili beans. It is one thing to own money but quite another to be owned by money. Money is a medium of exchange for many useful commodities, but we may yet discover that the best things in life may still be free and that, in contrast to the sellout, the martyr may even be blessed.

By maiming or jailing our bodies in desperation moves, the oppressor cannot contain our ideas for freedom and human good. Maiming and killing they have always done, throughout the long, hard centuries of oppression. But a race is going forward nonetheless, arm in arm together though not always in full step. And we have gone too far to let our struggle slip back.

We must realize, day by day, that we will either help make our own history, or somebody less benevolent will make our history for us. We must help to define our lives, our own reality, our own future.

We are all soldiers. The black man is the epitome of the liberation fighter.

Now is the time to crawl out of our dashiki and dungaree shells and again seize the revolutionary initiative against the world's most atrocious enemy. There is a time in everyman's life when he must stiffen his shoulders and move forward to do what is necessary to be done. Where there is a will, they say, there is a way; where there is not a way, we most assuredly must and will make one. We do not know what we can do if hardly anything has been tried by us.

We must grapple with our enemy. We must come to grips with our oppression before we can really understand it, and we will see then how far we can go.

Angela Davis, Elegant Sister

CLAYTON RILEY

And Angela...
Who is many things to us now. Remembering that if her flight had been more extended, she might have come to any of our doors. Seeking refuge.

Assistance.

Would we have conspired with her? Elegant Sister of ours, living register of the danger that surrounds us all, what sort of escape did any of us have in mind? What action now, as the State prepares to foreclose on her existence, which chapter-plus-verse in the book of verbal violence will we call upon to deal with her condition?

Recognizing this. The nation's official position has been stated clearly by minor agents of the control force, flashing membership cards in the FBI, while growling something like: "We've come to take you off, Angela."

Guardians of Nixon's private trust, puzzled that so "pretty" and so "bright" and well-educated (trained) a subject of the colony would turn her back on a lifetime guarantee to teach Failed Political Systems 105 in any approved university... or a chance to marry into the subsidiary mainstream -- with

a laceration specialist from Meharry Medical School, or some incredibly suave proprietor of seventeen fried chicken parlors. With a mortgaged circus tent in the suburbs thrown in as a relief from tension.

...or, you.

Never imagining that the Sister might have other plans. But who would understand this? Surely none of us who woke one evil morning to note with wonder her fine frame -- but not the handcuffs that insured her lack of freedom. As if such insurance was needed... in the photo crying from the front page of the *Daily News*.

Angela Davis will stand trial. If she lives. Will face accusers and juries (the same people), all of whom will seek to have her life canceled. Because at one time or another, in one way or another, the regime will have its peace. If we let them. Have their tranquility; a return to "the old values." (Their way of saying: Bring back lynch law...or, Hands off the Ku

Klux Klan!)

But what will a verdict mean to us? You 'n me. How long after she is gone until we start to bougaloo again...funky chicken with barbeque sauce glistening on all our lips as we rattle the walls of these high-rise or split-level coolout stations with a rich, traditional kind of laughter?

For there is no insanity like ours. No trust, no such loyal serfdom in the world. Assuming -- as only we will -- that the death of whiteness will in itself free us. Which is why, when looking in mirrors, or the display windows at Bloomingdale's, we fail to see the skeletons looking back -- reflections of our own capture and imprisonment.

These things made clear by Sister Angela. Daughter Davis, hunger-striking in a mid-victorian jail cell. Without rhythm or purpose. And no help from any soul congregation. Perhaps it is not so complicated, but rather simple. What is required, that is. Which is an end to crew-cut rookies repre-

senting the State in Robert Hall suits and Old Spice, finding it so easy to put the Republic's collar on the country's Blood. Putting whatever sort of bullets in them.

In the meantime...

Here goes the Brother, mumbling oaths of allegiance to the bail system, signing angry petitions with nineteen other livingroom revolutionaries...asking for explanations.

Is it possible to be real? To share with each other the practical logistics needed to get a Brother or a Sister out of the country... whenever they decide with us that the time has come for them to go? Or be hidden safely while the arrangements are being made? How much will it cost to lay tracks for a latter-day underground railroad... and find some Harriet Tubmans?

You dig? Because that's what the thing is all about now. We've got to start putting lamps in windows. Begin designing unbreakable code messages... successful passwords. Build invisible but functioning bridges to Algiers... Beirut... Conakry... wherever.

Why?

So that there will be no more polite apprehensions at Howard Johnson Motor Lodges. Anywhere. So that we begin to realize that each facet of American life is now political (as Rap was trying to tell us).

So that everybody will understand exactly what is happening when the flatcars start heading west, filled with junkies dressed in cowboy suits, and gaily painted Black fashion models who are used to starving themselves for profit, and thousands of ordinary niggers in gray suits and white socks who believe that Jesus will stop the train and let them off in Kansas City.

Friends, there are one-way tickets waiting in some civil servant's desk drawer -- your unsafe conduct to the sunwashed skies of Arizona. Ask not for whom the trains will roll. They will roll for us all, ladies 'n jemmies.

Beginning, perhaps, with...and Angela.

POLAROID IN SOUTH AFRICA

A.R.G.

The decision of the multi-million dollar

Polaroid Corporation to retain investment interests in South Africa has possibly set the tone of at least 300 other United States Corporations with economic interests there. Polaroid has proposed a plan to allot a portion of its profits for black education while it continues its sales there. The program will supposedly involve the upgrading and status of underpaid non-white workers and provides scholarships for 500 African students at different levels. This program will cost Polaroid little more than \$100,000 a year.

The existing apartheid policies in South Africa pertaining to black education immediately obviate the efficacy of such a program and reveals that such a proposal could be no more than an attempt by Polaroid's Board of Directors to ease the consciences of those with vested business interests in that country. Under South African labor legislation it is illegal for a black to hold any position higher than a white in a company. Secondly, under law, Bantu (Black) education is subject the complete control of the government. Blacks are purposely educated for inferior positions commensurate with their subordinate status in South African society. Thus Polaroid's idea of education of blacks as a means to effect social change in South Africa is totally visionary.

