

# SAUTI THE INNER-CITY VOICE

The voice of Detroit's Black revolution

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**WELCOME HOME BROTHER ROB-  
AMERICA is the BLACK MAN'S BATTLE  
GROUND**



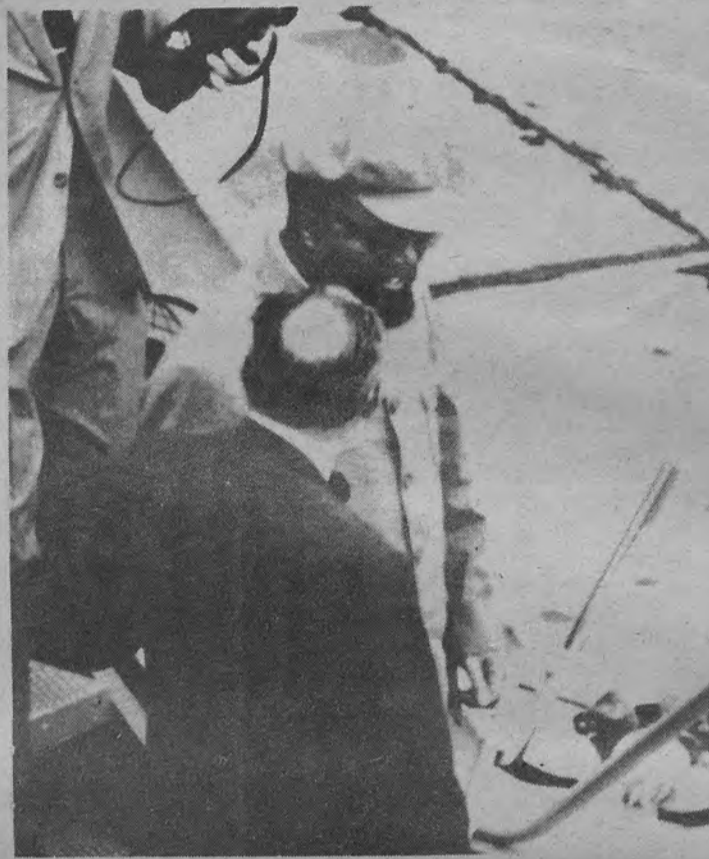
# To Attack Robert Williams

## is to Support U.S. RACISM



THE GREAT BLACK HOPE STEP OFF OF THE PLANE  
AFTER EIGHT YEARS OF EXILE FROM RACIST U.S.A.

The very essence of revolution is racial change. Revolution is necessitated by abusive and reactionary power. This abusive and oppressive power perpetuates itself through the medium of violence. In the outset the oppressive force commands the superior power. If it did not, violent revolution would not be necessary.



CHAIRMAN ROB WAS TAKEN AWAY BY THE F.B.I.  
and was later freed on 10,000 bond.

### WHO IS ROBERT F. WILLIAMS?

Someone once said "To attack Robert F. Williams is to support U.S. imperialism". The question may be raised "Why is this so?" It is so because Robert Williams has struggled consistently and correctly against the "forces of evil" (U.S. Imperialism) for over 14 years.

Robert Williams' history goes back to 1955 when as a veteran of the U.S. Marine Corps, he returned to his home town of Monroe, North Carolina and joined the local chapter of the NAACP.

In Brother Rob's book "Negroes with Guns", he tells us what Monroe was like then in these words "My home town is Monroe, North Carolina. It has a population of 11,000 about a third of which is Negro. It is a county seat (Union County) and is 14 miles from the South Carolina border. Its spirit is closer to that of South Carolina than to the liberal atmosphere of Chapel Hill which people tend to associate with North Carolina. There are no trade unions in our country and the south-eastern regional headquarters of the Klu Klux Klan is in Monroe.

There was also, at the time of my return, a small and dwindling chapter of the NAACP. The Union County NAACP was a typical Southern branch - small, not very active, dominated by, and largely composed of, the upper crust of the black community - professionals, businessmen and white collar workers.

Before the Supreme Court desegregation decision of 1954, the NAACP was not a primary target of segregationists. In many places in the South, including Monroe, racists were not too concerned with the small local

chapters. But the Supreme Court decision (1954) drastically altered this casual attitude. The Klu Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils made it their business to locate any NAACP chapter in their vicinity and to find out who its officers and members were. Threats of violence and economic sanctions were applied to make people withdraw their membership. Chapters, already small, dwindled rapidly."

Robert Williams in 1957 as President of the Monroe N.C., NAACP chapter organized Black Men, armed them into a Black Guard, to defend that community against the ruthless and racist attacks by the Klu Klux Klan. This was the first organized effort at collective self defense that had ever occurred in Black America's history. Robert Williams and his fellows successfully defeated the Klu Klux Klan from 1957 to 1961.

In 1961, Bro. Rob, was a victim of a National white power conspiracy. This conspiracy included some of the heads of the Federal government, the Klu Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, the Minute Men and the C.I.A.

During the summer of 1961 all of these forces along with the National Guard converged on Monroe N.C. This "white holy alliance" conspired to assassinate Bro. Rob but was unsuccessful. So, Bro. Rob was set up for a kidnapping charge.

The white power structure wanted to eliminate Bro. Rob because he said "we must meet violence with violence" at a time when the responsible negro leaders were just learning the words to "We shall overcome". The power structure wanted Bro. Rob eliminated, because:

1. He stood for collective armed self defense.
2. He stood for a United Black Front.
3. He stood and said, until America grants the Black Nation Freedom, Justice and Equality, "America is the Blackman's Battleground".

For this Bro. Rob was forced into exile.

Robert Williams successfully slipped through a continent-wide F.B.I. network and arrived in Cuba in October 1961 where he lived from 1961 to 1966.

In 1966 Brother Rob moved to the People's Republic of China where he resided until May 1969. He then moved to Tanzania where he resided until his return to racist America.

Our people may ask the question what was he doing in the eight years he spent in exile? Robert Williams along with the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X, has been instrumental in the internationalization of the African-american liberation struggle.

Robert Williams has functioned as what we may call an "roving ambassador" for Black America, telling the world about our struggle against racist oppression.

Unfortunately, due to the nature of his circumstances (exile), there has been less publicity about his actions by the

white press, which most of our people read.

What we must realize is that exile in itself does not curb the usefulness of a revolutionary leader. In all revolutions and national liberation struggles of the past, there have been periods when the leaders were in exile. There was the Cuban struggle when Fidel Castro and his colleagues were in the U.S. and Mexico, the Russian Revolution when Lenin was in Europe, the Kenya struggle when Jomo Kenyatta was banned from his people for a number of years.

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### C.I.A. KILLED KING

Statements made by James Earl Ray on KMOX T.V., St. Louis, pointed to the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King as being a plot hatched by the C.I.A.

Ray's activities in early 1968 included various trips to Mexico where Federal agents told Ray that he was "helping them to supply arms and guns to Cuban refugees to overthrow Castro and the communist in Cuba", when in fact they were setting him up to be their pigeon in the assassination plot all along.

Ray also pointed out how he was blackmailed by the C.I.A. He stated that if he did not take orders, he would be sent back to prison in Missouri where he had recently escaped.

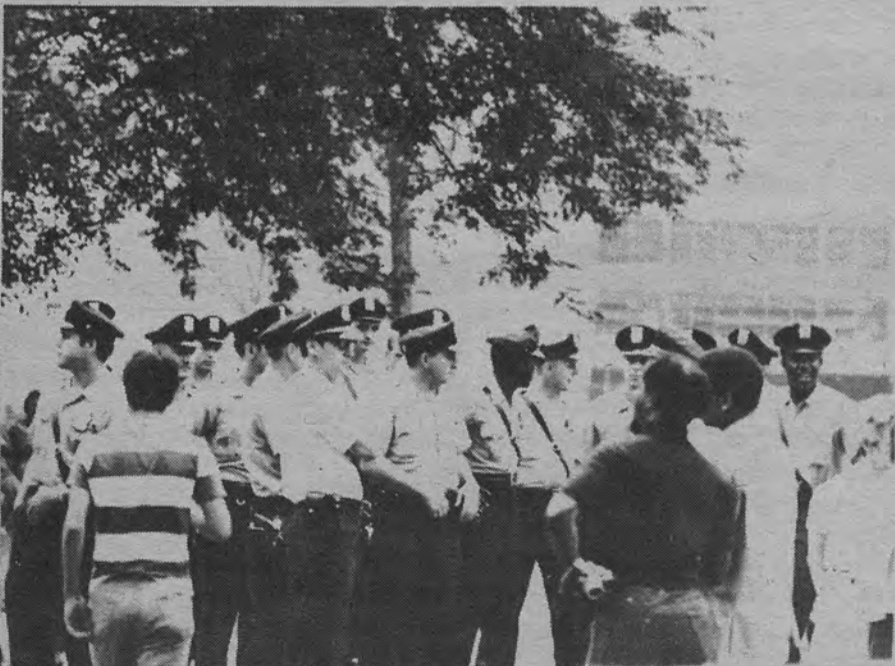


SOME OF THE BROTHERS IN THE PICTURE ON THE RIGHT ARE SUPPORTING THE WELFARE MOTHERS. MAYBE SOME OF YOU OTHER REVOLUTIONARIES CAN FOR ONCE IN YOUR MOVEMENT EXPERIENCE, SUPPORT A WORTHY CAUSE.

# SUPPORT OUR MOTHERS

## OUR WELFARE MOTHERS ARE MILITANT

WELFARE MOTHERS WILL NO LONGER LET THEMSELVES BE TREATED LIKE DOGS. THEY ARE ABLE TO TAKE ACTION.



SPEAKING OF DOGS, HERE THEY ARE IN UNIFORM ready to attack your black mother, across the street.

For the past month the Welfare Rights Organization under the direction of Gloria Brown, has been picketing the Department of Social Services at 640 Temple. The mothers have been picketing and have been harassed by the police for demanding their fair rights as human beings. The point in question, a \$11 allowance per child for school clothing. What could \$11 possibly buy your child for school (socks and underwear)? What would you do if you were one of the unfortunate Welfare, ADC recipients with four children unable to get a job (and as a mother with children, the mother needs to be home with the children to give them guidance and help when needed)? Some people seem to think that in the "good ole" u.s.a. jobs are plentiful and

that ADC mothers should go out and get a job in the "good ole american way," but anyone who looks at the situation realistically knows that only a few surface changes have been made in terms of employment of Black people. If you're not convinced then ask a few Black high school grads, or students with an associates degree or students with their B.A.'s and they will tell you that in order to get a decent job, over education is the requirement for a menial job.

So there's no use giving the excuse that ADC mothers should all go job hunting.

The mothers and other recipients have been picketing for fair treatment from this total system, specifically the Welfare System. \$11 is just not enough for children's school clothing, supplies, lunches and other necessities. The mothers have finally come out to demand their rights (peacefully) but the system had made it apparent that they do not plan to deal with the mothers peacefully, but it is very apparent that this racist country has a deaf ear for peaceful demonstrations, especially coming from black people.

Another question comes to mind, what if all the demonstrators had been white welfare, ADC recipients, one could be sure of much more constructive actions and every one would babble, "those poor women". But since the majority were black the comments were quite different. We notice, that no one had taken into consideration, the rise of the cost of living which means as the cost of living rises their checks get smaller.

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# MORE ON CHAIRMAN ROB

## THE MONROE STORY

by Mae Mallory

Robert Franklin Williams was born 43 years ago in Monroe, N.C. Monroe is the county seat of Union County, and Union County is the hot bed of the Ku Klux Klan. From this haven for white supremacy Robert F. Williams rose to international fame by advocating and practicing self defense for black people at a time when super passiveness and submission was the order of the day.

As chairman of the Union County Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Robert Williams tried all legal court means open to him to relieve the sufferings of his community. But to no avail.

Rob, as he is known to his friends, first came to prominence when he defended two little black boys age 7 and 9, who were kissed by a little white girl.

The local authorities arrested the little boys and held them in jail without benefit of legal counsel and without notifying the parents. Rob was enraged. He immediately set about to release these children. (They were actually convicted and sentenced to reform school until they should reach age 21.) With Rob's dedicated efforts, national pressure and international ridicule, the local authorities were forced to free these children - but not before they forced their families out of town.

Again Rob Williams was to gain the respect, admiration and support of his people and progressive whites, when he organized the local black men into the only legally chartered rifle club in Union County. This brave band of men were soon to put their skills to the test in defense of Dr. Albert Perry's home when it was attacked by the Ku Klux Klan. Dr. Perry is a black doctor in Monroe who advocated human rights for all people. He didn't refuse help to poor whites who couldn't pay him. For his good deeds he was framed and accused of giving a white woman an illegal abortion.

Calling on the training he had gotten in the U.S. Marines, Rob placed his men in strategic places around Dr. Perry's house. When the Klan came for their usual Sunday afternoon sport of shooting up the black community and in this particular instance Dr. Perry's house, they met with a frightening surprise. Their fire was met with fire, forcing them to abandon their wives, children and cars and flee for their lives to the woods.

In the summer of 1961 many "Freedom-Riders" descended upon Monroe to try to persuade the people to be passive and maybe to get an idea of what was meant by self-defense. These Freedom-Riders, along with the local black youth, had many demonstrations in downtown Monroe around the City Hall. Each time they indicated that they were passive, they were insulted, spat on, and beaten back into Newtown, where they were given safety by a well-armed black community.

The presence of middle class white northern youth, the many trips to Cuba, the friendship with Premier Fidel Castro, along with the militant actions of Robert Williams and his supporters, proved unbearable to the local Klansman. They set out to get Rob.

The weekend of August 25-27 was the weekend the Klansmen had picked to rid themselves of him. Their many previous attempts on his life had failed. Friday night the phone rang incessantly with abusive calls and threats. On Saturday cars loaded with whites would speed through the community, fire and in turn, be fired upon.

Rob recalled that most acts of particular viciousness seemed to occur on Sunday. He remarked that all the hate and rancor the racists could not extract from a liquor bottle on Saturday, they seem to find on Sunday.

Sure enough, the major attack came that day. When a young white woman attempted to enter a car heading back to Newtown after a demonstration, it was at this point the racists let loose their most venomous blow.

One aimed a rifle at James Forman's head and pulled the trigger. Fortunately for Forman, the gun failed to fire. This enraged the racist so much, he took the stock of the rifle and attempted to bash in Jim's head. The Freedom-Riders, along with the local youth, were arrested, thrown into jail and denied medical attention.

Meantime back in Newtown, we heard the news. Black men 300 strong came to Rob with loaded guns, awaiting orders. At this moment a long puny white cop drove up and stated "All you niggers are under arrest."

The angry people were only seconds away from taking his life. The respect and confidence the people had in Rob was his only salvation. Rob sent the cop back downtown with a demand to the authorities for medical attention and release for our forces that had been arrested. When the authorities did not respond, the angered community stopped the very next car containing whites that came through the community. In this car was a middle age white couple. They were to pay dues with their lives.

Again Rob interceded. He allowed the couple to come into his house, use the phone to relate the critical conditions to the authorities.

Learning the authorities planned to come in to destroy Newtown, the people decided they should not only kill the Stegalls but burn down all of Monroe. This could have been easily done because there were only 17 cops and the police arsenal was in the heart of the black community. Calmer heads decided that the best policy would be for Rob to leave. It was felt that he had proved that one did not necessarily have to die for standing up to the white power structure. Rob Williams, his wife and two boys left. First to Canada, then to Cuba, where he was given political asylum by Fidel Castro and the Cuban people. He remained in Cuba for three years, then went to the People's Republic of China where he is presently.

This writer was guest in the William home that eventful weekend in August, 1961. The white couple that Rob saved later charged Rob with kidnaping (obviously at the instigation of the police and Klan). As a result of my presence, I was also tried and convicted of kidnaping and sentenced to 16 to 20 years. Three others along with Rob faced the same charge.

**READ THE POTENTIAL OF A MINORITY REVOLUTION, beginning on page 6. This is Robert Williams at his BEST**

## WHO IS ROBERT F. WILLIAMS continued from page 2

Exile did not stop Robert Williams from functioning effectively and efficiently all over the world.

In 1961 when Brother Rob showed up in Cuba that very act brought our struggle to a completely new level. William Worthy, who was in Cuba at that time, described it in these words, "I knew that a water shed point in the civil rights movement had been reached. For in the person of Rob Williams and his fight to safety of a liberated U.S. colony, the Negro struggle at home had become linked to the world wide anti-colonial revolution in a dramatic manner that North American mass media could not conceal."

It should also be noted that Brother Rob came back in the same fashion he left in a dramatic manner that North American mass media could not conceal" (Presidential style).

In 1963 Brother Rob persuaded Chairman Mao Tse Tung (leader and teacher) of the Chinese people, to speak out against racial injustice and oppression of our people by the U.S. government; the first time in our history that this has occurred.

Robert F. Williams has worked outside racist America for over eight years telling the world about the "real" plight of the Black Nation. He has been recognized by heads of state in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We think that in a matter of time Bro. Rob will be recognized by the African-american people themselves as one of the only true leaders the colonized Black Nation has. Whether we are proven to be correct or incorrect only "time will tell".

Mass violence is coming to the Afro-American whether he wants it or is prepared for it or not. The only possible salvation for our people is a strong united front, total organization and total mobilization for black power. Our people must become fully armed, and solidly organized and psychologically prepared for one of the most unorthodox and bloody wars in the history of the world.

MONTHLY ASSISTANCE ALLOWANCES

Number of Persons in Eligible Group.	Total Needs	Personal Needs	Household Needs	Personal Needs		Household Needs	
				Food	Incidental	Heat	Utilities
ONE-Householder, living alone.	66.50	47.50	19	32.50	15	13	6
ONE-Householder, living with others, no other grant	61.50	42.50	19	27.50	15	13	6
ONE-Householder, eating in restaurant.	79.50	60.50	19	45.50	15	13	6
ONE-Living with others, personal needs only.	----	42.50	----	27.50	15	---	---
ONE-With others, personal needs, eating in restaurant	---	60.50	----	45.50	15	---	---
ONE-With self-supporting (ADC, child) relative	(Rm. & Bd.) 50	34	---	25	9	---	---
TWO	88	68	20	50	18	13	7
THREE	124	102	22	75	27	13	9
FOUR	161	136	25	100	36	15	10
FIVE	196	170	26	125	45	15	11
SIX	233	204	29	150	54	17	12
SEVEN	267	238	29	175	63	17	12
EIGHT	301	272	29	200	72	17	12
NINE	335	306	29	225	81	17	12
TEN	369	340	29	250	90	17	12
ELEVEN	403	374	29	275	99	17	12
TWELVE or more	Add \$34 for each additional person.						

Allowances for two or more are to be used in budgeting for eligible persons in ADC. Columns F and G only are to be used for all categories when there are two or more grants in the same household. (Refer to Item 318.5)

Laundry Allowances

Monthly (4.3) Weeks Shelter Maximums

Based on number of persons in the assistance budget or in combined eligible groups. Effective April, 1968

Apartment or Flat:

- 1 person \$3.00
- 2 persons 5.00
- 3 persons 6.00
- 4 or more, add .50 per person

- Unfurnished \$75
- Furnished 85
- House 85

If heat or utilities or both are provided by landlord, add the appropriate amounts from Columns F and G to the shelter maximum above to determine whether the total actual shelter cost can be budgeted

Special Diet Allowances

- Low fibre-bland \$8.80
- Diabetic 6.00
- Malnutrition (high calorie, vitamin, mineral and protein). 6.00

Miscellaneous Allowances

- Legal dependent \$34
- Hospital sundries 5
- Telephone 4
- Upkeep of Owned home 5



THIS BUILDING CAN BE PICKETED OR ??????????

A WAY TO SOLVE THE WELFARE PROBLEM .....KILL .....

It should be quite clear by now that five children and one mother cannot live on \$196 a month or \$2,352 a year, but people like Mr. Conlan, Mr. Houston, Mr. Millikin and Nixon seem to think so.

Another example of typical welfare policy, can be told in a story by one of the mothers.

There was a young girl who was on ADC and came to this mother to find a place to stay. So they looked around until they found a \$85 a month apartment, furnished (this was in June 1969). When she went back to report to her worker, she was told that that was too much for an apartment. So, she and her worker went and found a \$65 a month apartment, unfurnished, but when they reported back to the

Welfare Department, they were told, "Now I guess you expect us to supply you with a refrigerator, stove, bed and baby bed. I suggest you get a room with an elderly couple and if the baby lives to be five days old, call me back."

This is only one of the things which has provoked months of protest, and has caused these mothers to escalate their activities. (Take a look at the table on this page and see if you and your children can live on that sum.)

Any decent person with any dignity would be up in arms over the unfair treatment that they, the mothers, are getting from that branch of government. So our mothers have finally come together to stand up for their rights.

In "good ole" U.S.A. the rich (Rockerfeller, Ford, Chrysler, Chevrolet, Melon) get richer and the poor get poorer. But that's democracy with liberty and justice for all.

The mothers need bail money for they must carry on their struggle and they are willing to take their rights as human beings, and those in sympathy are obligated by their own consciences to give them as much material support as possible. (especially you good Christians and so-called black people)

DON'T LET THOSE WHITE MEN CONTINUE TO ABUSE YOUR MOTHERS

KILL KILL KILL

PROLOGUE - 1964

## THE POTENTIAL OF A MINORITY REVOLUTION

It should be brought to the reader's attention that there was still a definite non-violent and a non-developed movement in this country in the year 1964. No one at that time spoke publically of any sort of organized, systematic way of changing this society (a revolution), but Robert Williams in his most popular Crusader titled **THE POTENTIAL OF A MINORITY REVOLUTION**. In other words none of our white chosen domestic leaders, were addressing themselves to the basic solvent of the racial conflict in this country revolution.

In 1964 the cry was **Freedom Now!** coupled with an increase of non-violent physical clashes which grew much more brutal and sharper on the part of racist white citizens and police.

Black people in the North were increasingly asking an end to defacto (backstabbing) segregation by throwing themselves in front of bulldozers on construction sites and engaging in sit-ins in front of banks.

Sharp divisions were growing between the large civil rights organizations and the local ultra-militant groups led by the black nationalist Muslims. During this increasing activity on the part of the blacks, the government and the press found a word called "white backlash." This is where whites used the ballot box to threaten blacks into a longer hibernation.

Barry Goldwater and "Lynching Burner" Johnson were the two front runners for the Republican and Democratic parties. Fanny Lou Hamer came to the Democratic Party Credentials Committee hearing to tell the story of her trials and tortures in Mississippi. They also passed a civil rights bill in 1964 and killed three civil rights workers at the same time.

But Robert Williams had the answer.

### PART I.

by Robert F. Williams

When the brutally oppressed Afroamerican speaks of violent resistance to savage racial dehumanization, he reaps a whirlwind of reasons and causes why such a reaction supposedly is insane and suicidal. There is no end to the stereotyped polemics and heated opposition that beclouds a rational and objective discourse on the subject. From the camps of the rabid white supremacy power structure, the fellow traveling white liberal and the mercenary running dog Uncle Tom, any individual who raise such a question is labeled a bloodthirsty crackpot, not worthy of social acceptance in America's "democratic and Christian" Negro? Is this because they are concerned with the welfare and well-being of our transition philosophy are quick to evoke the Gandhian theory of appealing to the

conscience of the brutal oppressor and conquering him with the power of nonviolence and love.

These Gandhian Fabians inadvertently extol the success of Gandhi's peaceful revolution. Gandhi's nonviolent revolution may have guaranteed the ruling powers immunity from the violence of the masses, but is most certainly left the masses exposed to the violence of the oppressors. It served to assure that only the blood of the oppressed would flow.

The disciples of the Gandhi theory of peaceful transition elect to omit the latter stage of the continuing revolution. Revolution is a continuing process. It is essential, in appraising the success of the Indian Revolution, to consider the fact that Nehru, a desciple of Gandhi, despaired of the love principle in extending Liberation to Goa, Damao, and Diu. He refused to settle the Pakistan and the Chinese border questions peacefully as exemplified by the philosophy of nonviolence and love. Despite the Gandhian "power of Love" theory's evolution to a "force of arms" theory, Afroamericans are still being drugged with the opium of the power of love and nonviolence.

The forces with a vested interest in the equilibrium of the U.S. master-slave society and their agents of deceit are more than willing to point out to our miserably exploited and dehumanized masses that violent resistance and self-defense will mean total annihilation and extermination. This is in itself an unwitting admission of the beastly nature of the oppressor. If such an oppressor is conceded to be capable of such an act of genocide and history bears out his determination to maintain the status quo, where is the wisdom of the logic that he will tolerate the loss of his slave empire through peaceful means? The very essence of revolution is radical change. Revolution is necessitated by abusive and reactionary power. This abusive and oppressive power perpetuates itself through the medium of violence. In the outset the oppressive force commands the superior power, if it did not, violent revolution would not be necessary. If the oppressed controlled the means of power, a peaceful transition could possibly be executed by virtue of the will of the oppressed.

