

BLACK RAP

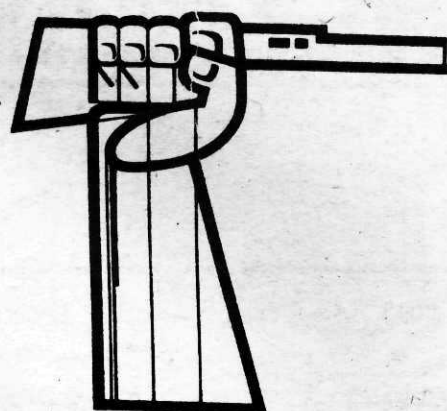
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Black Students for Black Action of Lake Forest College early October, 1970

IN THE SPIRIT OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND BROTHERHOOD



oppression at home is undeniably
linked with oppression abroad
at home we wage battle for
liberation, and abroad we send our
love and support - we salute the
liberation movements of oppressed
brothers and sisters everywhere.



"The United States is unalterably opposed to apartheid!"

Oh come on Richard...not as 'unalterably opposed' as you
are to Cuba, or China, or the Black Panther Party, or
socialism, or racial equality, or young people, or stu-
dents, or

WE SHALL WIN!
AMANDLA
NGAWETHU!
POWER TO THE
PEOPLE!

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

PLENARY SESSION

The plenary session of the Revolutionary people's constitutional convention was a triumph for the progressive forces in America and a victory for the people. To understand the import of this victory, one must understand why a new constitutional convention was needed in the first place.

First of all, the present constitution, the supreme law of the land, the ultimate authority, this document has never served the interests of the masses of the people in this country. Contrary to what many people believe, the constitution was not a revolutionary document. As Huey pointed out in the Keynote address, the Declaration of Independence was the true revolutionary document. In this document, people's basic rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness were affirmed, people's basic equality were affirmed, people's duty to throw off oppressive government and to institute new government was also affirmed. At this point let me say that even if the present constitution had been enacted with the notion in mind of guaranteeing and protecting the aforementioned basic human rights, it has failed miserably, a new constitution would still be in order. We know however, that when the constitution was drafted, many of those who drew up the document were slaveholders. They were not concerned with man's basic equality, but rather with protecting the interests of the small propertied class which they represented.

In the years that followed, the constitution accomplished exactly what it was designed to, the protection of the property owners and capitalists at the expense of virtually everyone else. In almost any instance in which the constitution covered the rights of the masses, that portion of the constitution was handily ignored. (When was the last time you ever heard of a nigger being tried by a jury of his peers?). It is not enough to say let us begin to enforce the constitution as it is, for the document is inadequate to insure freedom to the diverse masses of this nation. As Huey P. Newton also said in his address to the convention, "America is a very different country today than it was at the time

when the present constitution was drafted."

The economic system that was open then, is closed now. Land, which was plentiful then to those with the courage and the wherewithal to withstand the defensive onslaught of the indigenous Americans (Indians), is land the people will never get hold of until we have the courage and the wherewithal to take it back. The present constitution is set up to inhibit change, particularly fundamental change. Fundamental change is the only hope the people have of liberating themselves from oppression. So the need for a new constitution is clear; the people need a constitution that guarantees their basic rights and provides for their present day needs. The purpose of the plenary session was to determine the content and range of the new constitution. Though it was sponsored by the Black Panther Party, the convention included many, many progressive organizations. There were many diverse interests, ranging from women's rights, to liberation for homosexuals. Understand that in the new society oppression of every variety, or oppression directed against any group is to be eradicated.

To many people, the content of the new constitution will seem reformist. It is not. The new constitution is to be set in a socialist structure. The directives which affect their lives will come from the people themselves. This is revolutionary. Moreover, a People's Constitution will provide an overall framework and structure to the revolutionary movement. It will be the concrete objective for which we strive and with which we will challenge the collective sovereignty of the pigs who now hold power.

The plenary session was held in spite of tremendous opposition, and in the face of the threats of Police Commissioner Rizzo (Bozo). This is but a small example of the combined power of the people.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
DEATH TO FASCISM IN ALL FORMS!!
Gerald Newell & Florine Johnson

WE WILL HAVE A NEW CONSTITUTION AND LIBERTY
OR REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE AND LIBERATION



(The following is an excerpt from an essay "On The Ideology Of The Black Panther Party", June, 1970.)

The Working class that we must deal with today shows little resemblance to the Working Class of Marx's day. In the days of its infancy, insecurity, and instability, the Working Class was very revolutionary and carried forward the struggle against the bourgeoisie. But, through long and bitter struggles, the Working Class has made some inroads into the Capitalist system, carving out a comfortable niche for itself. The advent of Labor Unions, Collective Bargaining, the Union Shop, Social Security, and other special protective legislation has castrated the Working Class, transforming it into the bought-off Labor Movement—a most un-revolutionary, reformist minded movement that is only interested in higher wages and more job security. The Labor Movement has abandoned all basic criticism of the Capitalist system of exploitation itself. The George Meanys, Walter Reuthers, and A. Phillip Randolphs may correctly be labeled traitors to the proletariat as a whole, but they accurately embody and reflect the outlook and aspirations of the Working class. The Communist Party of the United States of America, at its poorly attended meetings, may raise the roof with its proclamations of being the Vanguard of the Working Class, but the Working Class itself looks upon the Democratic Party as the legitimate vehicle of its political salvation.

As a matter of fact, the Working Class of our time has become a new industrial elite, resembling more the chauvanistic elites of the selfish craft and trade guilds of Marx's time than the toiling masses ground down in abject poverty.....

The flames of revolution, which once raged like an inferno in the heart of the Working Class, in our day have dwindled into a flickering candle light, only powerful enough to bounce the Working Class back and forth like a ping pong ball between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party every four years, never once even glancing at the alternatives on the left.

—Eldridge Cleaver
Minister of Information
Black Panther Party

IS THAT BLACK ENOUGH FOR YOU ?

COTTON COMES TO HARLEM

-Russell Jackson

Cotton Comes to Harlem is a very funny movie. Cotton Comes to Harlem is also a very destructive movie. It is very much a part of the psychological warfare being perpetrated on the minds of Black people by the mass media, and for this reason, its destructive potential far outweighs its humorous nature. Many of the characters, circumstances, and scenes portrayed in the film are indeed very much a part of the life style in the Black community, from the hustling preacher to the head-whipping Black cops. But these characters, along with many of the situations we laughed so hard at in the movie, are a function of a life style in our communities which is the result and reaction of being oppressed and exploited.

True, there are many things about a colonized people that are tragically funny, but when a movie is made that glamorizes and glorifies these things, we ask, who was the movie made for, the master or the slave? It seems tragic that one slave can find so hilarious the kinds of things that slavery makes his fellow slaves resort to, that is, stealing from each other, making deals with the master, ad nauseum.

It is quite obvious that the mass media is going to make a mint from the demands for greater Black participation in films, etc (Ossie Davis directed the movie.). And as long as comedies can be made about the plight of Black people, the media is subtly programing us psychologically to be a little happier with our lot. Although Cotton Comes to Harlem was filmed on location, it was sure relieving (although not realistic) that we did not have to see one rat bite a baby, one dope addict kill another brother for a fix, and not one fifteen year old kid laying in the gutter of 125th Street from an overdose. I wonder if we would have laughed

so hard had these harsh realities of our existence been presented on the screen.

Of course, one can say that the movie was an escape, and it was made for enjoyment, not for political purposes. And I would argue, perhaps we see the media as a source of enjoyment, but you had better believe that the controllers of the media see it as much of a source of political indoctrination towards the American way of life as a July 4th "Honor America Day". And, if we don't realize this very soon, and work to combat the present message of the media, and work to make it a source of realistic political indoctrination for Black people, we are doomed to a struggle by the few. The media is one of the major moulders of the minds of this country, and as long as Black people relate to it on the basis of the pleasure principle, our minds will continue to be blown. And as long as we can see movies such as Cotton Comes to Harlem - we can laugh a little longer, and our kids will cry a lot later, but they will inevitably have to cry.

*Brother Jackson has presented a very deep and realistic analysis of this latest ploy to dupe Blacks (and Whites) into thinking that Blacks are getting more and more of a piece of the action. Himes' (who authored the original text which served as the basis for this movie) works of the 1930's and 40's are no longer realistic today (we can hardly believe that the brothers and sisters of Harlem are today so easily duped out of \$87,000 for a back-to-Africa ruse), and should not be portrayed as such. If Black people fall for this trick by the mass media, it certainly denotes a regression to further psychological and social enslavement rather than a progression to positive and total liberation. So, in the final analysis, the answer to the question headlining this review is an unquestionable and unequivocal NO!!!

-ED.

CUT LOSE THE JUICE /

TO THE NIGGERS ON THE BLOCK, WHO FIRST TOLD ME ABOUT FAST EDDIE, AND TO BOBBY SEALE WHO MADE FAST EDDIE A REVOLUTIONARY

They fried fast Eddie last night
The cat that said he was too bad
to die
But we all heard that big sissy
cry
Just before they pulled the juice
He broke enough to get Tony a
deuce.

"Unstrap my wrists guards, I'm
dying of thirst
Unstrap my wrists guards, let Joe
Joe go first"
Then he saw his lawyer--"May-
be a reprieve, maybe they blew
a fuse
What? No reprieve and the chair's
in good order?
Call back the guards, I want some
more water
Father Brown, Father Brown,
please save me, please say you
will
I'm a good man father, I never
meant to kill"
Father Brown walked slowly over
to the chair,
Pulled out his book and read off a
prayer
"Forgive him Lord, he knew not
what he did"
"Can that crap father, don't let
em burn the kid"

Meanwhile, back on death row:
"You hear that Joe?
That can't be Eddie, he said he
wasn't gonna make no noise"
"It was Eddie, I recognized his
voice"
Now we all knew Eddie, we all
heard his plans
He vowed he'd go like a natural
man

Then there was a scream--and a
very low groan--
Everything was quiet, when the
lights came back on.

Well today's the first, at ten I go
Now it's my turn to be the star
of the show
When I split there'll be plenty
of action
The spirit of the people will be
the main attraction
'Cause I know they ain't gonna
let the kid burn
This whole joint will go if it comes
my turn.

I just had my supper--it was sup-
posed to be my last
Tony threw up his and Joe Joe
ate too fast
But I downed peas and potatoes,
a large T-bone steak
Strawberry custard and roast
pheasant under glass
And I didn't let a single crumb
slip past.
And when the pigs called for se-
conds and stood around looking
I said "give it to me raw, chumps,
the chair'll do the cooking"
Then I laid down on my bunk to
have myself a smoke
And listen to the hacks tell some
dirty jokes

When my mind drifted to my woman
I hear she's threatening to turn off
the juice
Geel I'm glad I didn't cut that
hoe loose.
She took me through hell for a
year or more
But her mind did a turn around when

the hacks hit our door
She raised a .357 and dared em
to come in
She said the crib was hers to give
up or defend.
I'm glad I shot that capitalist
DEAD
I told him to give up his life or
give up his bread
But he hollered for the cops and
just wouldn't cease
So I shot him six times with my
blue steel piece.
I'm extra glad I killed that cop
'Cause he shot at me first, but
I wasn't about to stop!

Well those are memories, long be-
fore that trial
Now it's my turn to walk that long
last mile
What? I hear footsteps approach-
ing--someone's coming around
Who's that cat in that odd looking
black suit and that funny looking
collar band
And what's that he's carrying in his
hand? A short ice book?
Oh! It's you Father Brown
I don't know why you came around
I don't wanna hear about resur-
rection, Good Friday and Easter
Take that book and ram it up your
KIESTA!
Go away Father! You put anger
in my heart.
I hear the gates opening--the
show's about to start.
I got up off my bunk, rubbed my
head, stroked my chin
But on my face there's still a
grin.
I went to the next cell to say good-



"IF HE'S BOUND UP TIGHT, WE'LL HOLD
BACK THE NIGHT AND THERE WON'T BE
NO LIGHT FOR DAYS!"

bye to Teddy.
"Let go of my arm mundymucker!
I told you I was ready."
Then I stopped to give my regards
to all death row
See you later Rabbit! See you later
Joel

As we proceeded down the hard
cold floor
Still I laughed, still I rapped, still
I'm cool
The warden said to the Chaplain--
"This man's a fool"
He'd got the words half out his
mouth, when we all heard a bang!
I saw my woman with all the gang.
The fireworks came from M16's,
357 Magnums and 45's
They told the pigs to give up the
keys or give up their lives
And when the warden unlocked the

gates
The alarm that went off was just
a little too late.
'Cause Joe Joe and Red had blew
his brains out with an M16
And the way my woman lit that jive
Chaplain up was plenty mean!

Them crazy niggers was shooting
and the walls was falling
And in the back of my mind I
heard these words calling
"If he's bound up tight
We'll hold back the night
And there won't be no light for
days"
And all DEATH ROW was lit up
in a blaze.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Afeni Shakur (N.Y. 21)

COMMITTEE MOVES

Black Student Recruitment Committee

-Deborah Fullwood

Three black students from the freshman class were interviewed on September 25, to ascertain their early reactions to the black community of LFC. Sister Ruthe Brock of Kansas City, Missouri, Brother Gilbert Ivey of Compton, California, and Brother Bruce Prince of Los Angeles were interviewed.

The three heard about and applied to LFC by different manners. In Ruthe's case, she heard about LFC through Linda DeGraffenreid Herndon, class of 1969, and through her high school counselor. Neither the Admissions office nor BSBA's Committee on Black Student Recruitment played an active role in her decision. Bruce and Gilbert, however, received more attention from Spike Gummere of the Admissions office and the BSBA committee. (The latter wrote several letters to each of them.) The financial aid received tipped the scale favorably in Gilbert's case.

New Student Week brought differing responses. Gilbert felt that overall, it was not informative but, merely helped him to meet the black students. Ruthe thought it to be informative along with helping her to meet the blacks. "Just like school," but "the black people were very, very together" was Bruce's comments. They all agreed that the pre-registration session was necessary and helpful. However, Bruce added that it could have been more organized.

Ruthe and Bruce thought the atmosphere of the black community to be "friendly and helpful," having "a big, happy family attitude." Gilbert, however, could feel the "inner strife" with the "grapevine being very apparent," yet, on the whole, the community is "together and gets things done."

Varying attitudes were expressed concerning the role of the freshman class. Ruthe commented that there was room for freshmen participation in all aspects of the community. But she warned that the freshmen should not become overly-involved from the get. Gilbert and Bruce felt that the freshman class "must first get themselves together," and "organize immediately," but not with the idea of forming a faction in BSBA. Bruce went on further to say that before the freshmen decide upon any action they should first "check out the other classes thoroughly to see what is really going down."



LET'S GET ON THE CASE....

NEW BLACK FACULTY

F.Howard Benson

It all started three years ago, Black students began concerted effort to attract and obtain Black professors to supplement the all-White Lake Forest Faculty. Setbacks, there were many of them, along with frustrations, and for a time it seemed as if the entire venture was worthless. The dedicated students, however, never abandoned their pursuit. The outcome: there are four new Black members of the faculty, full and part-time.

Miss. Eula Powers is a biology lab instructor, Miss Pauline Slaughter teaches American government and Sub-Saharan African history, the Philosophy department has added Brother Calvin Stewart to its staff, while a course in educational psychology will be taught by Mrs. Doris Haynes. Except for Mrs. Haynes, who could not be reached, the new Black faculty members were asked questions, informally, concerning BSBA, Black Studies, and the concept of the Black review board. This article was not intended to be a person-by-person interview but rather a summarizing of opinions and feelings on these topics.

