

BLACK RAP

Volume IV Number 3 Black Students for Black Action of Lake Forest College May 1972

FREE ANGELA BEFORE SHE GETS

JUSTICE :



TIME - DEATH
FREE ANGELA

JUSTICE OF THE PIG

EDITORIAL

Self-criticism/self-analysis is a mechanism by which programs, projects and leaders are kept responsible to the legitimate aims of an organization or group. The lack of self-analysis among Black people is evident for we cannot and do not exercise control over actions of groups and individual leaders, that are supposed to be representing us, in the community. Thus, self-criticism performs the important function of keeping the constituent parts of an organization or people in line/unified with some originally articulated super-goal or ideological perspective. Only an organization or people at a sophisticated stage of its development can engage in self-criticism constructively. Example, Roy Wilkins and the late Whitney Young can condone South African apartheid.

Self-criticism becomes destructive when it is not used strictly according to definition -- the analysis of the consequence of engaging in alternative forms of behavior. Note, this definition of self-criticism does not involve the critique of personality peculiarities.

How do we reach that sophisticated stage of self-analysis, that idyllic place in the sun in which the masses hold leadership accountable to their goals and designated programs? First, let us assume that in any given situation there are many people or groups that aspire to lead and many associated ideas that claim righteousness, competing for the allegiance of the masses of the people. Next, let us concur with the empirical observation that an idea is supreme over other like concepts when it manifests



itself in an organizational structure that is able to bind the aspirations of the people to it. This binding of the aspirations of the people to a particular organizational structure involves either legitimate deliverance of practical goods and services to answer what the organization perceives to be the needs of the people or outright propaganda selling of the organization. The beginning of a particular idea or leadership that is manifested in an organizational structure over like phenomena is thus established by the willingness of the people to ally themselves with it and its ability to maintain that alliance. The point here is that all organizations are informed by a particular or are manifestations of a particular ideological perspective. What happens after a particular organization comes into being is that the idea it represents acts as a kind of standard by

which all other competing ideas must be evaluated. Example, the U.S. government, an organizational structure embodying a particular idea, although it has grown over time, still requires all who exist in its purview to define themselves in its terms. Explicitly, on the American political spectrum there are many conflicting ideological positions, radicals, liberals, and conservatives, yet all of these political positions bare some relationship to the original political ideal of 1776. Essentially, because they all recognize the hegemony of the structure which embodies it.

BSBA needs to engage in some form of self-criticism and there is no better forum for that criticism than Black Rap. So, the new staff of Black Rap henceforth will dedicate Black Rap to analytic criticism of the nature discussed here -- the assessment of the success or failure of programs and leadership on campus and in the community at large.

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Communication through open dialogue, candid commentary, creative art and, accurate reporting -- such is the purpose of Black Rap as demanded by the times in which we live and the future which we as a people must work to create.

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ANGELA!

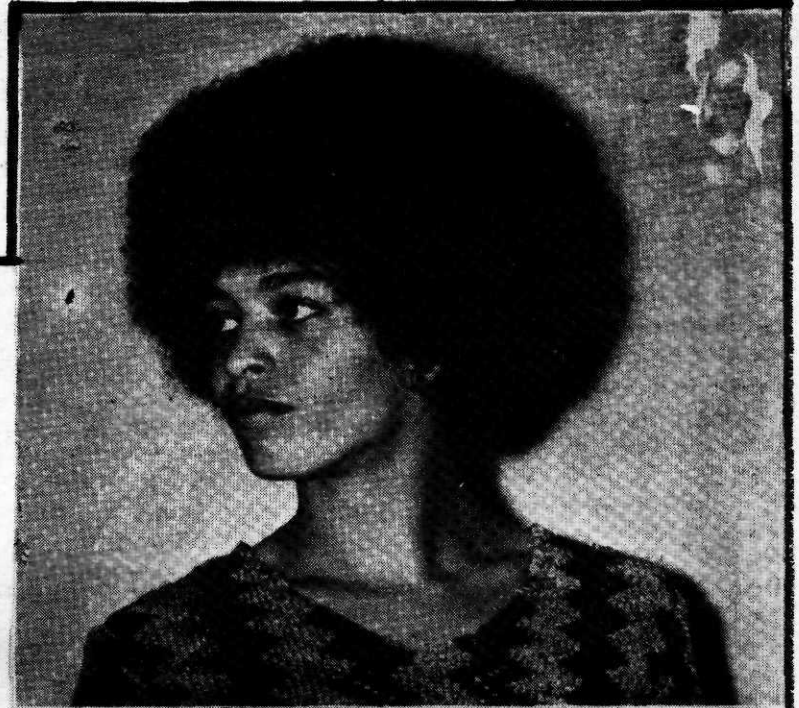
"The people have to understand what the forces were that drove Ruchell Magee or Wille Christmas, Jonathan Jackson or James McLain to attempt to break the walls in that way. In the same way we can understand why Nat Turner gathered up his brothers and sisters who were slaves and revolted against the master. Because things were just so unbearable. It was either being beat into a living death or taking the risks of living in struggle."

— Angela Davis

Black people in America have always been faced with the alternative set forth by Angela Davis in the preceding passage--that of passive acceptance or active rejection of certain situations with some idea of the consequences in the far recesses of one's mind. The most obvious example of this is the slave rebellions on southern plantations, but recently this can be seen in the context of our Black political prisoners such as Angela Davis.

In an interview with Elaine Brown, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, only two days after her release from jail, Angela continuously expressed her gratitude to the masses for the support which they had expressed in many ways. She said that the abolition of the death penalty in California was not simply something that was handed down by a group of judges on the Supreme Court as the majority of people seem to believe, but was influenced to a great extent by the struggles around prisons in the last few years. She saw this as a victory of the mass movement because of the fact that the constant exposure of prison conditions and political prisoners--sisters and brothers who have become political prisoners by virtue of their political activities and organizing within all the maximum security dungeons of California--to the masses has fostered a great deal of receptivity among people to the problems that prisons present. This shows that instead of expending all of our energy upon defending any one person, we must begin to challenge the foundations of the prison system as a whole and the legal apparatus which buttresses it and relate this to the Black Liberation Struggle.

The point that emerged more often than any other was that of justice in this country. Angela could not be overly exuberant about being granted bail when there are brothers and sisters who have spent two and sometimes three years in jail before their trial came up. This is a form of oppression in itself because it safely removes the person from contact with the masses for a while, making him ineffective. Until a few years ago, the law did not require that a person have legal counsel. Therefore, Blacks often had to face the rhetoric of white lawyers by defending themselves; and knowing nothing of legal loopholes, had no chance whatever, considering this, it seems strange that Ruchell Magee having been denied the right to defend himself and protesting his court-appointed lawyer was beaten and dragged from the courtroom in full view of the judge and everyone present.



To Angela the whole conception of justice is a sham "when a sister or brother who has been active in the community, who has been organizing and relating to Black people and the needs of Black people can be ripped-off, kidnapped, picked up from the streets, jailed and kept there for months and months and months." Angela goes on to say that whites can not judge a Black's innocence or guilt of a crime, or indeed whether he has committed a crime because of their different economic position in this society. How can they say that a person who is not given a job so that he can provide his basic needs for survival should be sent away to prison when he takes a loaf of bread from a store? Recognizing that survival is a human being's most basic biological need, isn't this person merely trying to satisfy this need?

Speaking of justice, how many people are aware that George Jackson spent eleven years in jail for a \$70 robbery that no one is sure really took place? How many people know that Robert Wesley Wells has been in prison for over 40 years because he was accused of a car theft? How many of these same people know that any white middle-class youth who decides to take a joy ride in a car that just happens to be handy at any given time will **not** be given time, will be given an admonition, a meal and his parents will come by to bring him home. There are thousands of cases of brothers and sisters who are in jail today for no reason whatsoever. As Elaine said:

"I think that because they are there, they can bring other people to the understanding that you don't have to do anything special, you don't have to be born with special attributes, to be any of these people that have been brought out by the press particularly, that you don't have to do any of these things except for to try to live. You can just start out by breathing, that would be a beginning point; then, wanting to continue to live and to survive and, perhaps, enjoy this experience of life!"

If you are realistic, you would have to agree with Elaine because she has accurately defined the dilemma of the Black man in America in a few words. Then, of course, once Blacks have been safely put away in prisons, it has been very simple to murder them there. However, it is no longer neces-

ANGELA! cont.

sary to murder an inmate to rid him of his influence upon the people because of the lobotomy--an operation in which some of the connections between the frontal lobes of the cerebrum and thalamus (the nerve relay station) are severed--which can be performed on him. Its effects are loss of normal social habits, altering of intelligence, loss of capacity for higher thinking and applying past experiences to the solution of present problems. In successful cases the patient leaves the hospital, but loses a certain degree of creativity. In other cases the patient becomes selfish, quick tempered, unable to exercise good judgement, and often, manic.

An even more deadly treatment is the use of ancetine or the aversion treatment which averts prisoners from any kind of assertive activity. For about 60 seconds, the prisoner experiences the sensation of dying--breathing is completely relaxed and arrested as in suffocation. A psychiatrist sits next to the prisoner and discusses what he has done. This is used as a disciplinary measure so that the next time he feels like "striking out", he doesn't. This method is being used at Atascadero and Bacaville prisons in California which are considered two of the most effective prisons in the United States today. Recently all of the most violent prisoners from certain jails have been sent to one of these places for six months before being returned to their original places. More often than not the ones chosen for this treatment have been Black political prisoners. This underscores Angela's and George Jackson's point that we must challenge and revolutionize the entire prison system rather than individual cases because in the final analysis it doesn't matter whether Angela or Huey's charges are dropped when thousands of other people are sent to jail for the same trumped-up reasons. As Angela said, "I think that it is probably a truism by now that in any given society what goes on in prisons reflects very important elements of the society as a whole and that you can learn something about the nature of the society by looking at what happens behind the walls, among its captives." Be sure to do your part.

Power to the aware and dealing!



BLACK HISTORY? HE'S LIVED IT

Richmond Duncan is a living testimony to black history in Lake County. Duncan is 100 years old. He is one of the first black homeowners to live in the county.

He was born on Aug. 2, 1871, shortly after the Civil War, to Richmond and Malinda Duncan, newly freed slaves.

Young Richmond, one of seven children, left Florence, Ala., at the age of 18, like many other young southern blacks who joined the great migrations to the North, looking for better opportunities. Together with his family of four, Duncan migrated to North Chicago and settled in the 1300 block of 14th Street.

Today, Duncan still resides in the small building he built and used as a grocery store in the early 20's. He lives by himself in the one-floor dwelling. His two daughters, Minnie Gray and Wyldine Alexander, who live on the same block, do the cooking and housework for their father.

Without hesitation Duncan remembers his childhood and parents. He describes his father, as being a farmer and a woodsman. His mother mainly took care of the children and the house. The white family whom his father and mother were slaves under lived in the same area.

Duncan said that things weren't bad for blacks at the time racially in the South. Everyone knew his place and there wasn't much mixing, except when it came time to bring the crops in.

"I farmed all the time in Florence and people were considerate because we were all home folk, there weren't many whites around. We knew all of our neighbors. It has changed, now nobody knows nobody," Duncan said.

"I didn't move away from Florence because I couldn't get along with the white folks," he said. "Of course they wanted you to know they were white, but I didn't have any trouble with them."

