



Pan-African Theory

by Michael West

The martyred Walter Rodney once described Pan-Africanism as the most progressive ideology in the world today: the ideology of the most oppressed people in the world—Africans. Pan-Africanism, as Rodney again points out, is a reaction against European encroachment on Africa's territorial integrity. For example, the efforts of Queen Nzinga of Matamba (in present-day Angola) to span the ethnic chasm in her kingdom and unify African resistance against Portuguese-Dutch imperialism in the seventeenth century, or Samory Toure's similar attempt vis-a-vis the French in nineteenth-century Western Sudan, should be viewed as integral parts of the Pan-African struggle. Contrary to the popular textbook mythology, Pan-Africanism is not a movement developed by people holding conferences in European cities; it is the practical struggles of Africans everywhere to present a unified response to white domination.

The first Pan-African congresses, however, were organized by the victims of the African Diaspora in the Western world. Sylvester Williams, a West Indian lawyer who provided counsel to African chiefs in their legal cases against the British colonial government, organized the very first congress in 1900. Subsequently, the Pan-African gauntlet was taken up by the great Afro-American scholar, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who organized several congresses between 1919-1927. For the most part, these early congresses were preoccupied with addressing appeals to the European powers to ameliorate the living conditions of Africans in their colonies. Yet even in a revolutionary age, it would be strategically incorrect to berate what, in retrospect, seems to be pusillanimity on the part of the early Pan-Africanists. For as no less a revolutionary than Franz Fanon points out, we should not be too quick to condemn our forefathers, since they fought the best they could with the limited weapons at their disposal. It is Fanon speaking: "We must rid ourselves of the habit, now that we are in the thick of the fight, of minimizing the action of our fathers or of feigning incomprehension when considering their silence and passivity. They fought as well as they could, with the arms that they possessed then; and if the echoes of their struggle have not resounded in the international arena, we must realize that the reason for this silence lies less in their lack of heroism than in the fundamentally different international situation of our time."

It was not until the fifth Pan-African Congress at Manchester, England in 1945 that the Pan-African Movement adopted a militant anti-colonial stance. It was at this Congress, also, that leadership of the Pan-African Movement passed from Diaspora Africans to Africans from the continent. Among the new men who came to the forefront at Manchester, the name of Kwame Nkrumah stands out, both for his contribution to that congress and his subsequent labors on behalf of the Pan-African cause.

Even though the Pan-African Movement was imbued with an anti-colonial political program at Manchester, no theory of Pan-Africanism was elaborated at that Congress. However, in 1956 the theoretical backwardness of Pan-Africanism definitely came to an end with the publication of George Padmore's book, *Pan-Africanism of Communism?*, with the highly pregnant subtitle, *The Coming Struggle For Africa*. Writing in the 50's—prior to the advent of decolonization—Padmore concluded that, as far as Africa was concerned, imperialism was a spent force. "Imperialism is a discredited system," he wrote, "completely rejected by Africans." Presently turning his attention to communism, Padmore asserted that with Pan-Africanism as their guiding light, Africans, contrary to Western propaganda, had no reason to fear the red bogey.

At the political level, "Pan-Africanism seeks the attainment of government of Africans by Africans for Africans, with respect for racial and religious minorities who desire to live in Africa on a basis of equality with the black majority. Economically and socially, Pan-Africanism subscribes to the fundamental objectives of Democratic Socialism, with state control over the basic means of production and distribution." Thus in terms of Cold War ideological lineup, Padmore proposed to steer Africa on a middle course between East and West. For, according to him, Pan-Africanism "rejects the unbridled system of monopoly capitalism of the West no less than the political and cultural totalitarianism of the East."

However, with the benefit of historical hindsight, we can now state unequivocally that Padmore underestimated the resiliency of imperialism; namely, its capability to relinquish political control (when cowed by popular demand) over colonial territories, while maintaining, and in many instances strengthening, its economic and cultural hegemony over these "former" colonies. This is a phenomenon that is known as neo-

colonialism, of which the United States is the leading exponent in the world. Padmore's antithesis is therefore false. The present struggle for Africa is not between Pan-Africanism and communism, but rather between Pan-Africanism and neo-colonialism, which, according to Nkrumah, "is the last stage of imperialism."