On the subject of BSBA and Black organizations in general, all three respondents had favorable comments. They stressed the indispensable products of communication and fellowship that an organization such as BSBA could promote. With the present state of world affairs and the present chaos on U.S. campuses, Blacks must be able to solve their own problems without the inhibiting influence of White people, and simultaneously learning to overcome hangups and prejudices still harbored by Blacks.

None of the new Black professors felt offended by the review board, a committee of Black students who interview prospective candidates and attempt to judge them for their suitability, non-academically, to Black Lake Forest students. Sister Eula Powers actually

enjoyed the session, because she felt fortunate to be able to observe how the students were interested in their welfare and the candidate was also able to meet some of the students. A recent graduate of the University of Illinois, Sister Powers can readily sympathize with Black students and their constant battle with grades, professors, and social commitments.

When quizzed on whether there would be possible enjoyment in teaching on an all-Black campus, none of the three offered a similar answer. According to Dr. Stewart, as well as he could imagine, the color of the students would probably make little difference to him. Due to the fact that the question was purely hypothetical, Sister Slaughter believed herself unqualified to answer. Mrs. Powers adopted the philosophy that students are students, with common needs and desires, although she does enjoy working with Black students.

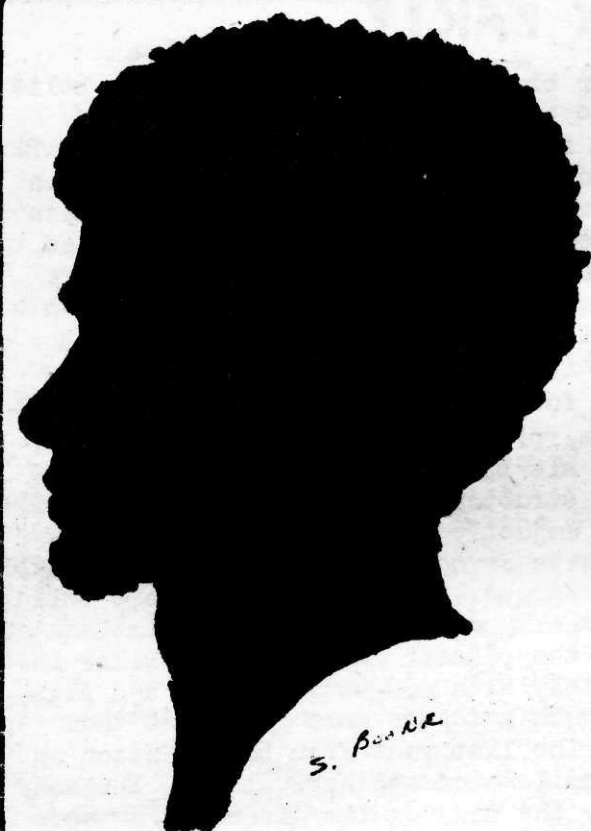
On the other hand, when I asked these people questions concerning Black faculty involvement with Black students, the replies shared a singular thought that, yes, Black adults should intermingle and advise the students. The greater the involvement between them, socially, academically and politically, the more beneficial will be for all Blacks.

Perhaps Mrs. Slaughter best summarized the answers to this inquiry by stating that faculty and administrative personnel and students should view themselves as one Black community. In this community, all members must aid one another in an attempt to attain immediate and long-range goals.

The issue which produced the most provocative comments was Black Studies. Powers thought that Black Studies are not in the full sense of the term, what they claim to be, since Black students through life experiences, know the essence of these courses. For example, while many Blacks could not battle off psychological terminology, we can



Black Studies



GABRIEL PROSSER

Gabriel Prosser was the organizer of the first of three major slave uprisings in the first half of the 19th century. Prosser's skill as an organizer could be seen not only in his remarkable strategy, but also in the large numbers of people involved in his plans. After careful planning, Richmond, Virginia (where the slaves outnumbered the whites by a four to one margin - 32,000 slaves, 8,000 whites) was chosen as the site of the rebellion.

Prosser planned the revolt for the end of August, reasoning that there would be plenty of food to eat at the harvest time, and that his people would thus be spared any shortage of important supplies. He intended to kill all slave owners, but to spare the French and the Quakers (whom he mistakenly thought would be sympathetic to his cause), elderly women and children. Eventually, he hoped that the remaining 300,000 slaves in Virginia would follow his lead and take over the entire state.

The plans laid, it was decided to meet at the Old Brook Swamp outside of Richmond on the last night of August, and to martial forces there for the attack on the city. A severe rainstorm, however, made it impossible for many of the slaves to assemble at the planned rendezvous, necessitating a postponement of plans. Before the slaves could reassemble, the plot was betrayed by a pair of slaves who did not wish their master killed.

Panic quickly swept Richmond, and martial law was declared. Most slaves implicated in the conspiracy were rounded up and hanged, at least until it became apparent that this continuing procedure would soon do away with the entire slave population, less severe sentences were then meted out by the courts.

Prosser himself was captured in the hold of the schooner Mary when it docked at Norfolk. He was carried back to Richmond in chains. There he was interrogated by the governor, but refused to divulge any information on the nature of his plans or the identities of his co-revolutionaries. Prosser was hanged on October 7, 1800.

In summation, Gabriel Prosser was a very hip and serious brother. Not too terribly aware of history, and not guided by Marxism-Leninism or any such theories, this brother was nonetheless very much a revolutionary. Quite impressed with the

plight and suffering of his people, and endowed with the humanity, aggressiveness, and determination of a freedom fighter, Prosser gathered into his hands the power to mould history, and gain the freedom of his people; with gun in hand and the people at his side, Gabriel Prosser correctly set an example for all Black people no longer willing to wallow in the humility and degradation of slavery, and properly moved to eliminate collective suffering. That this beautiful brother will not have died in vain, and to the end that we will not allow bourgeois historians to "write him up" as merely another martyr, we, the children and grandchildren of Prosser, must take heed from his unselfish example, and with the correct tools in hand - move to seize our total and complete freedom.

-Geraldine Burt



BLACK PERSPECTIVES

COMMITTEE MOVES

(cont'd from page 4)

relate how the White man instills inferiority complexes into some of our people. She went on to say that courses should be established whereby Blacks and Whites can interact, expose mutual prejudices and problems and then teach each other. People should be known as people, not as an entire race.

The idea that Black Studies were not completely sufficient was evident to Sister Slaughter also, but her reasoning took a different slant. Sister Slaughter flatly stated, that in order for a Black Education program to be created, "It must be able to equip Blacks to function in the world as they analyze it." In her opinion, no education for Blacks such as this exist; Black Studies should be what Blacks want to learn.

Over in Reid Hall, Dr. Stewart believed that many Black courses were both relevant and integral for the education of Black scholars. As an example, he endorsed the course entitled "The Psychology of Oppression", which explores techniques used to dehumanize colonized peoples. Brother Stewart went on to explain that Whites should not be barred from a Black Studies program because many of them are ignorant of the true nature of Black people. The courses should not, he emphasized, consist of a hate-the-White-man framework.

These have been merely a few expressions of the opinions of some of the new Black faculty members, and does not by any means represent the total sum of what they have on their minds concerning these topics.

TUTORIAL COMMITTEE REPORT

Deborah Frisby

This year we want to make the tutorial project a much more effective program than what it was last year. Geared to this end, we want to incorporate arts and crafts, drama, Black history and academic tutoring into the program.

One of our major problems is the lack of space in the Zion community center. Anyone with ideas as far as how to rearrange the space we have to better utilize it, please contact me, room 160 Nollen, or box 250 (we have floor plans).

Because of this expansion of the program we need more tutors. Please contact Willie Phillips or Becky Blakely if interested.

Power to the People

RIGHT ON TO THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

I am continually amazed at the amount of criticism and contempt that the Black Panther Party receives from some black people. I think this is due mainly to the misinformation that the People receive through the pig news media. They are led to believe that the Panthers are all crazy fools who just want to kill honkies. All of this is of course UNTRUE. Any black person that sits down and checks out the Panthers' Ten Point Platform and Program would be astonished to find that it is based on what we as Black People are always thinking about -- SURVIVAL.

In their platform, the Panthers declare that they want freedom for black people. There is no right as precious and as unalterably denied black people as freedom! We have prayed for it and to the unaware, We Still Ain't Free! The program of Self-Defense adopted by the BPP is a clear example of their profound ability to use common sense -- it is, the 8th Wonder of the World!

The Panthers' program also includes the desire for full employment, decent housing, and relevant education for black people. They want an end to the brutality and murder by pigs of black people which occurs everyday, everywhere in America. They want black men exempt from military service because they rightfully feel that black men should not be forced to fight for a country that doesn't protect black people. They have also stressed the need for the enforcement of the U.S. constitution in so far as black and minority peoples are concerned. An action-oriented group, the BPP set in motion the proceedings for a new constitution to be written; one that will serve black people as well as minority peoples.

The first sentence of point #10 summarizes their basic philosophy: "We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, and peace." They request no more than we as a People are entitled to, and is it



so hard for black people (you and me) to believe that we are entitled to SURVIVAL?

Aside from what they put on paper, the BPP members are constantly putting their lives in jeopardy in their struggle for the liberation of oppressed peoples. For unselfish reasons, the Panthers place only total liberty before death. Admiration for and the determination to follow is the only thing that the BPP should receive from the People. I don't blame them for taking nothing more!

Most surprising is how anybody, black or white, can sit back and watch the injustices by the pig structure against the BPP. Panthers are jailed unjustly for long periods of time with excessive or no bail, and usually on fake or untrue charges. When the charges are valid; they are usually minor, e.g., auto violations or disturbing the peace. Panthers are killed indiscriminately with no justification and pigs guilty of such acts are more glorified than punished. The list runs from Bobby Hutton on down to Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. The many attempts by the pigs on the lives of Panthers are numerous.

The BPP offices are constantly being raided -- the kind of raid which looks like an army assault (the pigs constantly exerting the power to overkill). Look at the recent raids in Philadelphia where the Panthers were forced to strip, and the many raids on the Chicago and California offices. In every case, the Panthers have been condemned for defending what was theirs with guns just like everyone else would defend their homes.

As a black person, with pride and no reservations, I say -- RIGHT ON TO THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND RIGHT ON TO ALL YOU HIP BROTHERS AND SISTERS WHO WILL FOLLOW THEIR REVOLUTIONARY EXAMPLE!

*Subscribe to the BPP paper and find out the real truth.

RIGHT ON!

THE CRIPPLED EAGLE

John Woodford
Editor
MUMMAH SPEAKS

Through a combination of ignorance on the part of many youths and lack of loyalty on the part of military-industrial rulers, the United States faces the possibility of getting a volunteer army.

There are many things wrong with the draft. Young men are not equally exposed to the chance of "serving their country". And medical and civil rights are systematically denied all U.S. soldiers.

The obvious and unjust privileges given in varying degrees to white soldiers is what sparked the movement protesting the draft.

But to protest the denial of Freedom, Justice and Equality to all nationalities is one thing. To foolishly seek to abolish the draft in favor of a higher-paid volunteer mercenary army is quite another.

Such an army will allow the Pentagon to avoid the showdown it now faces with the rank-and-file soldiers who are organizing to win democratic rights from the top brass.

They are attacking the dictatorial army bosses who are currently allowing white racist American Nazi Party and Klansmen junior officers to set the different nationalities brawling, maiming and killing one another in a rising spiral of violence in the lower ranks.

This tactic is followed with calculation. It would be easy for the Pentagon to stop racial violence if it swiftly and fairly punished white racists. But it does not do that. Instead, it considers Klannish crimes and feelings as unchange-

able U.S. traditions.

In a recent PARADE MAGAZINE article (and this is a magazine through which the Pentagon - CIA propaganda is popularized for U.S. citizens) a "Professor" Stuart Altman of the President's Commission on an all Volunteer Armed Force claimed that 52 per cent of all U.S. citizens have been "convinced" that the draft should be ended.

The same methods have been used with equal energy and falsehood - to "convince" the public that a population explosion exists, and that this imaginary population explosion is as dangerous as a real nuclear explosion.

Altman says that to keep Blacks from reaching too influential totals in the army the pay must be raised so "underprivileged people would have to start competing against better qualified volunteers".

In other words the swelling ranks of white unemployed would have an army job ready while the Black unemployed would be even more bottled up in ghettos.

Altman lies openly when he says that Blacks have "an increasing opportunity to get better jobs" in the civilian world. The rising winds of unemployment blow these false words back in Altman's teeth.

Altman also reveals the opportunism upon which the government is basing this campaign in the privileged classes:

"The draft has required college graduates to perform contortions with their lives. They scramble to get into the Reserves, enter deferred

occupations, get married and have children, or do extended graduate work to avoid the military. We face a surplus of Ph.D's now in almost all areas. The draft has forced this over-education of a large segment of society."

This type of reasoning is typical of a mercenary scholar in a country on the decline economically, socially and politically.

How can a country with the run-down cities, bad foods, pollution, poor medical care, housing shortage, falling reading comprehension, increasing poverty, violence, crime and all of the other problems have a "surplus" of educated men and women "in all areas"?

Altman himself is proof of the country's under-education and the debased thinking that passes as U.S. scholarship. Clearly, his job is to sell the volunteer army to the world's most misinformed people, and particularly to appeal to college students or high school students who already know they can attend college.

"There will soon be enough angry unemployed whites to meet the the army's 2.5 million man needs," Altman is saying in effect.

Those who innocently endorse this volunteer army plan because they don't know better are like bleating sheep running behind a sick bald eagle.

The bald eagle may be crippled, but when he runs past the edge of a cliff he still may have the strength to keep himself in the air long enough to land somewhere.

As for the sheep running behind him -- they have only one way to go..

unite with them in a revolutionary fashion. I say "whatever your insecurities are" because, as we very well know sometimes our first instinct is to want to hit a homosexual in the mouth and want a woman to be quiet. We want to hit the homosexual in the mouth because we're afraid we might be homosexual; and we want to hit the woman or shut her up because we're afraid that she might castrate us, or take the nuts that we might not have to start with.

We must gain security in ourselves and therefore have respect and feelings for all oppressed people. We must not use the racist type attitude like the White racists use against people because they are Black and poor. Many times the poorest White person is the most racist, because he's afraid that he might lose something, or discover something that he doesn't have; you're some kind of threat to him. This kind of psychology is in operation when we view oppressed people and we're angry with them because of their particular kind of behavior, or their particular kind of deviation from the established norm.

Remember, we haven't established a revolutionary value system; we're only in the process of establishing it. I don't remember us ever constituting any value that said that a revolutionary must say offensive things towards homosexuals, or that a revolutionary should make sure that women do not speak out about their own particular kind of oppression. Matter of fact it's just the opposite: we say that we recognize the women's right to be free. We haven't said much about the homosexual at all, and we must relate to the homosexual movement because it's a real thing. And I know through reading and through my life experience, my observations, that homosexuals are not given freedom and liberty by anyone in the society. Maybe they might be the most oppressed people in the society.

wouldn't view as revolutionary. But there's nothing to say that a homosexual cannot also be a revolutionary.



SUPREME COMMANDER, BLACK PANTHER PARTY

And maybe I'm now injecting some of my prejudice by saying that "even a homosexual can be a revolutionary." Quite on the contrary, maybe a homosexual could be the most revolutionary.

When we have revolutionary conferences, rallies and demonstrations there should be full participation of the gay liberation movement and the women's liberation movement. Some groups might be more revolutionary than others. We shouldn't use the actions of a few to say that they're all reactionary or counterrevolutionary, because they're not.