Duncan said he came to North Chicago with \$500 in his pocket, which he promptly used to buy his first house.

"I hated to leave my old mule team, but I couldn't bring them with me, so I sold them and boarded the train to Chicago."

In the North, Duncan said he noticed an immediate difference to life in the South. "There's a difference in the way they treated colored people," he said, "Down South they wanted to be head-knockers. Up here in the early years the people used to mix. But now they don't even mix. In the later years the people just changed."

Duncan and his two daughters have lived in the 1300 block of 14th Street for the last 53 years. He describes his 100th birthday last July as one of the highlights of his life.

"I never knew I had so many friends around here...I received cards from the president, governor, and mayor. It sure did make me feel good and people still call me on the phone," Duncan said, breaking into a smile which displayed a good set of teeth.

Another highlight in his life was when Alex Wasniewski, at that time a school principal, brought over a group of students to see his sorghum mill, which was powered by a Model-T Ford in his backyard. Sorghum cane was an important crop for farmers in the South and used to produce molasses.

"I had that contraption hooked up to the Ford, so that the cane was ground into a juice, which flowed into a pan over a fire and out ran the molasses," he said, gesturing with aged hands. "The kids wanted to know how it ran, but I was just as mystified as they were."

"Just as fast as I could get the syrup out of the mill the people would buy it at \$2 a gallon," he said, smiling with self-satisfaction.

What's Duncan secret to living a long life?

"If you do right the Lord will prolong your life...treating your neighbor as you would do yourself," he said. "By doing good you add another score to your life."

Richmond Duncan seems to be content, smoking his pipes and reading the mail, with a little help from a magnifying glass and his ever-present gold wire-rimmed glasses.

H H

COMMENTS: R. W. COOK - A FORMER BLACK RAP EDITOR

ROADBLOCKS TO PROGRESSIVE CHANGE

Built-In Contradictions of the Federal Bureaucracy

It is a matter of course that the government in present-day living employs a tremendous amount of people (in the U.S. 12,582,000 civilians, or 18% of the non-agricultural labor force). The government's employees do not maintain the same relationship as the employee to employer in private associations. For the massive number of government employees exist not for the benefit of the government as much as for the benefit of the people, for it is the people whose labors pay the salaries of government employees. Whereas in private industry, the employee's service is for the especial benefit of the employer. (The distinction between 'the government' and 'the people' is not natural, but is an artificial imposition resulting from the awkward character of life in capitalist America; for in true humanist/popular societies, 'for the benefit of the government' is synonymous with 'for the benefit of the people'.)

Government workers form the backbone of the governmental apparatus - they are the 'meat' of the system which is supposed to deliver goods and services to the people, administer to the needs of the masses, and provide for a decent standard of living for the entire populace. The government, through its workers and administrators, provides the technical, managerial, and support resources to provide for the people's welfare. And living in the metropolitan societies of today, it is understandable, in part, why the number of government workers is so large. This network of government administrators, the managers of the numerous departments, bureaus, and agencies of government, is what we know as the federal bureaucracy. It is this collection of "officials" who are the bosses of the more than 12 million civilian workers in the government's employ, and it is these same bureaucrats to whom we presently turn our attention.

The Bureaucracy In Perspective

Whenever and wherever a governmental apparatus exists, it is automatically understood that that government's *raison d'être*, its only justification for being, is to provide for the common welfare, i.e., to provide equally for the decent living of the masses who allow for that government's existence. And in the course of living under a governmental system, it is imperative (in order to provide for the ongoing health of the people) that the governed critically discern whether or not that government is sufficiently responsive, as it should be, to the needs and wishes of the people. And since the government functions, so to speak, by virtue of management of its affairs by its department, agency, bureau, and commission heads and their deputies, it follows that any egalitarian functioning of government rests heavily with these bureaucrats.

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If the federal bureaucrats, managers of the u.s. governmental system, are to hold the interests of the masses central to their operations, then they must create and consequently manage programs and activities consistent with the dictates of time and change, i.e., they must maintain proper historical perspective, and their perceptions and approaches must be cogently relevant to present needs and conditions. On this first point we must judge the present-day american federal bureaucracy as quite an anachronism.

Why The Anachronism

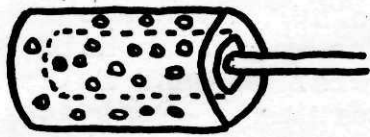
At the onset the bureaucrat is obliged to provincial conservatism by the very archaic concept of why he exists. A bureaucrat, as a government official, is by definition insistent on and follows an inflexible routine, proper forms, rules, etc. This is not simply a definition offered by Webster's, but in fact the actual realms of existence for the federal bureaucrat. Thus, we can understand the contradictions, the inconsistencies, and the waste which accompanies bureaucratic operations. Encouraged by force of tradition and compelled by those desirous of maintaining the status quo, the federal bureaucrats' insistence on inflexible routines, procedures, and concepts (of the past), stifle and prevent the emergence of progressive programs responsive to present-day conditions and needs of the people. Though most federal programs are limited by the legally-binding mandates of congressional law, ~~however~~ considerable latitude is allowed for administering particular programs and operations. However, within the bounds of their operations, these bureaucrats, i.e., the federal managers, by conscious or unconscious forfeiture of initiative and lack of touch with the masses, usually become concerned with the agency or the bureau itself (-their own little "empire"), rather than considering the broad areas of meeting the needs of the people.

Thus, instead of learning from the mistakes a federal program has encountered, instead of trying to iron out blatant inconsistencies (which may unnerve the heart of the program), the federal bureaucrat opts to maintain things as is. This results because the federal bureaucrat does not want to admit to major shortcomings of his program, fearful that admitting such shortcomings/failures underscores his "incompetent" management, or is a threat to his ego. Also, we have a very contradictory (and self-defeating) situation where political considerations supercede the considerations of the masses. We find programs not being approved nor appropriately funded because it is not in the best interests of politics, or the politician to do so. Thus, the all-important concern and attention to the needs of the masses is consciously overlooked in favor of the winds of the political climate. And the federal bureaucrats, especially the numerous appointed ones, must either yield to the (inconsiderate) sways of politics or face dismissal or other "punishment". Fearing dismissal, these top-level bureaucrats jump in line and see to it that their subordinates do likewise, or, despite the protection of the civil service commission (which can be circumscribed if necessary), they too are forced out of the way.

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IN DEFENSE OF SELF-DEFENSE

"An unarmed people are subject to slavery at any given time." This quotation says what has to be said. In this day and age it is quite apparent that the right to live has been taken away from Black people. The need to be armed is more important than "where's the set this weekend?" Brothers and sisters must defend the right to survive. When pigs start "protecting" our communities with .44 magnums (the most powerful handgun made) the question of "Who is to protect us from the pigs?", has to be a valid question. Therefore, through this newspaper we have discussed handguns, rifles, shotguns, and now carbines and an introduction to explosives. It should be clearly understood that we are not advocating going out and ripping off pigs indiscriminately. However, if a pig steps out of line he should be dealt with accordingly. The reason for the section "In Defense of Self-Defense" is that all Black people be aware of the different types of devices that can be used to "protect" yourself, your family, and your people. It is our hope that when the time arises, Black people will be able to defend themselves in a revolutionary manner.



A gas mask

The pigs often use teargas and other gases to smoke people out. Therefore, it is necessary for us to be able to negate this factor. If you cannot buy a gas mask, a homemade mask is just as good. In order to make a mask you will need two cans (one must fit inside of the other one), a piece of cloth, activated charcoal, cotton, potassium permanganate solution, a rubber tube, and a diving mask.

Punch a lot of holes in the two cans that fit one inside the other. Cover the larger one with cloth. Fill the space between the two cans with activated charcoal. Buy this at a pet store - it is used in aquariums). Fill the inner can with cotton that is damp with potassium permanganate - baking soda solution. A tube, like that of a diving snorkel, goes into the cotton. A single cover is cemented to both cans and to the tube, which passes through a hole in its center. A diving mask covers the eyes. Exale through your nose.

Incendiary bombs are quite effective against attacks. Molotov cocktails are incendiary bombs. A bottle is filled about two-thirds parts of gasoline and one-third oil with soap powder added. A gas soaked rag is stuffed into the bottle neck. The bottle should be corked. The rag should be stuffed between the cork and the bottle neck. Two-thirds to three-fourths of the bottle should be filled with the solution. A bolt or rock should be placed in the bottle also to insure breakage but it isn't necessary.

There are many variations to the Molotov cocktail. One is to fill the bottle with gasoline as before, but instead of the oil solution fill the bottle with concentrated sulfuric acid. (Make sure, when you seal the bottle, that no acid touches the cap). Soak a rag or sock in a concentrated solution of potassium chlorate with some sugar added. Wrap the rag or sock around the bottle and it will ignite spontaneously when it breaks. The rag may be dried but when dry they are extremely combustible.

Napalm may be substituted for gasoline if the walls are more combustible than the floors or if the bombs are to be used against vehicles. Dissolve some real hand soap (not soap powder)

in gasoline, and add aluminum nitrate. The mixture should be shaken so that it is a gel but not too thick. It may help to dissolve the aluminum nitrate in some alcohol.

A small bag of sodium peroxide can be tied to a bottle of gasoline. The bag should be made of cloth. Layer about an inch of water in the bottle. This also is self-igniting. Don't touch sodium peroxide.

A hand grenade is sometimes better than an incendiary bomb but it is sometimes better than an incendiary. A hand grenade can be made by filling a jar, a small aerosol can or preferably the cans that brake fluid comes in with 1½ parts charcoal, 1 part sulfur, and 6 parts potassium chlorate or potassium nitrate. This is not the only composition of black powder or gun powder. This is Not smokeless powder. When making this compound it is necessary to utilize extreme caution. To make the scrap-nel for the grenade, use rocks, broken glass, nails, any small pieces of metal. The bottom of the can should be layered with some of this debris. Then add the powder and add some more debris. The fuse should be placed half-way down into the powder. Make certain that your fuse is long enough for you to get it thrown off safely. Be certain to know the burning speed of the fuse. Caution in dealing with explosives cannot be stressed enough.

When storing explosives remember not to store them in damp places

If fuses are needed for a particular explosive, soft cotton, string or yarn, may be soaked in a concentrated solution of potassium chlorate with a little sugar in it is good. Don't hang them up to dry or too much liquid will drip off. Wet tissue paper (like the kind that shoes are wrapped in) sprinkled with black powder rolled up in it is also good.

When storing explosives remember not to store them in damp places. Also never store near flammables such as oil, gasoline, cleaning solvents or paints. Open flames (even a cigarette) must be avoided. Metals should be kept away also. Spontaneous combustion is a real problem when storing explosives. For this reason leaves, grasses, brush or any type of debris should not be allowed to collect or accumulate around the explosives storing area. Certain types of explosives require certain types of storage, including temperature regulation and others. Be certain that you are aware of the different methods required to handle and store certain compounds. At all times use common sense, and allow only qualified persons to be near or handle explosives.

When handling explosives be careful and take your time. Never allow smoking. Metals shouldn't come into contact with explosives casings. Exercise extreme caution at all times. Never use any equipment that appears damaged or deteriorated. Inspect all equipment before use.

Dealing with fuses can be made a lot safer by knowing the burning speed of the fuse, and calculating the amount of time you will need to get to safety. Never use a short fuse. Do not attempt to investigate a misfire too soon. Never return to area of a blast until all the smoke has cleared at least.