It was not surprising that despite the agitation arising from the Polaroid Workers Revolutionary Movement that Polaroid refused to pull out. Two major reasons point this out. First, Polaroid sales in South Africa amount to less than \$1.5 million dollars out of a worldwide sale of \$500 million dollars. Thus, even a complete ban on Polaroid would have only a minute effect. Secondly, there are other corporations in South Africa, i.e. General Motors, MIT Corp., which would be affected if anti-apartheid protest spread. These outside pressures on Polaroid's board of directors insured that Polaroid remained in South Africa.

Furthermore, Polaroid is a part of an international business complex which wants to remain in South Africa. For example, Polaroid deals with Morgan Trust and the Chemical Bank both of which have very extensive interests in South Africa. Loans made by Morgan Trust help the government pull through the financial crisis after the Sharpeville Massacre. The Chemical Bank formerly engaged in pro-apartheid advertising. It is from these institutions that Polaroid receives credit needed for their operations.

Thus, Polaroid has set the precedent for other corporations in South Africa by legitimizing its activities there. Edwin Land, Chairman of its Board of Directors concluded this in his remark, "The world is watching us right now. Other companies are saying that if Polaroid can't make the grade; none of us can."

CIVIL WAR IN ETHIOPIA

S.D.

The Eritrean Liberation Front is presently waging a guerilla war against the monarchist Ethiopian government. Eritrea was formerly an Italian colony under British administration until 1952. At that time the United Nations recommended their entrance into a federal relationship with Ethiopia. Eritrea lost its autonomy in 1962 when it became an incorporated province of Ethiopia.

The front which has approximately 2000 armed guerillas intensified its war efforts against the Ethiopian regime in November 1970. On December 16, the government declared a state of emergency in two-thirds of Ethiopia and has launched a genocidal war against Eritreans. More than 37,000 inhabitants of the province have since fled to near by Sudan since the offensive began. The Imperial Forces of Ethiopia are receiving U.S. aid in the form of arms and military advisors to continue the war against the Eritreans in their fight for survival and self-determination.

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THE LIBERATOR

WE WILL RUN THE CAPITALIST
OUT OF OUR COMMUNITIES

NAMIBIA- SOUTHWEST AFRICA

Part II

The Plundered Trust Territory

The history of the Namibian indigenous African majority has been character characterized by rampant social limbo and by economic stagnation paralled in human history only to that of classical slavery. The white only legislative body of South Africa, seated thousands of miles away from Namibia, has enacted unjust and discriminatory laws that have become weapons of oppression against Africans as individuals and as a social unit.

In complete isolation of the League of Nations spirit, the rest of the world. This isolation enabled South Africa to solidify her misrule over the trust territory without international awareness. Even the United Nations commissions were not permitted to make on the spot inspections.

Namibians have been virtual prisoners in their own land. Many Pass and Native Reserve laws grossly hinder their free movements within Namibia and restrict them to non-arable 12% of Namibian total land. In other words, Namibia blacks who comprise 95% of the total population, occupy only 12% of the land and the rest, 88%, is in the hands of the uninvited white racists who number about 5% of the Namibian population.

The Native Reserves are created and preserved by racist whites to serve as "cheap labour" reservoirs. It is from these areas that able-bodied men and minors, as well, are recruited to go and work in white enterprises. Recruited by NSWANLA, an institution that makes profit from slave labour traffic, and sold to white industrialists and farmers, Africans are then required to work for a period of twelve months for their masters. While on contract they are not allowed to organize and bargain for higher wages or for better working conditions. Their wages, indeed their whole fate, is arbitrarily determined by their masters. Nobody, not even their families, are allowed to visit them at their labour compounds during the duration of the contract.

The small urban African population live in shanty locations according to the Native Urban Act of 1923. This Act provides for the segregation of blacks by whites and for the ethnological separation as well.

In 1926 the Mines and Workers Amendment Act excluded non-whites from all skilled jobs in industries and mines, leaving them only to do janitorial jobs. These are just a few examples of many functional so-called laws in Namibia whose sole purpose is to estrange Africans in their own land where they live under subsistence economic conditions. Poverty, illiteracy and disease are common features of Namibia's black population.



CAN BLACKS TEACH WHITES

ANYTHING ?

Can Blacks teach anything constructive, that is? Mrs. Heaston visited the college Thursday, Jan. 21 to lead a discussion on racism. On the whole, the white students and faculty related to her in the manner typical of white racists when they are confronted with a Black person in a position which they deem to be too superior for Blacks. I suppose our Black faculty here can support this statement with a few of their experiences.

At the beginning Mrs. Heaston informed us that because of the depth of the topic this would not be a lecture, rather it would be more of a discussion. Then, she informed us that someone (white) had previously asked her just what made her feel qualified to lecture on racism. She answered that it was mainly because she was Black and also because of her research and personal experiences. (Lawd, what she want to go and say that for?) The white audience began whispering questions like--well, where is she from? Prof. Hawes had said that she reaches, hadn't he? Someone pointed out in a rather superior manner that Eldridge Cleaver's Soul On Ice had a better chart than hers, even though both charts came to an identical end.

The beauty of the discussion lies in the looseness of her program. By trying to get at the roots of racism a lot of profound possibilities were brought out such as: our concept of the color black as having evil connotations, linguistics serving to perpetuate this ideology, psychological

answers behind the problem, etc. Dr. Forgas was present and ready with his always ultra logical statements and dealt with this last aspect quite capably.

The discussion was one that brought out a lot of "self disclosures" which is very unusual for a discussion of this type and such a large group. I give our speaker her due credit for this. She stated in her talk that popular reports of racism only give the views of staunch racists because most liberals are on the boards of committees like Human Relations and would not answer questions such as

"I consider myself neither legally nor morally bound to obey laws made by a body in which I have no representation. Do not deceive yourselves into believing that penalties will deter men from the course they believe is right. We stand on the eve of a BLACK REVOLUTION."