We should deal with the factions just as we deal with any other group or party that claims to be revolutionary. We should try to judge somehow, whether they're operating sincerely, in a revolutionary fashion, from a really oppressed situation. (And we'll grant that if they're women, they're probably oppressed.) If they do things that are un-revolutionary or counter-revo-

just making honest mistakes. Friends are allowed to make mistakes. The enemy is not allowed to make mistakes because his whole existence is a mistake, and we suffer from it. But the women's liberation front and gay liberation front are our friends, they are potential allies, and we need as many allies as possible.

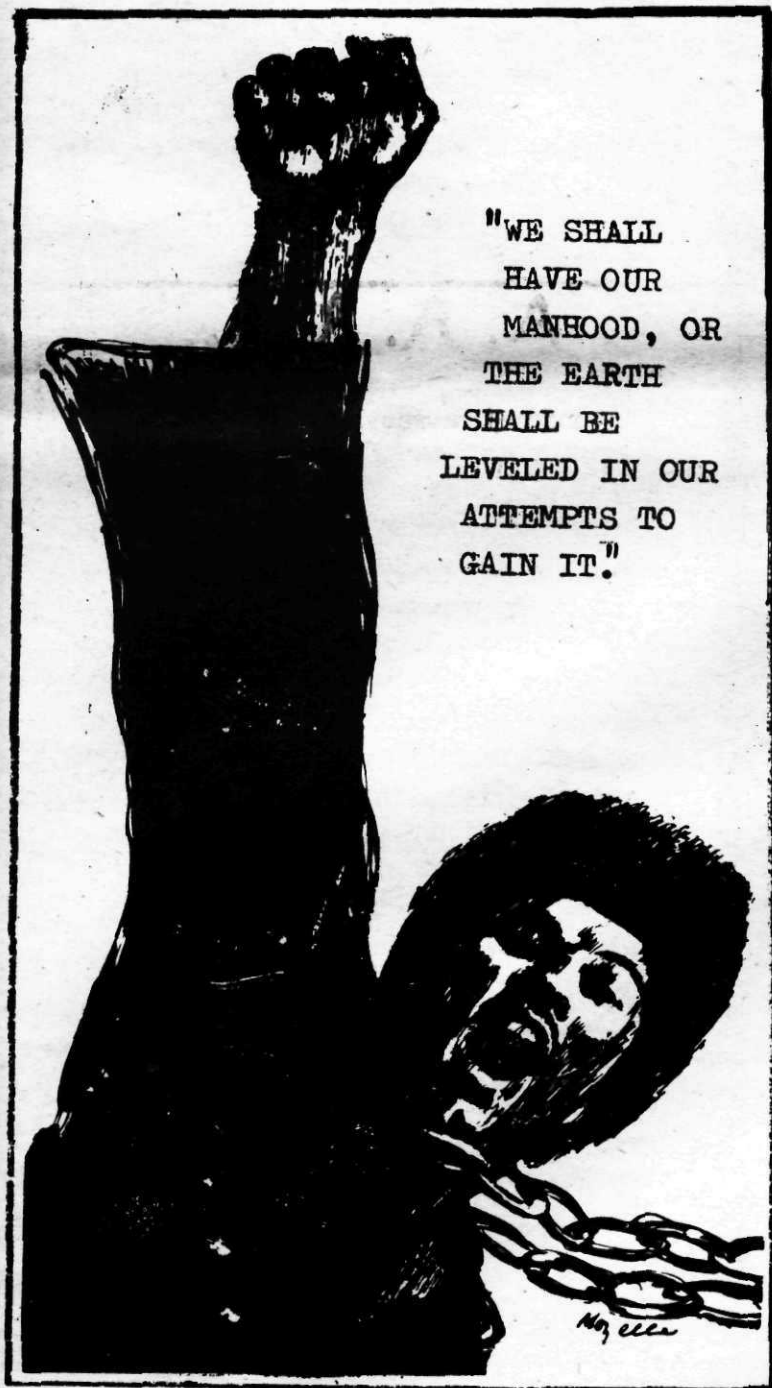
We should be willing to discuss the insecurities that many people have about homosexuality. When I say "insecurities", I mean the fear that they're some kind of threat to our manhood. I can understand this fear. Because of the long conditioning process which builds insecurity in the American male, homosexuality might produce certain hangups in us. I have hangups myself about male homosexuality. Where, on the other hand, I have no hangup about female homosexuality. And that's phenomena in itself. I think it's probably because male homosexuality is a threat to me, maybe and the females are no threat.

We should be careful about using those terms that might turn our friends off. The terms "faggot" and "punk" should be deleted from our vocabulary, and especially we should not attach names normally designed for homosexuals to men who are enemies of the people, such as Nixon or Mitchell. Homosexuals are not enemies of the people.

We should try to form a working coalition with the Gay liberation and Women's liberation groups. We must always handle social forces in the most appropriate manner. And this is really a significant part of the population both women, and the growing number of homosexuals that we have to deal with.

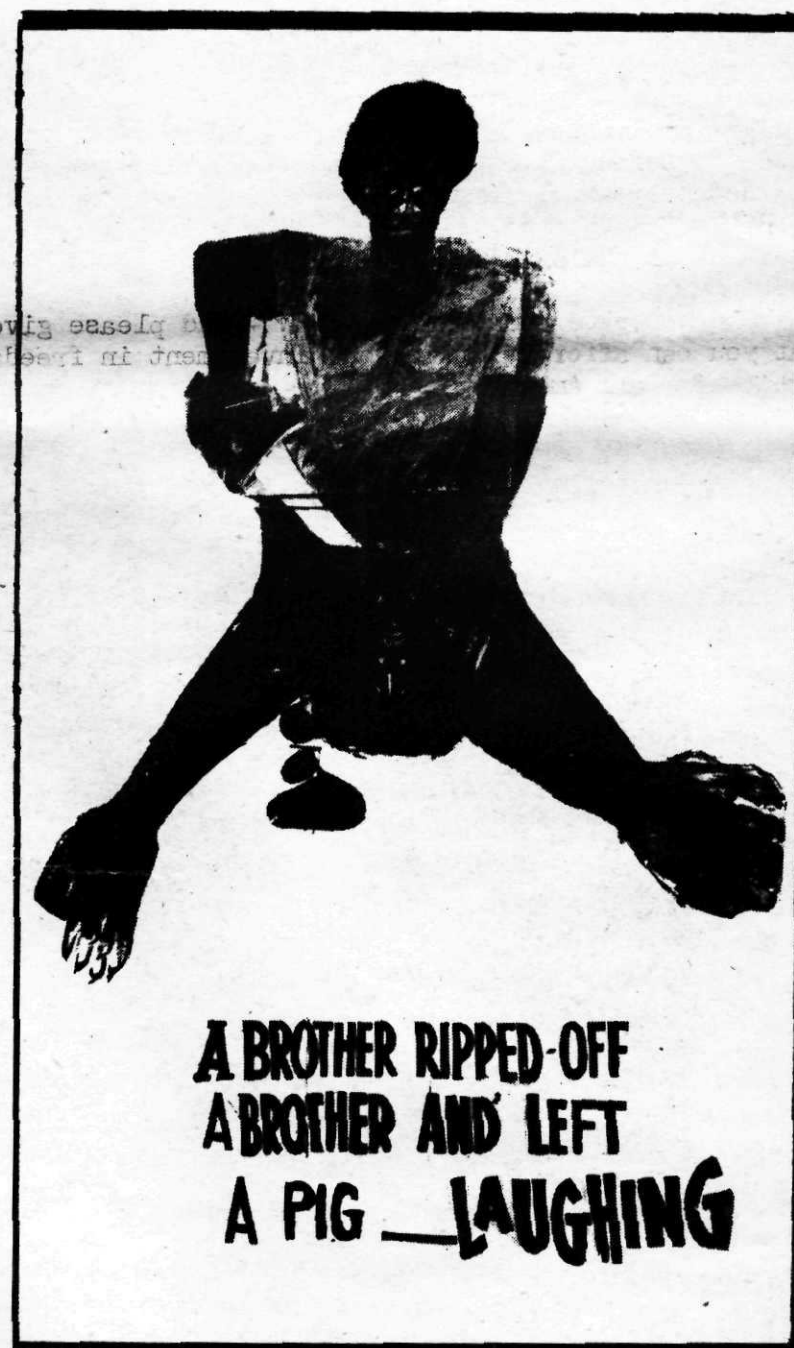
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Huey P. Newton,
SUPREME COMMANDER,
Black Panther Party



"WE SHALL
HAVE OUR
MANHOOD, OR
THE EARTH
SHALL BE
LEVELED IN OUR
ATTEMPTS TO
GAIN IT."

and you'll fear him.



A BROTHER RIPPED-OFF
A BROTHER AND LEFT
A PIG — LAUGHING

OF ICE CREAM BARS, OREOS, AND OTHER WHITE PRODUCTS

A sister sat in the coffee shop puttin' niggers down
At the bottom of a bag called "Niggers ain't Shit!"
Don't she know it's hard enough to get out of that big bag
We're in together, without shucking, stigmatizing, and suffocating more?
Everybody can see through her big bag, it's clear,
'cept for the writing that reads,
This mind has been expertly whittened, brightened, and edjamacated.
I don't worry though, the real world will bust her bag
and let her blow away in a white tornado

Committee to Defend the Panthers

Dear Friend:

The order to eliminate the Panthers has to be withdrawn.

It is crystal clear to us that the U. S. government has decreed that the Panthers have to be removed from the scene. How can any other conclusion be drawn from the persecution of the last three years? Today the Panthers — tomorrow it could be any of us. Our country cannot — must not — tolerate government vendettas against ANY group. Unless the tide of repression is turned, and fast, we had all better run for our lives.

In addition to the overt acts of violence and terror by governmental officials, only slightly less subtle forms of persecution are taking place in the courts. The outrage of the gagging and shackling of Bobby Seale is more reminiscent of the Dark Ages than of U. S. A., 1970. The New York 21 were held for 10 months in \$2,100,000 bail. The highest ranking officer not in jail, exiled or dead, David Hilliard, as a spectator in a courtroom in New Haven, was summarily jailed for contempt while merely reading a note handed him.

Bobby Seale is facing the electric chair. The New York 21 case is proceeding. All over the country less publicized trials of victims of police raids are on or about to begin—Denver, Chicago, Los Angeles, Newark, Baltimore.

Unless these men and women can be assured of a fair trial, with a JURY OF THEIR PEERS, no man or woman in the United States can be sure of justice in court. You and I cannot make judges behave with reason and humanity — But we can help provide the dollars essential for top legal defense. Even where attorneys are serving without fee, as many are, other costs are astronomical — legal research, travel to interview and transport witnesses, court transcripts and other trial-related essentials. It is the function of this Committee to Defend the Panthers to raise the funds to assure this defense, and to inform the public about the way in which the Bill of Rights is being abrogated by the government in its treatment of the Black Panther Party.

Please write your check — NOW — and please give the most that you can afford. It is your investment in freedom and justice for all Americans.

Sincerely yours,

Ossie Davis

Dick Gregory



Black enough to belong to BSBA
but too white to come to meetings

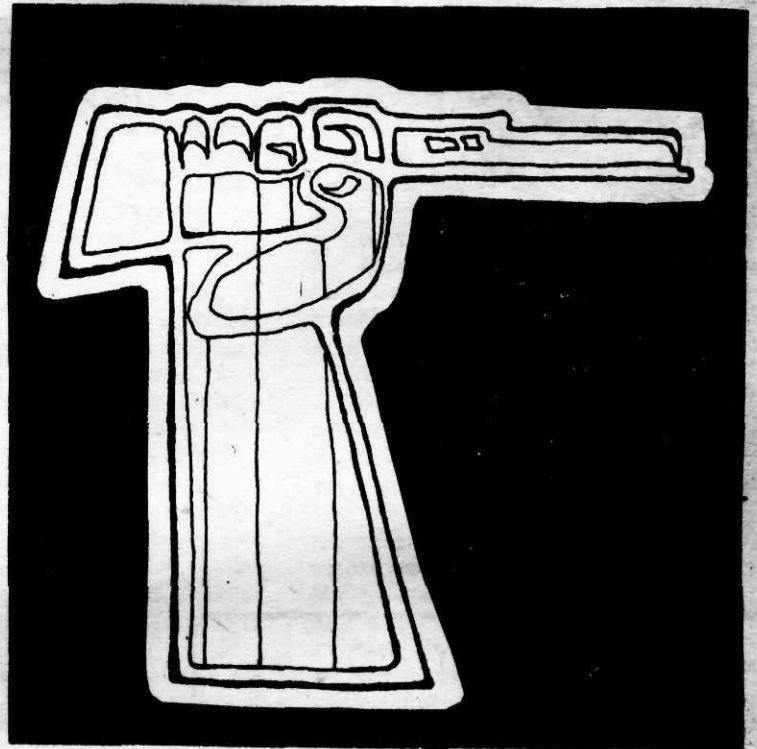
Black enough to have lived in the ghetto
but too white to return

Black enough to understand our lingo
but too white to speak it

Black enough to wear an Afro
but too white to appreciate it

Black enough for your Honky friends
but too white for me.

PEW



A. A. A. E.

J. G.

A conference was held in Washington, D. C. at Howard University from August 26 - 30, 1970. It was called to discuss programmatic solutions to many of the problems of Education and the Black Community. There were a series of workshops held daily at various locations on the campus. Each workshop was assigned a particular aspect of the overall problem of Education and deliberated upon it until a satisfactory approach toward a solution had been reached by the group. The conference's daily sessions ran from 8:30 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.

Many conferees were attending their first A.A.A.E. Conference, although the A.A.A.E. has held three such conferences. (Chicago, Atlanta, and Washington.) For those of you readers desirous of further detailed information you may inquire with Region V Communications Coordinator, Miss Regina Sinclair, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville Illinois.

Association of Afro-American
Educators

A WORKSHOP

TO CONSIDER THE JOINT PUBLICATION OF A
"QUARTERLY"

BETWEEN LAKE FOREST COLLEGE AND NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY BLACK STUDENTS

Will Be Held On

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 14, 1970

1:30 p.m. in Donnelly 25

ALL BLACK STUDENTS, FACULTY, AND INTERESTED PERSONS

ARE INVITED TO ATTEND AND PARTICIPATE

We speak as Liberators:



FOR NINE YEARS
THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE
HAVE FOUGHT FOR LIBERATION
FROM PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM. THE
POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERA-
TION OF ANGOLA (MPLA), THE VANGUARD
OF THE STRUGGLE, GUIDES WITH CERTAINLY
CREATING NEW ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRUC-
TURES IN THE LIBERATED ZONES. THIS YEAR
THE MPLA HAS LAUNCHED A GENERAL
OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE
COLONIALISTS WHO ARE
BACKED BY THE U.S., SOUTH
AFRICA, AND OTHER
COUNTRIES WHICH WITH POR-
TUGAL, EXPLOIT
THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE.
AS IN VIETNAM,
SO TOO IN ANG-
OLA: IMPER-
IALISM WILL
BE DE-
FEATED



AZANIA (SOUTH AFRICA)

	Black	White
Population (millions)	12.	3.4
Average Wage (Mining)	\$210	\$3,800
Income exempt from tax	none	\$840
Infant mortality per 100 births	200 plus	29
Life expectancy	37-42	67-72

ZIMBABWE (Rhodesia)

The People	4,080,000	224,000
The legislature	15 seats	50 seats
Average annual income	\$360.00	\$3,700

POEM FOR A MILITANT

Mother.
I have an iron rifle
your son,
the one you saw chained
one day,
(when you cried as if
the chains bound and battered
your hands and feet)
Your boy is free now
Mother.
Your boy has an iron rifle,
My rifle
will break the chains
will open the prisons
will kill the tyrants
will win back our land
Mother,
Beauty is to fight for freedom,
Justice rings in my every shot
and ancient dreams awaken like birds.
Fighting, on the front,
Your image descends.
I fight for you,
Mother
to dry the tears
of your eyes.