It is to the latter personage, Kwame Nkrumah, to whom we now turn as the leading Pan-Africanist theoretician after Padmore. In his philosophical treatise, *Consciencism*, Nkrumah begins his analysis from a Marxist point of departure. This analysis established a materialistic (as opposed to an idealistic) basis for traditional African society. Hence the basis of scientific socialism in Africa is governed by the principles of dialectical materialism.

But this thesis has no foundation in the historical tradition of the African people. The age-old conflict in Western philosophy between materialism and idealism has no parallel in African culture. Despite his considerable success in popularizing the Pan-African ideal among the African intelligentsia, as well as among the general run of people, Nkrumah's consciencism is sheer philosophical mystification. As a theoretical basis for Pan-Africanism, it is therefore inadmissible.

Though not generally considered a Pan-Africanist in the traditional sense, Amilcar Cabral, in addressing the Tricontinental Congress in Havana in 1966, made what is, as far as we are aware, the most far-reaching revision of Marxist theory by an African, dictating his inclusion in this short essay on Pan-African theory. According to the classical Marxist analysis, it is the class struggle—which is not, as even Marxists would admit, a permanent feature in the history of mankind—that is the motive force of history. As one who was intimately familiar with the various ethnic groups in his country, Guinea Bissau (the then "Portuguese" Guinea), Cabral knew that some of these tribes were not divided into classes; hence there was no class struggle in said societies.

Extrapolating from the classical analysis, it would therefore stand to reason that people living in classless societies, have no history. To entertain this view, Cabral told the Tricontinentalists, "...would be to consider—and this we refuse to accept—that various groups in Africa, Asia and Latin America were living without history, or outside history, at the time when they were subjected to the yoke of imperialism." As an African and a colonized man who

To the Lake Forest Community:

We, members of the black student community at Lake Forest College, as individuals and as part of an organizational body, wish to announce that our name, Afrikan Students for Afrikan Liberation, has been changed to Black United and Concerned Students. This name change does not represent a renunciation of our awareness of the need for Black students to be concerned with struggles around the globe; rather, the name, Black United and Concerned Students, more appropriately reflects the broad range of concerns and goals

of the members of the organization. In no way has our commitment to our committees, functions, and activities changed.

We thank President Hotchkiss, the Dean of Students Office, Student Government, Speaker, Lecture, Fine Arts and the rest of the general LFC community for their support and assistance in making this one of the most successful years ever. Black United and Concerned Students look forward to your continued support in the upcoming year.

EDITORIAL

by Henryne Green

In this issue, the Black Rap staff has attempted to capture the best of Black Rap by reprinting selected articles of past issues from the late '60's to the present. It is our hope that by reprinting these articles, readers today will be able to reach into the past and become aware of triumphs and struggles of former generations of black students. We hope that the reader will be open-minded and try to discern the emotion and intellect undergirding these writings.

In the past Black students at Lake Forest College were outspoken about how they felt. They were scholars of Black history and Pan-Africanism, and were aware, not ignorant or nonchalant, about issues threatening their environment. Because we, as the new generation, have not *witnessed* a struggle, we tend to forget there ever was one. By reading these

articles, you the reader, hopefully will experience through the written words of others what it was really like to be "Black" and aware. Perhaps this will help some of you to avoid taking freedom and luxury for granted and appreciate what you have.

We would like the reader to examine how ideas were expressed then in contrast to now and hopefully recognize the present depletion of feeling, commitment and emotion—the lack of willingness to act and take a stand. But we are all learners and have a long way to go to reach the intellectual level achieved by our Brothers and Sisters in the past. We must always remember that we are ever transcending that which we are today, and in order to do so we *must* understand the past. Progress cannot be made without a basic understanding of rudimentary principles.

accepted the validity of the Marxist world view in its broad outline, Cabral sought a way out of this impasse. Consequently, he postulated that while at a particular historical epoch, the class struggle might indeed be the motive force of history, it is the mode of production (*i.e.*, the level of productive forces and the pattern of ownership) that is the true and permanent driving force of history. Thus the historical continuity of peoples is maintained, and the integrity of Marxist theory preserved, albeit in a modified form.

Yet in spite of this brilliant tour de force, it is uncertain exactly where Cabral's theoretical postulations are leading. The truth of the matter is that our left-wing theoreticians have failed to properly assimilate the Marxist credo and reinterpret it in light of an African-centered political framework. Protestations of the universal applicability of the theory and

method of Marx notwithstanding, no African Marxist has gone on to demonstrate empirically their applicability to our specific conditions; instead, they seem content with repeating it as a kind of catechism.