It is a universally known fact that the power structure of the racist USA is rabidly opposed to self-defense on the part of our oppressed people. They have a morbid fear of violent self-preservation on the part of U.S. freedom fighters. Is this because they love the dehumanized brutalized people? Is this because the American society is a pacifist society with

an aversion for violence? No! A thousand times No! If the power structure had ever manifested any true concern for the welfare of our people (for whom it now professes great fear that we may commit suicide by fighting for the right to live as human beings) there would be no question of a violent liberation struggle. The question of peaceful persuasion, as a moral issue, is belied by its imperialist military actions against Cuba, South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and other liberated areas. Why is such a belligerently imperialist government not concerned about black Americans, and whites as well, being exterminated in nuclear war? Was it not Kennedy, as the very head of the U.S. Government and white so-called liberal society, who said, "... We will live up to our commitments even if victory turns to ashes in our mouths?" Where were the panic preachers then who express such great concern and alarm for the possibility of black Americans being exterminated in violently resisting racial oppression? Is not a black American just as dead when killed in an international war of conquest as in a national struggle for liberation?

Why are the liberals, Uncle Toms and the power structure so hysterical about the possibility of massive violence erupting on the national human rights scene?

The fact is that the racist oppressors of the Afroamerican realize the insecurity and vulnerability of the most powerful military complex in the world to a violent internal struggle, wherein its horrible and sophisticated weapons of war will be ineffective. The internal defense of the U.S. is a possibility that money cannot buy. Only a change in the moral and social structure of the system offers security against an enraged oppressed citizenry. The USA is either unwilling or morally incapable of bearing the cost of this type of internal security. The race question is her Achilles heel, her Maginot line.

The power structure, the liberals and Uncle Toms are in essence asking Afroamericans to cooperate with the very forces that are opposing them. How can oppressed people who seek liberation, afford to allow the enemy to dictate the method of struggle? How can a people, who are dead serious about their freedom, allow themselves to be duped into limiting themselves to the most ineffective method of struggle? It is not logical to accomodate the will of the oppressor, who has a vested interest in maintainint the status quo, and to wage a successful liberation struggle simultaneously.

The fact is that racist white America is not worried about the possibility of Negroes being exterminated. It is more

worried about the loss of its privileged position in its racist caste society, its system of white supremacy and world domination. It is ironical that we note inherent inequality in the very method and tactics proposed to abolish the evil inequities of racism. The white barbaric racist is ceded a "white only" special privilege in the realm of all violence, both justified and unjustified. The execution of human prerogative is again straddled with a limitation placed on brutally oppressed people whose miserable existence is the very personification of limited human endeavor. A democratic or equilateral society is devoid of minority or majority distinctions based on race or class. An integrated society or racial equality in the United States is impossible if specific limitations are placed on black citizens, while excluding white ones. True equality must not only extend to the Afroamericans the right to full participation in virtuous endeavors but

also the full right to the equal extent of the white nationalist class in some not so virtuous endeavors. Equality, total equality, must grant the black citizen the same right to be a devil or a god as the whites. It must grant him the same right of temper and the same right of self-defense as any other citizen. To limit the Afroamerican struggle to the narrow confines of non-violence, while the white oppressor class wages a violent struggle to maintain the status quo, is to invoke the principle of Jim Crow and its racial inequali inequality. The power of nonviolence and love is a farce Socrates was nonviolent and he, too, stressed love. He died at the hands of violent men. Christ was nonviolent and he, too, stressed love and nonviolence, he too, died a violent death. History is replete with examples of nonviolent men, as well as violent ones, who died from the power of violence either justified or unjustified. We have the case of millions of nonviolent Jews, who found meekness to be greatly inadequate in the face of ruthless and intemperate Nazi violence. The evil force of Nazism was not crushed by nonviolence and love but a fighting spirit, backed up by force and violence. The Christians, who were cast into the ancient lion pits were not saved by the power of nonviolence and love: Where is the example of the success of this power, of this nonviolence and love? The mystic principle of the power of nonviolence and love borders on the primitive poisonous snake-handling rituals of some religious cults.

The most noble of mankind must surely aspire for a human level of endeavor, wherein mankind can establish a utopian society divested of brute force and violence. The irony of this great dream is that if it is at all possible, it is possible only through the medium of violence. It is possible only through Revolution.

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Our people's freedom spirit has been ossified by the continuous harangue of "we cannot possibly win a violent struggle of liberation." It is impossible for a people to rise above their aspirations. If we think we cannot win, we most certainly cannot. Our greatest enemy is our defeatist attitude. Our oppressor's greatest weapon of repression is his psychological apparatus by which he impregnates our people with a defeatist complex. Are we to concede the fact that racial oppression and tyranny prevail invincible and unshakable? Are we to concede to the unchallenged all mighty power of our dehumanizer, that he is the supreme benefactor of our freedom? Are we destined to forever kneel beggingly at his feet seeking the alms of liberty and justice?

The sweetest fruits of liberty are plucked by those who readily display boldness and daring. The cringing and the reluctant constitute the hindmost part of a civilization in constant transition. The defeatist voice of cynicism is the inevitable scum that litters the shore before all daring world-shaking exploits of embarcation. What would civilization resemble if all revolutionaries, inventors, adventurers and scientists had heeded the inevitable voices of the doubting Thomases, who perennially admonish that every novel and daring exploit is predestined to fail? Ironically, the survival of the cynic and the conservative is assured by the dogged iconoclast.

Is it possible for a minority revolution to succeed in powerful America? The cynics, prophets of doom, and agents of the oppressive establishment maintain that to even raise such a question is insane. They energetically, with a clairvoyant air, assure us that violent self-defense or violent resistance to brutal racial oppression can lead only to suicide. How do they know? What is the basis of their logic? Are they any wiser than those cynics who brazenly stated that "man will never fly," that "it is impossible to cross the oceans," that "man can never reach the speed of a mile a minute and survive," and that "the American Revolution can never succeed against the military might of the Crown?" How do they know that violent resistance on the part of our people will lead to suicide? Yes, they have been conditioned to accept America's racist tyranny as a condition bound to prevail until the tyrant himself elects to abandon the throne of tyranny. They are more than resigned to the premise that white supremacy might is the God of the fate and destiny of oppressed black humanity.

Yes, a minority revolution has as much, or more, chance of succeeding in the racist USA as any place else in the world. At the very outset, all revolutions are minority revolutions. In the early stages cynics think that all revolutions have a very remote chance of succeeding. Revolutions display a propensity to accomplish the impossible. Is the Afroamerican revolution to be an

exception? Do we subscribe to the premise of white supremacy? Is it because the oppressor is white and the oppressed is black that most of the world accepts the premise that our struggle must be white-led and supported by the majority race or that it is insignificant and doomed to failure?

The fact of the matter is that the Afroamerican wants and has been seeking brotherhood with the white masses since his enslavement in the New World. A people as brutally oppressed as American Negroes cannot wait forever for the support of mythological and theoretical allies. Most white workers in the USA today have a vested interest in the status quo. The present system grants them special privileges in a jungle society. The cow of production may be lean and diseased but the Negro is the only herdsman limited to the cutlets of feet and tail. The vast majority of the whites have also been mentally poisoned with racism. It is asinine to expect them to recover from their race psychosis without a severe shock treatment.

The American society is a highly industrialized complex. A highly industrialized and mechanized system is also a very sensitive one. The more machinery required to serve a community, the greater the incidence of mechanical breakdown. The more dependent a community is on mechanization, the more important it is for the wheels of industry to perpetually turn smoothly. Social systems, like biological systems, tend to adjust to environmental conditions and requirements. The American society, over a long period of time, has adjusted itself to a high rate of productivity directly bearing of the relativity of consumption.

### THE MINORITY REVOLUTION PART I

Many of the nonviolent preachers in North America tend to fuse Gandhism and Christianity. Their hybrid type of pacifism leans heavily on Christian teachings and on the bible, which threatens that the entire earth is to be destroyed by violent fire. Its watchword is the coming battle of Armageddon. Not a nonviolent battle but the most ferociously violent one ever staged. These advocates of the Christian power of nonviolence and love omit that part of the Old Testament which describes the evil subversion attempted by the devil when peaceful coexistence degenerated in Heaven to a state of open conflict wherein the Christian's God, the highest ideal of peace and love, ordered the devil forcibly ejected from the heavenly society. In removing the devil and his evil from menacing the peace of the ideal community, it is significant to note that God did not see fit to relegate such an important task to the realm of nonviolence. Why is the mortal Afroamerican expected to be more peaceful and loving towards his enemy than his divine God?

From the very earliest event of the African's chained arrival in the New World, he has been subjected to every form of brute force, systematic demoralization and dehumanization conceivable. The insensate slave masters left no stone unturned in conditioning oppressed blacks to meekly accept their miserable lot. The black man's fate was presented as being inseparable from the will of the white man. He was deliberately conditioned to base the prospects of his fortune on the Christian charity or conscience of the good white folks. Our people have never been allowed to forget that all significant power is in the hands of and under the control of the all-powerful and God chosen white man.

The lip agents, both black and white, of the white man's supremacy doctrine have been rapid and more than lavish in proclaiming the "white folks" as possessors of all the cannons, the bombs, the machine guns and the complete military establishment. This has been true and it is essentially true today, however, times have changed. These changes do not bear good tidings for the perennial and brutal oppressor, dehumanizer and exploiter of our people.

The physical conditioning of a society also manifests certain relative psychological traits. The American mind has been conditioned to think of great calamities, wars and revolutionary upheavals as taking place on distant soil. Because of the vast upper and middle classes in the USA, that have grown accustomed to comfortable living, the nation is not psychologically prepared for massive violence and a sudden disruption of the essential agencies of the affluent society. The soft society is highly susceptible to panic.

America. A Civil

more effect than

What is integration when the law says yes, but the police and howling mobs say no? Our only logical and successful answer is to meet organized and massive violence with massive and organized violence. Our people must prepare to wage an urban guerrilla war of self-defense. Self-defense develops to the stage wherein the source of evil and terror must be eliminated.

In Monroe, North Carolina (the first instance wherein highly organized self-defense units supplemented nonviolent tactics and reduced the incidence of resulting terror) our force of defense was adequate in staving off local attacks. We had enough force and arms to reduce the entire city to ashes. The fault, however, lay in the fact that we had an isolated force without extensive outside forces to pin down, ambush and destroy the state reinforcements moving in to overpower us. Our self-defense forces had to remain to purely static and defensive. The Monroe explosion came prematurely because of our shift in emphasis from self-defense to publicly overemphasizing nonviolence. The racists seized this time of weakness and confusion to launch an attack to annihilate our forces. A six year effective self-defense campaign terminated in ill-fated untimely experiment with nonviolence. The organization of external forces was just being conceived. A decision was made to spare the city thus avoiding an all-out confrontation prematurely. The town would have been destroyed but our defense forces would have been crushed by external power, and the state and white supremacists would have used the example to intimidate other advocates of self-defense. The racist news media would have portrayed the entire operation as one conducted by psychotic extremists.

The lesson of Monroe teaches that effective self-defense, on the part of our brutally oppressed and terrorized people requires massive organization with central coordination. External oppressive forces must not be allowed to relieve the besieged racist terrorists. The forces of the state must be kept under pressure in many places simultaneously. The white supremacy masses must be forced to retreat to their homes in order to give security to their individual families.

The weapons of defense employed by Afroamerican freedom fighters must consist of a poor man's arsenal. Gasoline fire bombs (Molotov cocktails), lye or acid bombs (made by injecting lye or acid in the metal end of light bulbs) can be used extensively. During the night hours such weapons, thrown from roof tops, will make the streets impossible for racist cops to patrol. Hand grenades, bazookas, lights mortars, rocket launchers, machine guns and ammunition can be bought clandestinely from servicemen, anxious to make a fast dollar. Freedom fighters in military camps can be contacted to give instructions on usage.

Instead of the majority race extending brotherhood and justice, it has resorted to a campaign of a massive drive aimed at extermination. The fascist elements are arming, not to liberate our brutally oppressed people but to liquidate us. It is becoming next to impossible for Negroes to conduct a "peaceful" demonstration in

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## PROLOGUE

Extensive sabotage is possible. Gas tank on public vehicles can be choked up with sand. Sugar is also highly effective in gasoline lines. Long nails driven throughout boards and tacks with large heads are effective to slow the movement of traffic on congested roads at night. This can cause havoc on turn-pikes. Derailing of trains causes panic. Explosive booby traps on police telephone boxes can be employed. High powered sniper rifles are readily available. Armor piercing bullets will penetrate oil storage tanks from a distance. Phosphorus matches (kitchen matches) placed in air conditioning systems will cause delayed explosions which will destroy expensive buildings. Flame throwers can be manufactured at home. Combat experienced ex-service men can easily solve that problem.

Techniques mentioned here are generalized and require a closer study, however, let the cynics take note that the mighty USA is not as snug and secure as it once was. Yes, a minority war of self-defense can succeed. The Afroamerican can win, We need not submit, passively to racist extermination and brutality. The race question is America's Achilles heel, America's great abundance is what makes American America, without it she would be a wretched land of chaos. Her economy is already under stress and her military might is spread out too thinly throughout the world.

The bourgeoisie has very little stomach for massive blood and violence. They love their property, the source of their power and wealth. They are highly susceptible to panic. The majority white supremacists do not command the loyalty of the entire race. There are a few John Brown type students and militants.

Afroamericans must remember that such a campaign of massive self-defense should not be based upon a lust for sadistical gratification. It cannot be a campaign for vengeance, however, sweet and deserving vengeance may be. Such a campaign of self-defense and survival must be based on the righteous cause of justice. It must not be anti-white but anti-oppression and injustice. Uncle Toms should be as much a target as racist whites.

Like it or not, we cannot escape the trend of history. The hour is fast approaching when our people must make a decision to meekly submit to fascist forces of terror and extermination or surge forth to the battle to liberate ourselves, save American and liquidate its domestic enemies. If we truly seek freedom and human dignity we must be willing to pay for it in the fashion of the Algerians. Great multitudes of our people must be willing to fight and die in America's true cause and commitment to her Constitution, democratic principles

## REVOLUTION

and the rights of man, and for a victory that will not "...turn to ashes in our mouths." but to eternal freedom and happiness in our hearts. Such a victory would truly make the world safe for democracy. It would secure the world from extermination by hydrogen war. Not only is America's peace and security involved but also the peace and security of the whole world.

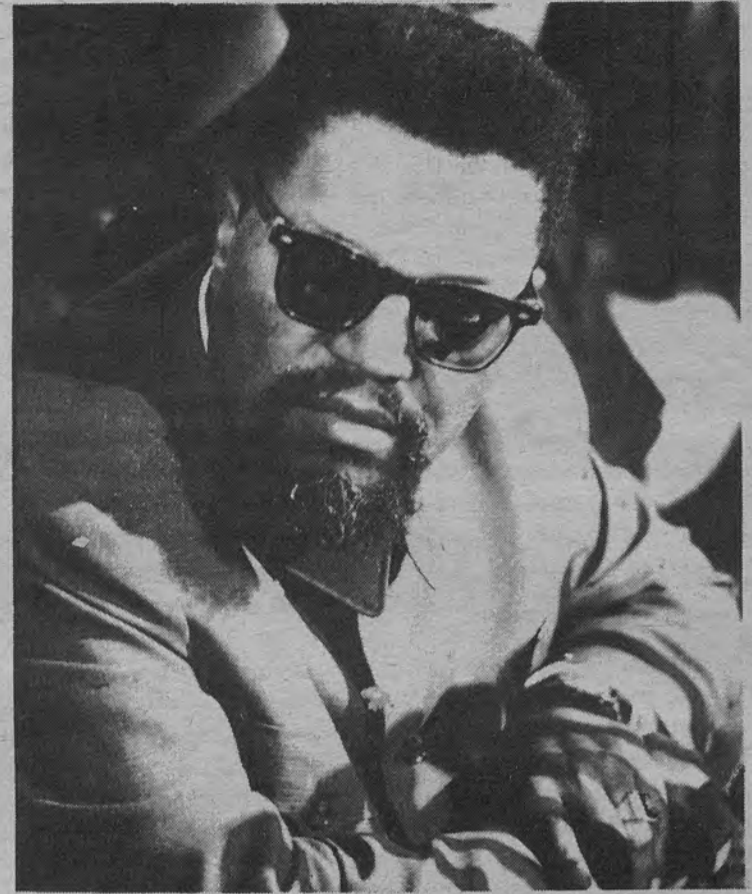
The horrible nightmare of massive violence need not fall upon the American scene. It can be staved off by the birth of a sincere spirit of humanity, dedicated to the proposition of brotherhood, peace and security.

When a brutally oppressed and dehumanize people are denied the peaceful channels through which to activate redress, and when their peaceful petitions are answered with ruthless violence, the only recourse left to them is to meet violence with violence.

**We do not advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government. We merely advocate self-defense for burtalized Afroamericans. If in the process of executing our Constisutional and God-given right of self-defense, the racist U.S. Government, which refuses to protect our people is destroyed, the end result stems from certain historical factors of social relativity.**

" . . . . This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their Constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. . . . If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written Constitutional right, it might, in any moral point of view, justify revolution. . . ." Abraham Lincoln, 1861.

The oppressor's heart is hard. The experience of history teaches that he only relents under violent pressure and force. There is very little hope that he will see the handwriting on the wall before it is too late. This year 1964, is going to be a violent one, the storm will reach hurricane proportions by 1965 and the eye of the hurricane will hover over America by 1966. America is a house on fire -FREEDOM NOW! - or let it burn, let it burn. Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition!!!



## THE POTENTIAL OF A MINORITY

## REVOLUTION

## PROLOGUE - 1965

In 1965 while Congress was in the process of passing its second joke, called the Civil rights bill of 1965 the first sign of serious rebellion broke out in the Watts district of Los Angeles. Thrity-four persons were supposedly killed and four thousand were arrested and white people all over the country were shaking like leaves.

Two thousand National Guardsmen entered the scene in which they were ordered to use machine guns, bayonets, rifles and teargas.

The New York Times said that officials in Los Angeles were at a loss to explain why there should be any rebelling. Most officials said that the unusual hot smoggy weather was a major contributing factor. They also said that some blacks had complained of police brutality, but since they weren't specific when giving their information, the press just disregarded their statements.

Robert Williams stated in his Crusader that black rebellions were bound to happen, because black people were sick and tired of being exploited, murdered and raped. Part 11 of The Potential of a Minority Revolution dealt with this very problem before it happened.

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## PART II

by Robert F. Williams

The power structure of the USA is a cruel force of brutal oppression, exploitation, dehumanization, bloody imperialism and rabid racism. The U.S. Government is almost 200 years old and it has never been humane enough to extend ordinary and simple justice to the Afro-American. It has made a mockery of its own Constitution. It blatantly and contemptuously refuses to honor its signature to the United Nations Human Rights Charter. It allows its black citizens to be gassed, clubbed, bombed and savagely murdered for prayerfully petitioning for human rights. Its F.B.I. and Justice Department reek with sympathy for, and render aid and comfort to racist terrorists who maim and murder black Americans with impunity. As far as black humanity is concerned, U.S. jurisprudence is predicated on a racist kangaroo court system that respects the rights of common street dogs more than those of black humanity. The Afro-American has less chance for justice fair play and human rights under the present rabidly racist power structure than a new born lamb in a hungry wolf's den.

If racist America had any capacity for pangs of conscience on behalf of our dehumanized and brutally oppressed people, it most certainly would have manifested itself in some more tangible form than what we have experienced in almost 200 years under the present government. The downtrodden Afro-American has been loyal unto death to racist America through all its wars and crises. The Afro-American has retained faith in racist America's promises of justice, freedom and equality because faith was his only consolation in a painful situation that he seemed powerless to alleviate. The demoralized, pitiful, ignorant and helpless Afro-American accommodated his personality to the obsequious adjustment of survival. Consequently, he became a subhuman in a society that brazenly and hypocritically prided itself on being a great exemplary democracy, highly respectful of the rights of man and dedicated to the construction of a Christian and affluent society.

The black American captive has begged and prayed for freedom ever since he was first brought in chains to the new world. It is mere elementary logic that the brutally oppressed cannot achieve liberty and justice primarily from the benevolence of the slave master. The slave master has a vested interest in the continuance of exploitation rights that result in the dehumanization of the slave. He is afraid of the unbound slave. He is afraid of the subhuman passion that he has created in the personality that he has so effectively warped. He must rely on the opium of hope that forever keeps the slave in a twilight state of a fantasy more palatable to the oppressed than the hard

cold logic of reality. The reality of the matter is the hard fact that those who would be free must shoulder the major burden of painful and arduous struggle themselves. Oppressors never relinquish their strangle hold on the oppressed voluntarily. When oppressors find their position to no longer be tenable, they cunningly and hypocritically, in the face of force or the fear of force, attempt a strategic retreat in an effort to salvage as much as possible under the disguise of humanitarian concessions.

On the human rights front today, the power structure cunningly pretends to be making civil rights concessions to Afro-Americans on the basis of a great new spirit of white benevolence. What a farce! The power structure and their pacifist apologists would have us believe that nonviolence and love are bringing about a transition of the part of racist masters of the oppressive society. They would have us believe that the ruthless and barbaric power structure is civilized and humane enough to respond to nonviolent demonstrations and peaceful petitioning. The fact of the matter is that the Afro-American is becoming more revolutionary and justly violent in his demands for human rights. He is losing faith in empty promises. He is losing faith in nonviolence. The growing strength of the liberation forces of the world is beginning to embolden him. He is beginning to see his struggle as a part of a universal struggle against an international racist oppressor and imperialist. He no longer sees himself as a helpless minority, but belonging to a winning majority. He can see and is more and more convinced that the white racist power structure is far from invincible. He can see that those inspired with the cause of freedom can overcome the mightiest of obstacles and defeat the most modern of weapons of death with simple and sometimes crude arms in the hands of what the oppressor likes to call ragtag terrorist bands.

Millions of dollars are being dumped into Afro-American communities to convert our people to pacifism. Our people are ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-educated and the victims of wanton police brutality and kangaroo court injustice, yet these millions are not earmarked to improve the lot of our suffering, dehumanized masses, but for nonviolent workshops and race relations designed to maintain a more subtle form of white supremacy, under the deception of possible integration based on moral persuasion. In regards to militancy and self-defense the power structure and their apologists are endeavoring to keep the collective mentality of our people in a shameful state of narcosis. Our people are constantly reminded that to resort to defensive violence would precipitate inevitable extermination. We are led to believe that we are helpless and that our deliverance must come through the benevolence of our racist oppressors. We are made to feel inferior and insecure. We

are led to believe that our first objective should be the prolongation of our miserable and dehumanized lives, even at the cost of total and abject submission to tyranny.

Once again, I reiterate, for the sake of those who find it exceedingly difficult to face the new reality of a changing world, yes, and for the sake of those who strut and prate about the invincibility of the slave master's power, in defiance of the slave master's self-perpetuated myth. I offer further discourse that today he is nothing more than a self-overrated braggart and buffoon, fearfully living out his last days in a fool's paradise of bluff and bluster.

Let me pause here to stress that it is not my endeavor to violently overturn the U.S. Government per se but to struggle uncompromisingly to abolish the evil it condones and engenders. It is not my intent to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government but to explore its weaknesses, to destroy its myth of invincibility and to advance the study of the potential of a minority revolution. I hope those Congressmen, Senators, witchhunters and members of Un-American Activities Committee, who take such great interest in unraveling the mysteries of un-American subversion, will find these concepts to be as American as the Boston Tea Party and the Declaration of Independence.

If the U.S. Government stands in the way of the enforcement of The Constitution, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all the people, then, it forfeits its right to exist. If it stands in opposition to the enforcement of The Constitution, it is an enemy to the people's heritage. If it is an enemy to the people's Constitutional rights then let it fall, let it fall! I do not advocate violence for the sake of violence. I advocate freedom and justice by any means. I advocate defense of the Constitution and especially against its domestic enemies. If it is treason to support the execution of The Constitution, then let treason be charged. Let the oppressor no longer feel secure. Let the Uncle Tom crier for his master's mighty invincibility take note and weep and moan for his master's change of fortune. Yes, the Afro-American can win through violence. Our so-called minority can bring the brutal slave master to his knees. Our people can convert the USA into a vast barren desert.