Jorge Rabelo was born in Lourenco Marques, Mozambique in 1940. He is a lawyer who worked for various newspapers and journals. His work appears in the Breve Antologia de Literatura Mozambicana published by Frelimo (the Mozambique liberation movement) in 1967. Presently he is the director of Frelimo's Department of Information.

This poem is reprinted here from Ba Shiru, a journal of Afro-American culture and liberation, 1450 Van Hise Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, 53706.

DYING INSTITUTIONS

A study of Federal funds received by American colleges and universities in Fiscal Year 1969 shows that the traditionally black colleges received \$119.5 million, or three percent of the total. Most of the money for black colleges—\$87.3 million—came from HEW. The rest came from 15 other Federal agencies and departments.

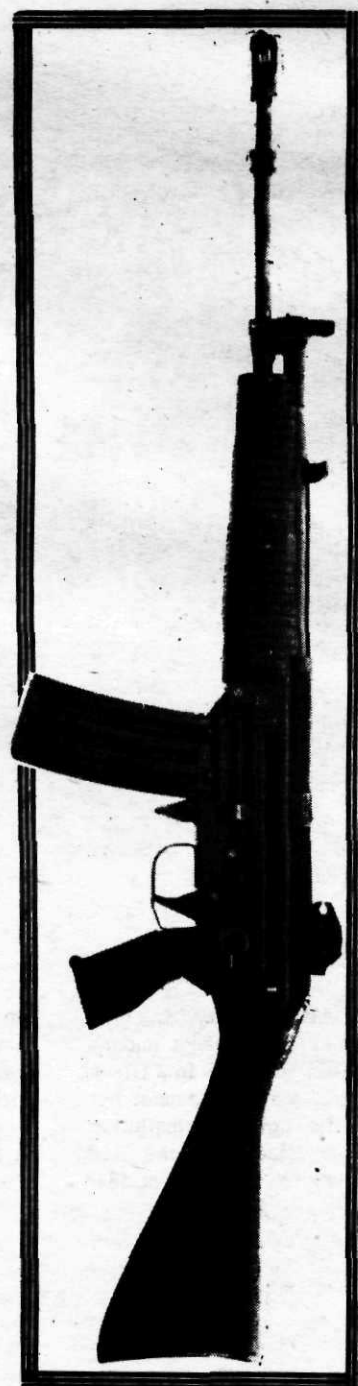
The unusual analysis of the Federal funds was made by the Federal Interagency Committee on Education (FICE) at the request of the Administration following complaints last year from presidents of black colleges about their share of Federal higher education money.

The FICE report, submitted to the White House, states that while total Federal funds provided to black colleges "is not insignificant, it is relatively small when contrasted with the support the Federal Government grants to other minority groups." It notes that Federal programs currently provide \$125 million to educate at the precollege and vocational levels the children of 500,000 American Indians living on reservations. It also states that \$87 million was provided in 1970 to assist Cuban refugee families.

"It is important to realize that many Federal programs exclude the black colleges...because most Federal education funds are aimed at graduate training and research," the report points out. It notes that only 15 black colleges have graduate programs leading to the M. A. in a discipline other than education, and only Howard University routinely grants the Ph.D.

As reported earlier, former HEW Secretary Robert H. Finch said President Nixon has agreed to a reprogramming of funds at HEW during the current fiscal year to boost the total amount of money received by black colleges to more than \$100 million.

The report says that its findings "destroy a long accepted but false assumption: that all black colleges are ignorant of Federal programs, fail to participate in those available, or compete inequitably with white schools."





THE BLACK PANTHERS ARE PREPARING THE REVOLUTION WITH PRECIPITOUS CARE. THE REVOLUTION WILL COME; TIME IS AT THEIR SERVICE

BY JEAN GENET

What Americans do not understand, they buy and they deform. What they cannot buy, they crush. Their reactions, even those which seem most reasonable, are choleric and brutal. The attempt to invade Cuba, so carefully prepared by Allen Dulles for Kennedy, and the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs (what a wonderful name for that break in the coast where defeat awaited those we now call "pigs") a beautiful demonstration of their ignorance and of their rage.

Americans, quantifiers par excellence, happy mathematicians (most of them actually imported from Germany and Italy) lose their bearings whenever they face a revolutionary act and are forced to think in qualitative terms. The Cuban phenomenon simply enraged Dulles and the technocrats of espionage.

The Americans—they are forced to ignore China; they can debase Manila, South Korea, and Formosa, the three whores of the Pacific, and the last, the bastard-child of that peculiar genius which could prefer Chang-Kai Shek to Mao Tse-Tung. The Soviet Union puts them off less, especially now that she is becoming a robot.

Others they crush: North Vietnam, Laos, Guatemala, Panama, Santo Domingo. Or they buy and corrupt; Japan, the Philippines, Thailand, Brazil, Greece, Morocco. In the same way, within "American" territory, they buy a few Blacks willing to sell themselves — politicians and actors, basketball players or boxers, dancers or singers—a black veil designed to mask a terrible ill: racism. Those Black who refuse to prostitute their color, the Americans crush. They massacred Fred Hampton, Arthur Glenn, Bobby Hutton, Tom Lewis, Robert Lawrence, Steve Bartholomew but I'll stop here: the reader's delicate eyes are no doubt fatigued—to a total of 28 Black Panthers in two years. They jailed Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, the New York 21, and they exiled Cleaver.

After a short respite, with only the deaths of Malcolm X and King, racism in the United States blazed forth ever more brilliantly. There have long been the customary lynchings by the Ku Klux Klan, the traditional hanging of Black people from trees in the South. But now there is a more expedient and effective way: police massacres and judicial terror. Every American knows clearly what I am talking about, and no American will acknowledge it. Just as a living body becomes conscious of being only when it is in pain, America suffers with its black wound. But if it calm itself with a feigned unconsciousness, or with other giddiness, the fact remains that this black wound, forever bleeding, is the only sensitive point in America, the only place one finds a beating heart.

A few years ago, these heartbeats were marked by rhythms which still bound Black people to the continent from which they were dragged. Today the dancer stands motionless. A member of the Black Panther Party, he enters with ease the development of dialectical materialism. He has put in doubt the authority of his old masters, he understands their tricks, and he puts back into questions what formerly seemed a religious dogma: the idea of private property. And once again, the Americans do not understand at all. Red ideology in a Black skin! The point, amused, cannot but see that in the colored revolution under way, the Black and the Red are linked. Just as in Paris of 1848 and 1871, in Spain of 1936, in May 1968 throughout France, and at this moment in Italy and Japan, red and black are the complementary colors. But one should not see in my word-game anything but a speechlessness in the face of what Claudel has called

"the jubilation of chance." I am using this strange juxtaposition only to get at the origins, in my eyes one and the same, of poetry and of revolutionary action. Everything leads one to think that the nostalgic poetry of America's Blacks was husbanded away for four centuries, and that it has now transformed itself into apolitical reflection which leads the more audacious to revolutionary action.

There is yet another characteristic common to both the Black Panthers and the poets: their understanding of Time. When the poet writes, he plunges into some sort of eternity: before him Time stretches out. Contingencies evaporate. Time gives itself to the poet. Suddenly he has his whole life to write his poem and he has the choice of going slowly—or fast. The Black Panthers are preparing the revolution with precipitous care. The revolution will come; Time is at their service.

Those who have seen Bobby Seale talk will have noticed, by the way he closes his eyelids, that he is reaching back into himself, into a time beyond memory, digging into the common group of Black poetry; he is entering into communication with the deep despair of his people and he pulls from it the intellectual strength for revolutionary thought and action.

Cut off from their unchronicled history by White slavemasters, the Black Panthers search for their mythic ancestry. And they find them; Patrice Lumumba, Che Guevara, Malcolm X, today Huey Newton, Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver. Patriarchs, they are all young, despite their youthful beards. If, in the eyes of the Blacks, in the present-day Western world all systems have failed—since all, liberals or not, are for them, systems of tyranny—the Blacks now understand that they will find their place only within a socialist world, and that the surest way of having that place is to work out their socialism, to put forward principles so right and so just that they will compel the adherence of the Whites.

This socialism is still to be found. Within the Black Panther Party, each Black has the possibility of working. Together or alone, the Blacks can invent or discover new relationships between people. Without doubt, they and we, all of us, are still each man for himself, stuck in old social categories where each must take care not to fall back into old traps.

But right now, the efforts of the Blacks are directed above all against an enemy who must be harassed without rest; the imperialist without visible emperor, the White American.

Despite the scarcity of information abroad about the Black Panther Party, what I knew about them threw me into their midst—perhaps less for the world they're trying to create than for the battle, deadly for them, which they are waging against Americanism and its bland and elephantine power. We have the same hate.

What is America? It no longer sits simply with its territorial limits between Mexico and Canada, the Pacific and the Atlantic. It extends beyond. Save for China, North Korea, Vietnam, the Soviet Union and Cuba, no one seems willing to resist her. The American empire could be defined by Pascal's Universe "Whose center is everywhere and circumference nowhere". And perhaps the same can be said for those spirits which seem on the brink of giving up in the face of dollar laden strategies, comfort, and material well-being.

We know about the eye of Cyclops. The burning stick with which Ulysses gouged it, is held here by the Black Panthers, who are aiming straight at the forehead of the American colossus. Cyclops is in pain. He is blind. He

does not understand anymore. Who then is this dark Ulysses, and what does he want? And why does he keep harassing Cyclops with the burning stick?

When a TV speaker portrays the militants of the Black Panther Party as enraged children, he is badly mistaken: the enraged children are the Whites, scared of that Black intelligence at last freed from captivity. This intelligence is still young. It grows quickly.

Here in the United States fear of the intellect joins those fears said to originate in sexual fantasy: what used to be called "White culture" now stands exposed before the intelligence of the Blacks. The walls which protected that culture are crumbling. The Blacks see clearly through the pitiful subterfuges of a white mentality that wanted to ignore them; they see that the subterfuges protected only hollow secrets, and now, once again, because their deception has burst, the Whites are afraid.

And once again they react in the same old way, born of their contempt for Blacks and at the same time of their disquieting fascination: once again they resort to racism!

I would really like to tell the reader of this article how the Black militants live. I know that they are on the go twenty-four hours a day. Only fatigue knocks them out and forces them to sleep. Generally good-humored, they no longer even notice what strikes me so when I am at their homes and offices: the sand bags piled up against the windows, the armour-plated doors, mirrors in the stairways, the wire netting to protect against teargas grenades, their constant defense of their homes and of their often bobby-trapped cars, insulting graffiti on their walls and doors, open shadowing by the police in airports and planes.

Constrained from breaking any law of the country, even the most insignificant rule, by the fear of having to pay a hundred thousand dollars bail on the slightest charge, and obliged to submit their expenses to strict party control, their new-found somberness is suddenly lightened by a joke, a smile, or an outstretched hand. Or the fist, and the ritual "Right on!"

David Hilliard, the Chief of Staff, takes me to the home of a Black Panther. Its main rooms are occupied by young men and women. One of them is discussing articles from the Black Panther newspaper. He speaks of Bobby Seale's extradition to Connecticut. He is providing, with a sense of seriousness the political education of these young people. This happens at night in a house which seemed to me quite vulnerable but which was guarded by several armed militants.

I would say still more, and first of all that this necessary agreement between all of the militants to follow a single discipline is indispensable for the fight. So is caution. Rigorous thought is a must when the Party is so threatened by police brutality or by the sneaky way racism creeps into the minds of all Whites.

Must we repeat, untiringly, the pre-emptory and preposterous assertion of the opening of this essay: that the Panthers are men? They grow beyond the myth through political thought and, carried and nourished by revolutionary action, the myth itself keeps on growing.

If it all began in a sudden burst, one might think that the Black Panther Party came on the scene at just the right moment: their success would have then been less striking.

But their initial notions, in some ways brash, they have saturated with political and revolutionary reflection, enabling their movement to pass be-

yond undirected revolt. But they kept the trappings of their first appearance, adding to them a new meaning that suggest of revolution.

Closing my reflection on the Panthers, I come to something which trouble me: why are there so few American writers who defend them? I am not talking about a signature, carelessly given, beneath a more or less poorly written petition in favor of the rights of man. What I am talking about is real work, given to aid America's only revolutionary movement, a movement which without this help will continue to escape the understanding of liberal people.

When they are told that they do not like Whites, that they do not want Whites to mix in their affairs, the Panthers never tire of answering that they themselves are taking care of business for everyone, and that the entire world is threatened when they are massacred. Since I started living with them, David Hilliard never once refused me an explanation of his actions, however sudden, brusque, or superficially disconcerting. Not once did either Hilliard or Masai Hewitt, the Minister of Education make me feel like an outsider in their midst. The same is true for all the Whites who work with them. It is said that Spiro Agnew has more or less openly threatened the intellectuals and above all the journalists who may have close relationships with the Black Panther Party. Is this why they remain silent?

I've heard talk of Black racism. We should beware of too-easily established parallels.

If White racism is born of a feeling of superiority and contempt, so that Whites could better exploit the Blacks, the almost desperate hostility of the Blacks was never aimed to exploit us, not by a long shot. But many intellectuals hold on to this facile analogy, however different the two ways of acting in their origin and in their expression. I have even come to question whether the absence of rigor in their analysis might not be just one more form of white racism. And also of intellectual laziness, if one wants to call it that. In short, the easiest thing for the intellectuals would be to put the Blacks to work once more, this time to handle the analytic chores. Which is what the Blacks are now doing.

America's Blacks, and especially the Black Panthers are the only thing that glows, that shines intensely, even burns and fascinates in this sadly boring country. Would the intellectuals enemies of all violence, reject the violence of the Black Panther movement? But don't the killings by the police explain the revolt, starting with the verbal violence? Should we see in the silence of the intellectuals a cozy prudence or, once more, racism?

When the Whites preach non-violence to the Black man, are they aware that there has never been a pause in the violence against the Blacks, not since the first days of the slavemaster? To preach non-violence in this case is to refuse the Blacks the means to defend themselves. The non-violent attitude of the Whites is simply moral delinquency. Nothing more.

If in the United States, one has the feeling of walking through a nightmare, it is because America, swept along in a logical delirium, seems unable to hold itself in check: America, for us, is already an antiquated dream that still weighs heavily on the world. With others, the Black Panther Party cuts, tears, breaks the last shackles.

JEAN GENET

NEXT VICTIMS

Racial hostility runs high at Soledad prison, fostered and encouraged by the authorities. For almost two years, prisoners in the maximum security wing have been held in rigid racial segregation. But, despite the extreme tension, on January 13, 1970, a racially mixed group of prisoners was taken to a new recreation yard. Prison authorities, knowing a fight would erupt, made no moves to prevent violence. No guard went with the prisoners into the yard. But one, widely known for his marksmanship, stood armed with a carbine rifle in the guntower overlooking the yard.

What happened next is unclear. According to prison authorities, a scuffle broke out. The guard immediately fired four shots, killing three black prisoners and wounding one white. No alarm whistle was sounded, no warning shot heard, no tear gas thrown. The Grand Jury, echoing the district attorney, called these murders "justifiable homicide."