With this basic introduction it is hoped that the need arises for us to become aware of the different types of defensive measures that can be used. It is with revolutionary love that we dedicate our lives to the destruction of our enemies.

All Power to the Aware and Dealin'
.....with the conviction that the
oppressed shall not always be.

SELF DEFENSE Y'ALL

In the last issue of Black Rap we dealt with the shotgun, in this article we will deal with the M-1 carbine. The M-1 carbine is not a high power rifle, shotgun or a handgun—it is in a class by itself. It is small ($5\frac{1}{2}$ pounds), short (36 inches), semi-automatic, gas operated, air cooled, clip fed and fires a special cartridge much smaller than the .30-06. For these reasons it is an excellent weapon for close quarters self-defense behind only to the shotgun and the Browning Hi-Power 9mm parabellum pistol.

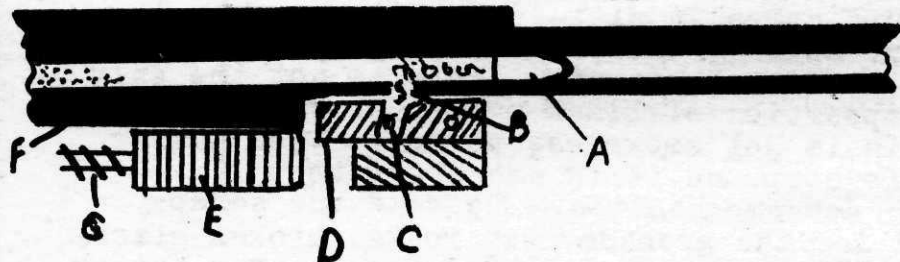


Fig. 1

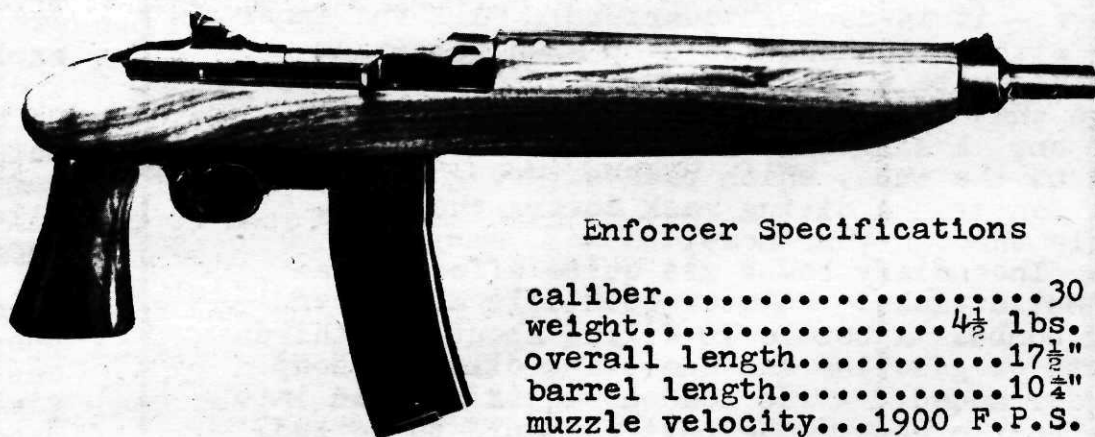
The operation of the carbine is simple. (See Fig. 1). As soon as bullet (A) is forward of gas port (B) in barrel, gas from the burning powder expands through the gas port into the gas cylinder (C) and pushes the piston (D) rearward. The piston strikes the operating slide (E), starting it into motion, and the piston is stopped after about $\frac{3}{16}$ " of travel by the barrel (F). As the operating slide starts to the rear, the recoil spring (G) begins to be compressed. The operating slide moves rearward about $\frac{5}{16}$ " before its cam con-

tracts the operating lug of the bolt. This allows the operating slide to gain speed to overcome the inertia of the locked bolt, and also gives time for the bullet to clear the muzzle, allowing pressure in the barrel to be reduced to the outside pressure before the bolt begins to unlock. Extraction and ejection of the fired cartridge case, withdrawal of the firing pin to safe position inside the bolt, and cocking of the hammer occurs as the bolt forward, it strips the top round from the magazine and pushes it into the chamber.

The carbine bore can only be cleaned from the muzzle. Inspect bore with a white cloth or piece of paper placed in breech opening at an angle to reflect light. Carbine cartridges have non-corrosive primers and therefore it is not necessary to use water in cleaning the bore. However, nitro-solvent or bore cleaner should be used to dissolve powder fouling. Dry bore with clean patches after use of nitro-solvent or bore cleaner, and oil bore with patch soaked in preservative oil. Be sure to remove grease or any obstructions from bore prior to firing.

While the carbine does not have the power or accuracy for long range shooting, it is amply powerful and accurate at 100 to 150 yards. Because it is small and short, it can be handled quickly. Another advantage is that it has removable clips which can hold 30 rounds. You can keep several on hand fully loaded, which gives the carbine a great deal of firepower. Since its sight are sight are similar to a regular rifle, it is a good weapon on which to learn rifle marksmanship. Current price is \$90 to \$100.

We will WIN!



Enforcer Specifications

caliber.....30
weight..... $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.
overall length..... $17\frac{1}{2}$ "
barrel length..... $10\frac{1}{4}$ "
muzzle velocity...1900 F.P.S.



Carbine Specifications

caliber.....30
weight.....6 lbs.
overall length.....36"
barrel length.....20"
muzzle velocity...1900 F.P.S.

Cont. from P. 6

Then still, there is another major reason why federal bureaucrats are so typically not in step with present-day needs. Whenever the bureaucrat is vested with power over certain programs, people, or monies - any such authority or control, that all-too-typical american individualism (read: selfishness, ~~and~~) grips his mind, and he becomes lost in the matter of the moment. His main concern lies not in making sure that his program works for popular benefit, nor in progressively adjusting the faults in his programs and management, rather, his central concern becomes that of power. One department head will fight with another department head, one bureau chief will have public and private feuds with another bureau chief, and office, division, and agency heads will in turn battle with one another. Ultimately it is obvious that the fighting is not over real, down-to-earth issues such as the peoples' welfare and how best to provide for such, rather, the heated exchanges and wasted energies result from a perverted sense of power and the desire to be the one in the spotlight. Agencies and their subunits throughout, by some misdirected and insensible judgement consider themselves "the main ones", that they are the unit of greatest importance; these attitudes and approaches stimulate destructive competition, and drastically impedes the cooperation which is essential for adequate government responsiveness to the needs and wishes of all the people.

Then again, the bureaucratic system breaks down simply because its huge and variegated network lacks sufficient and necessary coordination in order to be of maximum benefit to the people. Many times when a community is interested in benefiting from federal programs, that community is stymied, frustrated, and confused by the numerous and uncoordinated federal agencies which may have jurisdiction in a particular area. It is cumbersome and inefficient to have so many agencies operative in the same or similar areas, and it borders on criminal when the average person is not afforded practical means to take advantage of services and benefits his taxes provide for. ^{through federal agencies.} Rather than being directed to appropriate ~~XXXXX~~ channels for alleviation of difficulties, the person in need is all but challenged and dared to find a way through the myriad of federal programs. Once again, it is the bureaucracy itself which prevents sufficient realization of benefits for the people.

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FROM
P. 9.

The Paper Mill Empire

Thus, we witness the federal bureaucracy becoming/ existing (consciously or unconsciously) as an end in itself. Rather than fulfilling its duties to the public, and performing them well, the federal bureaucracy is bogged down in maintaining its own empire. The federal bureaucrat, rather than producing goods and services for the people, is lost in generating reams and reams of paper and forms, which, for the bureaucrat, symbolizes the (artificial) import and complexity of his work. Is it not the typical bureaucrat who refuses to deal with the people and their actual problems unless they have suffered through the endless channels of "proper" procedures and "proper" forms? Then, when the federal bureaucracy does listen to the people directly, it is usually with the attitude of looking down on the common people, subsequently demanding adherence to anachronistic and confusing (even to the bureaucrat) methods, then damning the people because "they are too ignorant to do as they are told".

Redressing The Inequities

In the final analysis, the federal bureaucracy, like its maker the american (quasi-)democratic system, is a one-sided, non-responsive system which is dominated by the impetus to preserve itself (i.e., its special interests), without due response to the masses it is (supposedly) designed to serve. If the system's reason for being is not being fulfilled, then the system itself should be scrapped completely. Of course, another alternative would be to attempt to redress the inequities, to attempt to reorganize the whole framework. However, in view of the numerous government reorganizations to date, and the maintainance of the status quo throughout, the only sensible alternative would be a complete and fundamental change. And, needless to say, the latter will not occur as long as the bureaucracy is mandated and encouraged by a political structure which, like its offspring, is not in step with the dictates of time and circumstance, and whose guiding light is preservation of self and special interests - none of which speaks to meeting the needs of all the people.

Thus, faced with the stumbling inadequacy of the bureaucratic system and its maker, and considering the historical realization that reforms just won't get it, the popular alternative is complete and fundamental change. We can continue to press for reforms and/or censorship of those who ~~XXXXX~~ blatantly abuse public authority; but, once again, history has proven the futility of such moves. We can continue to press for resolution of the ills and inequities which confront this nation's millions of oppressed and exploited. -Such efforts on our part will serve to heighten the contradictions within the present system, and, dependent upon your initiative, will bring us to the historical realization that for our mutual human survival and development, we must actively engage ourselves in popular progressive movements. The constitutional alternative of drastic and fundamental change is the popular recourse. We must creatively destroy present oppressive/ exploitative conditions and institutions, and at the same time build positive, progressive, popular institutions in their places. The challenge is obvious. The task is yours.

A BLACK WOMAN SYMPHONY IN THREE MOVEMENTS

Primo

Moving
warily through childhood somewhere Marie
lost her humanity and looking down to find
it saw instead a pair of long skinny ashy
black legs which were for most other little
black girls in the early 50's a horrible
reality

And Marie moved
into her teens not really pretty and never happy
because of hair too short too nappy to ever blow
in the breeze...