H. Rap. Brown

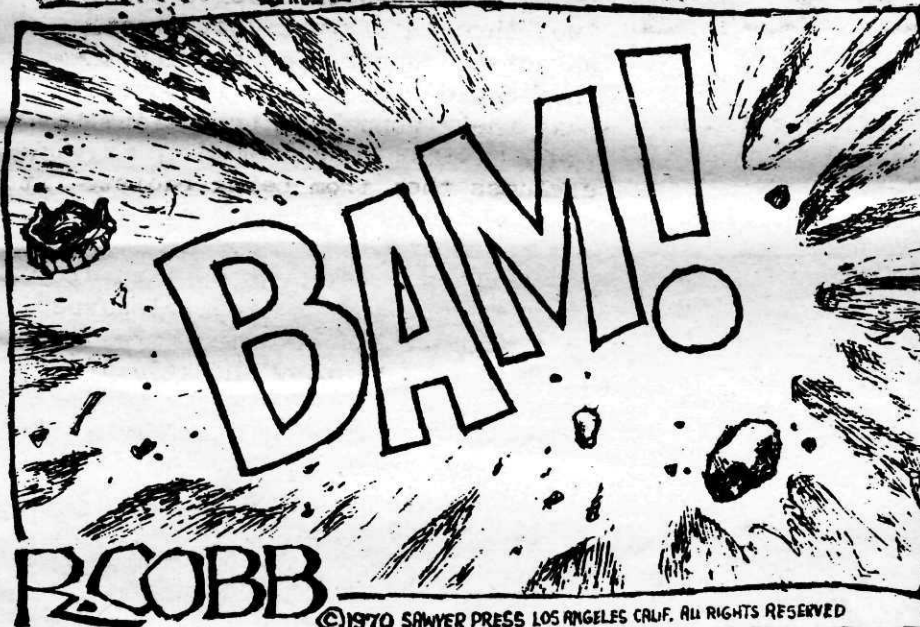
"Would you mind a Black person living next door to you." I suppose that the majority of whites present considered themselves to be somewhat liberal minded. Their purpose for being there was to receive the one, two, three's of just what exactly is a racist. Where upon hearing them they could rationalize in some way that their annual contributions to their favorite Black fund in itself excludes them from being racist. It was obvious from the structure of her discussion that Mrs. Heaston had foreseen this. But oh what disappointments and "self-disclosures" this method brought on. People from the English, history and religion departments while trying to protect/defend certain racist ideologies that have been systematically perpetuated by their department, only succeeded in disclosing their own sensitivity. As you can imagine the people from the psych department were the only ones who could provide the group with somewhat logical broadminded views. The discussion ended with Mrs. Heaston saying that she didn't see racist attitudes disappearing in the near future, if ever.

I would say that, next to the meeting with the faculty before last year's strike, this discussion led by Mrs. Heaston was the most rewarding one that I've participated in at L.F.C. And also, for our disappointed liberals- there was a book there titled Am I Racist.

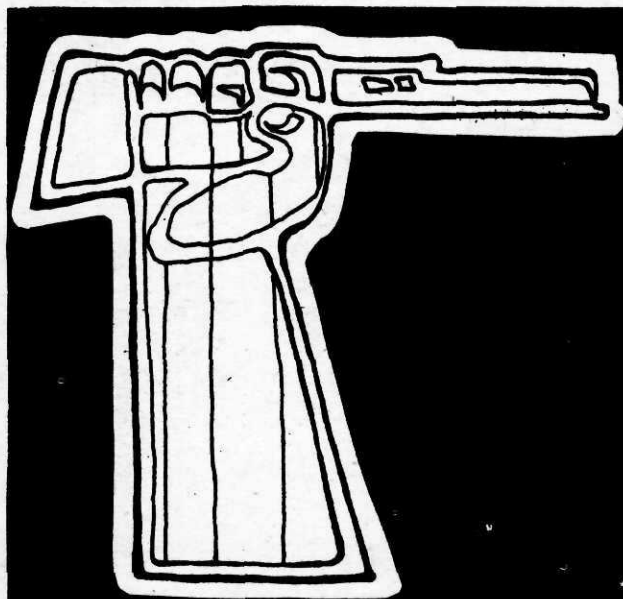
Free Angela Davis and
your mind will follow.
Randi

A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained, and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.
Chairman Mao Tse-Tung





FINAL VICTORY BELONGS ~ TO THE FIGHTING ~



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All Power to the People!

"Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable and sacred right—a right we hope and believe is to liberate the world."

Abraham Lincoln

AFRICAN SOCIALISM- UJAMAA IN PRACTICE

IN THE INDIVIDUAL, as in the society, it is an attitude of mind which distinguishes the socialist from the non-socialist. It has nothing to do with the possession or non-possession of wealth. Destitute people can be potential capitalists — exploiters of their fellow human beings. A millionaire can equally well be a socialist; he may value his wealth only because it can be used in the service of his fellow men. But the man who uses wealth for the purpose of dominating any of his fellows is a capitalist. So is the man who would if he could!

A millionaire can be a good socialist, but a socialist millionaire is a rare phenomenon. Indeed he is almost a contradiction in terms. The appearance of millionaires in any society is no proof of its affluence; they can be produced by very poor countries like Tanganyika just as well as by rich countries like the United States of America. For it is not efficiency of production, nor the amount of wealth in a country which makes millionaires; it is the uneven distribution of what is produced. The basic difference between a socialist society and a capitalist society does not lie in their methods of producing wealth, but in the way that wealth is distributed. While, therefore, a millionaire could be a good socialist, he could hardly be the product of a socialist society.

Since the appearance of millionaires in a society does not depend on its affluence, sociologists may someday find it interesting to try to find out why our societies in Africa did not produce any millionaires — for we certainly have enough wealth to create a few. I think they will discover that it was because the organizations of traditional African society — its distribution of the wealth it produced — was such that there was hardly any room for parasitism. They may also say, of course, that as a result of this Africa could not produce a leisured class of landowners, and that therefore there was nobody to produce the works of art or science of which capitalist societies can boast. But the works of art and the achievements of science are products of the intellect — which, like like, is one of God's gifts to man. And I cannot believe that God is so careless as to have made use of one of his gifts depend on the misuse of another!

Defenders of capitalism claim that the millionaire's wealth is the just reward for his ability or enterprise. But this claim is not borne out by the facts. The wealth of the millionaire depends as little on the enterprise or abilities of the millionaire himself as the power of a feudal monarch depended on his own efforts, enterprise or brain. Both are users, exploiters, of the abilities and enterprise of other people. Even when you have an exceptionally intelligent and hard-working millionaire, the difference between his intelligence, his enterprise, his hard work, and those of other members of society, cannot possibly be proportionate to the difference between their "rewards." There must be something wrong in a society where one man, however hard-working or clever he may be, can acquire as great a "reward" as a thousand of his fellows can acquire among them.