The shooting of the prisoners had outraged the Soledad inmates, black, white, and Chicano. More than half were on a hunger strike to protest the killings. Minutes after the verdict of justifiable homicide was broadcast over television on January 16, 1970, a guard was found dead in Y wing. The Deputy Superintendent of the prison labeled the killing an act of revenge for the earlier murders. The one hundred forty-six inmates of the wing, who had been out of their cells, were immediately locked in isolation. With promises of early parole and threats of long confinement in the foreground, the district attorney and prison officials interrogated the inmates. After eight days of pressure, they claimed to have found the guilty men. George L. Jackson, Fleeta Drumgo, and John Wesley Clutchette were held in solitary confinement.

George L. Jackson is twenty-eight years old. A brilliant writer, he will soon have an anthology of his letters from prison published. Ten years ago, an indifferent lawyer persuaded Jackson to plead guilty to second-degree robbery charges, assuring him that such a plea would result in a lighter sentence. Given an indeterminate sentence of "one year to life," Jackson has been in prison ever since. The average time served for robbery is about two and one-half years. But the Adult Authority has never set Jackson's sentence; perhaps they consider him a "troublemaker"—he tried to integrate a television room in the prison, and he has received political literature. Since he is serving an indeterminate sentence which theoretically could be for life, Jackson has been charged not only with murder but with assault under Section 4500 of the penal code. This section imposes a *mandatory* death penalty on an inmate serving a life sentence who is convicted of assaulting a non-inmate.

John Clutchette is twenty-three years old and has spent the last three years in prison for burglary. His parole date had been set for April 28th, 1970. Fleeta Drumgo, twenty-four, has been in prison for five years, also on burglary charges. His next parole hearing was set for this April; his chances for release soon were excellent. Both men now face possible death sentences on charges of murder and assault.

During the twenty-nine days the defendants were held in solitary confinement following the incident at Soledad, they were not told of the charges against them. Bewildered by their isolation, suffering from cold and from inadequate food, they tried to get word of their plight to their families in Los Angeles. Their letters were censored and returned to them because officials were displeased with the contents. Clutchette finally wrote simply "Help!", and this message was delivered. When the worried families called the prison, officials told them: "don't bother to come" to the hearing at which the inmates would be charged. Authorities also told the families there was no need to get lawyers for their sons.

The concerted effort by officials to isolate the prisoners from each other and from those who could help them and to speed them to the gas chamber was aided by the judge at the court proceedings.

—Although the three inmates were charged with the same crime, each was barred from appearing at the initial proceedings against the other two.

—After two weeks of inflammatory publicity by the district attorney's office, the presiding judge, Gordon Campbell, ordered all parties to refrain from speaking about the case to the press. Attorneys for the defendants were forbidden to rebut the prejudiced accounts of the district attorney issued before the "gag" rule was imposed.

—The transcript of the Grand Jury hearings indicting the prisoners, from which they and their attorneys were barred, was released to the press. The judge prohibited defense attorneys from making public statements about the inaccuracy and unfairness of the Grand Jury proceedings.

—The defense was forbidden to see the site where the guard was found until after the area had been remodeled, making it impossible to investigate the credibility of the purported eye-witnesses.

—The judge has ruled that defense counsel cannot have access to prison records on the murder of the three black inmates by the prison guard, finding this incident "irrelevant". The prosecution, however, plans to use this incident in its case against the prisoners.

—The prosecution has refused to give defense attorneys the names of its witnesses and has shipped many inmates from Soledad to other prisons throughout the state, thwarting defense attempts to discover the evidence either for or against the accused.

—Prison officials have used many techniques to psychologically coerce the prisoners remaining at Soledad from talking to defense attorneys, forcing them to sign statements as to whether they wished to "participate" in the defense.

—And, throughout the proceedings, the defendants have appeared in the courtroom bound with chains: Chains shackle their ankles, chains encircle them around the waist and between the legs. Their wrists are cuffed and linked to the waist chains. Defense counsel has argued repeatedly that the presumption of innocence guaranteed by our laws and history requires the garb of innocence. But the judge has refused to undo the shackles.

Three black prisoners are dead at Soledad. This is called justifiable homicide.

One white guard is dead. This is called murder.

The ADMITTED killer of three black prisoners does not face charges. He is a white "correctional officer".

The ACCUSED killers of the white guard go to court draped in chains. They face the death penalty. They are black prisoners.

When George Jackson was fifteen, he was brought before a judge after the family car, which he had been driving, had had an accident. The judge noted that George and his family had light skin. He told George to be a good boy and that he could go far because he was not really black. "Look at your little brother," said the judge, "how cute and nice he is. And your mother is a nice-looking woman. You know that families like

... "the prison's employees (are) who should not be permitted to co in Soledad."

-- From Six Calif on Soledad Pri



FREE
SOLEDAD

cruel, vindictive, dangerous men
control the lives of the 2800 men

California Legislators' Report
son.

OF USA FASCISM

this go farther than the real dark families and the real black people. People take all that into consideration." George told his mother, "Somehow I just wish he'd have gone on and sent me to jail rather than say that to me." That was George Jackson's first experience with the law.

John Clutchette, Fleeta Drumgo, and George Jackson have all experienced the kind of justice peculiar to black men in America. As children, they are dragged into court for scrapes which would have been smoothed over were they white and middle class. They do not know that their youthful offense record can be sealed off. As young men, burdened with juvenile records, they plead guilty to charges of which they are innocent, following the advice of incompetent lawyers or overburdened public defenders who tell them they will be treated more leniently. They face judges like Salinas Judge Campbell (who has been heard to say that "considering all the violence Martin Luther King caused, maybe he got what he deserved").

"...Anti-Black inmates race-talk us in shifts, so that it's done twenty-four hours a day; on their exercise periods they spit, throw urine and feces in our cells, while the officials stand by in indifference and approval."

SOLEDAD BROTHERS



"...That murder out in the yard could have easily been me or the rest of the Blacks down here. Or maybe we get it next time? All I do is ask myself, 'Is this the price for being Black?' If my people keep on getting killed in this fashion, what is the sense of me living, when their heart is also my beat?"

-- From Soledad Prisoners' Letters

Behind prison bars, they come under the absolute power of penal authorities. Because they do not shuffle, keep their eyes down, heads bowed, and mouths shut, they are denied paroles by the Adult Authority. The parole board's records are secret and inaccessible to the men and their families. No attorney can be present at their parole hearings. If they are accused of a crime while in prison, they can be confined without charges and denied immediate counsel. Their attorneys are prevented from obtaining information that would be routinely available, had the crime taken place outside prison walls.

George Jackson, Fleeta Drumgo, John Wesley Clutchette, and thousands of others like them, are being humiliated, ignored, abused, and trampled upon—mostly for the crime of being poor and black. The likelihood of a black man being accused and convicted of a given felony in the state of California is several times as great as that of a white man who commits the same crime. Forty per cent of the prisoners in California prisons are black, though blacks make up only eight per cent of the state's population. The courts and the penal institutions are being used as vehicles of the most vicious racial suppression.

The Soledad Brothers will find justice in the courts of California only if, by our actions, we make it impossible for the state to execute them. We urge you to help us prevent the deaths of these three young men as a first step in exposing and transforming a brutally destructive legal system.

Thousands of dollars are needed for the defense. Lawyers are contributing their services, but funds are needed for travel costs to interview witnesses, for transcripts of court hearings (since the customary free ones have been denied), for research on the unconstitutionality of the Grand Jury and unequal treatment of blacks in prison, for experts to investigate and testify on conditions in Soledad, and for the other essentials of an adequate defense.

Help is also needed in promoting community awareness of the crisis at Soledad—by writing to California legislators, by calling meetings, getting articles in the press, and educating the public as to the true situation in California's prisons. We call on you to join us.

SUPPORT THE SOLEDAD BROTHERS!

(Please make check payable to Soledad Brothers Defense Fund)

Send your check today!

P.O. Box 31306
San Francisco, Cal. 94131

Southern California, 213-798-0412
Central California, 408-423-5136
Northern California, 415-285-2360

THE BROTHERS!

DAMN**THE****PUSHER****MAN****COLD TURKEY**

It seems that all of a sudden there is a "big drive" to halt the influx of hard drugs into our communities, as well as a drive to rehabilitate those already strung out. We of the Black and oppressed communities know that dope is not new. We also realize that these so-called big drives are shams, because the man has a definite interest in maintaining drugs in our communities. These drugs and sham rehabilitation programs mis-direct the energies of our people away from the real oppression, and forces us to turn inward for relief which is temporary, illusory, and ultimately destructive. We realize the phenomenal importance of protecting our youth and other members of our communities from the man's attempt to destroy our human resources (and meanwhile make astronomical profits), and as such, we must move concertedly to deal with this problem. During the Algerian liberation struggle (and otherwheres), known dope users were publicly dealt with as a deterrent to further abuses. Here we can not afford to stop with users, we must seek out and ruthlessly strangle the roots of dangerous drugs in our communities; -we must off the pushers and the suppliers, and ultimately this entails all-out war with the Mafia and their Establishment (Government) collaborators. We urge you to support and cooperate with all progressive/revolutionary forces in our communities (Panthers, Muslims, etc.) to crush this attempt to destroy our youth. The man attempts to destroy us on all fronts - we must meet the challenge and crush him and his lackeys. ALL POWER BELONGS ONLY TO THE AWARE AND THE DEALIN'!!!

FINAL VICTORY BELONGS ~ TO THE FIGHTING ~

CO-EDITORS.....Ronald Wayne Cook (HE)
Cynthia A. Goodwin

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Vibrations

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Brothers and Sisters,

The space of a letter does not permit me to give you an accurate idea of UBAD and the government of this country. I am, however, in the process of writing a history of writing a history of the United Black Association for Development, which should give you an idea of what's going on.

British Honduras is an English colony 65% Blacks, the rest Spanish, Indian, etc. The colony is surrounded by Mexico, Guatemala, and the Honduras, the present government, headed ironically by a Spanish-Indian, who rules with the consent of the English and AmeriKKans, seeks to Latinize the country. There have been attempts by him to integrate the country with the AmeriKKan colony, Guatemala, which claims that British Honduras rightly belongs to her.

The whole thing is very complicated. Suffice it to say that Blacks here are being messed over and we are trying to organize to seize some black power and introduce programs which will benefit Blacks.

We believe that Blacks being the majority here, we should have the power to control our own destiny.

One of these days maybe you can visit the country. In five years time we can promise you a black man's welcome to a black country. Right now we can only offer hospitality.
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

Evan X Hyde
Editor, AMANDALA
The UBAD party
British Honduras



**WHO SHALL SURVIVE
AMERICA...?**

DUBOIS:

Following is a selection from "Black Reconstruction in America" by W. E. B. DuBois, the black American Marxist historian. Written in 1935, the book is timely for understanding the growth of U.S. imperialism and Nixon's current "Southern Strategy."

Probably in no country in the civilized world did human life become so cheap [as in the U.S. South during Reconstruction]. This condition prevails among both white and black and characterizes the South even to our day. A spirit of lawlessness became widespread. White people paid no attention to their own laws. White men became a law unto themselves, and black men, so far as their aggressions were confined to their own people, need not fear intervention of white police. Practically all men went armed and the South reached the extraordinary distinction of being the only modern civilized country where human beings were publicly burned alive. Southern papers specialized on Negro crime with ridicule and coarse caricature. The police court where hearts bled was a matter of hilarious newspaper laughter while a note of decency and success among Negroes was buried on a back page or ignored entirely.

The political success of the doctrine of racial separation, which overthrew Reconstruction by uniting the planter and the poor white, was far exceeded by its astonishing economic results. The theory of laboring class unity rests upon the assumption that laborers, despite internal jealousies, will unite because of their opposition to exploitation by the capitalists. According to this, even after a part of the poor white laboring class became identified with the planters, and eventually displaced them, their interests would be diametrically opposed to those of the mass of white labor, and of course to those of the black laborers. This would throw white and black labor into one class, and precipitate a united fight for higher wage and better working conditions.

Most persons do not realize how far this failed to work in the South, and it failed to work because the theory of race was supplemented by a carefully planned and slowly evolved method, which drove such a wedge between the white and black workers that there probably are not today in the world two groups of workers with practically identical interests who hate and fear each other so deeply and persistently and who are kept so far apart that neither sees anything of common interest.

It must be remembered that the white group of laborers, while they received a low wage, were compensated in part by a sort of public and psychological wage. They were given public deference and titles of courtesy because they were white. They were admitted freely with all classes of white people to public functions, public parks, and the best schools. The police were drawn from their ranks, and the courts, dependent upon their votes, treated them with such leniency as to encourage lawlessness. Their vote selected public officials, and while this had small effect upon the economic situation, it had great effect upon their personal treatment and the deference shown them. White school-houses were the best in the community, and conspicuously placed, and they cost anywhere from twice to ten times as much per capita as the colored schools. The newspapers specialized on news that flattered the poor whites and almost utterly ignored the Negro except in crime and ridicule.

On the other hand, in the same way, the Negro was subject to public insult; was afraid of mobs; was liable to the jibes of children and the unreasoning fears of white women; and was compelled almost continuously to submit to various badges of inferiority. The result of this was that the wages of both classes could be kept low, the whites fearing to be supplanted by Negro labor, the Negroes always being threatened by the substitution of white labor.

Mob violence and lynching were the inevitable result of the attitude of these two classes, and for a time were a sort of permissible Roman holiday for the entertainment of vicious whites. One can see for these reasons why labor organizers and labor agitators made such small headway in the South. They were, for the most part, appealing to laborers who would rather have low wages upon which they could eke out an existence than see colored labor with a decent wage. White labor saw in every advance of Negroes a threat to their racial prerogatives.

"The Southern white man is the Negro's best friend," scream all the Southern papers, even today. And this in the face of the open record of five thousand lynchings, jails bursting with black prisoners incarcerated on trivial and trumped-up charges, and caste staring from every train and street car.

This whole phantasmagoria has been built on the most miserable of human fictions, that in addition to the manifest differences between men there is a deep, awful and ineradicable cleft which condemns most men to eternal degradation. It is a cheap inheritance of the world's infancy, unworthy of grown folk. My rise does not involve your fall. No superior has interest in inferiority. Humanity is one and its vast variety is its glory and not its condemnation. If all men make the best of themselves, if all men have the chance to meet and know each other, the result is the love born of knowledge and not the hate based on ignorance.

Democracy in the South and in the United States is hampered by the Southern attitude. The Southerner, by winning the victory which the Fourteenth Amendment tried to deny, uses the Negro population as a basis of his political representation and allows few Negroes to vote; so that the white Southerner marches to the polls with many times as much voting power in his hand as the voter in the North.

The South does and must vote for reaction. There can be, therefore, neither in the South nor in the nation a successful third party movement. This was proven in the case of Theodore Roosevelt and LaFollette. A solid bloc of reaction in the South can always be depended upon to unite with Northern conservatism to elect a president.

One can only say to all this that whatever the South gained through its victory in the revolution of 1876 has been paid for at a price which literally staggers humanity. Imperialism, the exploitation of colored labor throughout the world, thrives upon the approval of the United States, and the United States gives that approval because of the South. World war waits on and supports imperial aggression and international jealousy. This was too great a price to pay for anything which the South gained.

The chief obstacle in this rich realm of the United States, endowed with every natural resource and with the abilities of a hundred different peoples—the chief and only obstacle to the coming of that kingdom of economic equality which is the only logical end of work is the determination of the white world to keep the black world poor and themselves rich. A clear vision of a world without inordinate individual wealth, of capital without profit and of income based on work alone, is the path out, not only for America but for all men. Across this path stands the South with flaming sword.

There are only 6,000 Black doctors out of a population of approximately 30,000,000 U.S. Blacks - that is less than 2% of the 317,000 U.S. doctors. (Figures from National Medical Association - the Black doctors group.)