So
the world skipped laughed played and romanced
past Marie
pushing she and her second/hand/existence
into the shadows causing her to lose
her
hu/man/a/tee

Secondo

when suddenly as if a
lightning bolt had
struck the world/someOne
whispered Black is Beautiful
in a canyon and the echo resounded
the world over and Black
was Black is Black can be Black should
be Black and Black was
Back

Finale

and so was Mar/reeee
moving regally in her womaness Moving toward
love and smiles and happiness and Black and
small and ashy as she'd always been
and moving on long skinny ashy black legs as
she'd always had and hair short and nappy as it
would always be/Marie pushed into shadows yet

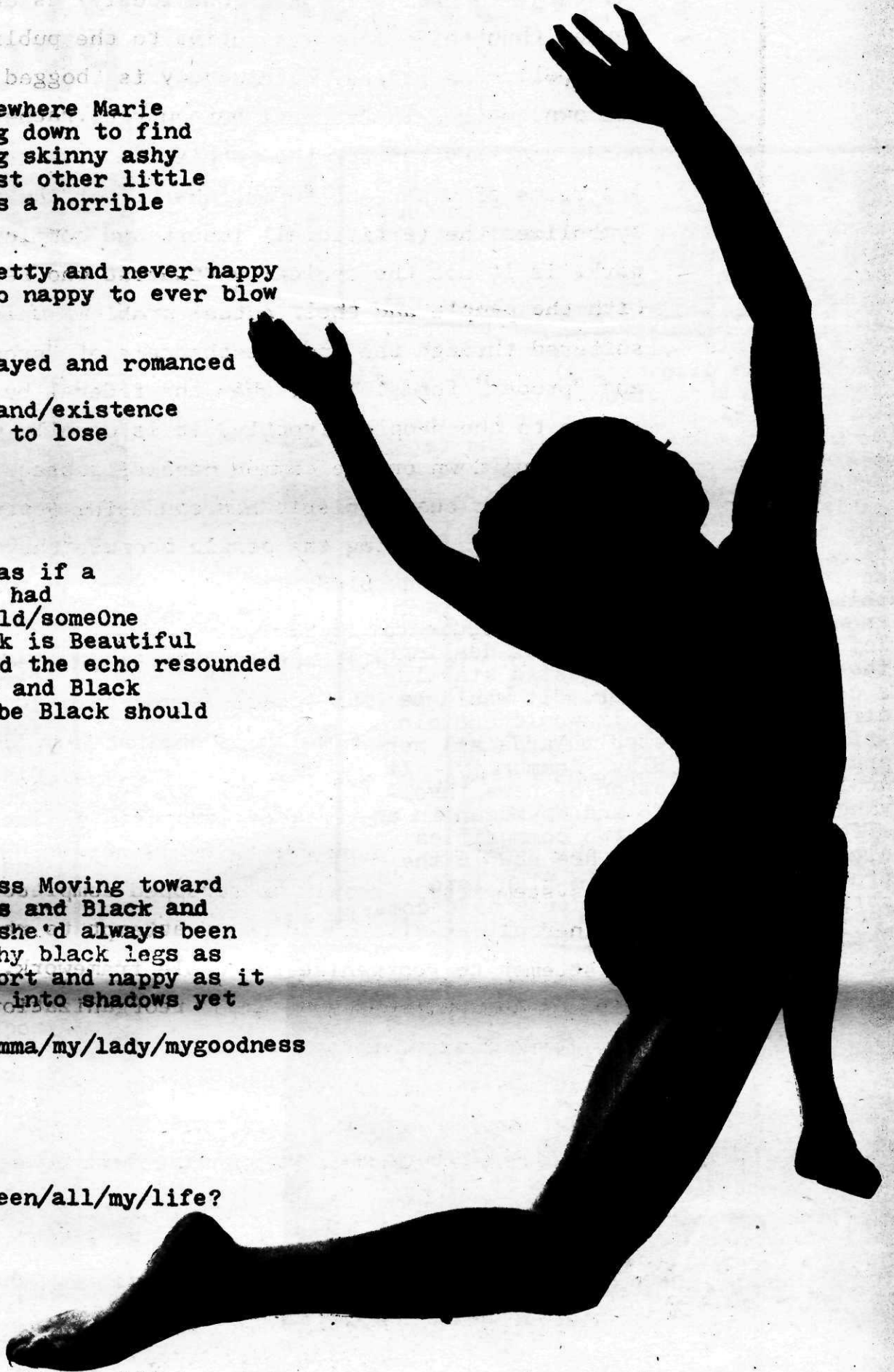
emerging a fox sugar/baby/momma/my/lady/mygoodness
my woman
my wife
my lord/my god
a queen
Nefertiti

baby, where/you/been/all/my/life?

Marie
having lost
her
humanity
blackblackblack
finally back

... and just a little bit precious

yeah.



....Becoming is/has/bes the most beautiful time
of YOU

Your Woman way of looking at the
world,

Your being Woman in the
world

is Black therefore Different
from any other Woman

....is/has/bes more Beautiful
than any other,

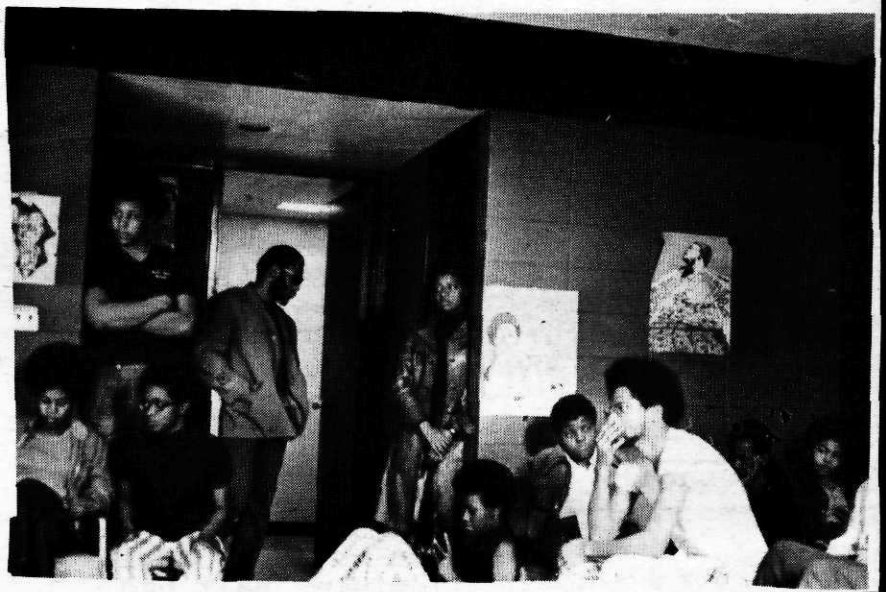
Being is your Black Becoming most Differently.

Truthfully

ag

FRED HAMPTON COMMUNITY PROGRAM

This term the Fred Hampton Community Project changed coordinators. Sis. Phyllis Wyatt and Bro. Mike McIver, both seniors, turned over the leadership roles to Sis. Sharon Cole and Bro. Lloyd Sprott, both second year students. In the past weeks the program has discussed the Black Family Structure, Brotherhood, Organization and Genocide. Bro. JaDon Williams of North Chicago said, "I dig the rap sessions most because you get to hear other brothers and sisters' opinions on important matters that we should all be aware of. It helps me to understand Black people's situation better." JaDon said that the one bad thing is that we don't let others know what we are doing. In order to let the community in on our dealings, the students have suggested starting a community newspaper. It would be structured so that it would contain information directed towards all generations in the Black community. It would be a collection of news involving North Chicago and Waukegan in an effort to draw the two communities closer together. We are now in the process of setting this plan into action. Also, the students have come



This spring a political education class was instituted here by BSBA. The first class was held Friday April 7, 1972. Succeeding classes are scheduled for Fridays at 6:30 p.m. every other week. The classes are conducted as discussion sessions on topics ranging from Black Capitalism to revolution. Each member of the class is asked to read the assigned material (which usually consists of one book for each session) in preparation for the discussion.

The need for a political liberation class at Lake Forest College (indeed at any white-controlled college) rests on three premises. First, the American social system since its inception has never included the needs of Black people as a part of the decisions and workings of its government and institutions. Secondly, the exclusion of Black people from these institutions is an inherent historic and present characteristic of this system; furthermore, this characteristic will be present for the duration of our existence in America unless this social system undergoes revolutionary changes. Third, the purpose and function of the institutions of any society is to perpetuate the existence of that society.

Those of us who do not deal positively with the first two premises need to attend the P.E. class, and there we can hopefully begin to awaken ourselves. However, we must further examine the 3rd premise.

The educational institutions of the American system (of which L.F.C. is a part) function to transmit cultural values and modes of behavior as well as thinking to the members of this system -- it cannot do less, for its existence is contingent upon its ability to carry out this function. Keeping this in mind, if we believe that the needs of Black people will only be served via revolutionary change in the American social fabric, it is absurd for us to expect the educational institutions of this society to "teach" us how to bring about such change. Therefore, to take advantage of the situation in which we find ourselves (i.e. at Lake Forest College) we must subvert the process which our oppressors have intended we undergo (a process which does not hardly take place only in the classroom!)

What this means is that the only way we can prepare ourselves to bring about meaningful change in the Ameri-



to the realization that in order for Black people to move ahead it is necessary for them to be unified. A Black Student Union was suggested.

A concerned BLACK teacher was contacted who suggested forming a union outside the school. This project will get underway before the close of school. The students of the Hampton Program have been instrumental in furthering the idea of unity. Brother Tommy, a student of North Chicago said, "I like the program a lot and I hope more brothers and sisters will one day be able to be as bad as Chairman Fred. Right On." Brother Melvin Ford was asked to make a statement about the program and he was quoted as saying, "If you are afraid to talk, the program is a good place to express yourself. If something is on your mind, it's a good place to talk it out. I feel it defines life realistically." Brother Larry Bone said, "I like everything about it." Sister Gayle Anderson, said "I like everything about it, ain't nothing bad about it."

The amount of respect that the students at Lake Forest have for these brothers and sisters cannot be measured. To see brothers and sisters

C. J. T. p. 14.

ZION TUTORIAL PROJECT

The word "tutor" has been defined as a person charged with the instruction and guidance of another individual for a particular purpose. This seems to imply to me that we are basically talking about educating. Generally when we mention education we automatically think of established institution schools. This institution is one of the main organs of this country. In his book The Student As Nigger, Jerry Farber says "School is a genetic mechanism for society, a kind of DNA process that continually recreates styles skills, values, hangups - and so keeps the whole thing going. Mr. Faber also says that schools exploit you because they tap your power and use it to perpetuate society's ways, while they teach you not to respect your own. They turn you away from yourself and toward the institutions around you.



anything else."

Therefore realizing that the responsibility of educating Black people is the task of Black people, approximately four years ago some Black students from Lake Forest College initiated the BSBA-Zion tutorial Project. This term the project has instituted the "group plan" in order to tutor more effectively the seventy-one young sisters and brothers from the Zion community. The "group plan" is a method of instruction most beneficial to Black people for it collective energies of a powerfully creative people. The effectivity of the "group plan" has yet to be assessed by the Zion community projects but we have no doubt in the faith of the people.

Right On!



The statements printed above initiate that school is not designed in the interest of any students, especially Black students. This is particularly true for Black people because schools merely perpetuate a racist society, a society based on the oppression of Black and poor people. These oppressors realize that in order to assure the oppression of a people, you must "make sure" that the people have no knowledge of self or their environment. Perhaps this is why the Black Panther Party says, "We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to

U NAME THIS ONE

let uh revolution come. uh
state of peace is not known to me
anyway
since i grew uhround in chi town
where
howlin wolf howled in the tavern on 47th st.
and muddy waters made u cry the salty nigger blues,
where pee wee cut lonnel fuh fuskin wid
his sistuh and blood baptized the street
at least twice ev'ry week and judy got
kicked outa grammar school fuh bein pregnant
and died tryin to ungrow the seed
we was all up in there and
just livin was guerilla warfare, yeah.
let uh revolution come.
couldn't be no action like what
i dun already seen.

TUTORIAL

cont.

from the age of 13-17 preparing themselves for this corrupt system fills the hear with galdness. Just to know that Jakenapes will be dealt with be these beautiful brothers and sisters coming up, is like gratification for the struggle.