Apart from the anti-social effects of the accumulation of personal wealth, the very desire to accumulate it must be interpreted as a vote of "no confidence" in the social system. For when a society is so organized that it cares about its individuals, then, provided he is willing to work, no individual within that society should worry about what will happen to him tomorrow if he does not hoard his wealth today. Society itself should look after him, or his widow, or his orphans.

This is exactly what traditional African society succeeded in doing. Both the "rich" and the "poor" individual were completely secure in African society. Natural catastrophe brought famine, but it brought famine to everybody — "poor" or "rich." Nobody starved, either for food or for human dignity, because he lacked personal wealth; he could depend on the wealth possessed by the community of which he was a member. That was socialism. That is socialism. There can be no such thing as acquisitive socialism, for that would be a contradiction in terms. Socialism is essentially distributive. Its concern is to see that those who sow reap a fair share of what they have sown.

THE PRODUCTION of wealth, whether by primitive or modern methods, requires three things. First, land. God has given us the land, and it is from the land that we get the raw materials which we reshape to meet our needs. Secondly, tools. We have found by simple experience that tools do help. So we make the hoe, the axe, or the modern factory or tractor, to help us produce wealth — the goods we need. And, thirdly, human exertion — or labor. We don't need to read Karl Marx or Adam Smith to find out that neither the land nor the hoe actually produces wealth. And we don't need to take degrees in economics to know that neither the worker nor the landlord produces land. Land is God's gift to man — it is always there. But we do know, still without degrees in economics, that the axe and the plough were produced by the laborer.

In traditional African society everybody was a worker. There was no other way of earning a living for the community. Even the elder, who appeared to be enjoying himself without doing any work and for whom everybody else appeared to be working, had, in fact, worked hard all his younger days. The wealth he now appeared to possess was not his, personally; it was only "his" as the elder of the group which had produced it. He was its guardian. The wealth itself gave him neither power nor prestige. The respect paid to him by the young was his because he was older than they, and had served his community longer; and the "poor" elder enjoyed as much respect in our society as the "rich" elder.

When I say that in traditional African society everybody was a worker, I do not use the word "worker" simply as opposed to "employer" but also as opposed to "loiterer" or "idler." One of the most socialistic achievements of our society was the sense of security it gave to its members, and the universal hospitality on which they could rely. But it is too often forgotten nowadays, that the basis of this great socialistic achievement was this: that it was taken for granted that every member of society — barring only the children and the infirm — contributed his fair share of effort towards the production of its wealth. Not only was the capitalist, or the landed exploiter, unknown to traditional African society, but we did not have that other form of modern parasite — the loiterer, or idler, who accepts the hospitality of society as his "right" but gives nothing in return.

THOSE OF US who talk about the African way of Life, and, quite rightly, take a pride in maintaining the tradition of hospitality which is so great a part of it, might do well to remember the Swahili saying: "Treat your guest as a guest for two days; on the third day give him a hoe!" In actual fact, the guest was likely to ask for the hoe even before his host had to give him one — for he knew what was expected of him, and would have been ashamed to remain idle any longer.

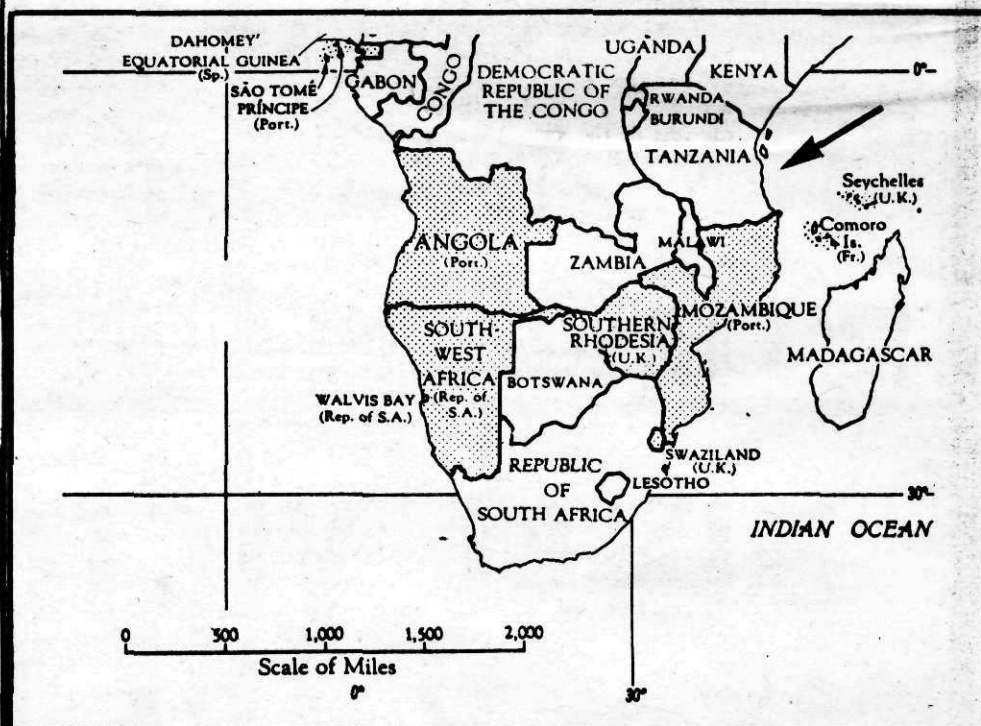
There is no such thing as socialism without work. A society which fails to give its individuals the means to work or, having given them the means to work, prevents them from getting a fair share of the products of their own sweat and toil, needs putting right. Similarly, an individual who can work — and is provided by society with the means to work — but does not do so, is equally wrong. He has no right to expect anything from society because he contributes nothing to society.