GM

DESTROYS BROTHERS

HERE AND ABROAD

GM IN SOUTH AFRICA:

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

350,000 GM workers are out on strike. It may be a long one, but the chief negotiator for GM is not worried. Even if the strike equals the previous 110 day walkout; "I don't think we're going to go out of business," he said recently.

The union is striking for auto-workers in all three auto companies. GM, however, is to be the test company for the new contract. It will suffer the immediate losses of the strike which are significant...\$30 million a day. So when they say the strike won't put them out of business, they are saying they can afford to give up \$3.6 billion in income.

GM, Ford, and Chrysler may be subject to strikes and other reprisals by workers here, but in other parts of the world the Big Three have a free hand to exploit workers as they see fit. International Corporations like Ford, Chrysler, and GM are protected from labor disputes or slow downs in one area because they can cover these losses with profits or increased production in other areas around the world. They can use this to compensate for decreasing profits in the U.S., they may occur when there are prolonged strikes. Ford, the target of a 1967 walkout, balanced out their losses in the U.S. during that year by making 92% of their profits off overseas operations.

With plants all over the world, and annual sales greater than the GNP's of any country in the third world, the big three have more power than most of the countries that they deal with. In many countries their power is even greater than their huge capital assets would indicate. The auto industry is a strategic central industry in any economy. Therefore its role in making vital economic and political decisions is very great.

THE BIG THREE IN SOUTH AFRICA

GM, Ford and Chrysler all have big operations in South Africa, the bastion of racist oppression. Together they control 60% of the auto industry in the country. The big three moved there in the early days of U.S. corporate expansion overseas. Ford set up an assembly plant in 1924, GM in 1926, and Chrysler moved into distributing cars in South Africa in 1929. In the late fifties, Chrysler followed the GM-Ford model of setting up assembly plants which are totally owned and controlled by the U.S. parent corporation.

In South African factories, blacks are limited to unskilled jobs and not allowed to have unions. They also cannot earn the same wages as white workers for the same job. The starting wages for black South Africans in Ford, GM, and Chrysler plants is 52¢ to 58¢ an hour, and rarely goes above 98¢. The management of these international corporate giants find racism, South African style, very profitable. Though they refuse to release figures on the profits of the South African operations, they have been expanding their plants and increasing investments. This indicates that the profits are good, and that they feel secure that the white racist regime will be in power for a long time. Normal returns on investment in South Africa are the highest in the world - 15-20%. GM made 17% on its investments overall. This is almost twice what most corporations can squeeze out. Maybe that's why GM in South Africa won't reveal any figures. The racist economic system of

apartheid (in which whites control all political and economic life) is the main reason why GM, Ford and Chrysler can reap such profits in South Africa. African labor is abundant and very cheap. Because of this abundance of labor, and the fact that unions are banned for the Blacks, any one who begins to cause trouble is fired and immediately replaced. In 1966, Chrysler carried out an intense anti-union campaign in one of their plants. They collaborated with the South African government, and fired all colored union activists in the firm. (Since then they have moved their plants nearer to the tribal reserves, where Blacks have to live. This arrangement provides one more cut in labor costs.

These three American giants try to claim that by being in South Africa, it doesn't mean that they support the policies of the government. By their very presence they are supporting the policies of the government. A recent GM handout to the South African press boasted that "GM has made a major contribution to the growth and development of the Republic." They have agreed to and carry out racist employment practices in all their firms there.

The plant manager of the largest GM factory in South Africa, recently referred to Black Africans as "raw people from the country side." He then goes on, "I wouldn't say that these people don't have any reasoning power, but what they do have is very limited." Chrysler executives, in South Africa clearly laid out his anti-worker and racist views. "We feel that at this stage the less we have to do with unions the better." The personnel and labor relations director then proceeded, "He (the Black South African) looks on the employer as his father...he accepts the White man as his guardian...the major part of his bargaining power is the demand for dignity and the desire to belong. He will work for half the wages if treated well." This is the kind of situation management would like to

have everywhere. They will treat a worker only as well as they have to, in order to prevent strikes, or possible loss of power and control.

These statements of management in South Africa, and the hiring practices of the plants there cannot be separated from GM, Ford, and Chrysler in the U.S.. They are the same company, with the same people making the decisions here and in South Africa. Ernest Cuming, officer for General Motors in South Africa, admitted in an interview with the *Washington Post* that the company in South Africa is run directly from the New York headquarters. He also said, "With the hue and cry that is being raised in America these days, we would just as soon not be mentioned in connection with our South African operations. Our position, you see, is rather delicate."

Yes Mr. Cuming, GM's position is "delicate". The way the auto industry would like to deal with it, is to try to separate itself from its operations in South Africa, hoping to withhold any information that might damage them.

The same corporations that workers here are struggling against in the current auto strike, are the corporations exploiting blacks in South Africa. They may try to put on a different face in Detroit or New York, than in South Africa, but that is just a part of their plan. International corporations modify labor, according to what the situation allows them. They do only what they have to, give in only when they feel it is necessary, so that their real power will not be threatened. The struggles of the liberation movements in South Africa is the same as workers in the U.S. Both have the same enemy--U.S. corporate imperialism. What is good for GM is not good for the people of the world.

A.R.G.



AN OPEN LETTER TO NEW BLACK FACULTY AND STUDENTS

Welcome to the Lake Forest College Experience. May we all profit from our learning and teaching at this institution. For this period in our lives to be of future value, we must recognize that each of us will have to do some of each—learn and teach. This process must be augmented by a keen sense of brotherhood and trust or the learning portion will suffer.

Today the pressures on the Black community wherever you may find it, are equally great within and without. Hysteria, paranoia, and individual peril seems to pervade the community within, while without, the forces of oppression tool-up for racism's final battle. Fanon discusses this period in the Wretched of the Earth, with undeniable clarity. The most marked difference between our local campus community and the larger urban Black community from whence many of us have come, is the intensity of police surveillance, and the disparateness between those who have and those who have not. If the above statement has merit, then it should be apparent what we here ought to be about doing while we are afforded the opportunity to do both learn and teach. We ought to be about developing a closeness and an awareness of each other's assets and liabilities. We ought to be developing means by which we as a

group emphasize the positive side of our existence while maintaining an awareness of the negative side, so as to have a standard of measurement by which we may assess our efforts. We must be about rejecting superficial values, we must be about working! Especially, working for Black freedom and defeating white racism wherever found. The latter statement equally applies to the "colored" who evidences a propensity toward maintenance of racist values. We must be critical of one another, yet cautious not to alienate. In a word, we must be about "Ujama."

We are emissaries of the Black community. It is our responsibility, indeed incumbent upon us to improve upon that which we find in our community. In order that we accomplish this, it shall require the constant efforts of all listening to the rhythm of "Uhuru." We must also allow ourselves enjoyment and fun, but we must do so, in the spirit of brotherhood. Let us together heighten the level of awareness of the group and prepare ourselves for the next episode in the African-American experience.

Yours in the Struggle,
J. Garrett



HOPE YOU HAVE GOT YOUR THING TOGETHER



DEAR BLACK (AFRICAN) COLLEGE STUDENTS, TEACHERS, HIGH SCHOOLERS, ETC.:

THE ALL AFRICAN PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE, 3346 W. ROOSEVELT RD., 722-8786, TAKES THIS TIME OUT TO INFORM YOU ALL OF THE OPENING OF OUR BLACK NATIONAL LIBERATION SCHOOL AT 3346 W. ROOSEVELT RD., 722-8786, ON MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1970, 3:30 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.

"HE WHO LEARNS, TEACHES." NO DEGREES OR ESTABLISHMENT QUALIFICATIONS ARE NECESSARY TO TEACH AT OUR SCHOOL. WHAT WE REQUIRE IS SINCERE INTEREST IN THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK YOUTH AND A DEVOTION TO WORK AND LEARNING. SINCE WE CAN NOT AFFORD SALARIES, OUR TEACHERS WILL HAVE TO CONQUER THE DISEASE OF MATERIALISM, AND BE READY TO PUT THE INTEREST OF BLACK PEOPLE AHEAD OF THEIR PERSONAL DESIRES. WE ARE ALWAYS IN NEED OF ADDITIONAL TEACHERS AND THOSE WHO FEEL THAT THEY CAN MEET THE ABOVE QUALIFICATIONS MAY APPLY AT THE BLACK NATIONAL LIBERATION SCHOOL, 3346 W. ROOSEVELT RD., 722-8786, FOR A POSITION. ALL TEACHERS ARE REQUIRED TO ATTEND A TEACHER WORKSHOP HELD WEEKLY.

FOR THOSE BROTHERS AND SISTERS WHO ARE ALREADY TEACHING AT AN ESTABLISHMENT SCHOOL, THEN FEEL FREE TO REGISTER STUDENTS IN OUR LIBERATION SCHOOL FOR REMEDIAL WORK AND/OR ADDITIONAL WORK.

THANK YOU

HANNIBAL BARCAR SHABAZZ (BOB BUTLER),
ACTING CHAIRMAN OF LIBERATION SCHOOL
GOVERNING COUNCIL

DAN THE MAN

The recent uproar in the Establishment press over the execution of Dan Mitrione in Uruguay tended to skip over what the Richmond, Indiana police chief was doing there in the first place.

It happens that Mitrione was in Uruguay with a team of Amerikan pigs to help their local counterparts wipe out the Tupamaros, a highly successful urban guerilla movement whose strength in Uruguay has been steadily growing since its inception in July, 1963. But instead, the guerillas were able to turn the tables on Dan the Man.

What the docile Amerikan media chose not to discuss at the time of Mitrione's capture was the network of pig imperialism which he represented.

The Office of Public Safety (OPS), for which Mitrione worked, is a special branch of the Agency for International Development (AID) -- a finance/"diplomatic" arm of the CIA, which maintains a network of some 400 Mitrione-types in 27 countries of the Third World. These agents are called Public Safety Advisers. Their mission: to help local police control, in the words of AID itself, "militant activities ranging from demonstrations, disorders, or riots through small-scale guerilla operations."

OPS also runs the International Police Academy in Washington with a staff of 107. Under the protective "neutral" wing of Georgetown University, this Academy has trained thousands of Third World cops in anti-Communism since 1962. Since the insurrections of Detroit, Newark, etc.

its staff has been hastily adapting the techniques it developed abroad for counter-insurgency use in the U.S.

Returning OPS fieldworkers have also been bringing back new ideas of population control to their local pig departments around the U.S.

The 1968 budget allotted \$7,100,000 to the Office of Public Safety. Its real budget was \$54,926,000, the difference being hidden in Defense Department counterinsurgency expenditures and elsewhere. This practice is consistent with the high degree of secrecy which surrounds the OPS generally.

Why does the US government operate such a program in the Third World? OPS Director Bell told a Senate Committee in 1965:

Plainly, the United States has very great interests in the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere of law and order under humane, civil concepts and control, and in countering Communist efforts in all forms. When there is a need, technical assistance to the police of developing nations to meet their responsibilities promotes and protects these US interests.

"US interests" are, as usual, undefined. A clue can be taken from Venezuela, where the Chief and Deputy Chief Public Safety Advisers meet every month with the security officers of each US oil company operating in that country. "US interests" are, as usual, protection of US corporations and the maintenance of open doors around the world to American economic expansion.

The OPS strategy was first devised for Vietnam in 1955, but became a world cop strategy under the Kennedy brothers in the early 1960's. Their basic idea was to use Third World police forces to arrest popular insurgency and social revolution at the earliest possible stage. If such movements were suppressed quickly enough, the demand for US military advisers, weapons, combat troops and everything else which Vietnam-type

U.S. EXPORTS PIGS TO THE EMPIRE

ARG

situations require would be less. AID boasted in 1969:

The Public Safety program is regarded today as one of the more effective and less costly means of pursuing US interests in many situations.

In other words, OPS is imperialism on the cheap.

The program also strengthens the overall goals of American penetration of the Third World. In Administrator Bell's own Senate testimony:

the attitudes of the police authorities that we help, as in the other technical assistance work we conduct, is that those who are helped by us through their training, through their exposure to US advisers, through coming here in schools and learning about the United States, become, 90% of them, very strongly pro-American (what followed this was deleted from the Congressional Record).

The distribution of OPS throughout the Third World reflects Amerika's imperialist priorities. Thus about half of all Public Safety Advisers are stationed in Vietnam, having long provided equipment and technology to improve the efficiency of the Saigon police state. Four other Asian client states of the US also participate in the program.

In Latin America, predictably, every country is blessed with an OPS team except Haiti and Cuba.

OPS involvement in Africa is the least intensive in the Third World, which reflects Africa's marginal importance to Amerikan imperialism in comparison with Asia and Latin America. As of 1969, the US had a total of 22 Public Safety Advisers in Africa, divided among Congo (Kinshasa), Liberia, Tunisia, and Somalia.

The program in Somalia has presumably been terminated since the US suspended aid to that country on June 5, 1970, in protest against its increasingly leftist policies. The new military government, having seized power last October, has nationalized numerous foreign investments and reversed the country's long-standing pro-Western stance. The police establishment took no part in the October coup and is known to resent its subordinate position under the military regime, though the Army has made some effort to share power with the police. A recent attempted coup in April of this year, not surprisingly, involved American-trained police officers.

The remaining OPS programs continue in what are probably the most pro-American regimes in Africa. Also, Ghana has been sending police officers to Washington for training since the coup which ousted Kwame Nkrumah in 1966.

Earlier in the decade OPS was also advising police forces in Central African Republic, Chad, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, and Upper Volta, but these programs have all been phased out and never amounted to any substantial US penetration. American "interests" are small in all these areas compared to countries like Liberia and Congo-K, illustrating once again the correlation between the size of OPS programs and the interests which they are designed to protect.



1815: Don't shoot until you see the whites of their eyes.....
1970: Don't shoot until you see the Black of their faces.....

WESTERN IMPERIALISM IN AZANIA

STATEMENT BY THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA (SOUTH AFRICA) TO THE 3RD SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED NATIONS IN LUSAKA, ZAMBIA

The Pan Africanist Congress, on behalf of the struggling people of Azania, expresses militant revolutionary greetings to all participants in the historical Third Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations and proudly joins in hailing the Government and the people of Zambia for making the heavy sacrifices that have made it possible for the Summit Conference to be held in their capital.

This Conference is being held at a time when desperate struggles are being waged by freedom loving people all over the world; in Africa, Asia and Latin America national wars of liberation against colonialism, old and new, are being fought; elsewhere small nations are struggling to safeguard their independence against big powers. In all these struggles there is one common enemy - imperialism, led by the United States of America.

It is the common struggle in which all those participating in the 3rd Non-Aligned Summit Conference are engaged which is the most important common factor uniting us. Accordingly a common policy must be adopted to effect the all important co-ordination amongst freedom fighters and their supporters from the Non-Aligned countries. For instance there can be no accommodation within our ranks for puppet regimes, like that of Leabua Jonathan in Lesotho and Lon Nol in Cambodia, who owe their survival in power to imperialist military and economic support.

Failure to take a resolute stand on this fundamental issue would render the whole concept of non-alignment devalued.

Situation in Azania

In Azania western imperialism is increasing support for the fascist apartheid regime all-round. The latest is the notorious intention of the British imperialists to escalate their military involvement in South Africa by supplying arms for the internal repression of the national liberation movement and external aggression against independent African states north of the Zambezi River excluding those that are actively collaborating with the South African fascists like Malawi under Banda.