The past two weeks we have started dividing the group in half, in an effort to ge closer to the students. Also to get them to express themselves more. It has been a problem for Black people to speak what's on their minds. We can All give an opinion of this or that but to be able to rap about something and from that start moving in positive directions. This is something that we all have, but we have been programmed and processed (through this decadent society) to believe that "Nigguhs don't know shit." Therefore, we move under this basic assumption and never fully realize what we are. In the Hampton program we try to see to it that All Brothers and Sisters get to speak their minds. Everyone contributes. While the two groups have been very succesfull in full-filling their primary goals, the brothers and sisters in the program have commented that they don't dig it. Brother Tommy summarized it be saying, "I don't like the groups becaused we don't hear what the other have to say and we can learn by everything that's rundown."

Bröther Darrick Robinson (the youngest brother in the program at 13) said, "I think the program is Black Love and Togetherness."

All Power to the Aware &
Dealin'

... with the conviction that the
oppressed shall not always be!



UNITED NATIONS

BRITISH VETO OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON RHODESIA ENDS SPECIAL SESSION IN ETHIOPIA

Just prior to the end of the special one-week U.N. Security Council session in Addis Ababa, the first held in Africa and the first away from U.N. headquarters in New York since 1952, Britain cast her seventh veto (four previous ones were also on Rhodesia) on a Security Council resolution condemning the settlement proposal worked out between Britain and the illegal Smith regime. The African-sponsored resolution was similar to one Britain vetoed in the Council last December. It urged Britain to desist from carrying out her settlement proposal and would have required Britain to withdraw the Commission headed by Lord Pearce which since it was sent to Rhodesia last month has met a firm rejection from the African majority.

The United States and four other countries (Japan, Belgium, Italy, and France) abstained; nine members voted in favor, including China and the Soviet Union. The Council adopted four other resolutions, condemning the policies of Portugal and South Africa, and adopted an Argentine-sponsored resolution on Namibia that calls upon Sec. Gen. Waldheim "to initiate contacts with all parties concerned" with a view to achieving independence for the trust territory that South Africa rules illegally (passed 14 to 0). Another resolution calling upon South Africa to relinquish Namibia was adopted by a 13 to 0 vote, Britain and France abstaining. The resolution asking Portugal to withdraw her troops from Mozambique,

Angola, and Guinea-Bissau passed 9 to 0 with Argentina and the NATO powers abstaining. (New York Times, Feb. 6, 1972; Jan. 28, 29, and Feb. 1, 1972)

The sponsors of the Rhodesian resolution—Guinea, Somalia, and Sudan—were backed by all 41 members of the O.A.U. Their determination to bring the U.N. Security Council session to Africa and to reinforce their opposition to continued colonization on the African continent was expressed in the statement of the delegate from Somalia: "Africa is awake and, veto or no veto, nothing will diminish the pace of our march to freedom, to development and the inevitable African revolution." (New York Times, Feb. 6, 1972; Jan. 11, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 22, 1972)

The Security Council meeting also reinforced the African States' frustration with the U.S. recent actions in support of the Smith Government in Rhodesia by allowing resumption of chrome imports in defiance of U.N. sanctions and for granting Portugal credits of \$436 million that supports her wars against the people in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. "The most successful of these liberation parties, which now claim to control more than half of Guinea-Bissau, believes it could end Portuguese rule there in short order if Lisbon were deprived of American and NATO assistance." (New York Times, Feb. 7, 1972)

S.A. MEND



No long, hot season on disorder

CH. S.T.
1/24

WALTHAM, Mass. (UPI) — There is a trend away from the "long, hot summer" of racial disorders — in both number and seriousness — in American cities and towns, a Brandeis University study reported Wednesday.

The report, prepared by the

university's Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence and published in the new issue of Justice magazine, centered on racial outbreaks during summer months since the peak year of 1967.

The number of disorders reached a high in 1969 but the seriousness did not match the summer of 1967, the report said.

"Although there are many local exceptions to this gener-

alization, particularly in the South and Southwest, the improvement would seem to be the product of training programs in the areas of police-community relations and of more reasonable handling of excited crowds," said John P. Spiegel, director of the six-year-old Lemberg Center.

At the same time, Spiegel warned that police officials and other figures of authority remained targets of individual

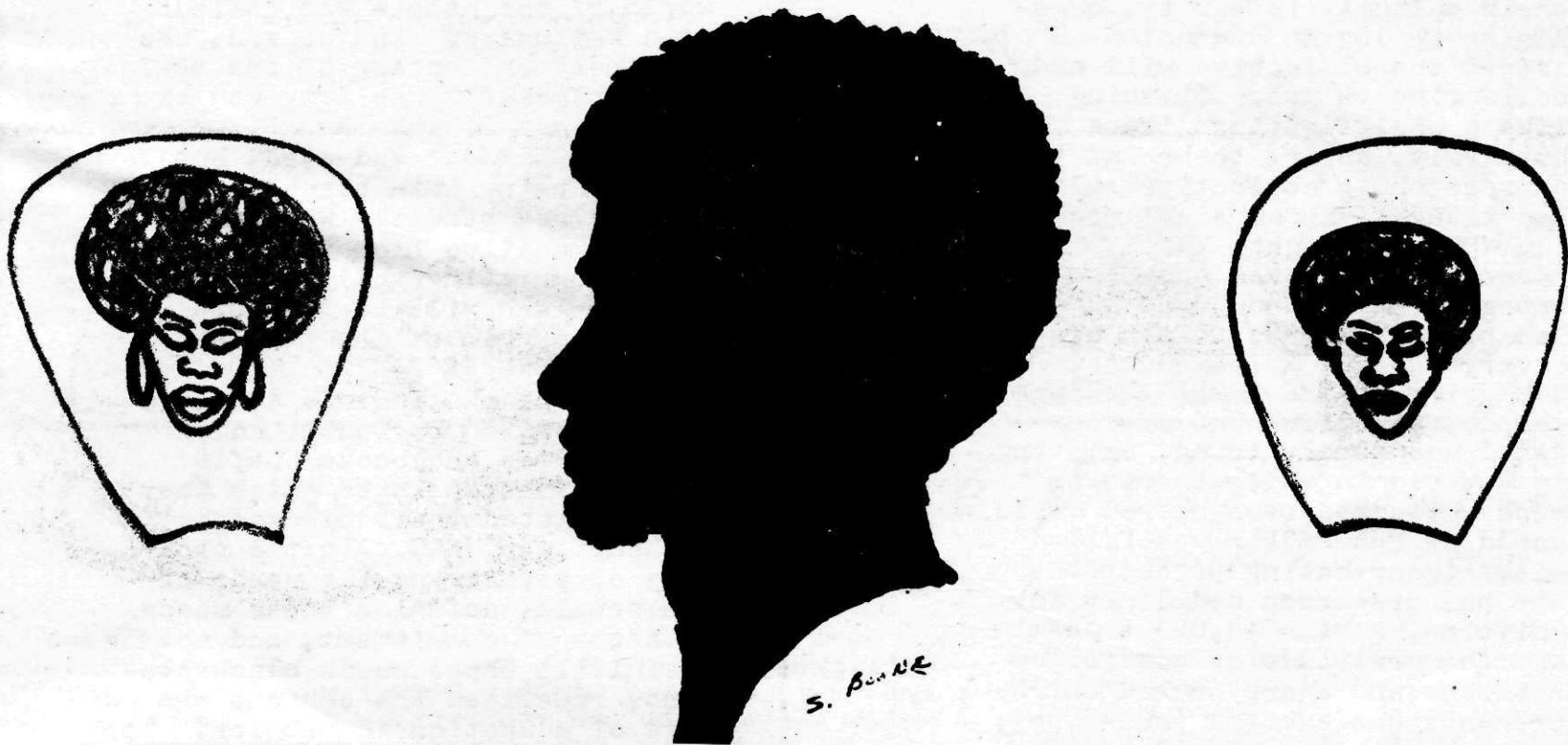
or group hostility "as long as our underlying social conflicts continue at their current level of intensity."

The study considered 578 racial disorders since 1967, including 176 in the first summer. The number of outbreaks has dropped each summer since 1967, including 41 last year. Year-long totals rose to a peak in 1969 while the summer outbreaks dwindled annually.

PAN-AFRICANISM

THE PAN-AFRICAN BEATITUDES FOR REVOLUTION

1. BLESSED ARE BLACK PEOPLE: FOR THEIRS IS THE FUTURE GLORY OF AFRICA.
2. Blessed are black people who mourn for the welfare of the masses of black people: for they shall be comforted.
3. Blessed are those who side with, live with, work for, and fight for the masses: for they shall inherit Africa.
4. Blessed are black people who hunger, thirst, and die for the African Revolution: for they shall become Africa's martyrs.
5. Blessed are the conscientiously committed to Africa: for African Unity shall reward their conscience.
6. Blessed are the totally committed to the African Revolution: for they shall bring about Africa's Glory.
7. Blessed are they that will leave their houses, schools, countries, material well-being to campaign for, work for, and fight for African Unity: they shall be called the Children of Africa.
8. Blessed are they that are ridiculed for believing in the 'idea' of Pan-Africanism: for theirs is the Glory of Africa.
9. Blessed are you when enemies revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you, for your faith in Pan-African Unity.
10. Rejoice, and be exceedingly glad: for great is your reward in a free black people: for so they persecuted all black people who engaged in struggle for the liberation of black people.



PAN-AFRICAN UNITY PRAYER

Our Father who art in African Unity. Hallowed be thy name. Thy Glory and Power come. Thy will be respected in the diasporas of the New World as it Must be in Africa. Give us now our daily dose of resistance to betray thee to thy enemies. And help us forgive only those who sincerely repent their inhuman wrongs against us. And lead us not into the temptation of accepting everyone who simply says he is for our course. For by their fruits, the sons and daughters of Africa shall know them; through One Hope, One Destiny, One Africa. Amen.



black bodies in close proximity and that historically made the meeting of any two black people for any purpose except singing and dancing a matter of crime and conspiracy. But black students changed all that; on campuses all across Babylon black men and women dared to BE with each other, proudly proclaiming their cultural integrity, organizing in loving communion to assert the collective will and collective values. Stinging like a bee, floating like a butterfly, daring to be and to express their collective selves. You thought you were all right; you WERE all right.

But time moved on. The energy of SELF and CONSCIOUSNESS led black students to the discovery of THE PEOPLE and the COMMUNITY OF THE PEOPLE. Black people, beautiful but overburdened and sorely tried, existing in a world in which there was much whiteness everywhere. This world of THE PEOPLE was filled with nigger-hating psychopaths who had discarded bed linen for uniforms, guns, \$13,000 a year and the gratitude of his fellow citizens, and sharp-beaked entrepreneurs who exacted soul-money, on time, for the privilege of slow-death in rat-infested, lead-paint sprayed, toilet-less hovels that THE PEOPLE had to heat the best way they could even if in the process that meant burning it and themselves up. And the world of black people was filled with decaying schools, devoid of books, love, technology but chock full of white-Negro-Negro white zombies agreed on the destruction of the black spirit. And the world of black people was filled with WELFARE, that salvation of the capitalist system and destroyer of the self and soul of black people. The world of the people was without jobs, without hospitals. The

"To sting like a bee, float like a butterfly" -- the duties and responsibilities of black people who happen to be students to the present and future black community.

This phrase originates with Brother Muhammad Ali who uses it to describe both his devastatingly effective and innovative boxing style and the impression he leaves upon the world and the consciousness of black people. The term connotes Ali's confidence and ability to make his way in the world on his own terms; he is a Man (Blood) in the World, with the capacities of a Man (Blood), and willing to use those capacities to effect ends and purposes which he defines for himself. Ali is the symbol of liberated black man moving, boldly asserting the authority, efficiency, and integrity of blackness and thereby risking the jealous vengeance of the blood-thirsty enemy.