The other use of the word "worker," in its specialized sense of "employee" as opposed to "employer," reflects a capitalist attitude of mind which was introduced into Africa with the coming of colonialism and is totally foreign to our own way of thinking. In the old days the African had never aspired to the possession of personal wealth for the purpose of dominating any of his fellows. He had never had laborers or "factory hands" to do his work for him. But then came the foreign capitalists. They were wealthy. They were powerful. And the African naturally started wanting to be wealthy too. Unfortunately there are some of us who have already learned to covet wealth — and who would like to use the methods which the capitalist uses in acquiring it. That is to say, some of us would like to use, or exploit, our brothers for the purpose of building up our own personal power and prestige. This is completely foreign to us, and it is incompatible with the socialist society we want to build here.

OUR FIRST STEP, therefore, must be to re-educate ourselves; to regain our former attitude of mind. In our traditional African society we were individuals within a community. We took care of the community, and the community took care of us. We neither needed nor wished to exploit our fellow men. And in rejecting the capitalist attitude of mind which colonialism brought into Africa, we must reject

also the capitalist methods which go with it. One of these is the individual ownership of land. To us in Africa, land was always recognized as belonging to the community. Each individual within our society had a right to the use of land, because otherwise he could not earn his living and one cannot have the right to life without also having the right to some means of maintaining life. But the African's right to land was simply the right to use it; he had no other right to it, nor did it occur to him to try to claim one.

The foreigner introduced a completely different concept — the concept of land as a marketable commodity. According to this system, a person could claim a piece of land as his own private property whether he intended to use it or not. I could take a few square miles of land, call them "mine," and then go off to the



moon. All I had to do to gain a living from "my" land was to charge a rent to the people who wanted to use it. If this piece of land was in an urban area I had no need to develop it at all; I could leave it to the fools who were prepared to develop all the other pieces of land surrounding "my" piece, and in doing so automatically to raise the market value of mine. Then I could come down from the moon and demand that these fools pay me through their noses for the high value of "my" land — a value which they themselves had created for me while I was enjoying myself on the moon! Landlords, in a society which recognizes individual ownership of land, can be — and they usually are — in the same class as the loiterers I was talking about: the class of parasites.

REPRINTED FROM
THE BLACK SCHOLAR

(Continued on pg. 17)

**love the people
and fight
the real enemy**

ARGENTINA'S FAL MARXISM IN A HOLSTER

Following are portions of a discussion between several members of the Argentine Liberation Forces (FAL), a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organization, and Hector Victor Suarez, correspondent for the Cuban daily Granma. The discussion was conducted in an apartment in a major city of Argentina. The exact location cannot be revealed.

When did the FAL come into being?

We came into being as a movement eight years ago. As most movements, ours is made up of dissident groups from other organizations, mainly those of a Marxist origin. Our break with those organizations came as a result of several things: armed struggle; criticism of opportunism (a trend which revealed itself on repeated occasions in our country); the following of bourgeois trends; deceiving the people by means of false statements and false offers; and, in the international field, support of the Cuban Revolution and those movements for national liberation that developed afterwards.

Were there any specific phenomena in 1962 that may account for the appearance of the movement?

The period when [former President] Frondizi succeeded in fooling the people and having them participate in an election was over. The people began to put up resistance. They had leaders who, gifted with the power of ubiquity, took it upon themselves to channel the process so as not to be separated from their bases—a traditional occurrence in the Argentine trade union process. The plan of struggle of the CGT [the labor federation] was put into practice, factories were taken over and protest demonstrations were held. There were a few setbacks, and we had the inevitable ups and downs.

What experience did you gain from this process?

The people were discouraged with that kind of struggle, which didn't enable them to score the victories they sought. This kind of struggle, a peaceful—well, more or less violent—but not organized method, went into crisis. We pointed this out as being of great importance, since we believe that we are the product of the first spontaneous reaction in the capital.

It's a breaking point. How does this affect the other forces?

Yes, it constitutes a breaking point which affects all the left. It also affects Peronism. A review is made, there's talk of a violent form of attaining power, of a people's war, etc.

There were sectors in Peronism that, way back then, proposed armed struggle dependent on its own armed force—something that was very important and quite different from what the rest of the Peronist sectors were proposing. Up until then, there had been talk of a unity between the people and the army, of the democratization of the armed forces, etc. The political secretariat of the Peronist young people's wing was inspired by many aspects of the Cuban revolution and a great number of people became radicalized quickly.

What's your opinion on the [1969 students and workers] Cordoba revolt and what effect did it have on your organization?

We consider it a very important event but, nevertheless, one which proved that spontaneity is not enough, that the organization of a people's vanguard is necessary. I believe that this has been well understood, as is being shown by the assimilation of the revolutionary struggle by a large part of the people. The growth of our organization and of other organizations as well is not the result of mere chance, and this

growth is taking place at a dizzying speed. Once the people see an opportunity for organized revolutionary struggle, they don't bother to ask questions about origin, strategy and so forth. All they ask is whether there is a struggle being fought; and they join this struggle.

Do trade union bureaucracy and reformist leadership still have any effective influence at the grass-roots level, or has that influence been weakened?

The trade union bureaucrats' and the reformists' failure to win over the people is evident. They are practically completely discredited. The trade unions are in crisis; the options of the past are exhausted and it is the action of the future that attracts the people. In the Corboda revolt—in which we participated—we noticed that the slogans raised aloft by the people were new ones. Historical symbols still persist, but the meaning the people give them now is a far cry from the meaning they gave them in the past. They look at them as something far removed, as something that once was important in national life, but they don't see them as the real, concrete way out. Che, for example, has more attraction than some of the historical Argentine figures.

There was a time, according to some criticism made from a revolutionary standpoint, when you practically closed your doors to other organizations, when you adopted a certain degree of sectarianism. Is that correct?

That is true. There was a time when we turned inwards, when we devoted ourselves to our infrastructure, to strengthening ourselves politically and ideologically, and we kept away from other currents, since we saw no outlook for a rapprochement—that is, we felt we were alone in the position we had adopted. But then we made a turnabout, adopting a completely different stand and, as a result of what was happening throughout the country, people began to flow into our organization, people who included not only those who were organizing underground resistance commandos but also those who were preparing for armed struggle in the cities and in the countryside. Experience proved to us that this kind of unity was possible. A new ethics was born among revolutionaries of what we call the new left, because, up until then, relations among the various forces of the left had been those of piracy with regard to cadres and, rather than wanting to make a serious effort to find the truth, of trying to make one's own truth stand out above all the others'.

What is the present relationship between you and the other revolutionary organizations?