The British imperialists are peddling the fiction that the arms they want to send to the South African fascists are defensive weapons and may not be used for internal repression or external aggression. But according to their own authorities the weapons and other military equipment already supplied to South Africa, plus those that are on the new shopping list, are perfectly suited for Vorster's aggressive designs. The Sunday Times, London, July 19, 1970, states categorically that "Essentially the Buccaneer* is a strike aircraft. The Fleet Air Arm, for which it was developed, wanted to bombard shore installations - bridges, dams, railway yards and the like - from an offshore carrier." It is not difficult to see how the Buccaneers could link up with Leander class frigates, dashing submarine chasers whose guns can also point ashore, war vessels Britain is preparing to supply South Africa with.

The Nimrod electronic reconnaissance aircraft, which the South Africans have been promised by the British, is a perfect flying operations room for internal repression. From the same article in the Sunday Times we learn that its central value is that in "counter-insurgency" operations the Nimrod can act as the command post for half a dozen low flying light aircraft acting as forward controllers, reporting target positions to the Nimrod, and in turn it can summon Buccaneers from up 1,000 miles away - effectively from anywhere in South Africa.

The pilots for these war planes were trained at Lossiemouth, the Royal Naval air station in Scotland (Sunday Times, 19:7:70).

*Buccaneers, 16 of them, were supplied to South Africa in November, 1964, by Britain and they have continued to receive spare parts from England. For their part the French imperialists, who have assumed the position of being fascist South Africa's gun suppliers, have earned 200,000,000 (British sterling) for equipping the internally repressive and externally aggressive Boer army, navy and airforce. The range planes have been menacing the airspaces of Zambia, Tanzania and other free African states, taking off from a few hundred miles away from Lusaka, on the Caprivi Strip. Soon they will be operating from Lilongwe International Airport in Malawi, according to a disclosure by a fascist cabinet minister, Carel de Wet, last April, published in the pro-apartheid Sunday newspaper in Johannesburg, Die Beeld.

Inside Azania French tankers and helicopters have been used in antiguerrilla operations by the army and police. France has also helped to make the fascist regime self-sufficient in light weapons by erecting a small arms factory near Pretoria. The double dealing role of France, a country which pretends to be friendly towards just causes but actually used 300 million aid to African states as blackmail to silence opposition to their anti-African activities in Southern Africa, highlights an important

lesson for anti-imperialist forces i.e. WE MUST HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE TRUE NATURE OF IMPERIALISM; it is always aggressive, always anti-people.

The revengeful West Germans have actively co-operated with Pretoria fascists in nuclear research at Rhelindaba, Transvaal Province. They assisted South Africa in the construction of the missile base in St. Lucia Estuary, Zululand. Piet Botha, South Africa's defence minister has made it clear that missiles are deliberately pointed towards Tanzania and Zambia because of their support for the national liberation movement. Through the now "rehabilitated" Von Mellthin, an ex-Nazi airforce commander, the West Germans helped South Africa draw up the strategy of collaborating with Portugal and Rhodesia's settlers against the liberation movement, and using military and economic blackmail to turn African states into buffer zones for South Africa.

Under the imperialist supported massive military superiority the South African fascists, with armed forces of the land, sea and air totalling 185,800, including the police force, arbitrarily move thousands of Africans from their established homes to "resettle" them in the barren Bantustans, causing untold suffering to many and promoting serious starvation which leads widespread malnutrition and other death causing diseases; these actions are tantamount to genocide.

Our compatriots in the active front against apartheid oppression are the daily subject of arrests, detentions without trial, one-side trials, banishments, life-long prison terms, police torture (often leading to mysterious deaths) and hangings under repressive legislation such as the Terrorism Act, the Sabotage Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and a spate of other unjust and oppressive laws.

To counter the barbaric oppression of African people, the P.A.C. (Pan Africanist Congress) since its inception in April, 1959, worked hard to mobilise the masses politically and succeeded to introduce a new tempo in the national liberation struggle by launching the first ever Positive Action Campaign against the cornerstone of apartheid, the pass laws, in 1960, during which panicking settler police massacred scores of our supporters and members at Sharpeville, Langa, Nyanga, Vanderbijl Park and other places all over the country. During that campaign the path of non-violence was concluded and the people of Azania opted for armed struggle. P.A.C., whose formation was the result of a nation-wide demand for a militant movement to spearhead the struggle of the African people, correctly interpreted the will of the people, formed a military wing - POQO and launched armed struggle. Police, police stations, settler regime agents and government installations have been attacked with pangas and captured firearms, or sabotaged with explosives locally manufactured in the bases or brought from enemy mines or factories. Since 1961 the enemy has suffered heavy casualties in Paarl, Bishie Bridge, Queenstown, Qamata (near the

(Continued on page 20)

SUPPORT AZANIAN PEOPLE!

THE PORTUGUESE MUST LEAVE AFRICA

A Short Overview of The History of Angola

Its history differs little from that of other African countries as far as colonial plundering and exploitation of its people are concerned. Slavery first led the Portuguese to make raids on the Angolan coast. They first established trading posts with military garrisons to protect the navigation of Portuguese ships.

Later on, the country was colonized little by little by the Portuguese, who have always denied the Angolans any civil or political rights. The exploitation of the natural wealth of the country increased constantly, and, with it, the poverty of the indigenous population.

Why are Portugal and NATO so interested?

The answer is simple. Angola is the richest of the Portuguese colonies. Oil, which is only partially exploited and of which the country has enormous reserves, is controlled by subsidiaries of US, Belgian and French companies. The exploitation of iron is controlled by West German capital, and the diamonds are controlled by international capital. Portugal controls only agriculture.

In addition, Angola has large deposits of copper, uranium, manganese and other valuable and strategic minerals which greatly attract the big imperialist powers.

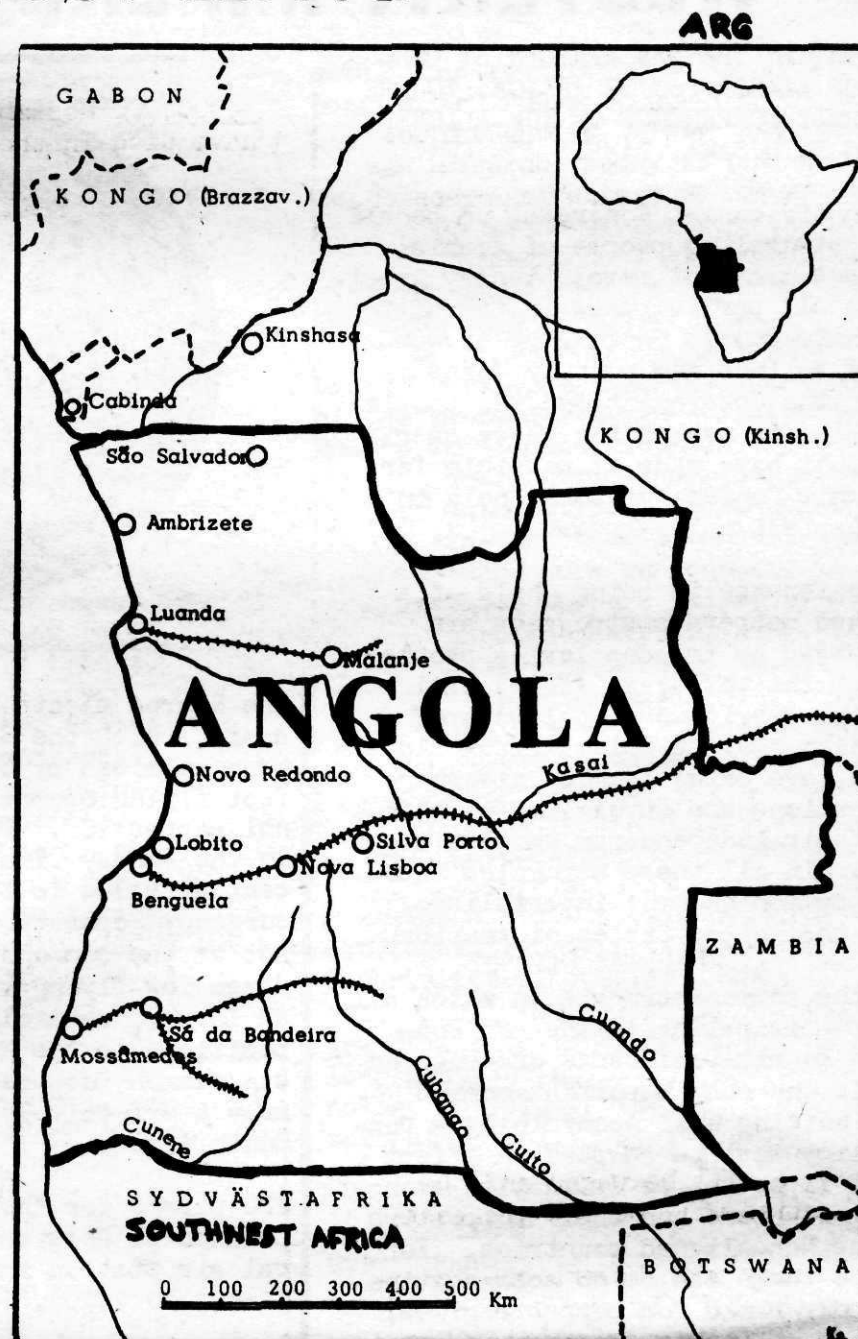
When and How did the Struggle Begin?

The armed struggle, the guerilla struggle against the Portuguese colonialists, began on February 4, 1961. Before that, exploitation had motivated the Angolans to carry on various forms of clandestine political activities which were brutally repressed by the colonial authorities.

The contradictions between the exploiters and the exploited sharpened, until on that memorable date several armed groups attacked key posts of the colonial regime and then withdrew to the forest areas not far from Luanda, the capital.

Who Leads the Struggle?

Since the very beginning, the guerilla movement has been led by the People's Liberation Movement of Angola (MPLA), whose members



launched the first attacks against the colonialists in February, 1961. This movement, headed by Dr. Agostino Neto, has established itself on an international scale, and its struggle for the liberation of the country is recognized, above all, by the Portuguese, who are forced to include in their reports the casualties inflicted on them by the MPLA.

At present the patriots are fighting in 9 of the 15 districts of Angola against more than 70,000 Portuguese soldiers furnished with modern military equipment by NATO member countries. The successes of the guerrillas are obvious, and, together with the peoples of so-called Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique, will crush the Portuguese in Africa.

(Continued from page 19)

Ntlonze Mountains in the Transkei), Krugersdorp, Gamkaskop and Baviaanspoort prisons (because our detained sentence serving comrades have turned jails into powerful Party cells), Victoria West, Graaff Reinet, Langa, Cator Manor, to mention but a few places.

To supplement the work of the underground movement inside Azania militarily the External Mission has prepared cadres who rejoin the underground combatants, bringing with them the experience of other revolutionaries and articulating these to suit the concrete conditions inside the country. We regard our political and military activities against the fascist regime not only as a struggle to liberate the Fatherland but also as front line action to frustrate the hideous designs of the South African fascists and western imperialists of committing aggression against independent African states and as our humble contribution towards the global struggle against imperialism, led by the United States of America.

The Task Before Us

The liberation of those parts of Africa which are still under foreign rule constitutes the most serious burning issue before the whole of the Continent. As long as the imperialists and their puppets, the settler rulers in Azania, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Somali-Djibouti, Guinea-Bissau, the Canary and the Comoro Islands, remain in power the whole of Africa remains threatened. This abnormal situation stands in the way of the cherished goal of all the peoples of Africa - the destruction of the colonially imposed frontiers and unification of the Continent, from Cape to Cairo and from Malagasy to Morocco makes it possible for the U.S. imperialist sponsored Zionist state of Israel to arrogantly occupy the territory of a sister African state, the United Arab Republic. This abnormal situation makes it difficult for Africa to contribute towards the restoration of the rights of our Palestinian brothers in an active way. In a nutshell this situation is the most grave threat to peace and security in the African Continent.

It is the supreme task of the 3rd Conference of Non-Aligned Nations to join us in increasing our effort to dislodge the oppressive regimes, through armed struggle, so that Africa may be free to make worthwhile contributions, materially and morally, to the cause of mankind. Only in this way can the significance of meeting so close to the front-line of the anti-racism, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle be fully highlighted.

In this serious work the ranks of the anti-imperialist forces within the conference of Non-Aligned nations have to be purged of those puppet regimes which flirt with Africa's enemies. The Bandas, who have trampled underfoot the sacred resolutions of the Organisation of African Unity and established diplomatic relations with the South African apartheid regime and are engaged in sinister activities, such as those outlined above (a South African military air-base).

(The complete unabridged text can be obtained upon request.)

SOLIDARITY IN MOZAMBIQUE

ARG

Sept. 25th began a week of solidarity with the people of Mozambique. On that day in 1964 armed struggle was launched against Portuguese oppression.

Mozambique is a Portuguese aristocracy. Portugal, however, has also suffered a kind of "colonization" by the powerful industrial concerns of Europe and the U.S. It is these concerns that finally benefit from colonialism in Mozambique. The people of Mozambique are now fighting for their liberation and they are winning, but their enemies are many.

Mozambicans know that their most immediate enemy is the Portuguese army. But they also realize that their struggle is against more than a few out-dated Portuguese colonialists. Defeat of Portugal is seen as the first step to liberation, not the last.

Mozambique will also have to deal with the interests that are now behind Portugal and that will definitely try to fill the void left by Portugal's defeat. Perhaps they will use force, perhaps diplomatic pressures, perhaps complicated 'aid' packages to tighten economic ties...something will be tried. It is against Mozambique's other more elusive, more subtle enemies that the long struggle will be waged and the need for allies will be the greatest.

Solidarity with Mozambique is expressed in the U.S. by our understanding how much we have in common with these people. We are all in the same fight against the same enemy. We just happen to be at different ends of the same system.

MOZAMBIQUE - PORTUGUESE RELATIONS

Four hundred and sixty-five years ago Portugal set-out to civilize Mozambique: a country twice the size of California, tropical to semi-tropical climate, many known resource deposits, and very good harbor sites. Today, 140,000 white settlers rule and exploit 7,000,000 Mozambican. The results of this colonial situation are sadly typical.

-Only 1.8% of The Mozambican people are literate. No African has ever finished secondary school within Mozambique.

- The 'natives' have been divided into two groups: the 'assimilados' (those granted a kind of Portuguese citizenship) and the 'indigians' (those still to be civilized.) In order to be 'assimilated' Africans must learn to read, write and speak Portuguese fluently, sever all tribal connections, have acceptable employment, and in general adopt the habits and customs of the Portuguese. Since 1917 1,000 Africans have been elevated to this status by their 'civilizers'.

- Africans are denied the right of assembly in groups of over five for political, trade union or cultural purposes.

-Pass books must be carried at all times. All travel in their own land must first be cleared with Portuguese colonial administrators.

-Any Mozambican not currently employed by some white is legally classified as idle. Anyone idle is subject to being rounded up for forced labor at any time. Forced laborers earn on the average \$1.40/month on plantations.

- 100,000 forced laborers are sent to South Africa every year to work in the Transvaal gold mines. Since 1902,

1,000,000 Mozambicans are estimated to have died in those mines.

FRELIMO

On Sept. 25, 1964 FRELIMO (Frente de Libertacao de Mozambique) began armed struggle against the Portuguese colonial forces. A small band staged a night attack against the Portuguese colonial office at Chai, in Cabo Delgado province. Continual guerrilla pressure combined with growing local support drove Portugal first to strategic hamlets and in some cases forced them to evacuate large areas.

By 1968 FRELIMO had liberated a fifth of Mozambique (see map) and 700,000 of the people. Important military campaigns are now being waged to extend that control in other provinces. The popular army now numbers more than 10,000 people.