We prefer freedom through brotherhood and peace, but the brutal nature of our enemy oppressor responds only to naked force. Our oppressor keeps himself on the throne of power by unmitigated violence. Our only alternative is to dethrone him by violence. The power structure of the nation is internally weak. Its imperialist commitments are too widespread in the

world. Racism degenerate and so is based on machinery and massive production. It relies on terrifying weapons of massive destruction to maintain its dominant position in the world. The heart and essential organs of this oppressor and common enemy of the oppressed peoples of the world are easily vulnerable to any potential firestorm that may be sparked from massive social discontent. The Afro-American inhabits his property. Though disinherited, the Afro-American is a portion of the oppressor's population. He cannot wholly and instantly destroy the Afro-American without destroying himself. If he turns inward to destroy a great portion of dilemma. His power is so extended that his greatest weapon of survival is deception fed on the opium of hope, devoid of substance. Through deceit and machinations he must strive to keep body and soul together by containing the flames of rebellion to a minimum of sectors to enable him to concentrate terrifying force in a deceptive facade of invincibility. His tactic is to bribe one sector into submission while crushing the other.

Currently, the U.S. power structure is moving might and main to herd the Afro-American into a false alliance of national unity by offering token and ever elusive civil rights. The object of this phony national unity is to create a united front of imperialism and to shore up the cracks of strained domestic relations between the home factions. These are not genuine moves of humanitarianism and brotherhood, but measures based on the expediency of survival. Concessions granted under these conditions are nothing more than short-range and temporary windfalls of bribery. These concessions of token integration will vanish the same as they did after the Reconstruction era in relation to the whims and historical cycle of the unscrupulous slave master.

The racist whites of America are the haves, and they can never truly sympathize and identify with the black have-nots until they feel that it is to be poor, destitute and oppressed. Too much prosperity dulls the sensibilities of the haves in their understanding and dealings with the have-nots. The slave labor and the starvation wages of the masses of the Afro-Americans were major contributing factors in the construction of the affluent society. He can bring it to its knees, not because of his military power but because of world conditions and his favorable location in racist America's essential regions. If the Afro-American ever divests himself of the fantasy of hope, based on the deceptive and empty promises of the white supremacy power structure, and if the attitude of "freedom

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PROLOGUE

AT NIXON

# RED


my page

FIRST OF ALL, I'D LIKE TO MAKE ONE THING PERFECTLY CLEAR, AH, AND THAT IS IN YEARS TO COME, AH, I WANT TO BE REMEMBERED AS THE PRESIDENT WHO RESTORED PEACE + UNITY TO THE COUNTRY NOT AS THE GUY WITH THE CHIPMONK CHEEKS



Red

DARN, I'VE GOT A TUMMY ACHE, OH DAT, BRING ME ONE OF MY LOW CHOLESTEROL HOT DOGS, AND TURN OUR CLOCK BACK ANOTHER YEAR!



OH DICKIE DICKIE SIR, MR. HOOVER JUST CALLED!


YOU KNOW WHAT SHE WANTED, MAH FELLAH AMERICAN

WHAD SHE WANT?




NER MOVIN TOO SLOW ON THIS NIGRAH PROBLEM

NOW LYNDON DARLING, YOU KNOW I'VE BEEN DRAGING MY FEET AND STALLING LIKE A CHAMP - PLUS MY USUAL LINE OF POLITICAL CRAP!




Y'ALL SHOULDA MADE ME THE PRESIDENT, I KNOW HOW TO COOL OFF THESE BLACK BASTARDS!

GET GEORGE OUT OF HERE BEFORE HE BLOWS THE WHOLE DEAL

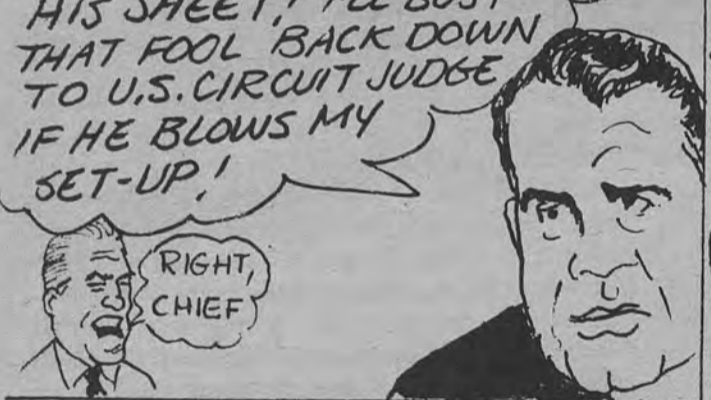


NOW HOLD ON! YOU KNOW RICHARD IS A WARM, SINCERE PRESIDENT AND A VERY NICE MAN AND HE'S FOR REAL TOO, A REAL DOWN CAT. WE NEGROES SHOULD ALL GET BEHIND HIM. GRIBBS TOO!



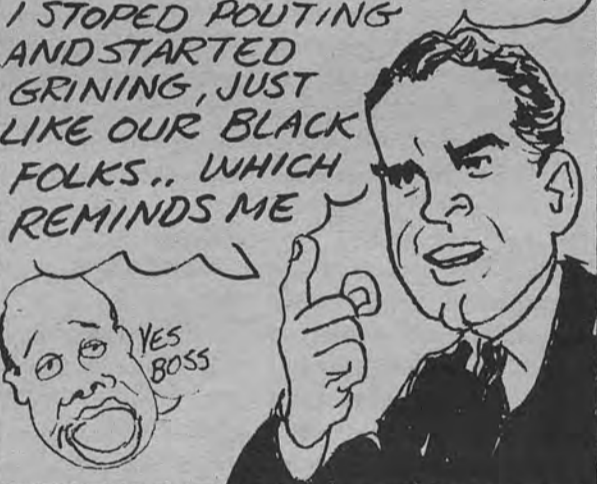
I INVITED JUDGE HAYNSWORTH OVER LAST NIGHT TO WATCH SOME JOHN WAYNE MOVIES AND HE SHOWS UP WEARING HIS SHEET! I'LL BUST THAT FOOL BACK DOWN TO U.S. CIRCUIT JUDGE IF HE BLOWS MY SET-UP!

RIGHT, CHIEF



THEY SAID I WAS A BORN LOSER, BUT I SHOWED EM, I STOPPED POUTING AND STARTED GRINING, JUST LIKE OUR BLACK FOLKS.. WHICH REMINDS ME

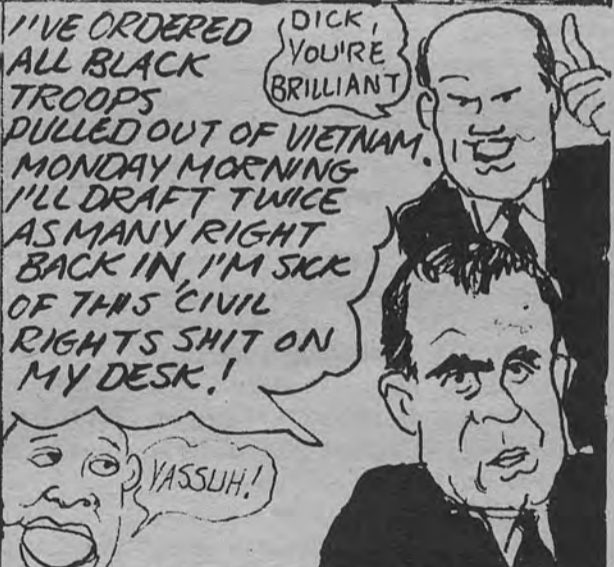
YES BOSS



I'VE ORDERED ALL BLACK TROOPS PULLED OUT OF VIETNAM. MONDAY MORNING I'LL DRAFT TWICE AS MANY RIGHT BACK IN, I'M SICK OF THIS CIVIL RIGHTS SHIT ON MY DESK!

DICK, YOU'RE BRILLIANT

YASSUH!




MR. PRESIDENT SHUT UP, WHAT ABOUT THE WELFARE FOOL!

SORRY SIR - HE'S NEW HERE


HOW DUMB CAN YOU GET, I'M CUTTING WELFARE OFF, LET THEM NIGGERS GET A JOB -- IF THEY CAN!

HEE HEE



IM TIRED OF PEOPLE SAYING I'M AGAINST SCHOOL DESEGREGATION, I'D LIKE WHITE AND NIGGROW CHILDREN TOGETHER - AWAY FROM BLACK CHILDREN AND MILITANTS!

YES BOSS



I'VE SURE HAD A BUSY DAY TODAY, RIGHT MY MAN.

YA MEIN DICK!

AND PERFECTLY CLEAR





## HO'S WILL TO THE PEOPLE

HONG KONG, Sept. 9, (Reuters) - Following is the text of the will of President Ho Chi Minh, read by Le Duan, first secretary of the Vietnam Workers party, at a memorial service in Hanoi today, as distributed in an official translation from the Vietnamese by the Vietnam News Agency of North Vietnam:

*In the patriotic struggle against United States aggression we shall have indeed to undergo more difficulties and sacrifices, but we are sure to win total victory. This is an absolute certainty.*

*It is my intention, when that day comes, to make a tour of both North and South to congratulate our heroic compatriots, cadres and combatants, to pay visits to our old people, our beloved youths and children.*

*Then, on behalf of our people, I will go to the fraternal countries of the Socialist camp and friendly countries in the whole world and thank them for their wholehearted support and assistance to our people's patriotic struggle against United States aggression.*

*Tu-Fu, the well-known Chinese poet of the Tang epoch, wrote: "In all times, few are those who reach the age of 70".*

*This year, with my 79 years, I count among those "few" people still, my mind is lucid, though my health has somewhat*

*weakened in comparison with previous years. When one is on the wrong side of 70, health deteriorates with age. This is no wonder.*

*But who can forecast for how long I can continue to serve the revolution, the fatherland and the people?*

*That is the reason why I leave these few lines in anticipation of the day when I go and join venerable Karl Marx, Lenin and other revolutionary elders. In this way, our compatriots, the whole country, the comrades in the party, and our friends in the world will have no surprise.*

*First I will speak about the party: Thanks to its close unity and total dedication to the working class, the people and the fatherland, and party has been able, since its founding, to unite, organize and lead our people in an ardent struggle, and conduct them from victory to victory.*

## BLACK PEOPLE LISTEN

*Unity is an extremely precious tradition of our party and people. All comrades, from the central committee down to the cell, must preserve the union and unity of mind in the party as the apple of their eyes.*

*Within the party, to achieve broad democracy and to practice selfcriticism and criticism regularly and seriously is the best way to consolidate and develop the union and unity of mind in the party. Genuine affection should prevail among all comrades.*

*Ours is a party in power. Each member, each cadre must be deeply imbued with revolutionary morality, and show industry, thrift, integrity, uprightness, total dedication to the public cause, exemplary selflessness. Our party should preserve its entire purity, it should remain worthy of its role as the leader and a very loyal servant of the people.*

*The Working Youth Union members and our young people as a whole are of excellent nature, ardent to volunteer for vanguard tasks, undeterred by difficulties, striving for progress. The party must give much attention to their education in revolutionary morality and train them into continuators of the building of Socialism, both "red" and "expert".*

*Training and educating the revolutionary generation to come is a highly important and necessary task.*

*Our laboring people, both in the plains and in the mountain areas, have for ages suffered hardships, feudal and colonial oppression and exploitation. Furthermore, they have experienced many years of war.*

*Yet, our people have shown great heroism, great courage and ardent enthusiasm and are very hard-working. They have always followed the party since it came into being, and they have always been loyal to it.*

*The party must work out a good plan for economic and cultural development with a view to ceaselessly raising the living standard of the people.*

*The resistance war against U.S. aggression may drag out. Our compatriots may have to undergo new sacrifices in terms of property and human lives. In any case, we must be resolved to fight against the U.S. aggressors till total victory.*

*Our rivers, our mountains, our men will always remain. The Yanks defeated, we will build our country 10 times more beautiful.*

*No matter what difficulties and hardships may lie ahead, our people are sure to win total victory. The U.S. imperialists will have to pull out. Our fatherland will be reunified. Our compatriots in the North and in the South will be reunited under the same roof.*

*Our country will have the signal honor of being a small nation which, through a heroic struggle, has defeated two big imperialism-the French and the American and made a worthy contribution to the national liberation movement.*

## COMMUNIST BREACH DEPLORED

*About the world Communist movement: Having dedicated my whole life to the cause of the revolution, the more I am proud to see the growth of the international Communist and workers' movement, the more deeply I am grieved at the dissensions that are dividing the fraternal parties.*

continued on next page

## PROLOGUE YOU

*I wish that our party will do its best to contribute effectively to the restoration of unity among the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in a way consonant to the requirements of heart and reason.*

*I am sure that the fraternal parties and countries will unite again. About personal matters' In all my life I have wholeheartedly and with all my forces served the fatherland, the revolution and the people. Now if I should depart from this world, there is nothing that I am sorry to have done. I regret only not to be able to serve longer and more.*

*After my passing away, great funerals should be avoided in order not to waste the time and money of the people.*

*Finally, to the whole people, the whole party, the whole army, to my nephews and nieces, youths and children, I leave behind my boundless affection.*

*I also convey my fraternal greetings to the comrades, friends, youths and children in the world.*

*My ultimate wish is that our whole party and people, closely united in the struggle, build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam and make a worthy contribution to the world revolution.*



**When you are all marched  
into the camps .....  
I will be holding the doors  
open.**

# THE NIGGER NIXON

MAYOR AUSTIN?  
by  
E. C. Cooper

In this corrupt country where so-called "leaders" are sold to the people just as any other marketable commodity by the mass media and various image making agencies. . . .the people of Detroit went to the polls to vote for a candidate for mayor in a primary here. . . .they went as they go to the A&P store on 12th street to choose between several pieces of tainted meat. Austin was chosen by the black community because he looked less tainted. . . .yya 'no a man's got to eat to live. . . . .

Even the most superficial analysis of the election results would lead us to only one conclusion. Austin can not win a two man run-off against Gribbs!! In order to demonstrate that he could beat Gribbs, Austin would have had to overcome the combine strength of Gribbs, Beck, and Shamie in this primary. Obviously Mary Beck's supporters would never vote for Austin (he's a nigger, ain't he). Shamie followers would never do that either in substantial numbers. Besides Gribbs only campaigned for 6 weeks. Black people who want a Negro Mayor for Detroit this year are going to be disappointed. . . . .Even if Austin were to somehow win, what would we have. We would have simple entered into a neo-colonial period (neo-colonialism, in this case, is when the white establishment realizes that a negro would be more effective in doing white peoples dirty work) where the lot of the people remains unchanged with the added feature of apparent progress.

. . . . .now let's look at "Tricky Dicky" Austin as a person who inspires the trust of men (his leadership capability.) It is obvious that he is a master of political double talk and deception. . . . .(a la another tricky dick we all know). Why hasn't Austin made any commitment to the Black community which is his only hope of becoming Detroit's first Negro Mayor? Why hasn't he said that it is time for a Black Police Commissioner? As a matter of fact he has been historically non-committal with all his "community involvement". Where was he when Judge Crockett needed support in his campaign. . . . What about New Bethel. . . . .bigotry. . . . .This Black Richard Nixon has been handed down to us as a piece of bad meat to starving men.

Real leaders are not advertised to create a market, then sold based upon their lies. Real leaders are a part of the people and spring from their hearts. Real leaders labor with and are cleansed of bourgeois ideas by labor with the common man. Imagine Richard Nixon or Richard Austin working down on the line at Dodge Main. Real leaders are anointed of the people and are examples to them. In this decaying country where capitalism isolates the individual and pits one against the other it follows that leaders are individualistically motivated. ; . . . they are out for themselves. . . . Austin is, in the final analysis, out for Austin. You can see that in his severe case of "First Niggeritis". . . . .He's special 'cause he's not like those other knee-grows. . . . .

If this "special" negro does not become mayor of this city then it only means that whites are not prepared to accept even the whitest among us. . . . .

## DONT SPY ON YOUR NEIGHBOR

PONTIAC PUTS BOUNTY  
ON HEADS OF BLACKS

The racist city manager of Pontiac, Michigan, Joseph Warren, has placed bounties on the heads of blacks so that the community can turn each other in for the acts of arson (firebombing), interference or attacks on firemen, assault, major theft, burglary and murder. Not that we don't recognize these crimes as bad elements within our community, but as we all know the whiteman has never been just in dealing with black people, so how can we expect him to be just now. It is time for us as black people to deal with the problems in our own community.

The three man commission appointed in the city of Pontiac is trying to implement a program where the borthers in Pontiac will be turning each other in for a few pennies while the long range goals of this program will be to turn in political prisoners or relevant political elements within the city of Pontiac. The worse offense which a Black brother can commit against another is to collect the 30 pieces of silver offered by the white man for the blood of his black brother or sister.

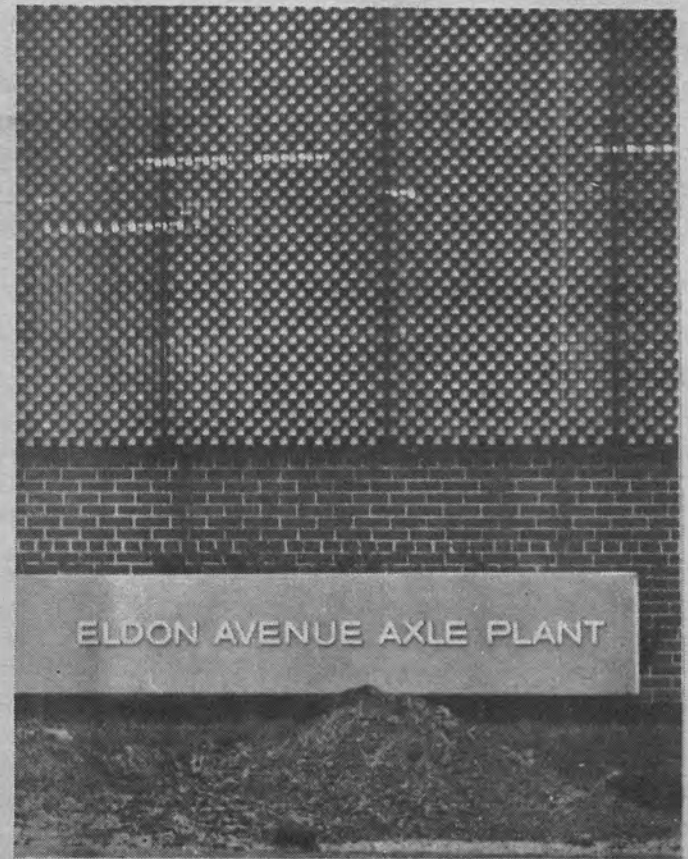
A program like the one that exists in Pontiac was needed so that the semi-white savages could develop a way to deal with the growing black solidarity that has been expressed in the black community of Pontiac. (It should be noted that last summer the city of Pontiac went bounty hunting and there were no takers for the bounty given.)

The Black community of Pontiac will be built on trust not fear, unity not division, love not hate, and we are all in this together and none of us can escape the destiny of the other.

UNITE OR PERISH!!!



COVERED WINDOWS AT DODGE MAIN



RAZOR SHARP METAL PROTECTORS, WELDED ON OF THE OFFICES AT THE PLANTS

CHRYSLER MAKERS OF DODGE, DODGE TRUCKS, THE ROAD RUNNER, THE NEW-PORT AND THE NOW DEFUNCT DESOTO, AND THE SOON TO BE DEFUNCT RACIST



ENTIRE STREET LIFTED INTO THE AIR AT THE LYNCH ROAD ASSEMBLY PLANT, GIVES A MOAT EFFECT.

## PLANTS ARM AGAINST WORKER STRUGGLE

### NAM HOLDS COUNTER INSURGENCY SEMINAR

The counter revolutionary forces of capitalism have marked and are talking about arming their plants for counter insurgency tactics. Counter insurgency was the topic at a recent National Association of Manufacturers meeting for local Detroit representatives.

Among the major racist speakers were former U.S. army Provost Marshall General Carl C. Turner, and one of Queen Hoover's special agents, Thomas J. Nally, and John F. Nichol of the Detroit Police Department.

The overall theme of the seminar dealt with the future guerilla warfare attacks that are coming in this country and what self respecting manufacturers should do to combat black and white so-called revolutionaries. NAM had held fifteen of these seminars around the country and have distributed 600,000 copies of a pamphlet called "A Checklist for Planned Security" or "Industrial Emergency

Planning Guide Against Civil Disorders."

Turner spoke his piece saying, "We have in our society today trained agitators who roam the country, obstructing traffic, slandering public officials... and causing riots." To cause a visceral reaction on the part of his audience, he mentioned the Black Panther Party and the Students for a Democratic Society. He also warned the war suppliers to be careful, because they are the appropriate targets for correct gureilla action. Turner is NAM's "formost expert on riots and riot control" (reporters were not allowed to hear the rest of the speakers).

The checklist for planned security given to the seminar audience was prepared by warmonger Turner's staff while he was still working in the government. It was his belief "The nee; for maintenance of planned security against civil disturbances, sabotaged

another and other hostile acts is a continuing one."

"During the time of peace, the enemy prepares the way for attack and internal disruption. The measures employed to reduce such hazards are largely preventive in character...."

The measures they will be taking are as follows:

1. Guards armed with pistols, except in key areas, were "semi-automatic weapons, riot guns and other emergency weapons may be provided."
2. "Perimeter barriers," including barbed wire-topped chain link fences, masonry walls topped with barbed wire or broken glass, building walls or natural barriers like rivers, cliffs and moats.
3. Protective lighting, including moveable searchlights for "facilities... of sufficient importance to require manned guard towers."

(By the way Dodge Main-Hamtramck - has on stock teargas, and riot helmets.)

### NIXON PROPOSES ANTI-BLACK BILL

The Nixon Administration has once again proven its hatred of the black nation by proposing a "Preventive Detention Bill". This piece of garbage (Legislation) would give judges the power to decide whether he (the judge) thinks a defendent would eventually be found guilty by a jury, and if the judge thinks that the accused might be guilty of a federal crime, the defendent could then be held in jail without bail for 60 days.

This is another trick that Dick has thought up to curb the growing movement for Black liberation, and institute new programs of repression and containment of Black people in the name of "Law and Order (facism)".

Since due process of law for Black people doesn't work and has exposed certain contradictions within the juris system and the government, the white system will now pass a law where the two faces of justice will be replaced by the obvious face of a facist state.

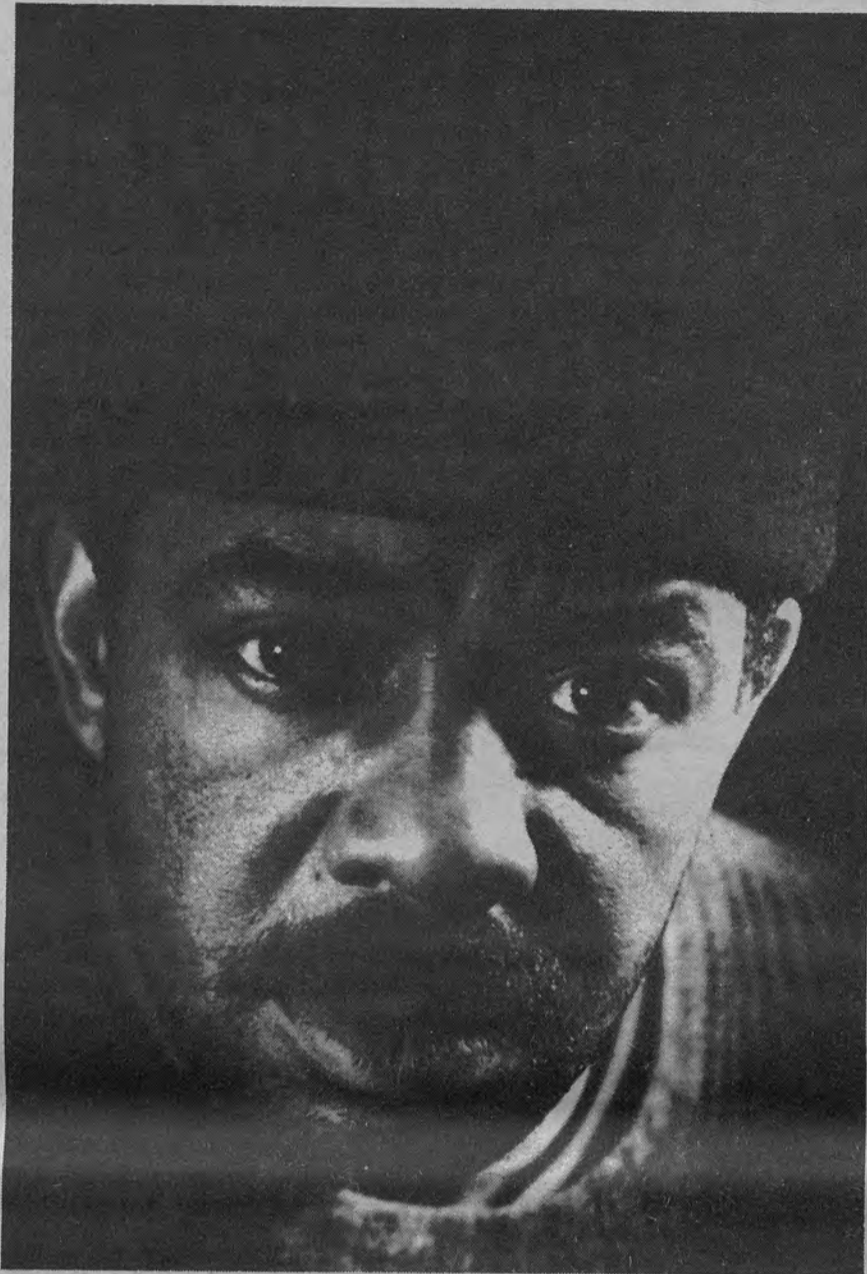
Any correct thinking Black person, can see that this law is unconstitutional and is contrary to the 8th amendment, but that doesn't matter because Nixon is packing the Supreme Court with every red-neck he can dig up, and these animals are sure to pass the "Preventive Detention Bill".