We have a good, fraternal relationship. There's ideological and political struggle, of course, but without confusing the one with the other. We understand the political struggle to be a struggle against the regime and imperialism, taking into consideration every potential ally, and the ideological struggle, as one to be carried out never overshadowing the political struggle, on the basis of positive statements, expressing ideas with clarity so as to find a way out and completely breaking with dogmatism and sectarianism.

How do you view the process of liberation in Argentina?

We believe that, in our country, the struggle is not only for national liberation but also for social liberation. In other words, the war that is going to take place in our country will be not only an anti-imperialist war but also a civil war. The bourgeoisie in our country is very strong, very skilled in political and ideological maneuvers and our struggle must necessarily be anticapitalist—even though, of course, a number of sectors must either be won over or neutralized.

Is it possible, already, to speak of an armed vanguard in Argentina?

No. The vanguard is yet to be organized, though it is taking shape with a number of forces that are now in operation. We, the revolutionary forces, consider ourselves to be the mainspring of what the vanguard will be. This is very positive, as we do not believe that we constitute the core of the revolution, and this makes for very close bonds among the various organizations. In our opinion, we still have a long way to go, but we are headed toward the organization of a liberation front

that will include all the various organizations.

Are you Marxist-Leninists?

We believe that, in general, every force represents a class. We try to represent the interests of the proletariat; in fact, we try not only to represent those interests but to define ourselves in both the political and ideological fields. We educate our members in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and we do our utmost to analyze, in depth, the essence of socialism. In our propaganda, we try to explain Marxism-Leninism and disseminate its principles—not rhetorically, but rather in the most easily understandable, simplest manner possible. We see socialism as the only real way out for our country.

How do the various Peronist sectors react to these points of yours?

Naturally, there are some Peronist sectors which will never agree with these three points. I'm speaking of those sectors of Peronist bureaucracy, among which we include Peron himself, who will never have anything to do with such ideas. When Peron speaks of socialism he says that politics are above the ideology of a socialism "a la Argentina" and things to that effect. We, of course, believe that socialism must, naturally, have completely national characteristics, but also that it has clear-cut categories, in both the political and ideological fields, categories which those sectors are determined not to recognize.

How about the other sectors? How many trends do you recognize among the Peronists?

We recognize three trends: one of overt conciliation, which found expression in the Leonardi administration with that business of "neither vanquished nor victors," in the pact with Frondizi and later in neo-Peronism—that is, a trend which aims to form part of the government in power at the time and doesn't establish any variants, not even within the bourgeois regime. Yesterday they were on the side of Frondizi and Onganía, and today they are on Levingston's side, like the so-called "new trend" of the CGT, which had a hand in everything and sabotaged the workers' struggle.

The second one is the opposition trend. This is the bureaucratic sector, which also joined the maneuver and is now getting out of it to carry on a weak opposition against the regime in order to gain some strength via a number of statements, and a number of measures of struggle so as to improve its position for the next electoral farce.

And lastly, there is revolutionary Peronism, which today finds powerful expression mainly in the Peronist Armed Forces (FAP), made up of comrades whom, even though we may differ with them on certain issues, we consider revolutionaries and who deserve all our respect.

As far as revolutionary strategy is concerned, do you see the struggle as exclusively an urban or as also a rural one?

Also rural. Our work in the countryside is of a political and infrastructural character but with a view to waging guerrilla warfare.

Combining both forms of struggle?

Yes. We think that in our country the struggle is going to be combined. The urban form will predominate, but the struggle in the countryside is also indispensable.

Looking at it from the Latin American point of view, how do you view the revolutionary process?

To begin with, we believe that a revolution—triumphant, that is—in one country alone is practically impossible. This doesn't mean, of course, that we favor waiting for the right circumstances to appear on a continental scale before launching revolutionary action in each country. However, we are of the opinion that it would be extremely difficult for the social revolution to triumph in one country alone. We believe that the struggle will be on a continental scale.

Do you agree with Che's proposition that two, three, many Vietnams should be created?

We agree with it completely. We believe that, for several years now, it has been the basic contribution for a revolutionary worldwide strategy. We advocate close solidarity on a continental scale, and we believe that the day is not far off when this can be brought about more effectively. We believe this to be a part of the world revolutionary struggle, with which it is closely linked, and we consider ourselves to be part of the national liberation movement—and as part of it, we advocate that those movements lead to and culminate in social liberation. We believe in socialism, and we believe in Cuba and in Vietnam.



VOICES OF REVOLUTION

U.S STOCKPILING THIRD WORLD MINERALS

The U.S. stockpiles certain raw materials that are considered necessary for the maintenance of the U.S. economy. The Department of Defense chooses those minerals to be stockpiled according to their importance to the U.S. economy and their scarcity. The accompanying chart lists the most crucial of these resources, and which African countries produce them for the World Market.