With regard to Pan-African theory, then, we have, in a sense, come full circle since Padmore. Judging by the output of our theoreticians (this essay has only briefly treated three of the most prominent ones), we have made progress. But fundamentally, no real progress has been made in developing a theory that is grounded in the historical experience of the African people. For not only are Africans united by a common experience, but far more important, as Cheikh Anta Diop and others have ably demonstrated, there is an underlying cultural unity of all African people. This in spite of the surface-deep "differences" which imperialist

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The Seven Principles

- (1) *Umoja* - (Unity)
- (2) *Kujichagulia* - (Self-Determination)
- (3) *Ujima* - (Collective Work and Responsibility)
- (4) *Ujamaa* - (Co-operative Economics)
- (5) *Nia* - (Purpose)
- (6) *Kuumba* - (Creativity)
- (7) *Imani* - (Faith)

These seven principles of Afrikan Nation Building manifest a viable life style for our people. It is this life style that ASAL (Afrikan Students for Afrikan Liberation), the Black Student organization on the Lake Forest College campus, has made its ultimate goal. We strive for Umoja, (unity). We realize that without umoja, nothing of value to us can be accomplished. Without umoja, we would be as a hand dismembered. Such a hand is

completely useless, and severely hampers the use of the arm. In order to obtain our goals of the better life style as manifested in Nguzo Saba, it will take maximum Kujichagulia, (self-determination). This means that we speak for and define for ourselves our lifestyles. If an objective of value is needed, through work it will be gained. The harder it is to obtain, the harder one must work. This takes self-determination. We believe determination to be a most powerful force.

Under the unity with which we bound ourselves, it is a matter of great concern that we have Ujima, (collective work and responsibility). Our work must be complementary, that is, we must work together in such a way as to enhance each other's work. To idolize a personality is not our desire,

so through the division of work no one person can be singled out as a superior.

We must be responsible to each other, thereby, accountable for and answerable to one another. It will serve as a good method of check and balance if we all understand that we are held accountable for our actions. We will not be so quick to act irrationally, thus decreasing the number of mistakes we will make. We must be willing to share and work together, maintaining Ujima and thereby Ujamaa, (co-operative economics), where we are able to sustain our own existence by pooling our economic forces together. Through Ujamaa, we own and support our own businesses, schools, hospitals, stores. All things necessary have Nia (purpose). All that we do must have a

purpose and we must act in a positive manner in accordance to our purpose. Our purpose must be one as we are and inseparable. Our purpose should be to perpetuate a generation of free people of Afrikan descent.

One of our greatest assets, Kuumba, (creativity), must be used at every opportunity. Creativity begets uniqueness and uniqueness is without like or equal. With this gift, we can look forward to progress, for through progress our goal shall ultimately be reached. We all, being an Afrikan people, are endowed with Kuumba.

Above all else, we must have and exhibit Imani, (faith). It is on the foundation of faith that we live day to day. As we have faith in life, we must have just as much faith in ourselves. Without it, we are auto-

matically doomed. It is as simple as that. A people without faith is like a flower without the sun...it withers and dies.

Thus we have the seven principles of Nguzo Saba. This system for Afrikans should be the basis for everything. With these principles "we can move the dead;" they are simple in what they say, but total. They are identity, purpose and direction. Through the awareness, acceptance, and practice of these seven principles, the lifestyle of our people will take on a completely different look, a much better look. We appeal to all brothers and sisters in all parts to examine these principles and to move toward them in their present situations. This will be a great step towards the liberation of OUR PEOPLE.

Black Achievement

March 1, 1979

From the time that the first Afrikans were kidnapped, brought to America, and savagely forced into slavery, all succeeding generations of their offspring have suffered, and even today, the stigma of slavery still exists.

Therefore, every generation of Black people must do their share to eliminate the effect that slavery has on Black people and to restore our people to their "traditional greatness." For example, our forefathers who were enslaved had to survive and deal with the physical and mental suffering inherent in the brutal and merciless act of enslavement. Our great-grandparents had to survive in a society where Blacks were considered humanly and intellectually inferior, and they had to constantly make themselves and their children believe that they were "somebody" and they constantly had to make believe that they were inferior were constantly being made. This generation, along with the generations of George Washington Carver, and Jackie Robinson, had to break through the color-barrier in colleges, sports, and churches as well as many other aspects of society. And now, it is our turn. What is our duty to our people?