Bro.

# GLANTON DOWDELL

A long time fighter in the liberation struggle of black people and an implacable foe of monopoly capitalism and imperialism, Glanton Dowdell, had been victimized by another fascist frame-up and faced charges carrying penalties of up to 50 years. Of course, "the brother" was already serving a five year probationary period growing out of the Kercheval incident in which he was convicted on the testimony of an unidentified, undercover agent who never showed his face in court. Throughout his life, as a result of his activities as a champion of the cause of black liberation, Glanton has been hounded by the corrupt repressive, anti-black legal system in this country. However, because he went about his purpose in a quiet, but efficient way it was not as a great revolutionary fighter that he gained the most acclaim.

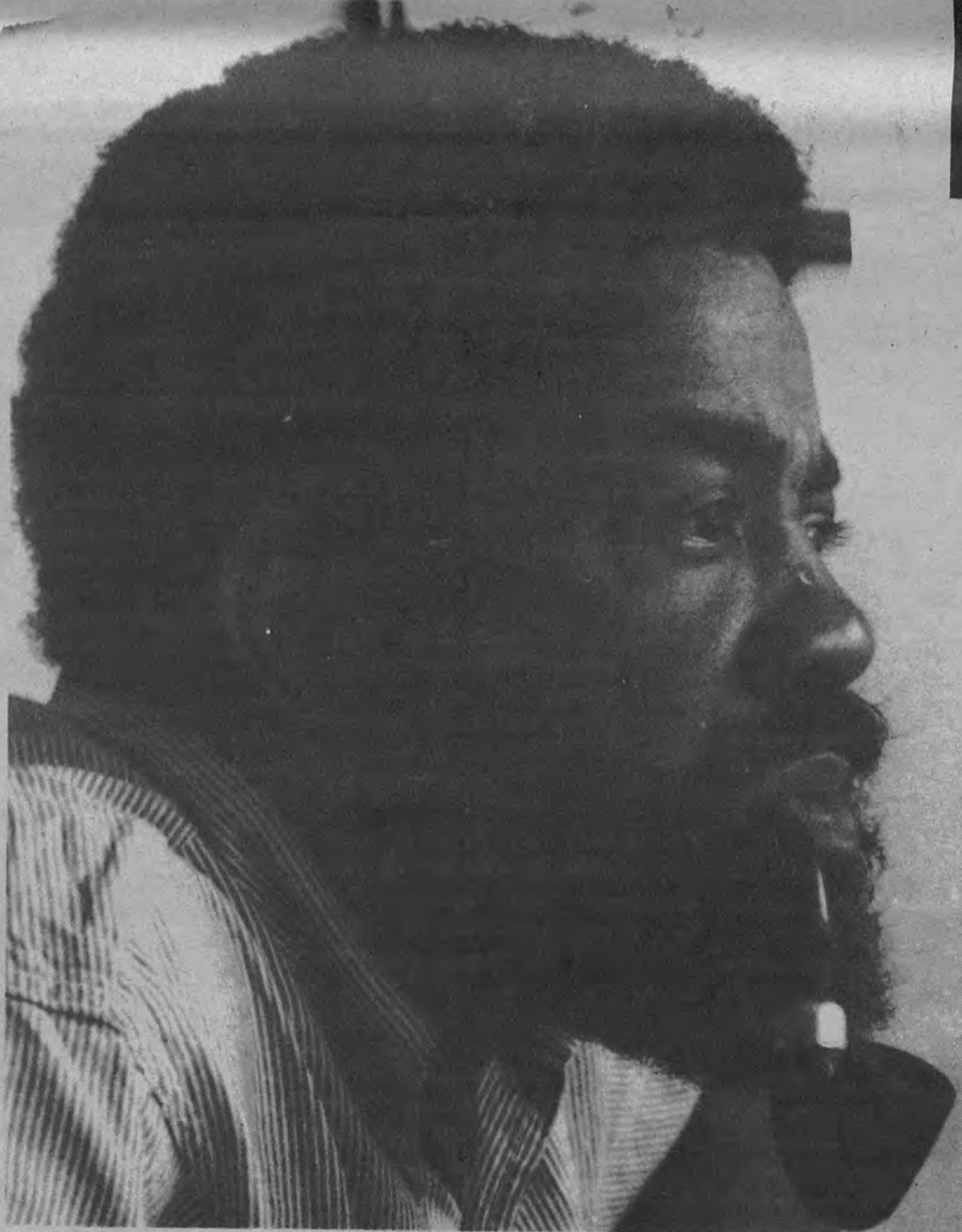
Born 44 years ago under Detroit's east side ghetto, Glanton began painting at an early age. He dropped out of school in the seventh grade and gained his education in the street. Throughout his early life he had frequent encounters with the police department and later on served 12 years in Jackson and Marquette prison. During this time he continued to paint and while in prison he painted one of his most famous paintings "The Southeast Corner of my Cell". His paintings always had a high commercial potential but he never took advantage of the market. His feeling was his talent should serve black people and he did not want his work priced out of their reach financially. After his release from prison he established along with



two partners the Easel Art Gallery which exhibited the works of other black artists along with his own. This was the most productive time of his life politically as well as artistically. It was during this time that he painted the world famous "Black Madonna" which now hangs in the Rev. Albert Cleage Shrine of the Black Madonna. It was also during this time that he began the formation of a group of freedom fighters drawn from the streets who played an important role in checking a lot of the bullshit counter-revolutionary programs being pushed in the black community. Brother Glanton also served as co-chairman of the city-wide Citizens Action Community in order to keep that organization from becoming a instrument of oppression and exploitation of the white power structure. It was Glanton more than anyone else who kept the opportunists in the Black Federation for Self-determination from selling out the black community of Detroit.

In May of 1968, "the brother" helped found the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and played a vital role in the launching of the organization that has become the best hope of the super-exploited black workers here inside the monster of monopoly, capitalism and imperialism. During this time two attempts were made on the "brothers" life by the U.S. Government. When this failed, the racists concocted a plot to lynch him legally via the courts. So, brother Glanton was indicted along with seven others in some alleged conspiracy that threatened to send him back to prison for 50 years.

**Keep your antenna deep  
within the  
masses of black people**



# WAS JULY 23 PART OF THE WHITE POWER CONSPIRACY?

"Within the white halls of Congress, the White House, State Legislature, and city councils, a vast military and political conspiracy is in motion, coordinated with local city police departments, to destroy the leadership of Black America. This conspiracy has "top priority" with the President, the National Security Council, Intelligence boards, C.I.A., Secretary of Defense, the Pentagon and J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the F.B.I.

This "top priority" conspiracy is the United States (Federal) Government's secret plot to destroy the Black Power Movement. It is the beginning of making America Nazi Germany (The Fourth Reich) by putting militant blacks in concentration camps. It is the first part of the Master Plan to exterminate the so-called American Negro. In order to put a cloak of deceit to cover itself, the government is using local police departments and district attorney's to prepare and build a case to justify its final attack. . . . ."

To understand the full significance of what happened on July 23, 1968 in Cleveland, Ohio when Black People successfully defeated the white racist police department in a self defense shoot out, we must understand the recent history of our colonization (Black Nation). In our 400 years quest for Freedom, Justice and Equality in racist America any revolutionary Black Man, who has stood up and attempted to organize our people around the TRUTH, has been imprisoned, forced into exile or assassinated.

The historical examples are Brother Marcus Garvey, jailed and later exiled by the U.S. government; the Honorable Elijah Muhammed, jailed by the U.S. government for draft evasion and sedition; Bro. Malik Shabazz (Malcolm X), killed by Negro agents of the "invisible government" (C.I.A.) and Brother Robert F' Williams, forced into exile by the U.S. government.

The first move on Black America's leadership began in Monroe, North Carolina. In 1961 when a national white power conspiracy was enforced, Brother Robert Williams and Sister Mae Mallory were charged with "kidnapping" a white couple.

Then came the national white power conspiracy against the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims). On April 27, 1962 the Los Angeles police department moved on Muhammad's Mosque number 27, killing Brother Ronald Stokes wounding and jailing several others. Under government orders local police departments moved on the Nation in Flint, Mich., Monroe, La., Newark, New Jersey in the early 60's.

In April of 1964 the New York police department framed the (Harlem Six). Six brothers who were called the "Blood Brothers" were charged with the murder of a white woman during the rebellion in Harlem. Next came the framing of Bill Epton - Harlem leader of PLP (Progressive Labor Party); he was accused of criminal anarchy (inciting to riot) in the 1964 Harlem rebellion. In the Statue of Liberty Bomb Plot in January 1965, Walter Bowe, Robert Collier and Kaheil Sayed were accused of planning to blow-up the Statue of Liberty and other national shrines; then in February 1965 the government engineered the assassination of Malcolm X.

In March 1965 Don Freeman was fired from his job as a school teacher in Cleveland, Ohio, because he had written articles for a Black Nationalist magazine; the year ended with the framing of John Harris "Los Angeles leader of P.L.P." who also was accused of criminal anarchy in the 1965 Watts rebellion.

In 1966 Stokely Carmichael articulated the mass feeling for Black Power. Shortly afterwards the "witch hunts" began against SNCC. Police in Philadelphia, then under Acting Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo, carried out a raid on August 13, 1966, against four so-called SNCC "offices" in the north Philadelphia ghetto.



FRED AHMED EVANS (7)

Acting on a "tip" from an unidentified informer, 80 heavily armed detectives backed up by 1,000 other cops, made their raids in which they "discovered" two and a half useless sticks of dynamite without detonator caps and confiscated a quantity of literature. Four SNCC members were arested and held on \$50,000 bail and warrants were issued for the entire local SNCC leadership.

Then Stokely Carmichael was arrested by the Atlanta Police Department for inciting to riot. During 1966. Bro. Julian Bond was denied his seat in Congress twice; the year ended with congress proposing the anti-Stokely (riot) bill making it a federal offense to cross state lines to "incite to riot."

The bubble busted in 1967. Early in that year we saw white Congress kick Black Power Adam Clayton Powell in his pants and tell him to be a good boy; this was a deliberate move to get rid of the voice of any Black who might attempt to dissent from what was yet to come.

On May 16th, 1967, three hundred Houston police armed with carbines and rifles attacked Texas Southern University. Four hundred and eighty-eight students were arrested; many were beaten, at least one was wounded and a dormitory was ramsacked by the police. Five brothers were charged with the murder of a police officer, most of the brothers were not even near the University when the attack took place. Out of this incident the T.S.V. Five was born.

On the same day (May 16) Congress made public a February 16th testimony by F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover to a House Appropriations sub committee, linking Stokely Carmichael with Max Stanford, whom he cited as the field chairman of RAM, "a highly secret all-Negro Marxist-Leninist, Chinese Communist oriented organization, which advocates guerilla warfare to obtain its goals."

On June 21, 1967, sixteen Black people most of them residents of South Jamaica, Long Island, were rounded up in a series of pre-dawn raids and arrested on a series of charges ranging from conspiracy to commit murder to conspiracy to commit arson, and conspiracy to advocate anarchy and illegal possession of weapons. Affidavits in support of the indictments stated that the defendants, most of whom belonged to the Jamaica Pistol and Rifle Club, were members of the Revolutionary Action Movement - RAM. Roy Wilkins, was reported as the intended victim of Arthur Harris and Herman B. Ferguson, the two defendants accused for conspiring to commit murder. Thrity rifles and 1,000 rounds of ammunition were seized as evidence.

A seventeenth man Max Stanford was arrested in Philadelphia. The total bail set for the groups was \$200,000.

In July, H. Rap Brown - chairman of SNCC was shot in the head while speaking in Cambridge, Maryland and was charged with conspiracy to commit arson and inciting to riot. He was later charged with violation of the Federal Firearms Act, carrying a rifle from Louisiana to New York and intimidating a Negro F.B.I. agent. His bail was set at \$100,000.

On July 13th during the Newark Rebellion Leroi Jones was beaten, arrested and framed for "carrying concealed weapons."

On July 14, 1967, during the Buffalo rebellion, Buffalo firemen on orders from the police turned their hoses on the books in the Afro-Asian Bookstore, a center for militant Black Youth run by Martin G. Sostre in the heart of Buffalo's Black Community. Martin Sostre was charged and sentenced to 41 years in prison on a phony narcotics rap.

On the same day in Plainfield, New Jersey 12 Brothers and Sisters were charged with the killing of a white cop during the rebellion.

continued on next page

## WHITE CONSPIRACY CON'T

On the weekend of Sept. 16th, police authorities from all over the nation met in Kansas City, Mo., at the International Ass'n of Chiefs of Police. Harry G. Fox chief inspector of the Philadelphia Police Department spoke - "Civil disorder is the number one police problem today . . . . An instant riot is usually the result of weeks of inciting and plans by agitators. . . . 'Infiltrating with undercover men is the best way.' This means using of Negro cops as flunkies to infiltrate all-Black groups to frame them. It's the same old trick - Divide and Conquer, use the house nigger against the field slave.

All panelists agreed that a decisive and speedy show of force can head off a riot. Army Provost Marshall and Gen. Carl C. Turner stressed the need for coordination and communication between National Guard units and civil authorities. "I suggest a joint National Guard-Civil exercise." Turner said. "We call them war games." Advance planning consisted among other things of immediate mass imprisoning of rioters.

On Sept. 27th based on claims of Hilton L. Jones and Robert Earl Baily, Philadelphia police officials concocted a bizarre "Poison-Dynamite-Assassination Plot." This time it included the assassination of Philadelphia's Mayor, District Attorney, Police Commissioner, President Johnson and F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover, the poisoning of the police in event of a riot and the blowing up of city hall.

On Oct. 28th, 1967 Huey P. Newton was shot arrested and then charged with the murder of an Oakland California Police officer.

Two days after Christmas New Haven police concocted another "bomb plot." Five citizens four of them Black were arrested and charged with vague but horrendous plans as one line went to "blow up the city."

While the "plot" in New Haven served as an excuse to jail Black militants, the discovery of six Chicago police belonging to the Klu Klux Klan, one of them being the top Klan official in the state - which is in itself a plot against all Black people living in the wilderness of North America - did not overly excite Chicago officials.

To start the new year off with a bang the police murdered three Black youths in Orangeburg South Carolina on Feb. 28.

On Feb. 21, 1968, Herman Ferguson a defendant in the Queen 17 case spoke at a Malcolm X Memorial held at I.S. 201 Jr. High School in Harlem. Ferguson urged Black Americans to arm themselves in self defense. On Tuesday, Feb. 27th state supreme court Jus. J. Darwin Shapiro held Ferguson on \$100,000 bail for what he termed as Ferguson's "inflammatory remarks". "If a racial rebellion occurs, America's empire will fall overnight. The white American way of life would be thrown into pandemonium, Black People striving for Freedom, Justice and Equality in this light become dangerous to the white power structure. So the plot begins. Seek out and destroy. Just like in Vietnam - jail, kill leaders - put the rebellious ones in strategic hamlets, call 'em detention camps; create mass frame-ups; terrorize the population by using tanks and chemicals on defenseless people. After the rebellious ones are in concentration camps then comes the "police state."

In order to make the plot tight the government had to find a scapegoat or scapegoats to blame the destruction of the white way of life on. Herman Ferguson in his article "Another Look at the Queen 17" vividly and accurately analyzes the white political

conspiracy at hand. "Under the terms of the 1950 McCarran Act, six locations were set up in the United States to serve as so-called detention camps if an "internal security emergency" was declared by a single person, the President of the United States. American citizens could be imprisoned in such a camp solely on the suspicion "that they would probably conspire to commit espionage or sabotage." The Internal Security Act of 1950 (known as the McCarran Act) has a section called Title II, which specifically calls for the establishment of these so-called detention centers. Title II authorizes the Attorney General of the United States to apprehend and detain in such places of detention as may be provided by him. . . . "all persons as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such a person probable will engage in or probably will conspire with others to engage in acts of espionage and sabotage."



I didn't ask you to bring me here ...did I?

Such procedure is contingent upon the declaration of an "internal emergency" by the President alone under conditions - namely, a declaration of war by Congress; "Electronic Nigger", the traitor agent in the case claimed an invasion of the United States or its possessions; or an insurrection within the United States in aid of a list.

"Foreign enemy." . . . . In 1952 a "Master Pick-Up-List" of approximately 500,000 American citizens was drawn up to serve as a basis for carrying out the F.B.I. directed "Operation Dragnet," initially for incarceration in Federal detention camps as, "potential spies and saboteurs." The "Master Pick-Up List" undergoes regular refinements: names are added and withdrawn; addresses are kept up-to-date for quick and accurate seizure: central holding stations - usually police precincts of large cities are designated for rapid and direct shipment of each prospective "spy" or saboteur are altered to fit their current political activities and their degree of "subversion" so as to accord with letter of the Law under Title II. The "Master Pick-Up List" is an integral part of the F.B.I.'s National Crime Center in Washington, D.C., a vast computer-run data operation.

The names comprising the "Master Pick Up List" are compiled assiduously by a staff within the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department. The names are combed from elaborate gatherings of the House Un-American Activities Committee. The Senate Internal Security Sub-Committees, the F.B.I., C.I.A., the U.S. Post Office and a host of "Little Un-American Committees". The sources for these names are usually professional witnesses or paid informers. The latest additions to the "Master Pick Up List" have come chiefly from the civil rights and peace movements.

It is obvious, that the uprising in Watts, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Newark, Chicago, New York, Detroit, etc. suggest an area in which Title II could be invoked. The angry, aware and armed Black people could well provide the pretext for the White House to declare that such resistance was in actuality an "insurrection from within", and of course that, in twin, under the McCarran Act would fill the detention centers with militants of the Black freedom struggle.

For the President to declare a state of "internal security emergency" it was necessary for the FBI to "uncover" a plot involving a group of Black people. . . . The headlines following the arrest on June 21st used such terms as "conspiracy", "anarchy", "overthrow the government", "organize plot with international overtones", etc. All designed to establish a climate for saying to the President: "Here's full proof that these Black people are planning for an insurrection. We had better invoke Title II and get all these Black troublemakers off the streets of America before it's too late."

On April 4th, 1968 non-violence was killed along with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Black people took to the streets in 125 cities in America.

On April 6th members of the Black Panther Party engaged in shoot-outs with racist police in Oakland, Calif., Bobby Hutton is killed and Eldridge Cleaver is sent back to prison.

On May 18, 1968, a news story is released to the UPI that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover told Congress that SNCC, the National of Islam and RAM were "a distinct threat to the internal security of the nation."

In June 1968, six brothers in Harlem are arrested and charged with planning to bomb and kill and are falsely accused of being around RAM.

On Monday, June 3, Herman Ferguson and Arthur Harris were brought to trial for the so-called assassination plot. Robert Kennedy is assassinated within the same week-Wed. June 5, Edward Howlette the "Electronic Nigger", the traitor agent in the case claimed that Robert Kennedy was on the so-called assassination

On the day Kennedy is buried the supposed assassin of Dr. King is arrested in London.

On Sat., June 22, 1968, New York Times, a report appears from Washington, D.C. of a so-called plan for a Black Uprising. George Rose so-called ex-Black Stone Ranger leader, testifies to a Senate investigating committee and claimed that on April 1967 Rangers and RAM met in Philadelphia that Black Nationalists gave Rangers, guns, money and marijuana and that Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown and Ron Karenga had also met with them. This bizarre story now expanded the RAM list to include Dr. Martin Luther King, Rev. Jesse Jackson and all the big non-violent leaders.

On July 23rd the anniversary of the largest Black Rebellion in history, the Detroit Rebellion rumors were circulated saying that there would be "racial outbreaks" all over the country. It is a known fact that local police were out harrasing Black People and looking for trouble. On July 23rd, 1968 the white power conspiracy backfired in Cleveland, Ohio. The Brothers in Cleveland met counterrevolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. All the Brothers who fought the racist police of July 23rd were defending the Black Community against another beastly attack. Bro. Ahmed understood the statement that no Black person is free until all Black people are free. As Bro. Malik Shabazz said, "History is best qualified to reward our research." History should prove that what happened on July 23rd was a white power conspiracy that backfired.

All elements of the Black Community must UNITE behind the July 23rd Movement or PERISH. July 23rd should prove to the Black Nation that AMERICA IS THE BLACKMAN'S BATTLEGROUND!!!



# REVOLUTION

or death" continues to spread and permeate the masses, the present racist and imperialist power structure is doomed.

Could a minority revolution succeed in racist America? It most certainly could! Theoretically, how could a minority segment win if it collectively decided to embark on such a serious course? Total unity would be required among the youth and a strong revolutionary nationalist spirit would have to prevail throughout the land. The segregationists, the hypocritical politicians and the terrorists have already paved the way for the latter. The spirit of self-sacrifice, selfless dedication to the triumph of a cause greater than any single individual, a feeling of self-confidence in ultimate victory, unshakable courage and identification with the struggling oppressed peoples of the world would be the necessary attributes for the success of a minority revolution.

Organization would require many facets. Groups dedicated to militant demonstrations would have to apply constant pressure to the power structure, create chaos and confusion and force the oppressor to unmask his ugly face before the world by reacting even more brutally and indiscriminately against Constitutional forces. This would expose the true nature of the power structure and inspire greater resistance to it.

Armed defense guards would have to be formed throughout the land. These groups would be organized within the confines of the law and when possible become sporting rifle clubs affiliated with the National Rifle Association. They would function only as defense units to safeguard life, limb and property in the ghetto communities. Some form of central direction would be necessary. A tightly organized and well disciplined underground guerilla force would also have to be formed to perform a more aggressive mission. It would have to be clandestinely organized and well versed in explosives. Its mission would be retaliation and a force used to pin down and disperse concentrated fascist power. It would prevent the power structure from rushing reinforcements to encircle and crush other defense groups engaged in battle against terrorist forces by ambushing, sniping, bombing bridges, booby-trapping and sabotaging highways. A welfare corps would have to be organized to build morale, raise funds, promote legal defense and take charge of the general welfare of the fighting forces and their families. Many of the members of the Welfare organization front would not understand its total function. They would be recruited on a humanitarian basis.

The most aggressive and irrepressible arm of the overall organization would be the fire teams. They would work in

complete secrecy and would be totally divorced in the organizational sense from the main bodies of defense and other forces. They would enjoy complete autonomy. The group's only tangible loyalty to them would be in times of distress. Their legal aid in court defense would be rendered by Afro-Americans giving legal aid to victims of kangaroo court systems, as is commonly known where black people stand no chance of obtaining justice. This would be similar to, but more vigorous and militant than the NAACP's role. The fire teams' mission would be sabotage. Thousands of these groups would be organized throughout racist America. These teams would consist of from three to four persons. They would only know the members of their immediate team. They would not identify with the civil rights movement. They would appear to be apathetic and even Uncle Toms. They would sometimes masquerade as super patriots, and be more than willing, in a deceptive way, to cooperate with the police. They would even infiltrate the police force and armed forces when possible, and work in the homes of officials as domestics. There would be no official meetings and discussions, only emergency calls and sudden missions.

The mission of these thousands of active fire teams would be setting strategic fires. They could render America's cities and countryside impotent. They could travel from city to city placing lighted candles covered by large paper bags in America's forests, and have time to be far removed from the scene by the time the lighted candle burned to the dried leaves. While unsparingly setting the torch to everything that would burn in the cities, and while concentrating on urban guerilla warfare, the rural countryside would not be neglected. Aside from the devastating damage that could be visited upon the countryside, such a mission could serve a twofold purpose. It would also divert enemy forces from the urban centers. State forces would be forced to spread their ranks and would not be able to sustain massive troop concentrations in a single community. The heat and smoke generated from the fires would render some of the highways impassable to repressive troops reinforcements. The rural countryside covers vast areas and would require exhaustive man power, equipment and security forces. America cannot afford to allow its rich timber resources and crops to be up in smoke. The fire teams roving in automobiles would find unguarded rural objectives even more assessable. A few teams could start miles and miles of fires from one city to the other. The psychological impact would be tremendous. By day the billowing smoke would be seen for miles. By night the entire sky would reflect reddish flames that would elicit panic and a feeling of impending doom. Operating

in teams of twos and threes, one freedom fighter could pour gasoline or lighter fluid from a small flask into public waste paper baskets, another could later enter and toss a lighted cigarette in the same container. Near closing time kitchen matches could be placed in the air conditioning systems of industrial and public buildings. The property of racist would be designated as priority objectives. Through this method, the racist oppressors could be reduced to poverty in a short span of time.