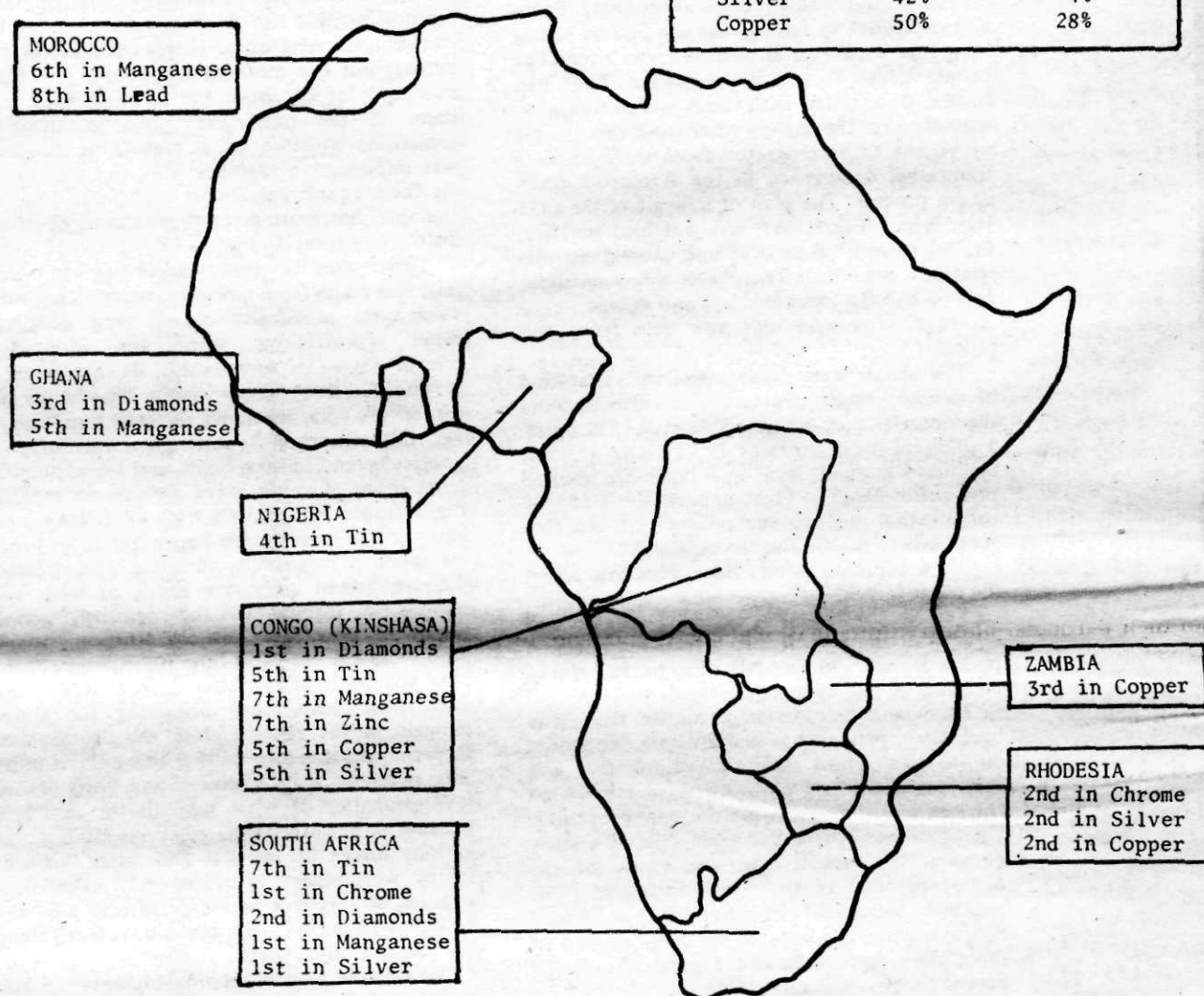
As the figures show, the United States depends on the countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa for many strategic resources. Therefore the U.S. government stockpiles large amounts of them to protect itself from situations in which access to a particular resource might be cut off. This also means that the U.S. is in a position to cut off the importation of a commodity like Congolese copper if it wanted to, because there is so much held in reserve. Such an action would have devastating effects on mineral-exporting economies like that of the Congo. Thus stockpiling gives the U.S. political leverage on less developed countries which are heavily dependent on their mineral exports.

The accompanying chart and map show the Third World sources of the top nine minerals out of the 75 which the U.S. Government stockpiles (the 75 resources are ranked according to their importance and domestic scarcity as determined by the Department of Defense).

STRATEGIC RESOURCES STOCKPILED BY THE UNITED STATES

Mineral	Percentage from Asia, Africa, and Latin Amer.	Percentage from Africa
Tin	97%	15%
Chrome	97%	66%
Tungsten	44%	5%
Diamonds	99%	98%
Manganese	85%	25%
Lead	18%	5%
Zinc	12%	4%
Silver	42%	4%
Copper	50%	28%

African Countries and Their Ranking in World Production of Strategic Minerals



NEWS FROM INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

RHODESIA

November 11, 1970 was the fifth anniversary of Rhodesia's unilateral break with Great Britain. The British government continues to view this regime as illegal although it has been allowed to exist for five years. During this time economic sanctions have burdened the economy, much to the disadvantage of the black Rhodesians. Their living standards have fallen in the past decade. Eventually, these sanctions will leave Rhodesia in an even poorer economic position than before British rule. As the situation stands presently, no consideration will be given to ending the sanctions before what the British government considers to be a successful negotiated settlement occurs. Signifi-

cantly, Rhodesia's deteriorating economic condition places Great Britain in a very advantageous position at the bargaining table.

Rhodesia's First Bantustan

Rhodesia is currently developing its first "bantustan," a peculiar African variety of the ghetto reservation in the Midland area called Silobela. This entire area from Que Que to the arid Zambezi Valley has been surveyed and should be ready to receive thousands of African families over a three-year period. By moving the Africans from their former homelands, the government can readily establish white settlements in these areas. This is only one policy designed to decrease African land holdings in Rhodesia.

* "TO BE EDUCATED by an *
* oppressor and not understand, *
* thoroughly, the purposes of *
* that education, and to teach *
* with that lack of knowledge *
* is to use a constructive *
* process for destruction; the *
* process has a sweet taste *
* but the substance is lethal *
* as poison". *



(CONTINUED FROM PG. 16)

THE TANGANYIKAN AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION government must go back to the traditional African custom of land holding. That is to say, a member of society will be entitled to a piece of land on condition that he uses it. Unconditional, or "freehold," ownership of land (which leads to speculation and parasitism) must be abolished. We must regain our former attitude of mind — our traditional

African socialism — and apply it to the new societies we are building today. T.A.N.U. has pledged itself to make socialism the basis of its policy in every field. The people of Tanganyika have given us their mandate to carry out that policy, by electing a T.A.N.U. government to lead them. So the government can be relied upon to introduce only legislation which is in harmony with socialist principles.

Just as the elder, in our former society, was respected for his age and his service to the community, so, in our modern society, this respect for age and service will be preserved. And in the same way as the "rich" elder's apparent wealth was really only held by him in trust for his people, so, today, the apparent extra wealth which certain positions of leadership may bring to the individuals who fill them, can be theirs only insofar as it is a necessary aid to the carrying out of their duties. It is a "tool" entrusted to them for the benefit of the people they serve. It is not "theirs" personally; and they may not use any part of it as a means of accumulating more for their own benefit, nor as an "insurance" against the day when they no longer hold the same positions. That would be to betray the people who entrusted it to them. If they serve the community while they can, the community must look after them when they are no longer able to serve it.