Our duty is to set and achieve goals which our forefathers could not conceivably achieve under the

circumstances. Our generation is responsible for supplying our communities with more doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc., so that we will be less dependent on others for assistance.

After setting these goals, it is necessary that we as Black people and students realize that when trying to achieve any goal it is necessary to be consistent in how we go about achieving it. There must also be sufficient time spent in preparation so as not to do an average, but a very good job.

Many of the brothers and sisters on campus do exhibit this general rule of consistency and devotion when trying to achieve set goals. One individual who serves as a good example is Paula Steptor, a junior majoring in economics. Paula's career goal is to become a corporate lawyer and she intends to take the LSAT test this September. Paula has a consistent studying schedule and the time that she devotes to studying is well rewarded by the grades she receives. Because of her devotion and consistency, Paula is on her way!

Someone else who is going about achieving his goal in a very effective way is Steve Cole. Steve, now a senior, decided when he was very young that one of his goals was to become a doctor. Be-

cause of his consistent study habits, and because he worked to perform better than just average, he has been accepted to Stanford's School of Medicine.

Like Paula and Steve, others of us have consistent study habits, and ways which we go about achieving our goals. However, unfortunate as it may be, there are three times as many consistent procrastinators as there are hard workers. We start on assignments the night before they are due, and we do not take the proper amount of time to do better than average work. These types of consistent bad habits and lack of adequate devotion of time, consistently cause us to achieve less than we are capable of achieving. So for those of us who fall into the latter category, a few suggestions if adhered to, will certainly improve our performance.

1. Stop procrastinating. Make deadlines and schedules for yourself.

2. Learn your instructors, i.e. know what he thinks is important in note taking, exams and papers.

3. Pull together and make the academic counselling committee more active.

4. Seek help from Brothers and Sisters in your majors, for they are always willing to help.

It is time that we stop simply playing school and start working for the advancement of our people. Making Cs and Ds, when we can make As and Bs is a slap in the face to our forefathers, who struggled and survived in their harsh societies in order to advance our race.

Lake Forest College is but a brief intellectual resting point to those of us with a great destiny ahead. However, if we do not grab all the good it has to offer, excel in our respective majors, and acknowledge our responsibility to our people, our stopping point will not be far beyond receiving a mere diploma.

by Beverly Rush

The Need for Black Solidarity

by Gary Chatmon

In a recent issue of *Ebony* (May 1979), a story was written about Black superstars and their concern about different Black causes. In the story, composer Quincy Jones stated: "It's the stars' fault if they let themselves be insulted and isolated from involvement with their people. I think that when you achieve success, you not only owe something to others, you owe it to yourself to help somebody else."

Mr. Jones is absolutely correct. There is no excuse for Blacks not becoming involved with the problems facing our race today. Those who have chosen to isolate themselves have fallen into a crippling syndrome plaguing the Black community today, individualism. Individualism not only exists among Black superstars, but has also taken its toll on other Blacks, including college students. Black students that go to college have fallen victim to the lulling influence of individualism. The state of Utopia that prevails on these campuses have caused many Blacks to not realize or to forget about the full dimensions of the problems facing the Black community.

Some of these individuals feel that there is no need for Black struggle at this time and have taken for granted the state of things as they are. They have failed to realize that they are where they are today because of the collective efforts made by Blacks in the past to insure a place in this society. Other individuals have chosen not to become involved with other Blacks or with the Black struggle, but have instead rallied around their "non-racist" white friends. It's good to find a self-proclaimed non-racist white person, but our responsibility as Black people is not to huddle around them and support their non-racist attitudes. Let them exemplify their non-racist

attitudes to their race of people, the oppressors of our race for over 400 years.

In the meantime, Black people have to stop thinking of themselves as individuals, separate and different from other Blacks, and realize that the only way for a race of people to develop and grow is to direct their individual efforts and accomplishments toward the collective development and growth. We need to become more reliant on each other instead of relying on whites. We must become involved with different organizations in the Black community. We must not only see the need for Black solidarity, but become a part of it. We as college students must realize that we are the "cream of the crop" from our communities and that we are obligated to take our experiences and our success to our people. Individualism is a cancerous disease that must be cured or else we as Black people will never budge the obstacles which still remain that stifle our growth.