These fire teams could also go on pre-dawn missions just before the morning rush for work. Their objective would be to spread tacks fitted with wire bases to insure their upright position when thrown from a moving automobile in heavily travelled tunnels and freeways. Pure havoc would ensue. Sugar or sand in gas tanks could be used to knock out the engines of public vehicles. During police invasions of the ghetto, lye and acid bombs could be thrown from roof tops. Many forms of booby traps could be utilized.

Yes, a minority revolution could succeed in racist America. It could succeed because the winds of rebellion are rising against the racist oppressor throughout the world. It could triumph because the Afro-American struggle is part and parcel of the universal liberation struggle. It must be handled as such. It is only natural that the power structure would like to keep it isolated and provincial. The enemy's tactic is to divide and conquer. The Afro-American has sought to join the white American league since first arriving in chains in the new world. He has been brutally rejected. The racist whites have made it plain, in no uncertain terms, that the black American is never to be fully accepted in the main stream of the so-called great society. It is as natural as water seeking its level for the Afro-American to turn to the oppressed peoples of the world to make common cause in the universal revolution for freedom and human dignity. What greater indication do we need, than centuries of barbaric oppression, that the U.S. power structure is our natural enemy?

With or without a common cause with the Afro-American the universal freedom forces are going to triumph over U.S. racist imperialism. The question is simply whether or not the black American is going to perish with racist imperialist America as a party to her savage crimes against oppressed and progressive humanity or whether he is going to contribute to the great victory of revolutionary humanity destined to fulfill its historical role.

In summary; let it be made clear that I am not advocating a minority revolution. I am merely exploring certain theoretical potentials as an alternative to passive submission to proposed genocide as

projected by the racist, fascist and terrorist white groups now growing by leaps and bounds in the racist and imperialist USA. I hope that others, who are genuinely interested in the survival of black people in racist America, will analyze, debate and contribute to this thesis in a way that our people need never fear extermination under racial tyranny and fascism.

Each year rioting, as a result of police brutality and oppression, becomes more extensive and ferocious. We can neither pray nor hope our way out of this difficult situation. We must defend ourselves. We must fight, and we must fight to win. We must also consider the immediate necessity of effective self-defense and resistance to racist terror. During times of massive rioting too many of our people are forced to fight armed cops and troops with bare hands and stones. Cops and troops must be disarmed and their weapons turned against other cops to obtain weapons of defense. Tanks and armoured cars must be knocked out with molotov cocktails and captured when possible. Bazookas and mortars must be taken from troops and national guard armories to prevent heavy concentration of troops and invasion by overwhelming force. The Minutemen, Confederate Underground and other terrorist groups are arming and training with U.S. Army gear such as bazookas, mortars, hand grenades, machine guns and gas masks. Sub-machine guns are even being manufactured in small shops controlled by these fascist groups. These private arsenals must be located and raided for weapons and ammunition. These weapons can also be used to do extensive damage. Oil storage tanks and natural gas lines could be fired through delayed methods. The oppressor must be forced to pay heavily economically for his police brutality, pogroms, racist court frameups, and white supremacy terror.

The racist imperialist is an unmerciful bully when he can control a situation with his sophisticated weapons of death and destruction. On the international scene, he will not hesitate to embark on the world's greatest campaign of slaughter in a desperate effort to save himself. The Afro-American liberation force is the only force in the world secure from fascist America's devastating nuclear force. He cannot use nuclear weapons against his own population, property and cities. In such a minority revolution, racist America's very essence of strength and power would become the Achilles' heel of her security and struggle for world domination.

The advanced technology of the affluent society has made it soft, nervous and hypersensitive. It is a society fearful of the cold realities of life. A society devoid of soul and humanism. A jungle society of dog eat dog, a society of frightful automation that is addicted to tranquilizers. Racist Americans are not

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# PSYCHO NIXON'S CORNER

## REVOLUTION

### A VEILED ATTACK ON THE POOR

by Ted Franklin

#### LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON (LNS) --After seven months of hemming and hawing, President Nixon has finally unveiled his blueprint for a national welfare program. On the surface, the program looks new enough to evoke adulation from "liberal" newspaper editors across the country. Underneath you can be sure that the same old bastards are running the country.

The plan has a 1-2-3 punch to it: 1) welfare rolls will be expanded 2) welfare recipients must take any job, 3) the more earned on the job, the lower the welfare stipend. But it all means less, not more, money spent for welfare.

The real effect of Nixon's program will be to insure the nation's businesses of more cheap labor than the companies have seen in years.

The plan requires that if there is a single able-bodied person in a household seeking welfare assistance, he must accept any job the government finds for him. A company looking to buy workers at a cost which need be no more than the meager federal minimum wage, has got himself a broker in Uncle Sam. In a land of unabated inflation--this year's dollar will be worth 93 cent a year from now at the rate the consumer price index climbed in June--this almost amounts to the reinstatement of slavery.

But it is not just workers who get their jobs through the welfare plan who will suffer. Whenever there is a reserve labor force willing to take jobs at low wages, the working class as a whole feels the squeeze. That's been an axiom for centuries and it's not hard to see why.

In the long run the ruling class can force the welfare recipients to threaten the whole working class. If workers ask too much from management, management need only turn to the government to get workers who will work for any wage they are offered because the government forces them to accept all offers. This forces the price of labor way down. Though established workers who have unions (most workers don't) may be able to protect the level of their wages; new workers will find unskilled jobs offering less and less pay.

Superficially, welfare seems to be a gift from a beneficent government looking after the needs, desires, and ambitions which the government must serve. The "bootstraps" Nixon's plan offers to the poor will actually amount to a situation where if they work little longer to make an extra buck, they'll only wind up half a buck richer. Doesn't sound like what Nixon said on television? Here's how it works: A family of four is guaranteed an income of \$1600, provided of course that someone in the family works if anyone in the family is capable of working. But if the worker gets more than \$720, every extra dollar he earns from his job from that point on makes his family only 50 cents richer. This happens because the welfare portion of their overall income gets cut 50 cent. The poor worker will actually feel like he's in one of those 50% income-tax brackets designed for the super-rich, even before his family reached a subsistence level income. The way it'll look to them, they'll be working at half the wage their employer seems to pay!

What happens to people is not Nixon's bag and never will be. He's looking for a cheap and politically safe program that's good for business and fools the public. The Wall Street Journal (August 7), certainly no enemy of Mr. Nixon, recently explained his strategy for social legislation in terms that would catch the eye of perhaps anyone besides the readers of the Wall Street Journal:

"For his own programs, he is selecting projects that look big but cost much less at first than later. He is taking as much time as public opinion will allow to send them to Congress. He is counting on prolonged Capitol Hill debate to postpone enactment--and budgetary impact--as long as possible.

"For the spending programs left from the Johnson era, Mr. Nixon is ordering a stringent hold-down on costs. There is the 'review' that delays spending, the 'reorganization' that doesn't cost money, the 'stretchout' that saves dollars and the 'new direction' that cuts back."

What this means in practice is that LBJ's Model Cities program, which supposedly aimed to eradicate urban blight, received only \$17 million in the entire fiscal year ending in June. The program was designed to do little more than move the slums from one part of the city to another. but at least it had a facade of good intent because of its \$75 million budget. Nixon has proposed nothing, sound or superficial, to replace LBJ's bummer.

psychologically prepared for fire storms, power, communications and transportation failures and long periods without public utilities. The Afro-American has been under siege since the very beginning of his days as a captive person in the so-called New World. Terror is a way of life for the great masses of Afro-Americans. Our people have practically become immune to the fear that flows from violence and brutality.

Such a minority revolution could only succeed as an integral part of the universal liberation struggle. From this point of view, we would not be an isolated minority in racist America, but a highly concentrated sector of a majority revolution. The Afro-American must take his fate into his own hands. He cannot rely on racist white brutes to dole out liberty like a welfare commodity. His only hope lies in concerted action with his oppressed brothers throughout the world. The racist imperialists are doomed. They cannot muster the power to save themselves. They are morally bankrupt. The vast majority of white Americans are racists who currently identify with U.S. imperialism. They have been deluded into believing that they have a vested interest in the oppressive and corrupt system. There is more hope, at this stage of struggle, for a rabid wolf than white supremacy orientated white workers allying themselves with racially oppressed Negroes. They are no more reliable in coming to the defense of persecuted Negroes than the German working class was in coming to the defense of the Jews under Hitler. The Afro-American is an

### NIXON SHUFFLES ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

For those of you who still have visions of integration dancing in your heads, it might be interesting to note that school desegregation for this fall term has increased at a much higher rate this year, than during the years of 1954-1968 due to previous pressure from the Federal government.

The only draw backs of this great dream are first, desegregation has increased in every state except Mississippi. Secondly, even though the public facilities are open, the rate of desegregation is still well below the 40% mark (40% of the black children in the South are supposedly going to decent schools). Third, even though the schools are desegregated, the black children in the South and North will be faced with a long history of racism which they will encounter in the schools where they will

alien to the so-called American way of life as a shoe shine boy is to Wall Street. The Afro-American is an outcast, the disinherited of the very society that he helped make affluent. The wilderness that his slave labor cleared; the sprawling cities that he helped build, his rebellious and freedom-starved spirit can make barren and desolate again.

While U.S. strength is spread around the world in a hypocritical gesture of making the world safe for so-called democracy, democracy goes begging at home. Let racist America be apprized of the fact that she can no longer count on a peaceful and united front at home so long as the Afro-American is brutally subjected to racial tyranny. Racism and imperialism are destroying the U.S.A. If her choice is doom rather than justice - if she prefers to emasculate and compromise the Constitution the Constitution rather than to honor it; then her irreversible choice most surely will be accommodated by the invincible historical tide of justice-loving humanity, gloriously storming the tyrannical bastions of imperialism and racism. Our choice must be freedom or death. We must prepare ourselves to obtain freedom by any means. Let the phony liberals, the pseudo socialists, and their fellow-traveling avowed racists call us what they will. Our cause is just, our cause is freedom. Let us be labeled anything but pacifists suffering racial tyranny in a masochistic spirit of loving oppressive beasts. Yes, in racist America a minority revolution can succeed. Those who counsel patience and nonviolence, in the face of tyranny and aggression as against vigorous self-defense, are the vanguard puppets of U.S. imperialism, white supremacy and its oppressive status quo. They are foolhardy reactionaries, dreaming their psychotic dreams of a white supremacy slave kingdom, in ivory towers fast submerging in the quicksands of time. Yes, because of the relativity of righteous struggle, a minority revolution in racist America can succeed and bring about the establishment of a just and humanitarian government truly of the people, by the people, and for the people, dedicated to universal peace and brotherhood.

have to face racist teachers, racist school boards and racist students.

So, one can see that desegregation (integration) is not as simple as some so-called civil rights leaders will have one believe. And finally the Federal government no longer (and never did) consider it necessary to pretend that they intend to eventually desegregate all schools. The proof of this statement can be seen in the recent rebellion among half of the civil rights lawyers in the Justice Department, and the N.A.A.C.P. just discovered, "The United States government for the first time (the first) has demonstrated that it no longer seeks to represent the rights of Negro children.

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the decision gave the government the power.

Mississippi failed to meet the first deadline on August 11 or the second on August 27 which was determined by the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit on July 3. The Secretary Health, Education and Welfare (and Nigger Subordination), Robert Finch, stated that if the Federal deadlines were met, the school system of Mississippi would end up in chaos. In other words after 100 years of mis-education, another few month stalling would not matter. So the government gave Mississippi until December 1, so the H.E.W. can make another study as if the government didn't know what went wrong and how to handle the white hoodlums in this country.

It can be noted that John Stennis (racist D-Miss.) was one of the main forwards in the fight for A.B.M., and a member of the H.E.W. appropriations subcommittee which controls the purse strings of Finch's Department. Also, Nixon is continuing to make overtures to the South and forms a strong bond between the Northern Capitalist and Southern racist. Nixon is now paying Stennis back for the votes he was able to muster in the Senate for A.B.M.

The liberals and integrationist were shaken because Racist Nixon was granted a request in which the government gave 30 school districts in Mississippi a three month extension of a court order in which they would have to desegregate all schools in their districts.

Since, the government had been using a "freedom of choice" plan where a black or white parent would have the right of choosing an all white or black school, depending on the quality of the school, and since this plan did not produce in the South, desegregation, because the crackers would intimidate black parents and children into making the "correct" choice. Therefore the 1968 Supreme Court overturned the "freedom of Choice" plan. This was labeled the "Green" decision, and the Federal government had the power to bring suit against various school districts, because

## A JUSTIFIABLE AND ANALYTIC NEED FOR SO-CALLED "BLACK RACISTS"

by Adam A. Caddell

A definite need has arisen for the rebuttal of certain divisive rhetoric being passed off as revolutionary ideology. Devisive because its very origin was geared toward classifying and splitting up of revolutionary blacks. Misleading and confusing their minds to the real issues and problems and means of alleviating these problems. So-called black racists are not the enemy but the system, capitalism is and also the tools of that system. To build a revolutionary base, a unity on a mental and physical level is necessary to the completion of that revolution as a goal. To throw in divisive rhetoric not only stymies the revolution, but confuses people to the point of using interchangingly ideas on personality and politics. Thus you have black people relating to ones personality rather than his politics. Politics being the basis on which all black revolutionaries should relate, since it is political ideology along with power and not personality that will carry out a successful revolution.

In this country we have a strange phenomenon, that is a duality exists, that is to say, roles that one has as the oppressed may also make him play the role of the oppressor because of his skin color, thus the exploitive position of white racists. I am not attempting to deny the fact that some whites in this country are also oppressed but merely trying to clarify the position and mentality that we as black revolutionaries should have. A disproportionate number of blacks are oppressed under this system and unless concrete aims are made for changing this for blacks, without at the present time carrying the banner for oppressed whites, defeat will be eminent. The basis of strength is not in numbers but in unity. A capitalist trick for dealing with individuals or organizations going against its trick-nology is to divide and conquer. A hard realization that must be drawn from this is that the more individuals you have and from their many diverse backgrounds the easier it would be to divide them.

Racism, however, is real at the present time among oppressed whites, and it is for this reason that most Southern white sharecroppers and workers, who are exploited more than their Northern counterparts, can go out and lynch a "nigg-uh" or spit when they say "colored" and peacefully go home just as exploited, just as oppressed and just as racist. But by no means is the Southern peck-uh-wood an isolated case, he is often just the most overt in his animalistic dealings with blacks. He is not isolated

# A CASE FOR

# BLACK NATIONALISM

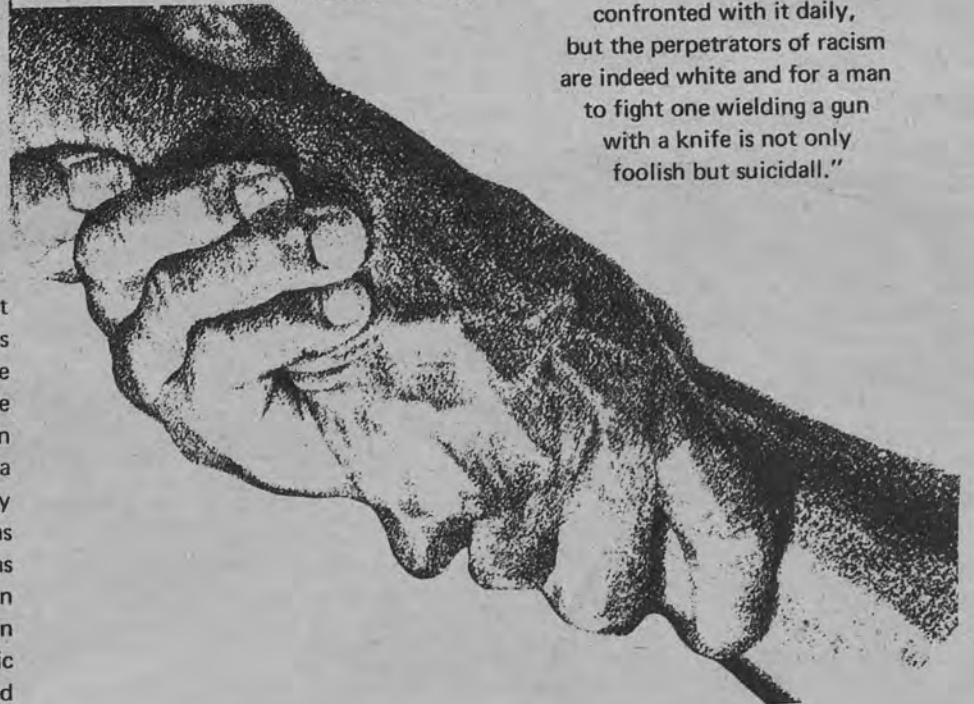
because the same thing, racism, is evidenced in the factories in Detroit, the garment district of New York, the cafeterias of the Capitol, the mines of South Africa, and in the minds of Moscow. For someone to call a black man a black racist may not only be an outright lie but in essence a misnomer and points out a deficiency level in ones knowledge not to even address myself to his analysis.

I have no intentions of brushing off the question of the white oppressed so lightly, nor do I intend to take up undue space reiterating points or clarifying a position that is definitely clear. One fact that we must keep in mind is that before a black person can come to a concrete revolutionary position he must first go through a phase of black nationalism, that is seeking out his own individual identity along with that of his people. After doing this he retains this knowledge of his black identity and turns to seek, more systematically, knowledge of a political nature, which hopefully will lead him to a Black Nationalist Revolutionary position - but not always. After learning his people's history and how the capitalist system functions, some opportunistic blacks use this to their own advantage, thus a black oppressor, thus a tool of this racist capitalistic system under which we live (this is written to say although one believes in the unity of Black people that doesn't mean the inclusion of people with black skin to hide their conniving white minds).

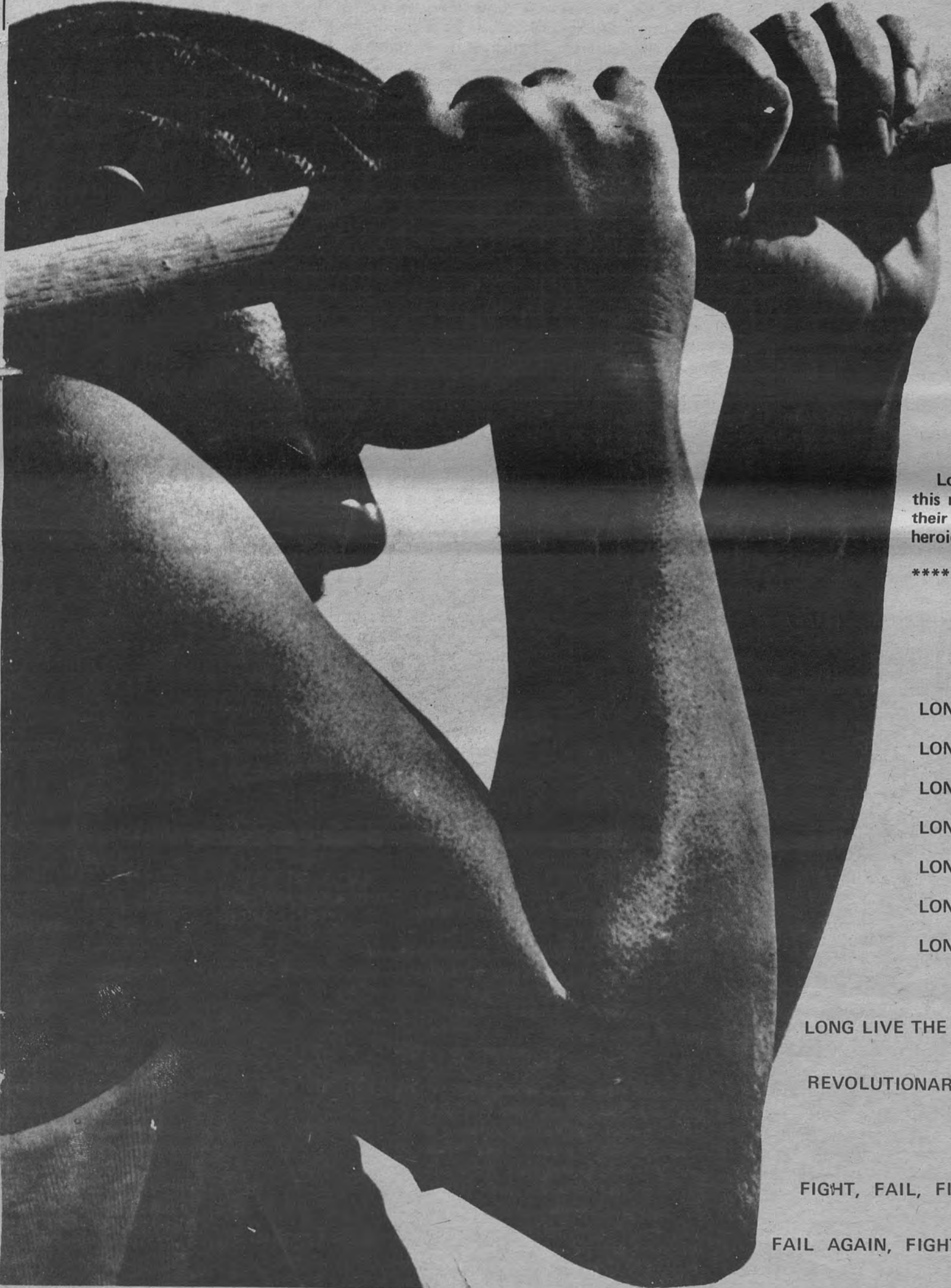
The revolutionizing of many whites has basically two phases but always one constant and that is a seeking of personal identity, the feeling of a lost soul going somewhere but not knowing exactly

where. The two phases normally that this white revolutionary will go through are those of a social dropout or a political hippie to that of a revolutionary thus really never dealing concretely with the question of racism. Their proof that they are not racists themselves is by going to bed with some black fool, which in essence is done for personal gratification and not as a concrete disavowance of their racism. This racism existing among so called revolutionary whites will often and sometimes minutely manifest itself in their paternalistic and all-knowing attitude when dealing with blacks. Anyone who has come into contact with white so-called revolutionary organizations can attest to the fact that racism does exist in these organizations, although in the majority of the cases it is not necessarily overt. Thus the social problem becomes a political problem and the answer will not come in coalitions. The answer will probably never come but ways of dealing with it we already have. As stated previously the problem moves from social to political thus we become able to deal with it on a political level. Awakening blacks to a realization of racism as being political, one can begin to build political consciousness on a massive scale. As an example, all blacks are aware of racism but not all are aware of the price-fixing of monopoly capitalists nor of the military-industrial complex which exists in this country. It is through this education and defining of goals and ideology that one will build a concrete and successful revolutionary party in these foreign but rightfully red and black boarders.

"Racism is real to the black man because he is confronted with it daily, but the perpetrators of racism are indeed white and for a man to fight one wielding a gun with a knife is not only foolish but suicidal."



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Long Live Black people in this racist land and death to their enemies. Long live the heroic black workers struggle.