In tribal society, the individuals or the families within a tribe were "rich" or "poor" according to whether the whole tribe was rich or poor. If the tribe prospered, all the members of the tribe shared in its prosperity. Tanganyika, today, is a poor country. The standard of living of the masses of our people is shamefully low. But if every man and woman in the country takes up the challenge and works to the limit of his or her ability for the good of the whole society, Tanganyika will prosper, and that prosperity will be shared by all her people. But it must be shared.

The true socialist may not exploit his fellows. So that if the members of any group within our society are going to argue that, because they happen to be contributing more to the national income than some other groups, they must therefore take for themselves a greater share of the profits of their own industry than they actually need; and if they insist on this in spite of the fact that it would mean reducing their group's contribution to the general income and thus slowing down the rate at which the whole community can benefit, then that group is exploiting (or trying to exploit) its fellow human beings. It is displaying a capitalist attitude of mind.

THERE ARE bound to be certain groups which, by virtue of the "market value" of their particular industry's products, will contribute more to the nation's income than others. But the others may actually be producing goods or services which are of equal, or greater, intrinsic value though they do not happen to command such a high artificial value. For example, the food produced by the peasant farmer is of greater social value than the diamonds mined at Mwadui. But the mineworkers of Mwadui could claim, quite correctly, that their labor was yielding greater financial profits to the community than that of the farmers. If, however, they went on to demand that they should therefore be given most of that extra profit for themselves, and that no share of it should be spent on helping the farmers, they would be potential capitalists!

As with groups, so with individuals. There are certain skills, certain qualifications, which command a higher rate of salary for their possessors than others. But, here again, the true socialist will demand only that return for his skilled work which he knows to be a fair one in proportion to the wealth or poverty

of the whole society to which he belongs. He will not, unless he is a would-be capitalist, attempt to blackmail the community by demanding a salary equal to that paid to his counterpart in some far wealthier society.

European socialism was born of the agrarian revolution and the industrial revolution which followed it. The former created the "landed" and the "landless" classes in society; the latter produced the modern capitalist and the industrial proletariat. These two revolutions planted the seeds of conflict within society, and not only was European socialism born of that conflict, but its apostles sanctified the conflict itself into a philosophy. Civil war was no longer looked upon as something evil, or something unfortunate, but as something good and necessary. As prayer is to Christianity or to Islam, so civil war ("class war") is to the European version of socialism — a means inseparable from the end. Each becomes the basis of a whole way of life. The European socialist cannot think of his socialism without its father — capitalism.

Brought up in tribal socialism, I must say I find this contradiction quite intolerable. It gives capitalism a philosophical status which it neither claims nor deserves. For it virtually says "Without capitalism, and the conflict which capitalism creates within society, there can be no socialism." African socialism, on the other hand, did not have the "benefit" of the agrarian revolution or the industrial revolution. It did not start from the existence of conflicting "classes" in society. Indeed I doubt if the equivalent for the word "class" exists in any indigenous African language; for language describes the ideas of those who speak it, and the idea of "class" or "caste" was non-existent in African society.

THE FOUNDATION, and the objective, of African socialism is the extended family. The true African socialist does not look on one class of men as his brethren and another as his natural enemies. He does not form an alliance with the "brethren" for the extermination of the "non-brethren." He rather regards all men as his brethren — as members of his ever extending family. *Ujamaa*, then, or "familyhood," describes our socialism. It is opposed to capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of the exploitation of man by man; and it is equally opposed to doctrinaire socialism, which seeks to build its happy society on a philosophy of inevitable conflict between man and man.

We in Africa have no more need of being "converted" to socialism than we have of being "taught" democracy. Both are rooted in our own past — in the traditional society which produced us. Modern African socialism can draw from its traditional heritage the recognition of "society" as an extension of the basic family unit. But it can no longer confine the idea of the social family within the limits of the tribe, nor, indeed, of the nation. For no true African socialist can look at a line drawn on a map and say "The people on this side of that line are my brothers, but those who happen to live on the other side of it can have no claim on me." Every individual on this continent is his brother.

It was in the struggle to break the grip of colonialism that we learned the need for unity. We came to recognize that the same socialist attitude of mind which, in the tribal days, gave to every individual the security that comes of belonging to a widely extended family, must be preserved within the still wider society of the nation. But we should not stop there. Our recognition of the family to which we all belong must be extended yet further — beyond the tribe, the community, the nation, or even the continent — to embrace the whole society of mankind.

COUP IN UGANDA

S.D.

On January 25, 1971 the military, led by Gen. Idi Amin, overthrew the government of President Milton Obote. Obote consolidated his power in 1966 when he stripped Kabaka of his monarchical powers and brought the Baganda peoples into the Ugandan government. It had been suspected since 1966 that Amin was planning to challenge Obote's rule.

The grievances placed against Obote's administration suggest that the coup was an attempt to preserve and re-establish the positions of the wealthier classes established under the colonial regime and maintained under neo-colonialism after independence. Some actions which created much dissent among the privileged and middle-classes were:

- 1) Obote's enactment of a "Common Man's Charter" which attempted to redistribute national income among the classes.
- 2) The disbanding of the two-party system in favor of the ruling Uganda People's Congress.
- 3) Nationalization of many businesses in Uganda.

Obote's leaning toward the East as opposed to the West, was also a source of disapproval in some quarters. He has accepted arms and aid from China and Soviet Russia. Ugandan troops are trained in Russia and Czechoslovakia. Before the coup Obote opposed Prime Minister Heath on the British arms sales to racist South Africa, threatened to cut off British imports (40% of Uganda's total import) and suggested that East Africa will soon come under Russia and China's spheres of influence, thereby displacing the British.

Now Obote is in exile in Tanzania. Although Amin considered the coup a logical result of popular dissatisfaction with the Obote administration, it remains questionable to what extent the coup emerged from the mounting tensions from the traditional tribal frictions, the jealous military or persons in government positions who hoped to enhance their standing under a new government. Surely, all of these factors somehow came into play. In view of heightened class strife resulting from Obote's socialism, it becomes apparent that the coup placed the elites who benefited from the neo-colonial situation were placed in an extremely advantageous position with Obote's removal.



DEATH TO THE OPPRESSOR



THOSE WHO ARM OUR ENEMIES
ARE OUR ENEMIES