I wish to associate these meanings of sting like a bee, float like a butterfly with the duties of black students within the present and future national and international black community. To black students this phrase should mean the disciplining of mind, body, soul; confidence, competence; innovation and creativity; willful movement on their own destiny and thus on the destiny of black people.

Yesteryear black students discovered themselves; then the demands of yesterday led to a discovery of SELF and CONSCIOUSNESS; searching and discovering blackness, spending endless hours talking about that which was found, sounding it on their lips and savoring the sound of it on the lips of other brothers and sisters. Yesteryear blackness was a dance, a song, a poem, a walk, chitlins & greens & cornbread. Look OUT! You think you are the world; you ARE the WORLD. And this was good. Black students were about forging an undying love for themselves, reaching out with newfound energy to create an undying love for all black brothers and sisters. On the campuses across Babylon, black students wrought a revolutionary change in their own consciousness. You don't believe it; ask your momma. Why long-time ago, Sam Doolesquatnegro and Mary Refinednegro would spend four years at the same college and never speak to each other. Sometimes it comes to such perversities when you have to get your technology in a plantation-space that traditionally feels threatened by the sight of two

world of the people was filled with whiteness! And so sad, the sweetness and ecstasy of the newly-found blackness was dampened by the demands of THE PEOPLE and their PROBLEMS. Sad-eyed, but still burning with blackgold-soul fire, black students went to the communities from they had come, committing their energies and fire and will to the survival struggle of the people. POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

TO BE CONT'D

BY Sister

Pauline

(Slaughter)

And black students demanded that education be functional; that courses and books outfit them for the tasks to which they had committed their blackness. And that was GOOD. In the process of perceiving the needs of the people, defining those needs in terms of commitment, and moving to fulfill those needs black students redefined the content and purpose of education in Babylon. For in the 1960's when black students burst blackness upon these citadels of higher education we found in them sterile, narrow-minded, stodgy priest-professors who led the smugly overprivileged and blissfully cloddish posterity of Babylon's elite classes through functionless rituals preparatory for running daddy's business, daddy's government, daddy's world. Black students first raised the cry for humanizing the activities and purpose of the citadels and for directing the sights of the inmates outward into the communities of humanity. Finding nothing of use in the citadels black students said, "Cut that shit out! If you sposed to be educating and not murdering/mis-educating, then get on with it."

Has Polaroid helped South African Blacks?

MS

NEW YORK (LNS) — On December 30, 1971, the Polaroid Corporation announced its intention to keep distributing its products in South Africa. It declared that in the time since January 13th of last year, its "anti-apartheid experiment" had "exceeded the expectations of many."

THE POLAROID "experiment" was the company's justification for continuing business as usual in South Africa. It was launched only after Black workers within the Polaroid Corporation's Cambridge headquarters instituted a boycott.

The protest focused public attention on the fact that Polaroid, while maintaining a "liberal image" in the United States, had for 30 years been enjoying profitable business relationships in South Africa. These relationships included providing the racist white minority government of South

Africa with the Polaroid instant ID2 system, used by the government to take pictures for the passbooks which all Blacks are forced to carry.

The Polaroid experiment called for a "dramatic" improvement in Black wages by its local distributor in South Africa, and the initiation of a

"well — defined program to train Black employees for important jobs within the company."

Polaroid's first claim is that its local distributor, Frank and Hirsch, has "been engaged during the past year in a program of wage and benefit improvement for Black employees, have increased an average of 22% during the year."

While average African salaries have gone up, Polaroid has failed to mention that more than 1/4 of Frank and Hirsch's Black employees still receive an average wage of R58 (\$75) per month, well below the Johannesburg poverty line of R70 (\$91).

In addition, Frank and Hirsch continues to hire African clerks at the lowest possible salary allowed by the South African government (which is also below the Johannesburg poverty line).

Financial Mail, a South African business journal, questions how Polaroid "can justify itself to its U.S. detractors when its distributors still pay some employees the minimum rate allowed by law."

NKRUMAH



"The higher the level of a people's political awareness, the greater is their understanding of their historical mission."



Kwame Nkrumah

"Revolutions development must be confined to men who are believers in it and emancipated from every tie or connection to any principle of an opposite nature."

—Nkrumah

Thursday 27 April 1972, while in exile in Guinea-Bissau, the great African Teacher, Kwame Nkrumah died of cancer.

W
X

PRESIDENT KENNETH KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA SAID HE HOPED NIXON WOULD "ADOPT A MORE REALISTIC AND POSITIVE POLICY TOWARD AFRICA IN GENERAL AND SOUTHERN AFRICA IN PARTICULAR."

ONLY WORLD 2/10/72



BILL ANDREWS

South Africa seeking more 'dialog' partners

By Charles Warrts, Jr.

CHICAGO — A mild concession from Pretoria apparent in the recent decision to allow Black airline stewardesses on flights to South Africa (following closely on the heels of other minor shifts in policy) is indicative of another step in a continuing series of moves by South African officials to paint a thin veneer of reform, while averting any meaningful changes in its flagrantly oppressive policies.

AT THE SAME time, the move signals a tiny crack in the once solid wall of apartheid and reveals growing support for a minimum of reforms by the country's more established and dominant group of white Dutch settlers called Afrikaners.

In the face of mounting economic woes in a country

used to booming prosperity, a number of Afrikaners have found themselves supporting arguments against continuation of some of the country's severely restrictive "slave code" type laws. The bulk of their opposition comes from the diehard attitudes of more recent white immigrants.

This current of Afrikaner opinion, far from representing a liberalization of views, rather reflects what they believe to be the most practical strategy for counteracting the ill health of the economy.

With the rise in political consciousness of the country's Black majority has come a swelling in the ranks of Southern African based guerilla struggles, which has caused South African authorities to maintain sizable military forces in neighboring Portuguese-held Mozambique,

the minority-ruled state of Rhodesia and in the Caprivi Strip.

Such standing forces outside South Africa's borders constitutes a serious drain on its economy and has been no small factor in spurring rampant inflation and a tremendous balance of payments deficit that has forced stringent import controls. The growing effectiveness of African guerilla movements has also reversed the once favorable climate for heavy foreign investment in South Africa.

THE FASCIST regime has lost some \$21 billion in foreign investments over the last two years, and has suffered the most drastic stock market drop in nearly a decade. These conditions have recently forced a twelve percent devaluation in the South African rand, with the hope of

attracting greater trade.

Although South African officialdom is not willing to admit the large role played by African resistance in bringing on the current recession, hard-pressed businessmen are beginning to complain that apartheid's restrictive employment policies are causing shortages in skilled African labor. The result is the same, that is they express support for minimum concessions to increasingly

disaffected Africans.

It has been these attitudes that has provided the backing for the smattering of recent reforms aimed at "buying off" widespread African rumblings. Among them have been the okaying of sizable pay raises for African workers employed by multinational US imperialist corporations such as Polaroid and IBM, who are bent on preserving their exploitative interests by undermining the liberation struggle with dollars.



NEWS INTERNATIONAL

Genaro Vázquez killed in Mexico

● MEXICO CITY, February 2 (PL). — Genaro Vázquez Rojas, top leader of the rural guerrilla movement in Mexico, was killed by the police at 2:55 a.m. today (8:55 GMT) on kilometer 228 of the road from Mexico City to Morelia, west of the capital.

The Ministry of the Interior reported the death of the 38-year-old guerrilla leader took place when the car in which he was traveling overturned after the police had shot out a tire.

The three people in the car with him were injured. They are in a hospital in Morelia, the capital of Michoacán State.

Genaro Vázquez Rojas was the leader of the National Civil Revolutionary Association guerrilla movement that operates in the Costa Grande mountains, in the state of Guerrero, since 1968.

His wife, Consuelo Solís Morales, was kidnapped and questioned by the political police last week at military field one, in the capital.

She was released only a few hours ago.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON GENARO VAZQUEZ ROJAS

Mexican leader Genaro Vázquez Rojas led an armed movement in Guerrero State since 1968.

Genaro Vázquez Rojas was the leader of the National Civil Revolutionary Association, that operates in Guerrero State and aimed at others, according to news agency reports.

For the last few weeks a large number of soldiers, with the aid of planes, helicopters and other resources, had been trying to locate the guerrilla leader.

Genaro Vázquez Rojas was born in San Luis Acatlán, in Guerrero State, in 1933. His father was a peasant leader. He spent his first years in a rural environment. From an early age he obtained firsthand knowledge of the difficult conditions faced by the farmers as a result of the exploitation by the landlords.

He finished high school and went on to two years of law at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, in the capital, and then became a school teacher.

While he studied and worked he never lost contact with the farmers of Guerrero.

During 1958 and 1959 he played an active role in the battle to obtain better salaries and trade-union independence for the elementary school teachers, and he was fired.

It was at this time that he began working toward the development of the associations

of farmers in his state.

In 1959 the four main rural organizations joined together under his leadership to form the Guerrero Civic Association to fight against the low prices imposed by U.S. companies on the raw materials from the area.

They carried out an intensive campaign against Raúl Caballero Aburto, then governor of the state, who was finally dismissed after a series of accusations of administrative corruption and abuses had piled up against him.

Genaro Vázquez was imprisoned in the Iguala jail and released through mass protests. Afterwards, the movement went underground.

Vázquez started working as a laborer in the cotton and tomato fields in Sinaloa.

After touring most of the country, he joined a group of rural leaders to set up the Independent Farmers Association.

In November 1966 he was arrested in Mexico City and later transferred to Chilpancingo, capital of Guerrero.

His imprisonment led to the establishment of the first armed group of the Guerrero Civic Association, which was set up to obtain his release.

He was rescued on April 22, 1968, in a clash with the police.

After this, the organization felt it was necessary to start operations in other states, and plans were prepared on a national level. The National Civil Revolutionary Association was created. The organization started operations in the mountains of Guerrero, the Costa Grande region that stretches from Acapulco to the state of Michoacán.

Its actions were mostly aimed at landowners and local bosses in the area.

"We picked Guerrero because we know the area and because the problems of Mexico are very sharp here," said the guerrilla leader.

In an interview published by the Mexican press in mid-January he had said: "Our struggle is the result of national factors. Although we didn't invent the method of guerrilla warfare, we consider it a clear expression of revolutionary will and determination."

In November 1971 an armed group led by Genaro Vázquez Rojas carried out the sensational kidnapping of Jaime Castrejón Díez, Rector of the University of Guerrero, who represents the Coca-Cola interests in that state.

In exchange for him, the National Civil Revolutionary Association obtained the release of nine political prisoners, who left the country, and 200 000 dollars.

NACLA'S

VAZQUEZ ROJAS ON THE MEXICAN REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

Question: Is your movement purely regional? What are your goals?

Vazquez Rojas: Our struggle has a definite national orientation. Although we did not invest guerrilla warfare, we think it is a clear expression of revolutionary determination and an effective way to win the liberation of the people of Mexico. We chose Guerrero because we know the area well and have found that the contradictions that affect Mexico and other so-called "underdeveloped" countries are very sharp here.

The Civic Association of Guerrero transformed itself into the National Revolutionary Civic Association, an organization that is giving birth to other armed groups. It will work for the unity of all groups that are fighting for the same basic goals.