\*\*\*\*\*

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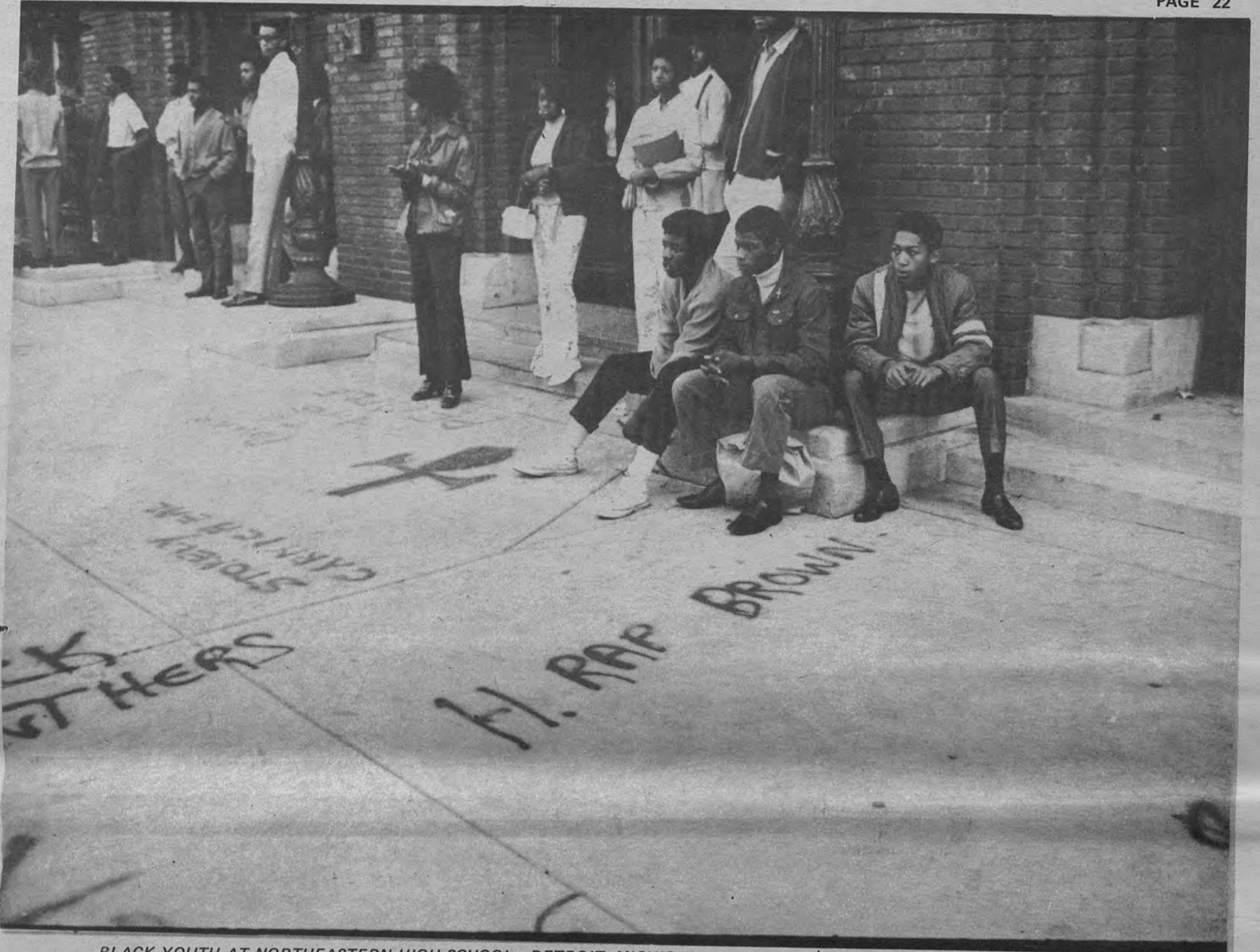
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BLACK YOUTH AT NORTHEASTERN HIGH SCHOOL - DETROIT, MICHIGAN

PHOTO BY KEN HAMBLIN

# BLACK YOUTH THE WORLD IS YOURS TAKE IT!

## Bogue set

Well, niggers, here we is----  
or should I say are for you niggers who don't know  
what is is? - - -

Here we is, the bonafide the classified, the  
sanctified, the alley's pride, and conk-head fried, with  
our GM ride, sitting on our backside, sore from  
Whitey's shoe hide - - - -

Here we is y'all!  
Here we is - - - in mass confusion, talking revolution  
with resolution with no contribution to get  
retribution from a slave institution - trying to fake a  
solution!

Here we damn well is!

Here - imitation men in a lions' den living pig-pen  
wondering when the homo yen will strike again with  
minds made pissy from grooving a sissy with a brain  
gone blank from the butt-hole rank and talking hip  
through our bottom lip while the oars still flip on  
Slavery's Ship.

We raise our babies like we've got the rabies; we  
sell our wives throughout their lives and beat their  
asses for being jive; gimme five.

Here we is y'all - the living the dead, the drunk,  
the punk, and - oh, hello Mr. Intelligent Nigger who  
ain't like us other niggers until he figgers we're going  
to pull some triggers and de-nigger some niggers.

Here we is, and we ain't as scared of a roller like  
we is of a haint, a nickel for one, a dime for two, a  
million niggers shining a different shoe.

Here we is y'all- - -

The hell we is!

Bogue set, baby.

Brother George Jones

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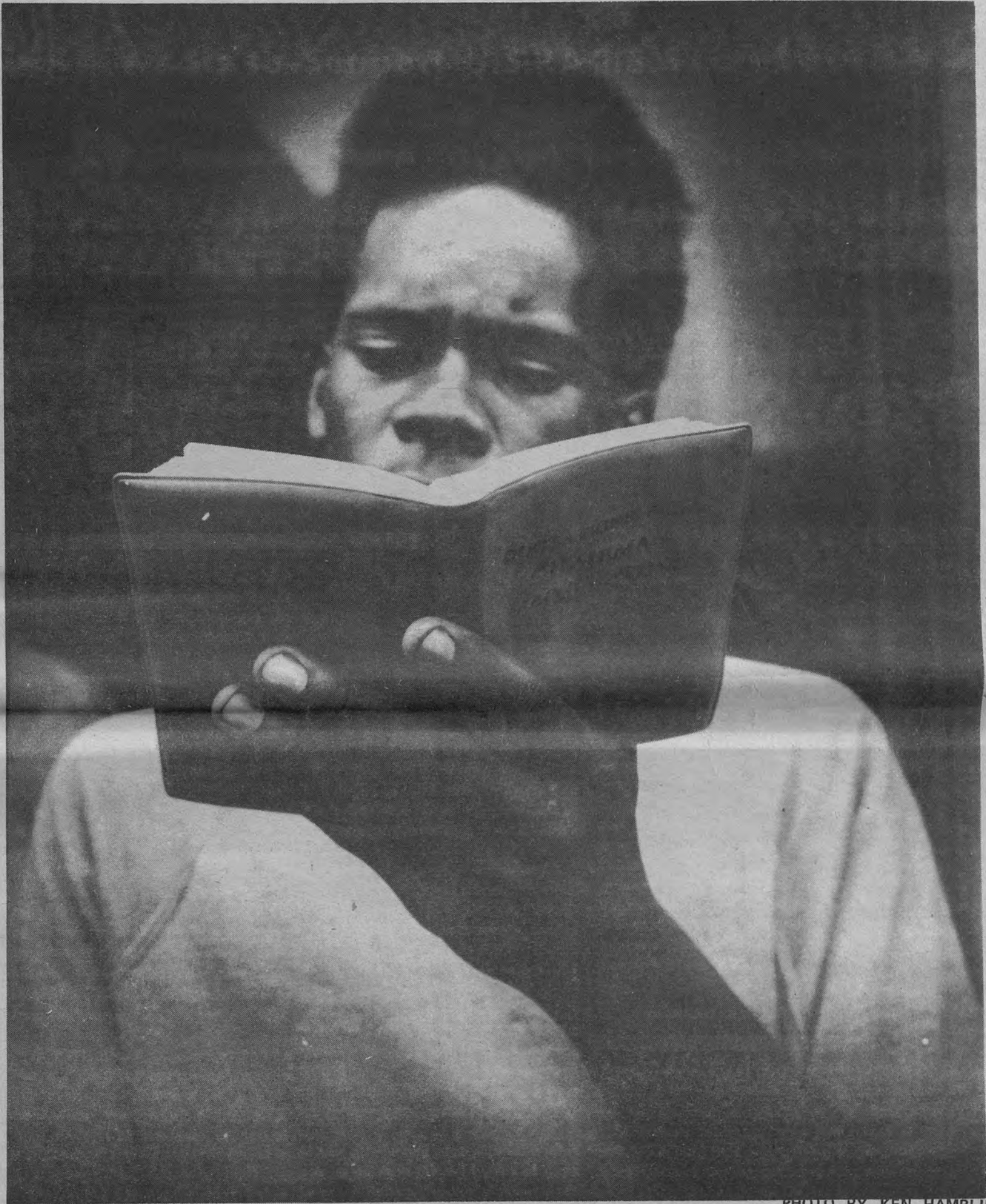
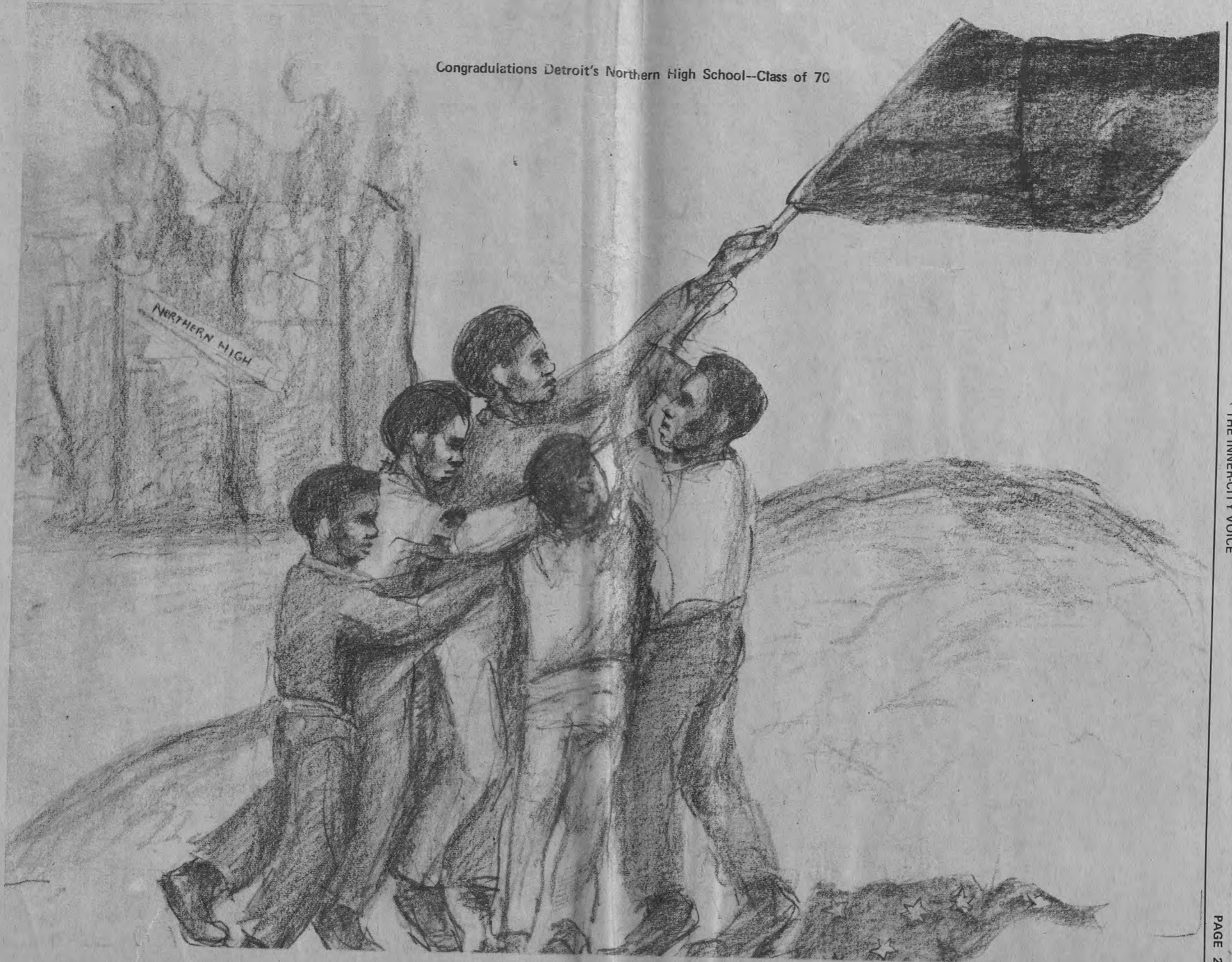
**BLACK YOUTH**

PHOTO BY KEN HAMBLIN

**"An army without culture is a dull witted army;  
and a dull witted army cannot defeat the enemy." Mao-tse-tung**

**"Everything reactionary is the same ;  
if you don't hit it , it won't fall . " Mao-tse-tung**

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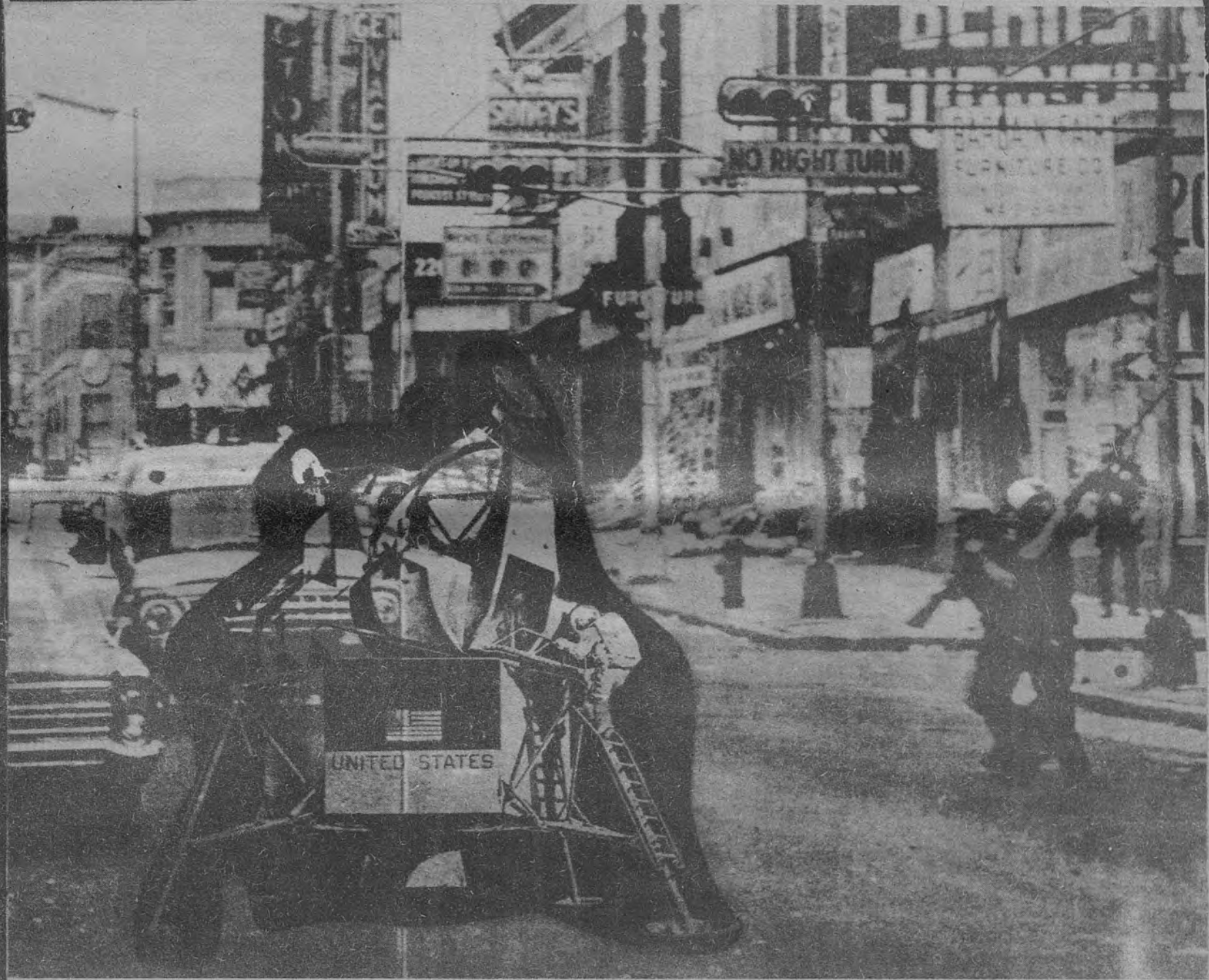
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Number 9



John Watson

on the

Inner City Voice

Robert

F. Williams

Local 124 vs.

A.F.L. racism

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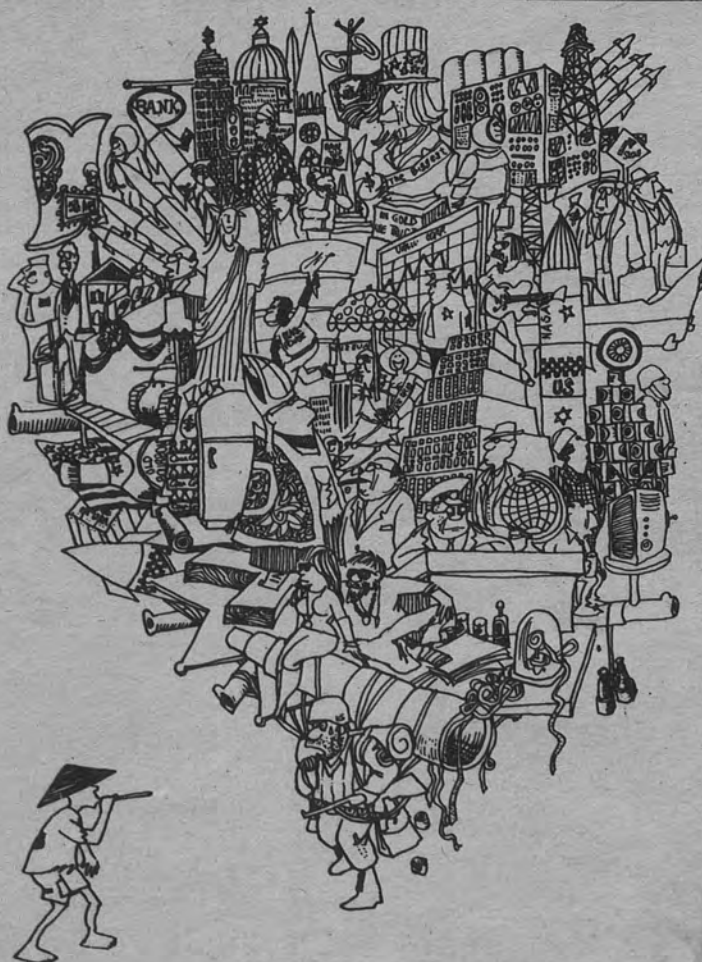
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# AFL WAGES WAR ON BLACKS

## LOCAL 124

by Adam A. Caddell

A conscious and determined effort has been made by some of Detroit's black skilled tradesmen, and unionist to build a viable black base, through a black construction union - local 124. These few and determined black men, have banded together for the purpose of solidifying their forces, and combating the racist AFL-CIO construction locals.

Blacks are being subjugated daily, and are forced to work the most menial, low paying, and unsanitary jobs without any hopes of advancing into the skilled trades, is nothing more than everyday practice for the AFL's laborers at local 334.

In Michigan, the black trade-unionist and construction workers, formed the United Construction and Trade Union of Michigan. This union was formed for the purposes of training a sufficient black work force in the skilled-trades, rehabilitating the inner city of Detroit, and other black areas, subcontracting to different black contractors, and the ultimate goal of promoting entrepreneurship as guaranteed by the so-called free enterprise system. The catch in the phrase, "free enterprise system" seems to mystify the A.F.L. The only way that the A.F.L. seems to relate to this system, is the nefarious way that it seems to be trying to destroy it, or use it to its own ends.

Since the Federal government has been pretending to engage in massive urban renewal programs through its housing commission, it has also decided to pretend to promote black self-determination by giving F.H.A. contracts to black contractors in the Detroit area who in turn have hired black skilled-tradesmen to do certain jobs. Now it seems that the A.F.L.-C.I.O. wishes to intergrate its forces, and continue its monopoly on construction work in the city and in the suburbs by telling certain black trades unions, to intergrate or suffer the consequences.

The consequences offered by the A.F.L. is continued harassment of black construction sites which would ultimately lead to the disbandment of the black unions, and the F.H.A. money would flow into the bottomless pockets of the same racist organization.

Local 334 has set up pickets outside of the Exquisite Construction site at 1730 Magnolia. They are protesting in reality, the right of blacks to form their own union. Included among these pickets are blacks who are picketing merely to get their \$25 dollars a day. Hopefully these same blacks will realize that it would be to their best interest to put their talents into the building up of local 124, rather than remain pawns of the racist honky, George Meany. While Meany and his puppet A.F.L.-C.I.O., local 334 keep these blackworkers classified as laborers, they in reality have the necessary skills to build a house from the ground up, using such diversified skills as carpentry, electrical work, bricklaying, plastering, etc. The same overt form of racism is what is at hand in local 124 versus the AFL.

The A.F.L. had dug up painters, carpenters, apprentices and one racist "red neck" who was not an A.F.L. member but, viewing from his actions, he served as nothing more than a hired fool whose job was to try to make trouble at any given moment. An A.F.L. picket also stated that if they did not picket, they would be fined by the Council of the A.F.L. The

whole incident rolls down into one specific point, and that point is the A.F.L.-C.I.O. would like to break one of Detroit's largest, black skilltrades locals, local 124. This local, headed by Kelvin Stubbs, president, has been engaged in massive employment operations which has lead to their success in recruiting black skill-tradesmen and training people to become tradesmen. Therefore according to James Jackson head of Exquisite Construction Company, the A.F.L. is trying to use his company to break Local 124.

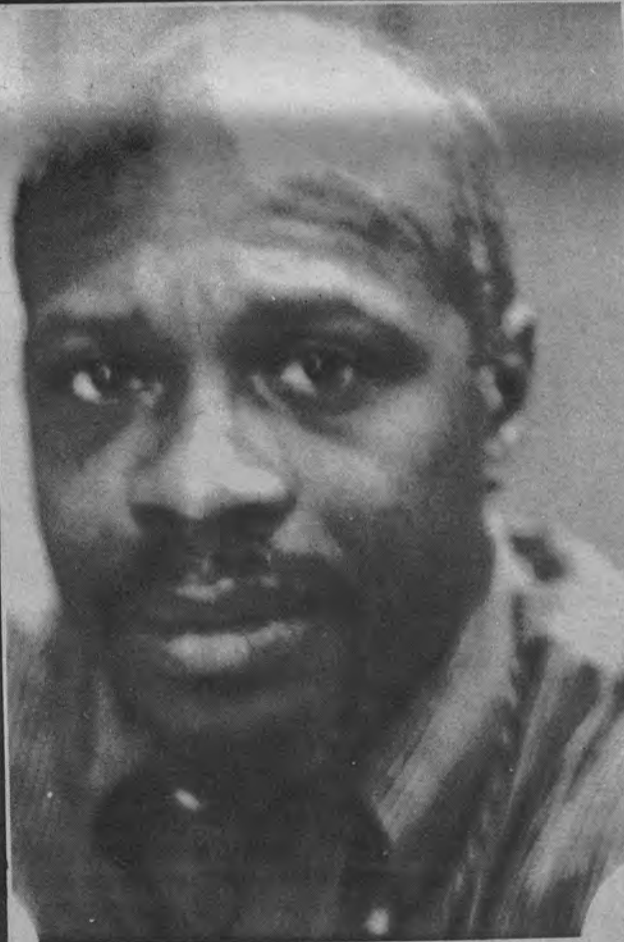
Jackson also stated that he was told by Raymond Glotsky, business agent of the Wayne, Oakland and Macomb County branch of the A.F.L.'s Building Trades Council, that he had orders to see that Local 124 is busted, even if they had to spend all of the 82 million dollars in their slush fund. And Jackson continued to relate that Jack Wood secretary of the Building Trades Union of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., stated that he would do everything in his power to drive Local 124 out of the state. These actions only resulted in Exquisite and Local 124 taking a united and fighting stance against such a large force of racist opposition.

Local 124's president, Calvin Stubbs, explains the relationship between local 124, and its major employer, Exquisite Construction Company, "Local 124 represents the men employed by a new and upcoming constuction firm, who believe in their community and are committed to expanding black involvement in the rebuilding of the inner-city. Exquisite Construction Company, since it believed that in this era of self help, it also believed that it had a moral and legal right with local 124 to engage in construction, and that local 124 was singled out by the heads of Wayne, Oakland and Macomb building trades council for the AFL. The AFL hoped that if Exquisite were destroyed, then 124 would also die, and again we would be subjected to tokenism.

Local 124 is presently offering good paying jobs to black men at \$4.50 an hour which is in keeping with their goal of making a large work force.



Calvin Stubbs President of Local 124, and the 2 rooms that shows redevelopment before and after.



September, 1969

# 2001: SPACE POVERTY

U.S. Moon Message To The  
Hungry: Eat Cake!  
I.C.V.

Tell a hungry child that he must wait till next year for a meal, because you just spent \$24 Billion dollars for a trip to the moon, and that \$30 Billion is being spent to kill colored peoples in southeast Asia. At the same time, explain to the poor that the government food bins are stuffed, and that millions of tax dollars are being paid to large farmers to stop growing food. Tell the jobless the unemployed, and the underpaid that their situation is not going to improve within the next few months, but--it will get worse. Perhaps you will fail to convince them; it will be like trying to nail jelly to a glass wall.