Those of you who feel that the road to success is one of individual struggles, individual deeds, and individual achievements, should look back into history and see just how many battles have been won by a single individual.

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spokesmen are forever promoting. The development of African social science has expanded our knowledge of the continent and its people; a considerable body of literature in various disciplines exists in the major European languages. At the level of theory, it should now be possible to make a breakthrough in developing an African-centered methodology. Yet the African theoretician continues to lag a generation behind the historian, the anthropologist and the ethnologist.

Black Rap

Afrikan Students for Afrikan Liberation
Box 243, Lake Forest College, Lake Forest IL 60045

Black Rap was founded by Hasan Haken, a Black Lake Forest student, in 1968. Its first issue was published on November 2 of that year and was created in order to satisfy the needs of the Black students on campus. Its purpose is to promote the creativity of those Black students who have in the past desired to display their talents (as artists) to the community.

Editor-in-chief Henryne Green
General Staff Michael West
Margo Woodfork
Faculty Advisors Karla Spurlock-Evans
Clayton Gray

What' all this stuff about dignity?

late 60's by Russell Jackson

Many people feel that the Black Power movement is getting bogged down in irrelevant issues. They point to the movement's concern with culture, history, and language as proof of the useless expenditures of energy in a movement which is supposed to be concerned with social change. These people fail to see the necessity of a cultural heritage in the building of dignity in individuals. They believe that if people are just given jobs and decent housing, they will almost automatically take pride in themselves. However, the historical facts show that this is an erroneous assumption.

For one hundred years, individual black people have been getting individual jobs, and subsequently, a little individual dignity. The question is, however, what form of dignity was gained, and how did it help dignify the black masses who were not looking "colored" when the token jobs were given out? In the past, having dignity, and maintaining one's blackness were definitionally inconsistent. One could not be proud of being black and still maintain full dignity and pride in himself, because being black only served to subtract from one's dignity.

It has therefore been expedient for black people to attempt to lose their identity because we have been taught that black people have nothing to take pride in as a race. Booker T. and George W. Carver are held up as the successful people of our race, however, they are considered historical freaks in the general evolution of

Dec. 5, 1978

Self-determination

by Johnny Trotter

In every aspect it is especially important that we educate ourselves to the things that have held us back as a race and as individuals, such as the manipulation of taboos to bring us to war with ourselves and to fill our minds with negative thoughts about ourselves as Black people. In spite of all this manipulating and deceiving, as the great Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. said, "We shall overcome someday," all our faults and the ignorance of our past to one day rise strong and equal to our oppressors as a Black nation within a nation. Once we have achieved this we will have defined ourselves as Blacks, created for ourselves a nation that we can call our own, and will have spoken for ourselves that we have overcome.

As long as we continue to use self-determination and Black pride to better ourselves and our race, the above thoughts will indeed become a realization for Blacks.

the black man in America. So except for these two "Super-Negroes," some singers, dancers, and athletes, black people have no reason to take pride in a cultural heritage that does not exist. But as long as we have "black" skin, if we are ever going to be able to take full pride in ourselves as individuals, we are first going to have to be able to take pride in our race.

It is therefore necessary for a true account of history to be provided about our people for our people. However, a history alone does not make for a cultural heritage. A strictly black cultural heritage has never developed in this country. In order for the black artists to "make it" in this country, it has been necessary in the past for them to assume all of the styles and the language of their European counterparts.

But a new breed has arisen! Black poets, writers, and artists have thrown off the shackles of the academic styles, and have molded and created an Afro-American style. They use the language of black people, and they maintain the free, throbbing style of a black life. However, this new style of the black artist is not an accident.

All of these attempts to forge an Afro-American culture are intended to give the black man a true heritage, a heritage that the white man can never again hide from us. And when individuals can learn about and take pride in the heritage and achievements of their people, they will develop a feeling of dignity towards their race, and will thus be more capable of taking dignity in themselves as black individuals.

Some (of my neighbors) seemed really glad to see the work go on, if somebody else would do it.

by Levin Coffin, "president"
Underground Railroad

Bad Black

March 1, 1979

by Steve Cole

Have you ever heard the expression "...that old black magic has a spell on me," or what about, "...he was the black sheep of the family," or even words such as blackguard, blackmail, or even black list. These words and phrases are very commonly used in everyday speech and tend to flow from peoples' lips as easily as saying "hello" or "good-morning." But if we stop for a moment and take a closer look at these terms, we will notice that they all have one thing in common. They all contain the word black, and if we look a little closer, we will see that the word black is used in a derogatory manner in each case. Even after we acknowledge that the previous statements are true, some might still say "so what?" "What do mere words and phrases have to do with anything, particularly my existence as a

Black person?" Ideally nothing, but subconsciously it may have a big effect.