These are the goals: 1) Overthrowing the government of capitalists and land-owners; 2) Creating a people's government of workers, peasants, students, and progressive people; 3) Full economic and political independence for Mexico; 4) Setting up a just social system that will benefit the people of Mexico.

Also, we are looking for a union on an international level with the forces of other peoples who fight against the common enemy -- North American imperialism.

Question: What is the main revolutionary tendency among the guerrillas?

Vazquez Rojas: As revolutionaries, we are inspired mainly by the concrete conditions of our own nation... We believe that a scientific method is the only tool that can help us to interpret correctly the world around us and the social problems that exist within it. We sympathize with all the revolutionary victories of other peoples. We admire the economic advances and the fighting potential of the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and North Vietnam, where the governments are leading their people to freedom, liberty and happiness in spite of American imperialism. Our political cadres analyze the particular experience of these revolutions in order to learn from them and to apply these experiences here. We are pro-Mexican and for the moment don't rigidly label ourselves pro-Soviet, pro-Chinese, or pro-Cuban.

Question: How do the local landowners and capitalists react to the movement?

Vazquez Rojas: All of the regions' bosses, economic and political, have tried to carry out a tremendous mobilization in order to encircle us. The army has directed them. They've tried "mop-up" operations -- massive searches with soldiers and policemen, with helicopter support. But on the other hand, they're treating the peasants with incredible brutality. In some areas, they try to use the so-called "Vietnamese village" method. At riflepoint or bayonet point, they have driven whole villages into camps or what they call "controllable" hamlets.

Excerpts from an interview with Vazquez Rojas that appeared in the Mexican magazine *Por que* in July, 1971.

NACLA'S

COLONIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

The struggle for a continent has come to a focus in Southern Africa, where the western imperialist minded forces are trying to build colonialism to halt the march of liberation and even turn it back where it has achieved victory.

The keystone of the imperialist bulwark is the Republic of South Africa, the worst and ugliest example of racial oppression in the world today. There is a small white minority maintaining the ruthless dictatorship known as apartheid, the most extreme form of racial segregation and discrimination yet practiced. Condemned by almost all members of the UN, and regarded as an outcast and criminal system by the vast majority of mankind, it is able to exist and to defy censure solely because of the aid and support given to it by the western imperialist countries.

Next to Britain, which once held South Africa in its colonial empire and therefore is in on the ground floor of its system exploitation, the chief prop and protector of the racist rulers in this richly-endowed country is none other than the United States of America. Without the American money poured into South Africa in the form of investments, and without the U.S. shielding of South Africa in the U.N. against sanctions and other strong measures to bring down apartheid as demanded by the great majority of nations, the brutal South African white dictatorship could not stand for so long.

What is apartheid and why is any form of support for it immoral?

In 1947, when the Nationalist Party was preparing the electoral campaign that brought it to power in 1948 (with Black Africans denied the right to vote), it issued a program pamphlet putting forward the new doctrine that, "The policy of our country encourages total apartheid as the ultimate goal of a natural process of separate development."

Calling the "primary task" for the state that of "preserving and safe-guarding the white race", the National pamphlet asserted that "the Bantu within the urban areas should be regarded as migratory citizens not entitled to political or social rights equal to those of whites." Apartheid, it said, should also be applied to the coloreds.

After 1948, however, the apartheid system was pushed relentlessly and methodically to monstrous extremes that are still being extended. The main features of the great number of racist laws put on the statutes. (1)

The standard of living for whites in South Africa is the highest in the world. (2)

South Africa is the best investment market in the world. The alliance between the white minority and international capitalism has fostered the rapid industrialization of the country, with the United States contributing heavily in this area.

A sequence of events in late '69 and early '70 indicate that an even higher level of understanding had been arrived at between the U.S. and the South African regime. In December 1969, an agreement was reached between American banking and monetary circles and South Africa on the of South African gold. I

In world gold production South Africa has the dominant position, producing 31,094,466 troy ounces out of a world total of 46,168,319 in 1968. Since early 1968 South Africa had been endeavoring to take advantage of the over-extended gold position of the developed countries of the western world. The significance of the white majority domination of southern Africa is brought home when we realize that southern Africa is the richest natural resource area in the world. Furthermore, we can expect more American multinational corporations to participate in the rape of South African resources in view of the projected shortage of strategic materials in the militaristic western world. The president has forecasted that U.S. importation of strategic metals in the next decade will reach record proportions.

OPPRESSIVE LAWS (1)

No African, lawfully residing in a town by virtue of a permit, is entitled to have his wife and children residing with him.

An African boy, aged 16, who has left school and lives at home with his parents but does not work, may be arrested without warrant by a policeman who has reason to believe he is an idle person.

It is unlawful for African workers to take part in a strike for any reason whatsoever; punishment for doing so is three years imprisonment.

An African factory worker who is absent from work for 24 hours without permission is guilty of a criminal offense punishable by imprisonment for not longer than three months. No African is entitled to acquire land anywhere in South Africa - not even in his own Bantu areas

STANDARD OF LIVING (1)

The average per capita white income is \$133 per month. The average African income is \$9.80.

The mines and quarries of South Africa employed 585,851 Africans and 62,373 whites in June 1970. The earnings of Africans, who constituted 80 percent of the labor force totaled 31 percent of the total wages.

Africans, The poorest section of the population, are taxed more heavily than whites.

Maintenance grants paid by the government vary according to race: Whites receive \$60.20; Coloreds \$26.95; and Africans \$8.75.

Remember what you read here when we see U.S. troops in southern Africa to protect, in the name of self-determination, U.S. corporate government interest concerning strategic materials.



BLACK ARTS "72"

Black Art "72--a four day experience in black art forms, will be held at Lake Forest College May 4-7. The festival will be diverse in terms of artistic expression mediums and include several noteworthy black artists.

Beginning the festivities with a traditional black art form Thursday night, May 4 will be Val Gray Ward and the Kuumba Workshop of Chicago. The workshop uses the church setting for their messages to the Black community concerning negative forces operation in the Black community. Only 15-30 of their membership of 80 participate at any one time. They have performed in prisons, churches, taverns and Black street-type theaters since their conception a few years ago.

From the Kuumba ritual with it's music and dramatic interpretations we'll move to a musical and spiritual experience Friday night, May 5 with Alice Coltrane, renowned for the sounds she can emit from her strings. Also included in the program will be the "Experience II", a rock, rhythm and blues group from Northwestern University. Together, one is guaranteed an evening of visual and sensual ecstasy.

For a more visual experience, an exhibit of Black art, done by Black students from the North Shore area will be open all day Friday and Saturday May 6 and 7 for viewing. Entries in five areas are being accepted: paintings, prints and drawings, photography, textiles and weaving, and sculpture. They will be judged by a panel of professional Black artists including Nelson Stevens, Reginald Gammom and Emilio Cruz.

Nelson Stevens is an Assistant Professor of Art at Northern Illinois University where he teaches drawing, printing and Afro-American Art History. He is a member of Afrilobra, a group of Black image makers who are making concrete gains in making art relevant to the Black community. Reginald Gammom has exhibited his works in several different collections and group shows in Philadelphia. Emilio Cruz's works have been shown in Dakar, Senegal, New York, Minneapolis, and in private collections. Together they shall be speaking on the topic of "Contemporary Perspectives in Black Art" Saturday, May 7 a crowning point when the Black students of Lake Forest College present three one act plays: Ed Bullin's Clara's Old Man, Imamu Baraka's Jello and How do You Do?. All three are student directed and will be performed Sunday evening.

OINK! OINK!

On Saturday, April 15, 1972 at approximately 10:45 an incident occurred which should remind the Black community of the inescapableness of the various forms of racism that exist throughout this country.

The incident involved four to six teenaged honkies, piglets, white boys (whatever) and several members of the Black community. While on their way to a set, a black couple was approached by a carload of honkies near College Hall. They were directed such harassing remarks as, "You got a brown ass!", and, "Hey man, is you a soul brother?" Some retaliatory dialogue was directed by the brother while the honkies immediately drove off. By the time the brother and sister reached the gates between Harlan and Blackstone, this same car was approaching Sheridan Rd. Now, the piglets were harassing another black couple with shouts of, "Hey sister, you like white boys?" This time the brother approached the car in order to deal with the matter a bit more effectively than with dialogue. Upon his approach the young cowardly honkies again took off, leaving campus with typical, "Nigger, Nigger!" shouts.

This incident, of itself, is of little immediate consequence. It could, however, have been the pigs, instead of the piglets - and they might have been shooting, instead of shouting. (Who taught them to hurl epithets!)

This should serve as a reminder to the Black community that racism is always dealing and we must be aware of and prepared for it. The "college atmosphere" tends to lull some of us into a feeling of complacency. Complacency is something that no Black person can afford. We should take this incident as a verbal expression of what the white world, in general, is all about in its intentions toward Black people.

All power
definitely belongs
to the aware and dealing



BLACK AGENDA

Following are sections of the Black Agenda which convey the progressive aspirations of the Convention spokesmen.
BOTH PARTIES HAVE BETRAYED US

HERE AT Gary, let us never forget that while the times and the names and the parties have continually changed, one truth has faced us insistently, never changing: Both parties have betrayed us whenever their interests conflicted with ours (which was most of the time), and whenever our forces were unorganized and dependent, quiescent and compliant.

That is the truth that we must face at Gary. If white "liberalism" could have solved our problems, then Lincoln and Roosevelt and Kennedy would have done so. But they did not solve ours nor the rest of the nation's. If America's problems could have been solved by forceful, politically skilled and aggressive individuals, then Lyndon Johnson would have retained the presidency. If the true "American Way" of unbridled monopoly capitalism, combined with a ruthless military imperialism could do it, then Nixon would not be running in panic around the world, or making speeches comparing his nation's decadence to that of Greece and Rome.

II. THE DIRECTION:

The plight of Black people is the result of the workings of the American system. Our political agenda then must transcend this system; must speak boldly and without reservation to the problems of Black people in the '70's.

The Black politics we need goes far beyond electoral politics and far beyond 1972. We need a permanent political movement that addresses itself to the basic control and reshaping of American institutions that currently exploit Black America and threaten the whole society. The unifying objective of this political movement must be the empowerment of the Black community, not simply its representatives. It must offer basic alternatives to all the existing American political, economic and cultural systems.

WE WANT:

1. The establishment of Black Congressional representation in proportion to our presence in the national population. We are at least 15 per cent of the population. Through Constitutional amendment — or any other means necessary — we ought to have a minimum of 66 representatives and 15 Senators; that until such time as the House and Senate represent Black people fairly, our due seats are to be filled by persons elected at-large by the national Black community. The

same principle shall obtain for state and local governments.

2. Proportionate Black employment and control at every level of the federal government structures.

...5. Home rule for the District of Columbia. A Black majority in the Nation's Capital is now controlled by a white-demonated Congressional Committee and a set of presidential appointees. We must have Black self-determination in Washington, D.C. as well as in every other hamlet, town and city in the nation.

6. The establishment of local control over the police, and the establishment of residency requirements for all neighborhood police forces.

7. A Bill of Rights for all Black people caught in the iniquities of America's "criminal justice" system including: the right to a speedy trial, the right to fair bail procedures, full human rights while in jails and prisons due process in the parole process, and full restoration of all rights after imprisonment ends.