However, this is exactly what the U.S. government is telling us. That there is no bread, eat cake, dog food, or moon cheese! According to congressional investigations of the hunger problem led by senator George McGovern, the diets of thousands of poor families in ten states were recently examined. The findings disclosed that more than one-third of the pre-schoolers children have anemia (blood deficiency) and one-third of those under six have a Vitamin-A deficiency.

Immediately following that disclosure, the Nixon administration hurriedly threw together a "hunger message" and hustled it out to the press. Contained in the message was a proposal to give free food stamps to families in what Nixon calls "the very lowest income brackets." In order to qualify, a family must have an income of less than \$30 per month. Nixon went so far as to admit the existances of over 400 counties in the country without any family food assistance of any kind. But his proposal would not go into effect until next year. And worse, no monies have been appropriated to support it. We ask ourselves: What are the hungry to do until next year?

There are some critics of government spending who claim that a large portion of their tax money is being spent for welfare, but this could not be farther from the truth. At least two-thirds of their money is going for warfare. It is no secret that the largest part of this money has gone for wars and war materials, since World War II. According to the conservative US News and World Report of July 21st, "American troops numbering 1.1 Million are stationed at 2,171 installations around the globe. In addition, some 300,000 Americans are on sea duty with the Navy. . . . in the years after World War II, the U.S. has committed more than \$132 Billion dollars in foreign aid, military and domestic." The war in Vietnam has cost ten times more during the same period than medicare and medical assistance, 16 times more than support for education, and 33 times more than housing and community development.

If the extreme poor are catching hell from the capitalist economy, then the employed members of the working class have fared little better due to sky-rising prices and super taxes. Even the Wall Street Journal expressed surprise that the real earning power of wages has decreased and now is below the average of any of the past four years.

On the other hand, big business is doing better than ever. The mouthpiece of high finance, Fortune Magazine, reported (5/15) that "last year was the best ever for the 500 largest industrials" despite inflation, highest interest rates in 40 years, and the 10% surcharge. It is the same old capitalist story: the rich get richer and the poor catch more hell. Fortune magazine also warns the businessmen casually of an impending recession, which means depression for poor blacks. Says Fortune: "it won't be mass unemployment, but it will hit those with the least seniority, and that means much of the burden will fall on minority workers--particularly at the volatile younger ages."

In the final analysis, the moon shot has one great significance for the poor: it tells us that the gap between us and our oppressors is as wide as that between the moon and the earth. And from all indications, the gap will increase even though the moon men return. Both sides have made their positions clear. We, the oppressed, of the earth are saying: we demand reparation from a history of misery; we will have our share of the earth even if we must pay with our blood. The U.S. imperialist answer us cynically: let the blood flow; our business is profit and our next trip is to mars. (see cover photo)

## GOVERNMENT FRAUD

### Highland Park: Testing Grounds for Phony Programs

This year should be called the "Year of Government Projects." The government and its lackeys are putting more programs in the Black Community than at any other time. These programs are not designed to benefit us, but to keep government control over the Black Community through it's agents; and to keep Black people constantly fooled about our real direction. In Highland Park, on July 14, such a program was introduced under the label "MISSION N.O.W." (the N.O.W. stands for New One World) by one of the Government's chief agents (the church) the Highland Park methodist churches.

The program called for cultural, fellowship and recreational experiences and all that other jive that white people are constantly laying on Blacks; it included four age groups: Elementary, pre-school, teens and senior citizens, and a proposed budget of twenty-thousand dollars to last from July 14 to August 16.

The program consisted of four centers, all Methodist churches in Highland Park. Four black coordinators were chosen for the four centers and one black Director. The black Director was director in name only since he had no real power. He had no control over the money, resources or materials necessary to carry out the program; this is very important. (We as a people have to understand that it doesn't matter if you are set up as director or manager or any other titles or for that matter if they set up phony so called community control agencies if you or the community don't have direct control over the resources be it land, natural resources, money, machines, etc. then you don't have power)

The black staff was given less than a week to come up with 22 staff workers. This giant task was accomplished even under these rank conditions. After 3 days of the workshop the entire staff rejected "imaginal Education" as a basis for teaching in the program. In the last two days of the training period, they drew up a more relevant program. Once the predominately white steering committee (one Black) found out that the Black staff wasn't going to cooperate, trouble started. The proposed budget of twenty-thousand dollars was reduced to six-thousand and the rest could not be raised! The resources and materials, a responsibility of the bungling resource committees, were never obtained in the necessary amounts. The busses to transport the kids on promised recreation trips every day were not brought until the 2nd week of the program, another major problem was that three of the Black coordinators had to work with white Ministers.

One night during the teen program at St. Paul Methodist Church, the old white janitor told a black coordinator that if she didn't control the black youths the "Mission New Program" at that center would be ended. Imagine that! An old racist janitor believing he ranked higher than the coordinator. At Trinity Methodist Church at Buena Vista and Woodward Avenue in Highland Park, the racist and psychopathic minister, Reverend Yearby, told the Black coordinator that the program at his church would be cancelled unless it came under his control. Finally after the third week, rather than work under the conditions put on them the staff at St. Paul Methodist walked out. The kids were told to go to an already existing Black organ within the community; the other three centers remained.

The white christian church located in the heart of the Black community, is not even available. At St. Paul Methodist Church (Joslyn and Eason), black children have no place to play, yet the huge church with the unused gymnasium remains to taunt those blacks sitting on the rail outside the church. The Beast even went so far as putting spikes on the rails; yet the church still remains.

The thirty Black staff members learned many lessons from this program; they were advanced one step higher in our peoples continuing struggle against tyranny in raceland U.S.A.

From the word go the Black coordinators and the director could see treachery at hand: they weren't told until the last minute how much money would be allotted for the staff or when the materials for the program would be gotten. The coordinators were informed that there would be one week of training for the staff-workers, the first three days would be a workshop on "imaginal Education." The top guns shipped three teachers from the Ecumenical Institute in Chicago to teach the work shop; "Imaginal Education" was something these White Christians started for Black folks in Chicago under another project called "5th city". They instruct blacks to love their horrible conditions and that "life is good and All is good"; blacks according to them, are free to decide their own destiny. This nonsense is constantly taught to the youth; In other words they turn the world upside down; reality becomes unreality and truths become lies.

September, 1969

WHO REALLY KILLED MBOYA

By E. C. Cooper

Many brothers who observe contemporary African politics are having some difficulty understanding the significance of the assassination of Kenya's minister of planning and economic development, Tom Mboya. Specifically, the question that is so perplexing is? Did the assassination plot come from the political left or did it come from the forces of the right?

Those who believe that leftist are responsible reason this way. Mboya was groomed to serve the European Colonialists and had been serving as second lackey in a lackey government. (The "Urhuru" government of Jomo Kenyatta) since Kenya's quasi political independence. The neo-colonializers, therefore would be foolish to liquidate such a useful Tom (Mboya). Further more, this boyish argument continues, Oginga Odinga the Socialist leader of the opposition and former Vice President of Kenya (now in self imposed exile in England) is waiting to seize power. Because of personal and political antagonism, Odinga's faction has a motive i.e. he wishes to free the peasants from the oppression of

CAPITALIST !!



the puppet piggist (Urhuru?) government. He, therefore had Tom Mboya eliminated, because Mboya stood in the way of realizing this aim, (many believe that Mboya would have been Kenya's next President).

Let me respond to this obviously bog argument quick. Why would Odinga, himself a proven nationalist, wish to create diverse tribal hostility which would result from Mboya's assassination by a Kikuyu tribesman? It would seem that if (a very big if) Odinga had any hopes of becoming President of Kenya after Kenyatta, then he would have had a Luo kill Mboya (Odinga and Mboya are both Luo) in order to keep down the tribal animosity. This is too absurd to continue. However we have come to the real question.

Who Stands to "Profit" most from Tribal Friction in Kenya?

Kenya before this new crisis was very gradually moving toward confederation with other East African states principally Uganda and Tanzania. They share a common higher education system and have come together on some significant commercial and economic arrangements. The obvious impact of a "Federation of East African States" upon the economy of Africa and the world would be for reaching indeed,

(Incidentally Odinga is for Federation) The long-term political consequences of this is even more intriguing. Especially when we consider the position of the Union of South Africa and its super-racist government supported by American and European business.

So the task of these imperialist fascist is to stop east Africa's political and economic progress (meager though it is). They reason "let's kill somebody" ("les git us a nigger yall") We can't kill Kenyatta. If we kill him it may create some tribalistic reaction, but on the other hand, there is the danger that the people of Kenya may respond to the assassination as coming from the outside killing their national leader and would serve to unite rather than divide the country.....What about Nyerere of Tanzania? Nyerere had to be excluded for the same reason that Kenyatta was. Besides the assassination of any one of Tanzania's political leaders would not raise much tribal sentiments because most of this kind of thinking has been subordinated to

nationalism in Tanzania.

After the systematic process of elimination, the swine chose Mboya a Luo and popular with his own tribe. A KiKuyu (Kenyatta tribe and the largest in Kenya) was used to carry out the treachery of the fascist capitalist because, if caught this would substantiate the assumption (Mboya's killer is a Kikuyu) of the already suspicious Luo tribesmen. He was caught. He is a Kikuyu and the Luos did become more incensed.

The fascists strategy is simple; create another Nigeria in east Africa, keep Africans divided and without strength. Mboya was chosen for assassination because killing him, more than any other east African leader, would create the desired effect i.e., tribal warfare and a weaken East African economy. Killing him would plant the seeds of another Nigeria, postponing African Unity, insuring a continuation of the racist practices born of capitalist corruption that exist in South Africa and in Western Civilization.

Let us hope that the spirit of Kenyan Nationalism will allow the people to see this conspiracy for what it is.

Already the so-called leaders of Kenya are calling this a "communist plot". Haven't our African brothers realized who their enemy is yet? Their running dog leaders are fools!!

STRENGTHENED WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS

EXPANSION OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

After World War II the colonial powers of Europe were unable to maintain the large overseas military forces that had held together their vast empires of enslaved colonies. If the white savages of Europe were going to continue to exploit the peoples of Africa and Asia a new device was needed. This device was supplied by the monster of Western Imperialism, good old democratic America and has been called neo-colonialism. What this amounts to is that the imperialist nations grant independence to the colony and call for the people to form their own government. However, it never quite works out that way because whitey, the imperialist, always has an "ace" up his sleeve. This ace is some stooge who is a native of the colony who can be brought forward at the appropriate time by the whitey to assume leadership of his people with as much money, weapons, and foreign troops as are necessary to do the job. Of course this stooge's responsibilities are to see to it that the lot of the people remain the same and the wealth of the nation continues to flow into the coffers of the western powers. This has been the pattern throughout Africa, Latin America, and to a large extent Asia.

Some of the most notorious examples of this in Africa are such trick fools as Moise Tshombe, Joseph Mobutu, Jomo Kenyatta, and Hastings Banda. In Asia there are such shining examples of popular leadership as Chiang Kai Shek, Diem, Ngyuen Cao Ky, and Sygmon Rhee. Latin America of course is full of this type of dictator and the miserable plight of the Latin American people is well known. Now that Tshombe is dead probably the most asinine, and despicable black man now functioning as a neo-colonialist puppet is "Papa Doc" Duvalier of Haiti. I recognize that this is a simplification of a very complex problem but this column is not written for intellectuals (legitimate or pseudo) but rather for workers and in the interest of communication I shall take great liberty with form.

It is necessary for workers to understand neo-colonialism because the present situation in heavy industry is very analogous to that situation. With black workers all over the country rising up against racism and exploitation, the monopoly capitalists are beginning to pull "aces" out of their sleeves. Again these "aces" are black stooges who sell themselves to whitey to be used to cool out the natives. In the plant they become Foremen, General Foremen, Superintendents and Labor Relations

INDEPENDENCE  
1. Genuinely Independent states  
2. Puppet states

Collective IMPERIALISM  
Neo-colonialism

WELFARE STATE

FASCISM

CAPITALIST IMPERIALIST STATES

what is to be done  
continued from page 5

personnel. Even more important, the sell-out unions like the UAW and the AFL are trotting out castrated stooges to become local leaders in some of the plants. This is not to say that all blacks who hold positions fit in that category. As a matter of fact there are some good brothers in positions of leadership in some locals but the important thing is that even though brothers have been aroused to work and elect one of their own, conditions in the plant have not changed for the best. If anything they are worsening everyday. So workers must understand what it is that they must address themselves to in order to change the miserable conditions that they work under in their plants. Future columns will be addressed to those conditions and that understanding.

**Vocabulary:** Certain terms to me are synomous and may be used interchangeably. They are:

1. Imperialists, capitalists, Europeans, savages, Henry Fords, Rockefeller, Beasts, barbarians, whitey, etc.
2. Puppets, tricks, Sheffields, Stooges, Wilkins, Tshombe, castrates, Papa Doc, tools, Toms, fools, etc.

## NIXON WHIPS BLACK

## STRUGGLE

WASHINGTON, D.C. (LNS)--In a major effort to boost his own popularity and the strength of the Republican Party in the South, President Nixon is dismantling the civil rights legislation won at such heavy cost by the civil rights movement in the early 1960's.

The first six months of Nixon's administration offer proof that the President will do almost anything to cater to the reactionary racist forces in the South. The "Southern strategy" he adopted in his drive for the Republican nomination and in the campaign itself was clearly not a temporary expedient, but the foundation of Nixon's political coalition.

Underway is a concerted Presidential effort to cripple federal civil rights legislation in the areas of job discrimination, voting rights and school desegregation.

Nixon's alliance with the reactionary Southern forces will continue to solidify unless political conditions change dramatically. The Congressional elections in 1970 and the Presidential campaign in 1972 are the determining factors in this alliance.

According to some reports, the President does not expect the Vietnam war will be completely ended by 1970 or 1972. As a result, taxes and inflation will continue to rise. Deflationary economic policies required to fight the balance of payments crisis will further depress working class incomes and increase unemployment. The budget squeeze will make any new federal programs

impossible while continuation of the war will aggravate the university crisis.

In such a political situation, Nixon's advisors know their candidate will have tough going in the North, Midwest and West. The South, therefore, must be a solid guaranteed base if Nixon is to run successfully.

One method of securing the reactionary South in Nixon's camp is to offer the racists greater control over the black population. In addition, Nixon owes a number of political debts to Southern politicians, particularly to Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.). Thurmond was the key to Nixon's victory at the Miami Republican Convention by helping to hold the South in line for Nixon against California's Gov. Ronald Reagan.

The "Southern Strategy" made its appearance early in the administration.

The Defense Department, under Secretary Clark Clifford had given a number of Southern textile corporations the ultimatum to end discriminatory hiring policies or face loss of valuable Pentagon contracts for military clothing. It was a test case many defense contractors were watching closely to determine whether the Pentagon would vigorously enforce its anti-discrimination regulations.

When Nixon took office, Thurmond and Harry Dent, a former administrative assistant who was appointed deputy assistant to the President, reminded Nixon of his campaign

### LA REVOLUZIONE ITALIANA: FIAT WORKERS START A MOVEMENT

Liberation News Service

(Editor's note: The following article was prepared by workers and students at FIAT in Turin, Italy.)

TURIN, ITALY (LNS)--If you aren't seeing so many speedy, square little Fiats on the highways these days, it might be because Fiat produced 55,000 fewer cars in the first half of the year than they expected. The reason is that there is a revolution going on at the Turin plant.

On July 3, workers at the Mirafiori section of the Fiat works joined with Turin students in calling for a demonstration to support a month-old strike at the Mirafiori Fiat plant. The Fiat workers refused to wait until September to negotiate their contract, to argue about wages and fringe benefits. Instead they struck--demanding equal, substantial pay raises for every worker in the plant, abolition of distinctions between factory and office workers, abolition of "catagories of workers," and a drastic reduction of the work week with a prohibition of speedups.

Armed with that program, the workers and people from the Turin Movimento Studentesco decided to march through the working class neighborhoods on their way to the demonstration. But the political program of the workers was too much for the "padroni," the boss-owner-managers of Fiat.

So on July 3, even before the demonstration began, an army of policemen, carabinieri and baschineri (two groups of special national policemen, like a permanent national guard) hurled itself without warning on the gathering crowd.

They covered the neighborhood with tear gas, beat and arrested anyone in sight. They expected the movement to peter out under attack--but as it happened, the whole working class population of the neighborhood took to the streets to fight the padroni and the government.

Barricades went up; the police charged them and the people charged back. The battle went on for hours, until the police were forced to retreat. The people had won Traino Avenue, near the Fiat works. But

meanwhile, the battle had spread to the suburbs of Nichelino, San Pietro and Moncalieri, barricads went up all across the city of Turin.

The newspapers, who had virtually ignored the strike up to the 3rd, spoke of "extremists" But the extremists were the workers of Turin, the students of Turin, men and women alike. Even the hardened carabinieri were taken aback by the popular support the strikers rallied; they were sent to break up a demonstration but they found themselves faced with a working class uprising.

The labor unions have condemned the strikers; the political parties of all shades have condemned the strikers. After all, the Turin workers are not simply asking for more money. A document written by the workers and students says that the struggle's objectives are: "refusal of the capitalist organization of the work process; refusal of a salary linked to the productive needs of the padroni; refusal to submit to exploitation, inside and outside the factory."

Already the Turin movement is spreading to other parts of Italy, to other Fiat plants--to Rivalta, to Lingiotto, to Spa di Stura, to Medena and to Piaggio and Alfa Romeo.

The labor unions and the PCI (Communist Party of Italy) are committed to "social change" via the collecting of signatures to present respectfully to some prefect or cabinet minister. The Turin struggle is committed to an offense against the bourgeoisie state. The PCI and the unions are working on a program of "insertion into the government apparatus." But one day after the Turin revolt, the Rumor cabinet fell comically to pieces.

The Turin workers are building a new Italian movement--and they have demonstrated, if nothing else, that the struggle will no longer be programmed by the calendar of the "padroni," and the unions; the Italian workers don't believe anymore that the struggle can be fought only on the day of the year that a contract runs out. They themselves are setting the terms from now on. A poster hoisted over a barricade during the July 3 uprising summed it up: "WHAT DO WE WANT? -- EVERYTHING"

debts and re-election problems in 1972. A few days later, Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard announced an "agreement" that let the textile companies off the hook and stymied federal plans to end job discrimination.

Nixon's biggest step to build Republican strength in the South took place June 25 when Attorney General Mitchell presented the administration's proposed legislation on voting rights. The 1965 Voting Rights Act expires in August, 1970, and either has to be extended now or new legislation must be proposed. Most non-Southern Republicans and Democrats strongly supported another five-year extension of the 1965 bill, fearing new proposals or legislation might set off a Congressional battle that would defeat the new proposals as well as any extension of the existing law.

Mitchell's recommendations played directly into Southern hands. He called for new legislation to bar literacy tests throughout the nation, authority for the Attorney General to send federal requirements for voting in Presidential elections, a Presidential Commission on voting frauds and literacy tests, among other recommendations.

On the surface, the proposals were reasonable, but in fact they were a disguised attempt to seriously weaken voting rights laws. First, the effect of broadening the scope of federal voting laws to cover every



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September, 1969

The United Farm Workers

Under the militant leadership of Cesar Chavez, the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee called its first strike in Delano, California, four years ago against thirty-four corporate table grape growers in order to solve the plight of migrant workers using the principles of self-determination and political strength. Not covered by labor laws e.g. National Labor Relations Act, their basic struggle is for union recognition, a struggle which continues today.

Faced with the multiple problems of racism (most migrant workers are of Mexican, Filipino, or Black Origin), poverty, years of economic slavery and disorganization, the United Farmworkers have found it difficult to maintain an effective strike because the growers have used the plentiful supply of alien laborers near the Mexican border as scabs. The California system has constantly issued injunctions against the strike and the federal government has been lax in enforcing laws concerning the use of aliens as strike breakers. In order to counteract these strikebreaking techniques used by the growers, Cesar Chavez, head of the United Farmworkers turned to the American people, asking them to boycott all domestic table grapes in a effort to force the growers into recognizing the union and to sit down with them at the negotiating table.

drastic social change. Unlike the industrial organizing drives in the 30's and 40's, the United Farmworkers challenge not only corporate power, but a whole system of racism which provides the rational for the system's continuance.

They question corporate power's "right" to use pesticides on food, e.g. DDT and Parathion which have tended to destroy all aspects of physical life. They challenge the "right" of corporations to destroy people economically in pursuit of riches for a few. They realize that the problems of American cities are intrinsically linked to the problems of rural America,

The boycott is now two years old and the United Farmworkers are meeting with some success. Presently, fourteen of the growers have recognized the union and are in the process of negotiations in California. Nevertheless, the union has promised not to give up the boycott until they have union contracts with all of the growers. The union's main opposition with the boycott comes now from the Federal Government which has increased its buying of domestic table grapes four fold since the beginning of the boycott, with shipments specifically going to Viet Nam.

The union views Detroit as the key city which will determine the success or failure of the boycott. Chavez knows that with the help of organized labor and with the hopefully growing alliance between the Black and Brown community the struggle can be won here. The growers also know this as they are dumping millions of dollars into anti-union propaganda through their mouthpiece state senator Lorane Beebe of Dearborn.

The situation in Detroit now is critical. Only A&P and Farmer Jack's have agreed to quit handling domestic table grapes. Others, e.g. Krogers have vowed through the name of neutrality to break both the boycott and the union. It therefore becomes

and that revolution on the farm will bring revolution in the cities. They seek a new social order based on the principles of peace, humanity, and social justice. They fight continuously against the military-industrial complex which pursues wars in which their children are killed while corporate executives make profit. If they are successful in their goal of union, they will affect a change in the social structure bound to have repercussions throughout the rest of the structure. To that end, they ask the support of all oppressed people and seek their alliance. **BOYCOTT GRAPES BOYCOTT STORES WHICH HANDLES GRAPES!!!**

critical that consumer pressure be brought to bear on chains such as Krogers, Chatam, Wrigleys, Great Scott, and the large independents by not shopping at these stores as long as they continue the sales of domestic table grapes.

The boycott in Detroit is being headed by Hijinio Rangel, a migrant worker from Delano. Hijinio is forty years old, has eight children and has worked in the fields for twenty-seven years. He speaks from the heart about the oppression his people have suffered as peons of the soil. He knows that their only hope is union, and works unceasingly towards that cause. The struggle he realizes, is basically a power struggle of an oppressed people against the Anglo power structure which regulates human values to a level far below that of property values. He seeks the type of revolution that will reverse this system of oppression and will provide American farmworkers with the dignity and pride which is inherently theirs. In order to pursue their revolutionary goals, they have operated through the tatics of non-violence. In the words of Cesar Chavez: "We pursue our course non-violently because non-violence is our destiny."

Although appearing in many respects to be a liberal cause, the United Farmworkers have new demensions to their struggle which could bring about

*until yesterday you called me a good chicano. ....  
today you refer to ours as a bad chicano. ....  
today you lable me a disgrace,  
because i dare to speak of truth,  
because i dare not be silent,  
because i dare destroy the image  
you have build of me,  
because i choose not to live  
or end my life in an eternal siesta.  
you point at me as militant,  
because i will not crawl,  
because i have learned to walk,  
because i seek to uproot the hell  
of being the system's dog,  
patted on the head. . . "NICE BOY, PANCHO"  
while a finger is jammed right up my ass,  
because i desire to be a man,  
listen. . . . .listen. ....  
there is a message in the wind,  
as a people cry against the rains of injustice*

*each day new voices join  
in a united front,  
to take the lead in a common cause.*

A DELANTE TIGERES  
ANGELINOS



**VIVA LA HUELGA  
VIVA LA CAUSA**

THE WAR CRY

from LA RAZA MAGAZINE

EL GRITO

*to worms and the educator raised  
in boyle heights who hides behind  
the thin veil of anonymity*

*until yesterday you called me a good chicano. ....  
i was meek, humble, god-damned ignorant.  
i was young, passive,  
another pawn in a game you play.  
i bent my knee, smiled, echoed,  
"my country. . . right or wrong."  
isquatted, listened, as a bastard beagle preached,  
"come now, let us reason together."  
idrank the blook of christ,  
yet vendidos bled me dry.  
i was a good american,  
i licked the hand that fed me crumbs.*

*until yesterday you called me a good chicano. ....  
now the years have fled, i'm back,  
you crawl-----behind a skirt  
i spit my greetings upon you,  
denier worm seek a coward's grave.  
i stand before you----humbly,  
i am Saavedra: a writer, a poet  
a man re-born a man,  
has learned to stand up, bear the  
burden of his people on his back.  
i-----no longer dead, i-----alive.  
my heart cries to my people:  
numerous,  
united we shall be but one voice  
for our great grito. . .*

ADELANTE MIS TIGERES ANGELINOW!  
ARRIBA ME RAZA DE  
BRONZE... QUERIDA  
QUE VIVA ME RAZA... MI RAZA  
QUERIDA

*see my people rising,  
my peasant blood sings with pride.  
see my people refuse to bend,  
prostitutes for an anglo dog.  
see a multitude of clenched fists,  
casting off shackles of death.  
see brothers joined hand in hand,  
muscular and strong, march before the sun.  
tender the flame of justice,  
forge the swords of tomorrow.  
see, feel silver raindrops,  
run down my cheeks of brown.*

# EDITORIAL

## PAGE

Editorial

By John Watson

Sauti (voice in Swahili) returns after a year of silence prepared to serve the Black revolution as the organ of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. This event, terrifying to the white racist ruling class, is of great significance to the future of Black people. The return of Sauti indicates the determination and dedication of black brothers and sisters to withstand the tremendous obstacles presented by systems to every step we make toward our freedom. It assures us that no matter what underhanded tricks may be used by the white man to stop our movement, we shall eventually prevail.