The liberated territories serve as a base of strength for the military arm of FRELIMO. More important, inside these territories a new way of life is already being built by the people.

Shortly before his assassination by the Portuguese in 1969, Eduardo Mondlane, the first President of FRELIMO sketched FRELIMO's philosophy as follows:

1) Frelimo is a democratic movement.
(2) socialism will be the economic system followed...
(3) Social welfare of the people

ple as a whole, not of a small group of privileged individuals and their families,, will receive the energetic commitment of the leaders of FRELIMO as befits a movement guided by socialism.

FRELIMO began educating people in 1962, two years before armed struggle began. Inside the liberated territories schools have been set up. Over 20,000 pupils (soldiers and adults included) are in these schools. Agriculture has also been reorganized. Cooperatives are being encouraged. People are growing food for their own use rather than for the Portuguese. Health clinics, field hospitals and first-aid stations have also been set-up in many places for the first time.

PORTUGAL'S EFFORT

A dramatic fact...Portugal could not be fighting wars in each of its three colonial possessions (as well as Mozambique, Portugal is fighting in Angola and Guinea (Bissau), without the military aid that has been given to it. The aid has come from the U.S., Britain, France, West Germany, South Africa and other "free" world countries. The excuse for giving aid is that Portugal is a member of NATO. Theoretically, Portugal is prohibited from using these arms in Africa, but does so quite openly.. This is well documented by the fragments of U.S. bombers and Napalm casings found there.

The U.S. has supplied Portugal with large amounts of strategically important arms. Perhaps the most strategic have been the planes, given their importance in fighting widely dispersed guerilla movements (something the U.S. knows well from experience.) Under the American Military assistance program alone, Portugal has gotten 50 F-84G Thunderjets, 50 F-86F Sabre jets, 30 Cessna jets (used extensively in Viet Nam), several hundred North American Harvard T-3 and T-6 planes, 30 Lockheed bombers, and many others. The CIA has also supplied 20 B-26 bombers (N.Y. Times, Nov. 5, 1965.) To guarantee maximum effectiveness, the U.S. has also sent along Napalm with the planes.

The developed countries of the West have joined forces with South Africa to prop up the sagging colonial regimes of Portugal in Africa. South Africa has contributed a battalion of troops and air support to the fight in Mozambique. This is a clear example of international cooperation to defeat liberation movements which seriously threaten the vested interests of the capitalist world.

SOLIDARITY

Things are amazingly connected. Oil from Venezuela, refined in New Jersey, fuel planes that will drop bombs on the people of Mozambique. The governor of New York and his two brothers, the Governor of Arkansas and the Chairman of the Board of the second largest bank in the world, control that oil company. Now the brothers may not really have anything against the people of Mozambique, but, you see, their company lives on profits, and people's liberation and profit don't mix well...and so Portugal is propped up until some better solution (for the Rockefellers, not for the people) comes along.

Our enemy is the same. Until the Rockefellers, and the Mellons, and the Morgans are defeated, until capitalism is defeated, our struggle will go on. All Power to the People. Solidarity with the people of Mozambique.

CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED NATIONS

A summit meeting of non-aligned states was held in Lusaka, Zambia, for one week commencing September 8.

White control in Southern Africa was the central focus of the meeting convened by Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda. The African delegates set the pace at the conclave with over thirty-four states represented.

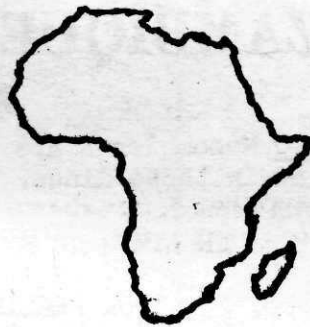
The conference lambasted foreign support for Southern African racist regimes. Plans were made to send delegations to Britain and other countries supplying arms to South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal. Agostino Neto, President of the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), Angola's liberation movement, spoke on behalf of the Southern African freedom fighters. Resolutions were adopted urging more financial and material help for the liberation movements. President Forbes Burnham of Guyana, however, actually expressed his solidarity by presenting Neto with a check for \$25,000.

The delegates gave Madame Binh, the representative of the Provisional Government of South Vietnam, a thundering ovation for her denunciation of American imperialism. Many delegates were openly anti-imperialist in political terms—they condemned the U.S. in Vietnam, and backed the Palestinian struggle in the Middle East. The final resolutions reflected a more moderate tone. They were said to have been 'polished' by Yugoslavia, India, and the U.A.R.

Though the conference was of unquestionable merit in forwarding unity of thought and action toward liberation and independence of the entire African continent, there was the questionable depth of sincerity of such participants as Haile Selassie (considered by many to be a feudal dictator, and hated by many of his own people), emperor of Ethiopia; General Mobutu of strongly pro-Western Congo-Kinshasa (believed partly responsible for the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, and only last year ordered his troops to fire into demonstrating university students); as well as the participation of Liberia, where, by all accounts, an "immigrant" elite lives it up at the expense of the rural masses, by slooping to the Firestone Corporation. A further questionable move was the construction of the conference hall at a cost of 9 million Kwacha (about \$13,000,000), as well as additional expenditures for luxury VIP villas and a brand new fleet of Mercedes-Benz (for visitors to the conference). For an admittedly poor and developing country, this type of extravagance and prestige-seeking is unpardonable. This money could have been better spent on irrigation projects (only this year the maize crop failed in many parts of Zambia because of drought), or on completing hospitals and clinics (work on the local Teaching Hospital came to a complete halt while the conference hall went up). It must be understood that these comments are not meant to degrade or obscure the importance and results of this conference, but rather to point out that despite all the talk about liberation and solidarity, many brothers and sisters everywhere are still hung-up in the bourgeois mode and wasting valuable and limited resources. It is hoped that these comments will be received as positive criticism between brothers, and implemented in an atmosphere of positive constructionism.

While the conference may have been more spirited than most similar events, realistically nothing more than resolutions in support of liberation can be expected of these gatherings (i.e., at this particular juncture in history). This condition will remain as long as the majority of the 3rd world governments are not representative of their own peoples, and have political and economic development strategies that keep them satellites of the developed capitalist powers.

UNITY



SPAIN STILL IN AFRICA

AR6

THE U.S. COLLUDES NOT ONLY WITH PORTUGAL, BUT ALSO WITH SPAIN FOR CAPITALISTIC INTERESTS.

With so much attention focused on Portuguese imperialism in Africa, it is often overlooked that Spain is still a colonial power there too. Spanish Sahara, though with only 30,000 people is a vast area of Northwest Africa bordering Morocco.

Recently, a very rich phosphate deposit was discovered. Since then, Spain has drastically increased the number of Spanish legionnaires stationed there.

The U.S. has just agreed to provide Spain with over \$183 million in military assistance in exchange for extended leases on U.S. air bases in Spain. America's fascist ally will get not only weapons and weapons systems, but also support for modernizing her own defense industry. And those weapons will be used to make sure that some important mineral resources like phosphate are available to 'free world' industry.

Spain has been getting anxious about maintaining control over the phosphate reserves in her colony. In addition to resistance by the small nomadic Saharan population, Spain is fearful of expansion by its North African neighbors.

Spain has just sent 4000 Paratroopers and Legionnaires to Spanish Sahara, bringing the total troops stationed there now to 16,000. Sources in Madrid leaked that 20,000 more were scheduled to be sent soon. This would mean 36,000 troops stationed in a country where the population is usually estimated to be no more than 30,000 people.

Phosphate is about all Spanish Sahara has to offer the industrialized West. Almost all of the 30,000 people are nomads. Only a microscopic portion of the land is cultivated. Things are so dry that there are only 540 palm trees in the whole country.

There is, however, a lot of phosphate. According to industrial estimates there are 1.7 billion tons (\$8 billion worth at current prices). That is the largest untapped supply in the world.

Portugal and Spain both have colonies in Africa. They both use military force to control the people in those countries - Spain in Spanish Sahara and Portugal in Guinea (Bissau), Angola, and Mozambique. Both of them receive military assistance from the U.S. The U.S., in turn, gets a middle country to wage its Third World wars. Someone else to do the fighting while the resources are kept available to the international capitalist system.



ANGOLA

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has revealed that the Portuguese colonial army is spraying cultivated areas in the liberated zones with toxic chemical defoliants. The MPLA charged the intention is to decimate the civilian population through destroying the land and causing widespread starvation. The MPLA is requesting international organizations to condemn the crime and pressure the Lisbon (Portugal) regime to renounce the toxic bombing.

Twenty years—and still refugees

By Tom Foley
Part I

NEW YORK (DW) — The Palestinian Arab problem has begun to boil over. That should surprise no one, for the problem was left on the fire for more than two decades. Anything heated up for 20 years either evaporates or explodes, and the Palestinian Arabs have not evaporated.

THE PROBLEM began in November, 1947, when the United Nations voted to partition the British mandate territory of Palestine.

Two states were to be created under the U.N. plan for the two nations which inhabited Palestine, the Arabs and the Jews. In fact, civil war broke out between the two almost as soon as the U.N. vote was taken.

The largely unarmed, leaderless Arab peasants of Palestine were very badly defeated in these hostilities and hundreds of thousands of them became refugees before any Arab state intervened in Palestine.

On May 15, 1948, the civil war was transformed into another kind of war, because on that date three significant things happened: 1) the British withdrew from Palestine, 2) the State of Israel was proclaimed, 3) the armies of the Arab states entered Palestine. This new war lasted until mid-1949 and nearly

doubled the number of Palestinian Arab refugees.

It should be noted that all available evidence indicates the Palestinian Arabs were urged to stay in Palestine by the other Arabs: all Arab radio broadcasts were monitored by the U.S. and Britain in this period. The records are now in the British Museum.

They contain not one Arab appeal or order for the Palestinian Arabs to leave Palestine.

In mid-1949, at the end of hostilities in Palestine, there were an estimated 750,000 Palestinian Arab refugees in all the states bordering on Israel.

Today, scattered all over the world, there may be close to three million Palestininas, of whom 1.3 million are officially refugees from one of the three conflicts with Israel, and 850,000 of this latter number are living on United Nations assistance in the Middle East.

DUE TO human nature more than anything, the Palestinian

Arab problem has grown steadily larger every year since 1948.

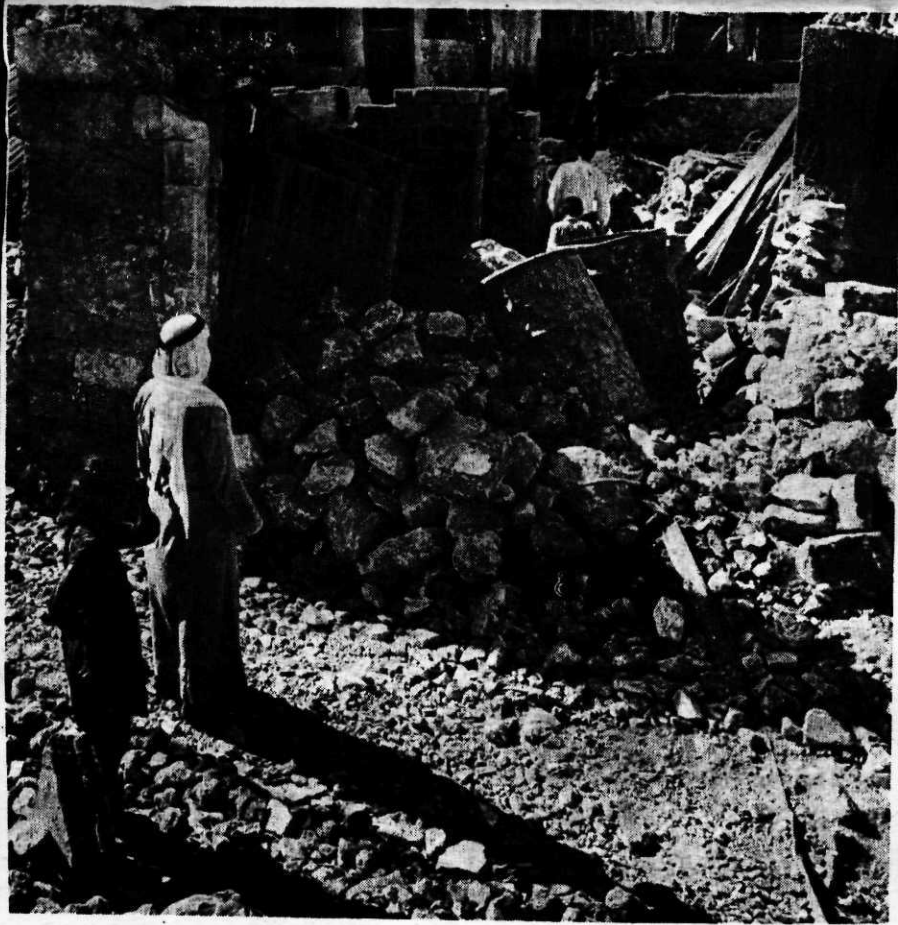
Zionist propaganda would have the world believe that if the Palestinian refugees are not exactly living in conditions of luxury, they are at least much better off than most Arabs. But this is far from the truth.

The Report of the Commissioner - General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) for the year ending June, 1968, shows that the monthly ration of food for one Palestinian refugee consists of 22 lbs. (10,000 grams) of flour, 1.3 lb. of a legume called pulses, 1.3 lb. of sugar, 1.1 lb. of rice, and ¾ lb. of fats and oils. This ration provides a daily intake of 1,500 calories.

In less scientific terms a starvation diet. It contains no meat, milk or dairy products, or vegetables. This is what the Palestinian Arab refugees



THE DESPAIR OF AN OCCUPIED LAND



have lived on for the last 20 years or more.

UNRWA estimates that for each refugee, it spends less than eight cents a day, or about \$38 a year. Most refugees were or are in Jordan, where the average yearly income, in 1965, was \$45 - \$50 per person.

So on any terms, the Palestinians are not living well, and certainly not better than most other Arabs.

But there are other things to consider about the refugees — shelter, clothing, education and training.

Shelter? For the most part, for the last 20 years, the Palestinians have lived in various kinds of semi-permanent dwellings.

THE ZIONISTS again say this was because the refugees refused to move into better places. This is not true either. Of course, those refugees who could get out of the UN camps did so.

That is clear from the figures on the total Palestinian population. But those who had

no place to go remained. UNRWA could not afford to build magnificent dwellings, because its funds were limited to \$38 a year for each refugee for all purposes.

This shows they have never tried to live under the canvas of a tent in the desert when the temperature hits 120 F. and the flies begin to drop dead. But this is the summer. There is also winter.

In Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, the temperature drops below freezing in the winter in the areas where the refugee camps are located.

Snow falls and freezing rain. The earth becomes a half-frozen mass of gumbo mud. The icy wind roars down from the snow-covered hills and mountains. This is how the Palestinians have lived for 20 years.

O A U

The seventh summit conference of the OAU (Organization of African Unity) was held September 2-5, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, with representation of all 41 member states. The main resolution of the conference proposed a special mission to France, West Germany, Britain, and other countries selling or intending to supply arms to the Pretoria (South Africa) regime. The resolution condemned these three states and called on all African governments to exert every form of pressure on them to stop such sales. Also,

there were moves to recommend sanctions against all countries trading with South Africa, and Portugal, but some delegates were reluctant to approve such measures against nations which invested heavily in their territories.

Another very important result of the conference was the reconciliation of Nigeria with Zambia, Tanzania, Gabon, and the Ivory Coast, after their split when these four nations recognized Biafra during the Nigerian Civil War.

**WE
WILL
RUN THE
CAPITALIST OUT OF
OUR COMMUNITIES**