8. The Federal Bureau of Investigation to cease its political surveillance of Black people and shift its attention to ending the drug traffic in the United States in the next two years — or to be phased out of existence as an irrelevant and worthless tax liability.

THE RESPONSIBILITY:

We advance these programmatic ideas with no real notion that white politics can endorse their direction. That is up to us. These ideas and the many thousands more that will arise from the specific conditions of our people are the evolving power, hope, and future of the Black political agenda. For them to become real, we must organize to demand them, not as temporary protest or pressure group factions, but as a new political force in American life whose time has come.

ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

The economic impoverishment of the Black community in America is clearly traceable to the historic enslavement of our people and to the racist discrimination to which we have been subjected since "emancipation." Indeed, much of the unprecedented economic wealth and power of American capitalism has obviously been built upon this exploitation of Black people.

Therefore, an incalculable social indebtedness has been generated, a debt which is owed to Black people by the general American society. So, while the moral horrors of slavery and the human indignities visited upon our people by racial discrimination can never be compensated for — and certainly never with money alone — we must not rest until American society has recognized our valid, historic right to reparations, to a massive claim on the financial assets of the American economy. At the same time, it is necessary that Black people



"Peace offensive."

realize that full economic development for us cannot take place without radical transformation of the economic system which has so clearly exploited us these many years.

It is against the background of such realities that we move to a BLACK Agenda for economic empowerment.

RECOMMENDATION: That there be established a presidential commission, with a majority of Black members (chosen by the Black Convention or its successor body) to determine a procedure for calculating an appropriate reparations payment in terms of land, capital and cash for exploring the ways in which the Black community prefers to have this payment implemented.

RECOMMENDATION: The creating of a new urban-based Homestead Act, to make use of the billions of dollars worth of urban housing projects and land now owned by the Federal Government. This property must not move into private hands when there is such drastic need for human housing and land use where Black people live.

RECOMMENDATION: That Black consumption patterns be directed away from conspicuous channels and excessive frivolities and toward modest but adequate consumption in keeping with the struggle in which we are engaged.

RECOMMENDATION: That the

defense and space budgets be curtailed by a minimum of fifty per cent and savings transferred to programs of social, economic and political development.

RECOMMENDATION: That mass transit systems, so vital to Blacks in reaching jobs in the suburbs, be subsidized to permit lowering of fares to token levels, or to permit free public transportation.

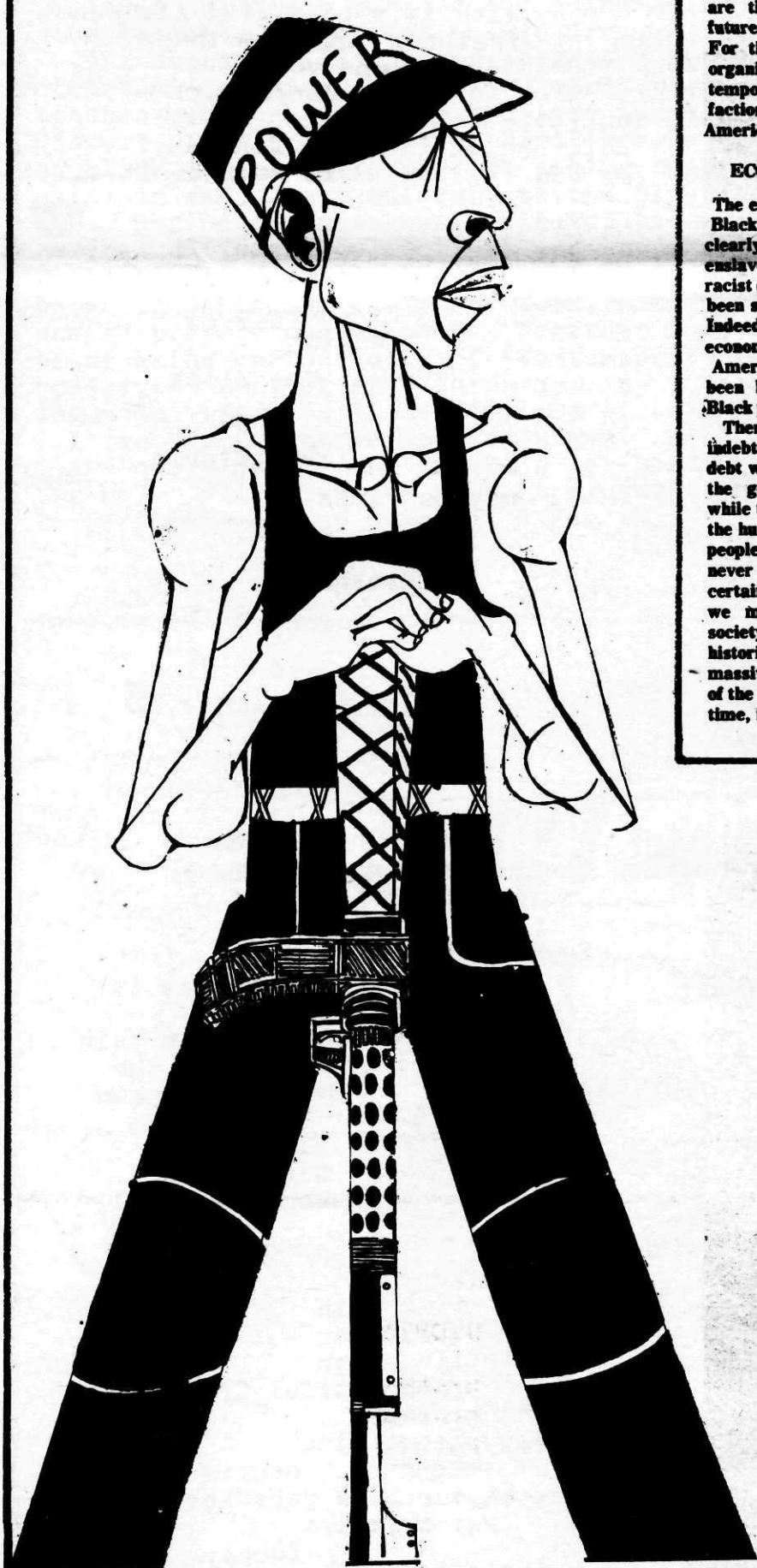
RECOMMENDATION: That loopholes in the federal tax law be closed and its provisions thoroughly reformed so as to render the overall tax structure favorable to the Black community's development, abolishing tax obligations for those whose income falls below the \$10,000 year level, and insuring that all those whose income exceeds \$25,000 per year must bear some part of the federal tax burden.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Establishment of a system of National Health Insurance for all citizens from birth until death, with free medical care for all families with incomes of less than 10,000 dollars.

A minimum increase of 100 per cent in Social Security benefits for all persons with the availability of full benefits at age 50.

NAUHAM RAB S. LINKS



THE ALMOST REVOLUTIONIST

One black brother with good intentions
and nappy hair and brown sandals
and a cloth sack of black books
which added weight to a heavy gun
on his half-healed shoulder of his arm of his hand
which he used to use
to smooth his natural
when times got hot and hair got kinky
at brutal battles
at conference tables
in days of old.

SO

One black brother with good intentions
and nappy hair and brown sandals
took 3 seconds to shift the weight
to raise the hand
to smooth the natural
to square the shoulders
while whitey saw him
and slew him
as in the days of old.

STEP TOWARD UNITY

Step Toward Unity

On the week-end of March 10-12, a major milestone was passed by Black people, when the first National Black Political Convention was convened in Gary, Indiana. The convention was only a preliminary step towards an analysis of Black peoples situation in America by Blacks themselves. We as Blacks have no reason to believe that America will voluntarily change her ways, which faces us in our quest for liberation. Thus, the purposes of the convention were to promote a stronger Black political unity and to draw up a national Black agenda which would reflect Black people's priorities for the year.

In order to make Black unity more of a reality, all Black organizations of various ideologies were invited to the convention. These ranged from the "Negro Old Guard" such as the NAACP to the most revolutionary, the Black Panther Party and RAM. The attempt to bring together various points of view was further reflected by the make-up of the co-chairmanship of the convention.

The three co-chairmen were Imamu Amiri Baraka of the Congress of African People, congressman Charles Diggs of Michigan, and Richard Hatcher, the mayor of Gary. Also, each state was allotted a certain number of delegates based on the proportion of Black people in their state. Over 4,200 delegates gathered during the three day convention.

The convention began with Washington D.C. congressman Walter Fauntroy presiding over the hearings on the platform. Over ten state representatives discussed such issues as prison reform, welfare reform, drugs, foreign policy toward Africa, support for Israel, the draft, and veterans' benefits. In addition to the state representatives, many organizations and private citizens spoke out on many of these issues. At the first general session, Diggs welcomed the convention and gave the opening remarks. Diggs emphasized that all Black people throughout the world were Brothers and Sisters. He also pointed out quite forcefully that the liberation struggle of Blacks in the U.S. was tied very closely to the liberation struggle of Blacks in Africa, Latin America, and everywhere.

The first keynote address was given by Mayor Hatcher who developed the history of Black people in the U.S. party system. The thrust of his speech was a call for unity which could lead to a third political party. Hatcher however, made it clear that he didn't feel that a third party should be formed at the present. Hatcher also stated that "Black people had ended up in the hip pocket of the Democrats. We ain't in nobody's hip pocket no more. To both American political parties we are saying this is your last chance." In another part of his address Hatcher emphasized that no one avenue will lead to Black liberation. All avenues must be used.

Jesse Jackson was the second keynote speaker. Jackson's speech was very emotional as usual and he called for the creation of a Black political party. Even though Jackson called for the formation of a Black political party in

his address, he later asked the Louisiana delegation to change its resolution to create a Black Political Party from the convention. This also is typical of Jesse Jackson.

During the convention, there was controversy over whether or not Diggs, Baraka, and Hatcher should remain as co-chairmen. The issue was resolved later in the convention when the delegates decided that a steering council would be formed. The steering council was to be made up of representatives from each state. Each state was to submit the name of its chairman, who would serve on the steering committee. Born out of this idea was the National Black Assembly which was to consist of 427 representatives from the states present at the convention. The steering council was set up to finalize reports and coordinate the activities of the National Black assembly until the third political party is set up.

At the end of the convention, the Black Agenda and various resolutions were presented for ratification. Included were resolutions supporting the Children's March for Survival held on March 25 in D.C. and the African Liberation Day Rally which is to be held in D.C. on May 27. A resolution was also passed calling for the release of Angela Davis, the Republic of New Africa members, H. Rap Brown, Ruchell Magee, and all political prisoners.

A resolution was passed calling for self-determination for the residents of Washington D.C. which is very predominantly Black. One of the more important resolutions was the anti-busing resolution. Another important resolution called for a proportionate number of Blacks be seated in the House of Representatives and the Senate according to the number of Blacks in this country. The white pig news media played down many of these resolutions and many they ignored all together.

Probably the most important result of the Black political convention was that it showed us that different ideologies were not enough to keep us from coming together to deal with common problems. It was a giant step towards us unifying to the point of gaining complete liberation for our people by whatever means are necessary.

"If you dare to struggle, you dare to win

If you dare not to struggle, then god-dammit you don't deserve to win."

Dep. Chairman
Fred Hampton

UTOPIA

brothers
brothers
everywhere-
and
not a one
for Sale.



B L A C K

POLITICAL



C O N V E N T I O N