Black people in the United States are continually subjected to some form of brainwashing from birth until death. From radio to television, from nursery rhymes to history books, from baby dolls to super heroes, every imaginable type of media has been used to propagate a difference between Black and White. Everybody knows the good guys always wear white and the villains black. Black is a symbol of filth and demonic doings. Definitions for black as taken from the American Heritage Dictionary include such meanings 1)cheerless, 2)sullen, 3)calamitous, 4)Negroid. Sure, you might say that you know all this and that these symbolisms can't affect the way you think or the way you feel about yourself or your people, but can you positively say that these things have no effect on our young

or our little brothers and sisters. I say no, and I say we can do something about the effects brainwashing has on our achievements, and we can start by removing the negative connotations associated with Black.

We must put more pressure on the present educators, writers, and even film makers to remove these derogatory expressions from dictionaries, books, and other kinds of media. If there is no legal way to deter people from using these expressions, we must as a people look unfavorably upon persons who frequently use these expressions in communication. We must stop using these terms ourselves and discourage others from using them. For surely our language will not suffer by deletion of these overly-used passages, while the negative stigma associated with the term black will once and for all be removed.

Are We Animals?

by Joseph Campbell

I ask this question because animals do very little or no thinking. For us not to be animals would imply that we are capable of thinking for ourselves, because you see our mind is a very splendid thing.

If we want to follow the minds of others then we are not giving our own minds a chance to develop, thereby leaving ourselves open to fit the definition of an animal. It is very important that we develop our own minds and not the minds of others, because we can be misled and manipulated by trying to think as others. Since we are blessed by God in that everything we have was given to us by Him, including our minds, let us use them to their fullest potential and stop depending on others to do our thinking.

Building Self-Esteem

by Joseph Campbell

After the child has gone through the early stages of childhood and has learned about black culture, as a high school student he is now able to further develop his ideas about Black awareness. The maturity and patience he has gained through age will aid him in this task.

When the child is in high school it is very important that the parent begin to communicate so that he can build his confidence toward Black awareness. There is no way that one person can instill anything within another person unless they are able to respect one another. This respect comes with communication and commitment to help the child when he is disappointed at the world or himself. The parent's care and interest will give the child the determination he needs for a positive sense of himself as a Black person. In time

this makes it possible for the child to listen to his parents when they tell him about achievement and culture within his beautiful race.

Many white racists have the idea that the definition of Blackness is growing up in poverty, pimping, stealing, having superability in sports and lacking the study skills necessary to make good grades in school. In applying this definition they figure that they can play with the Black psyche so that they can keep blacks from moving into positions of power. This is when the parents step in. They have to help their children understand that white racist attitudes are the problems of white racists and in no way whatsoever measure the child's ability as a Black person.

As you can see the parents are the ones that have the sole responsibility of making their child aware of his Black culture.

Prose and Poetry

April 1981

Lil Darlin'

As a ray of sun is conjoined to the sun.

And a raindrop blends harmoniously with the ocean, I ask you not to let distance be the force which will take up space between us.

We haven't any motives to object to each other

And we'll always be as near as our thoughts.

Though they may duplicate the dawn... every day.

Or imitate the wind... once in a while.

Or simulate the stars... every night.

Let us conjoin harmoniously

And enjoy some of Life's precious fruits...

Each other!

by Michelle Johnson

May-June 1971

"Ode to Lillian Anthony"

Love of black insuring love of self and love of mankind, giving incessantly and never questioning.

All power, no power, no difference to her only that you not stop the battle before you try!!

by Maurice Tucker-Halie

If you are asked to make a commitment at the age of 20 and you say you don't want to make a commitment because of the reason I'm too young to die, you're already dead. You have to understand you have to pay the price for peace. If you dare to struggle, you dare to win. If you dare not to struggle, then goddamn you don't deserve to win.

by Fred Hampton

If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to freedom and yet deprecate agitation are men who

want crops without plowing. They want rain without thunder

and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its mighty waters. This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will.

by Frederick Douglass, 1857