The Voice was originally published nearly two years ago by young black revolutionists who recognized the need for a viable organ within the movement in Detroit. For many years the ideas of black radicals were passed on by word of mouth, and while verbal communication was somewhat effective in educating black folk as to the true nature of the system, some more effective and efficient method of communication was obviously needed.

After studying the problem of basic mass communication the decision was made to launch a revolutionary newspaper. It was felt that a newspaper simultaneously would solve several problems that faced the movement. Briefly, it was hoped that the VOICE could accomplish the following basic goals.

1. Disseminate information widely throughout the community.
2. Teach and develop skills amongst revolutionary black youth in the fields of journalism, printing and publishing, art and layout, photography, etc.,
3. Develop organizational skills and leadership ability among its staff.
4. Create a network of politically developed cadres throughout the community through the papers circulation department. Such a network should be available to participate in a wide variety of political activity.

From the beginning, the odds seemed to be against the success of such an operation. In the first place revolutionists had neither the money, skill or knowledge necessary; but once the goal had been established a small amount of "bread" was gathered, and the staff educated itself as to the intricate details of the publicity business.

So the VOICE was published and circulated and read. It was the first time this city had seen a paper so totally frank in its assessment of the facts of life. It was one of the first papers to call a honkey and an Uncle Tom an uncle Tom. People began to read the paper, to buy subscriptions, and some rather courageous small businessmen even purchased ads within its pages.

Operating on a less than shoe string budget, the little paper began to pick up supporters. It ran articles on conditions in the auto plants, defense of the black community, Robert Williams' Crusader, and exposé of the brutality black people constantly faced at the hands of white cops. Editorially, the paper exhorted our people to arm themselves for the total defense of the black community; and the VOICE was always totally opposed to the evils of racism, capitalism and imperialism.



Don't get caught up in the system

The local agents of the ruling class were not worried at first. According to their analysis, nobody could successfully produce a paper without tens of thousands of dollars of "front money". But the little paper edged along, grew a little and survived. So the racists found new tactics. They cut off the sources of printing. Four different printers printed different editions of the INNER CITY VOICE, before the white racist printing companies and the lilly white racist lithographers union imposed a total boycott on the paper. The last edition of the paper was printed in Port Arthur, Wisconsin. The cost was too exhorbitant, and the effort too exhausting. The VOICE was silenced for a year.

During that year the movement continued to grow and expand and the need for a newspaper remains as intense as ever. Now, there were people who knew the problems, who had developed the skills and had access to the resources. The paper was reconstructed this summer with great dedication and sacrifice by an almost totally new, yet highly competent editorial staff. Yet somewhere in the 10th or 13th precinct station some red bellied cop is fuming, wondering "How can it be, we destroyed this organization last year."

But that cop is wrong. The Sauti returns because it is wanted and supported by the people. It will survive because it represents the people. The people, however, also have a responsibility to the VOICE. It is a paper staffed by black workers and students who put many hours of effort into this paper and don't receive a single dime of remuneration. Yet rent must be paid and phone bills and mail and business machines purchased, and printing bills liquidated. It is the responsibility of the thousands who read and use this organ to support it. Money is needed, help is needed. Send stories if you can write, photos if you have a camera, cartoons if you draw, and whoever, or whatever, send money.

SUPPORT SAUTI  
179 CORTLAND  
HIGHLAND PARK, MICHIGAN  
48203

### The "Voice of Revolution" Will Not Be Silenced

From the Inner City Voice to the South End, and now Sauti, this is the tortuous route of the "Voice of Revolution" in the city of Detroit. Right from the jump, beginning with the first issue of the Inner City Voice, our racist enemies have tried fifty- eleven ways to silence us. We have been "white listed" by practically every printer in the state. Honkies belonging to the racist lithographers union refused to work on our paper. Queen Hoover, the lead ease dropping fagot and F.B.I. chief, sent his punk agents to our office to intimidate us, and the mass news media even engaged in vicious, slanderous attacks against us.

But all this was to our credit; now we are back again. We have been blowing and we will continue to blow a hard thing on the wretched conditions, perpetuated by a facist-like, oppressive system, run by racist, and capitalist thugs.

The "Voice of revolution" will be heard, because our position on its survival is resolute.

### Sauti-The Mass Weapon of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers

One function of SAUTI will be to serve as a mass communication channel between the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, and the rest of the Black community. Many of our brothers and sisters are not aware of the specific harsh conditions under which other sisters and brothers labor; because of their lack of awareness, Sauti is a call for united action and solidarity, which usually goes unheeded.

In order to keep the Black community informed about the actions taken by the League against the racist honky, capitalist, exploiter, we will have regular reports from the auto and steel plantations, plus various other job sites where our brothers and sisters are being messed over.

Another very important function of Sauti will be to propagate the revolutionary ideology of the League. We realize that the soundness of the ideas we espouse must be verified by concrete examples. Therefore most of the material in our paper will be reports on events that actually exist as opposed to how the honky wants them. Our coverage will range from activities of the various local community organizations to the liberation struggles around the world.

We are not going to pretend that we are impartial, detached observers. We are part of the oppressed masses being run roughshod over by this racist-thug government.

Our position is with the people. When we are accused of being one-sided, all that is really meant is that we are people-sided. We are accused of not being objective, since we are not printing the enemies point of view; and finally we are accused of preaching hate. What is really meant, is that we are attacking those who spread hate.

Our motto is:

**DARE TO FIGHT!  
DARE TO WIN!  
FIGHT, FAIL, FIGHT AGAIN,  
FAIL AGAIN, FIGHT ON TO  
FINAL VICTORY!**

**VENCEREMOS**

### THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE ARE RESOLVED TO SURGE AHEAD

Nineteen years ago, in collusion with the French colonialists in their dirty war of aggression in Indochina, the American imperialista staged a blatant provocation of a military nature toward the South Vietnamese people. They sent to the port of Saigon the aircraft-carrier Bixler and the warships Stickell and Anderson in preparation for an air and naval manoeuvre to intimidate our people.

The provocateurs met with a prompt reply from the towns folk who shouted to them: "Down with US internentionists!" and "US imperialists go home!". True to our traditional undauntedness in the face of foreign invasion, and relying on the strength of our entire people's solidarity, on March 19, 1950 nearly a million Saigonese went out into the streets and proceeded to the harbour with the demand that the United States end its intervention. In coordination with this political army, the city's valiant guerillas accurately shelled the US vessels: the interventionist scampered, abandoning their contemplated show of strength.

continued on next page



# BLACKS DUPED

# AGAIN

## UNITED FRONT AGAINST FACISM

By Nick Gruenberg

Liberation News Service

OAKLAND' CALIF. (LNS)--1969, has been a year of increasing pig repression in all the areas where the movement has been active. Student movements at Columbia, Queensborough, Dartmouth and other schools have been hit with court injunctions and members have spent 30 days in jail. The G.I. movement has the Presidio 27, and the Fort Dix 38. G.I. coffeehouses have been closed down, harrassed, and busted.

The latino movement has been continually harrassed; Los Siete de la Raza and others are in jail. The black movement has many political prisoners already sentenced and the New York 21, the New Haven 8, other key Panthers in Oregon, Colorado, New Jersey and California are awaiting trial with bails for individuals ranging up to \$200,000 for each of the New Haven brothers and sisters. Panther offices in Oakland, Chicago, Denver, Indianapolis, Sacramento, San Diego, and Salt Lake City have been raided. Manuel Ramos (of the Young Lords), James Rector, and Panthers Bunchy Carter and John Huggins have been murdered. This list is incomplete. There are thousands of political prisoners in the U.S., hundreds of people have been wounded this year, and thousands have been beaten.

In response to this rising tide of repression the Panthers called for the first Conference of a United Front Against Fascism (UFAF) in Oakland on the weekend of July 18-20.

The Conference can be divided into two sections: first, the introductory speeches Friday evening of Bobby Seale (Chairman of the Panther Party) and Herbert Aptheker (of the CP) and the closing section on the community control of police petition, and the organization of local Committees Against Facism; and second, the panels that took place from Friday night to Sunday evening.

Friday night, three to four thousand radicals, revolutionaries and liberals gathered to hear the opening sessions of the Conference. They heard Bobby Seale give a speech that was very heavy on "democratic rights" and "protesting peoples", with no mention of revolution. He said that "we're in a fight to save America." and rapped down ideological struggle at this particular conference for the sake of unity.

Herbert Aptheker (from the CP, a "revolutionary" organization that supported LBJ in 1964, and until recently far preferred Roy Wilkins, King etc. to the "adventuristic" Panthers) gave a long rambling speech on fascism. Some of his points were:

1. Within all advanced capitalist countries, fascism is always a present danger.
2. Fascism is state power by the most reactionary, chauvinist capitalists.
3. Fascism has as its aim power for monopolists and profits for monopolists.
4. The basis of fascism is cartelization and monopolization.
5. Fascism can only win when all of its opponents are not united.
6. Don't overlook splits in the ruling class. "Let us be premature anti-fascists rather than very dead, mature anti-fascists."

As a historian he failed to deal with some very important problems: the failure of united front politics historically to defeat fascism inside a country (though eventually fascism was defeated by a international United Front in World War II); the development of a fascist movement before it seizes power, when it is against big business and when most of the ruling class is strongly opposed to it; what happened to the CP during its United Front with Roosevelt; and the social nature of fascist repression (was the U.S. different from Germany in W. W. II when it broke strikes by shooting workers and interned millions of Japanese in prison camps?) By romanticising bourgeoisie democracy Aptheker tended to consider any diversion from romantic, bourgeoisie democracy by the ruling class to be a fascist tendency.

The bad tendencies in Seale's and Aptheker's speeches came out in terms of practice Sunday night. The community control of police petition that was presented as the heart of the United Front was a highly legalistic petition that made no distinction between the situation of blacks and browns in America and the situation of whites.

Because of this, it glossed over completely the colonial nature of the black and brown people in this society. To get signatures for this petition in the white community would embroil people in debates over the idea of community control rather than the right of black and brown people in this country to self-determination. It would gloss over and not combat the relative priviledges that white working people in this society hold over their black and brown brothers and sisters.

The legalistic nature of this petition, i.e. the complete detailing in legal terms of how community control works, can lead to utopianism. After the presentation the floor was thrown open (for the first time) to questions specifically relating to the petition. These questions tended strongly towards how community control would work after it was voted in. What does a policeman do if he sees a crime committed in an area that isn't his area? Why 15 delegates on a control board rather than 13? How would police be trained? etc. People were assuming that community control could be voted in and made operational. Very little was done to combat this type of consciousness which says in effect that socialism can be won at the ballot box. By the end of the presentation on the petition and the United Front organizations about 2/3 of the 3,000 people who had shown up for it had left.

On the other hand the panels, which were billed as women vs. fascism, workers vs. fascism etc., were very good. On the whole their content was very different from the other part of the conference. Panther women spoke about the on going struggles within the party against male chauvinism. People who have been organizing in factories spoke about their experiences in confronting the divisive force. There was a fine panel on political prisoners and an organization was set up to defend all political prisoners.

Speakers from the Young Patriots, Brown Berets, and the Third World Liberation Front at San Francisco State gave fine raps about their organizations, capitalism and revolution. Medical workers talked about the movement's medical needs, and the nature of medical care under capitalism. And almost everybody talked about the need for revolution to decisively defeat all the problems that are inherent in capitalist society.

As a whole the conference was a mixed bag. How can one justify the expulsion of P.L. and its slanderous attacks on the movement from UFAF meetings in which the revisionist CP played such a large role? Will the UFAF be an alliance around a legalistic petition that ignores the colonial nature of the black and brown people? Will the Panthers continue their alliance with the C.P. (or do they really have one?) And what will this mean for the nature of the Panther Party? These are all real questions that must be in everyone's heads in the coming months. But there is another question which is essential: how can we (the entire movement) grow; defeat the large scale repression coming down on the whole movement and in particular on the Panthers because they are the vanguard; and make a revolution in this country that destroys imperialism, makes the right of self-determination a reality, and ends the reign of terror of the bourgeoisie over the working class and other oppressed people in American society?

September 1969

Gaynard S. Wilmore

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN COUNCIL ON CHURCH AND RACE

On Sunday, May 4, James Forman walked down the aisle of Riverside Church in New York City and hurled a series of demands at its minister and people. That dramatic confrontation with one of the historic symbols of white, middle class Protestantism has precipitated the most serious crisis in the American Religious establishment since the bitter polemics and antagonisms which divided it just prior to the Civil War.

Actually the May 4th confrontation did not so much precipitate a crisis among the nations churches and synagogues as it revealed a crisis which had already existed in the major denominations for at least three years prior to Forman's return from SNCC obscurity. The crisis had to do with a lack of the logical clarity about the depth and seriousness of the Black Revolution in America, with an enervating battle fatigue among the liberal churches that had fought for civil rights, and with the fact that these churches, since 1966, had shown little enthusiasm for or commitment to the separatist goals of the Black Power movement.

The physical and psychological distance of the ghetto from where most white church-goers live and the superficial and often distorted pictures of what was going on there which Americans receive from the mass media contributed to their ignorance, and consequently, to their anxiety. The expulsion of white liberals from the new black movements? the escalation of looting, burning and guerrilla tactics; the sudden emergence of black caucuses within nine of the major denominations, including the Roman Catholic Church; the rapid decline of interest in intergrated schools, fair housing and customary political liberalism in the 1968 Presidential election, all contributed to a gloomy song of hopelessness; sometimes racist predispositions and ultimately a withdrawal of comittment to black people on the part of many white Christians and Jews.

Although the church bureaucracies attempted to arrest his defection by various devices such as study of the Report of the Kerner Commission, the Crisis in the Nation program and resoration and exaltation of the memory of Martin Luther King, Jr. the door had already been slammed shut on the king of crusading church social action for racial justice that flowered after Birmingham and Selma. In the narthex of the Sancturies, after a racial justice sermon, and around the dinner table in the polished homes of suburbia, the conversation about

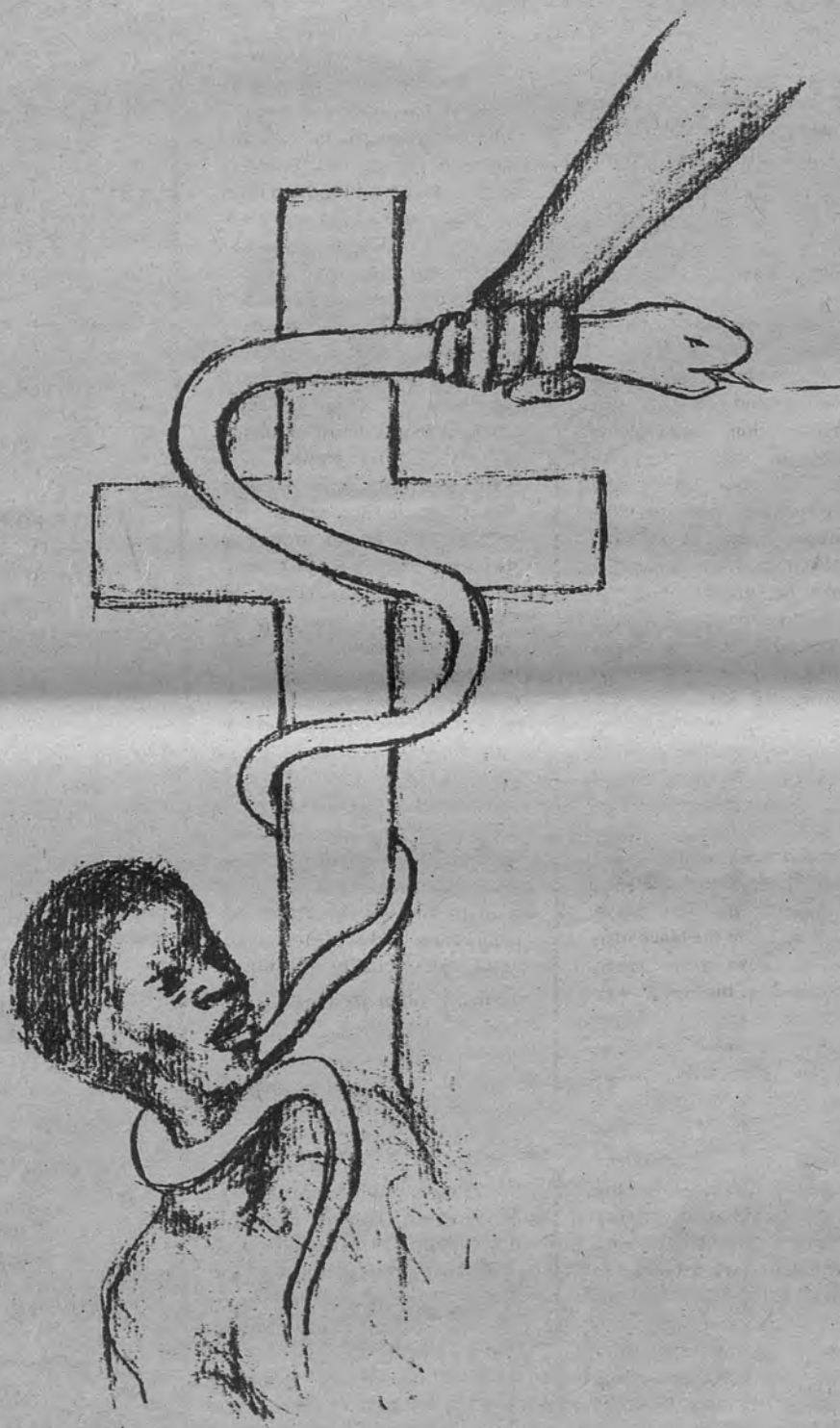
whether to call black people "Negroes" or "colored", black college students at Cornell carrying guns or the decline in interracial meetings and in the number of blacks applying for membership in church or country club, is strained, slightly guilty, a little frightened and most of all--confused.

When Forman attacked Riverside Church and challenged the top leadership of the denominations, including the

happening in the United States--and especially in the churches themselves--since the Black Power slogan gained currency, why it has happened and the radical departure from what the church has known it-self to be and do that is occasioned, as a culmination of the contemporary history of the struggle for racial justice in the United States, by the emergence of James Forman and the National Black Economic Development Conference.

church in a non segated society") and hence the end of hostility and alienation between the races were thought to be complementary and mutually reinforcing aspects of Western democracy, the secularized image of the Kingdom of God.

Liberal and neo-orthodox theologians never calculated the extent to which the infusion of God's love for others is related to the freedom and ability to affirm and esteem oneself or the



General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church after occupying the denominational offices of May 15, he merely opened the gate behind which a flood of resentment, guilt, fear and confusion had been building up for several months within the various religious communions and in the white leveral community as a whole. That gate had to be opened sooner or later for the good of the church and the nation.

It is now more obvious than before that something must be done to help white churchmen (and a large percentage of middle class black churchmen) to understand what has been

The Theological Meaning of the Present Crisis

There has been, at least among Christians in the United States a misapplication of theology to the concept of racial integration. From Liston Pope's The Kindgom Beyond Caste to Joseph Washington's Black Religion, American theologians, both black and white, have taught that the Christian understanding of brotherly love and the unity of mankind in the family of God required the disappearance of all ethnic and racial identity and separatness. The closure of sociological and spiritual space (a "nonsegrated

extent to which the achievement of authentic personhood, a prerequisite of discipleship, is related to the need for a positive sense of historic community and group experience which precedes and supercedes the normative experience of koinonia is most inter-racial churches.

Perhaps the most serious blunder of American theology was its failure to recognize, the irony of American Church history as it relates to the institution of slavery, the proslitization of blacks as 'brothers', but not equals and the relationship of the Manifest Destiny of white, Anglo-Saxon

ON THE MANIFEST

## BLACK YOUTH UNITE

## MALCOLM X

civilization to American visions of "bringing in the Kingdom of God" with the high probability that the racist ontology of the former would become the subterranean, unconscious presupposition of the latter.

The Board of Directors of the National Committee of Black Churchmen recognized the racist character of white Christianity in its Statement of May 7, 1969, "Some churches actually owned slaves and many others thrived on the tithes and offerings of both Northern and Southern churchmen who profited directly and indirectly from the uncompensated labor of the slaves. The white churches and synagogues undeniably have been the moral cement of the structure of racism in this nation and the vast majority of them continue to play that role today."

American theology's preoccupation with Biblical and Christological reconstruction under the influence of Barth and Bultmann, indicated and shaped the particular contribution new-orthodoxy was to render to the White church during the period following World War II, but it is precisely that preoccupation which caused it to miss the significance of what Malcolm X was saying, especially to the black church, about, a much more crucial issue.

"Christianity is the white man's religion. The Holy Bible in the white man's hands and his interpretation of it has been the greatest single ideological weapon for enslaving millions of non-white beings. Every country the white man has conquered with his guns, he has always paved the way, and salved his conscience, by carrying the Bible and interpreting it to call the people 'heathens' and 'pagans'; then he sends his guns, then his missionaries behind the guns to mop up." (Autobiography, P.241)

Malcolm's devastating attack upon the Christian Church as a moral failure and upon the "Christian conscience of congregations, guarded by deacons barring the door to black would-be worshippers. . . spelled doom for church integration as a theological desideratum. His influence upon black churchmen, has been one of the most determinative factors in the demise of traditional Christianity in the ghetto and when integration within the white Christian Church had been exposed as a fraud the whole citadel of moral rectitude which undergirded the philosophy of integration as a goal for a "democratic society" began to crumble.

The rise of the Black Power movement after 1966, with its emphasis upon black solidarity, pride and self-determination, completed the destruction of integrationism as the dominant ideology of the black

community (but not the white community) in America. It is time for white churchmen to face this fact unblinkingly. The quest for racial intergration as the summum bonum of existence and the pearl of great price for which everything else would be gladly sacrificed, has come to an end. If it ever rises again it will be something other than the notions of white dominance and the assimilation and subordination of black people that characterized it during the first half of the 20th century.

The faces, as Malcolm pointed out, of the white Christians, were never able to demonstrate convincingly that they really believed what their theologians and ethicists said about integration. The desperate entreaties of black leaders like King, Wilkins, Farmer and Young received, even the most encouraging years of 1963-64, only token responses from white religious institutions. For the most part neither the structure of government, the churches as institutions or individual Christians and Jews made the kind of honest commitment to integration and racial justice that could change the direction of the black revolution and give the lie to Malcolm's cry that "No sane white man really wants integration! No sane black man really believes that the white man will ever give the black man anything more than token integration. . . . the only way black people caught up in this society can be saved is not to integrate into this corrupt society, but to separate from it. . . ." (Autobiography, p245-246)

If the involvement of the American churches in slavery and their subsequent exploitation of blacks is demonstrably true, and if, despite the liberal theology and ethics of integration, the white religious community was unable to unwilling to make it work, then a most pernicious injury, spiritually and materially, has been committed upon black people in this nation and the white religious establishment cannot evade the fact of its burden of guilt.

That is the message of the Black Manifesto, of the May 7 statement of the National Committee of Black Churchmen and of the black caucuses of several predominantly white denominations. The Manifesto calls for the actually modest sum of 500 million dollars in reparations from the white churches of the United States, as an effective method of making some redress for their share in the institution of slavery and benefits of black oppression.

Certainly it is no secret the white church has been and is today deeply entrenched in the system of white oppression. Many of the laymen who sit on the governing boards of wealthy white congregations are the absentee owners and managers of the corporate and political structures which have kept black people in deprivation and powerlessness. Many white homeowners who refuse to sell to black buyers an effectively keep them from moving into white neighborhoods are members of fine suburban congregations. Almost all of the great white denominations have huge investments in hundreds of American firms which are reaping 19% profits from the dehumanizing apartheid economics of the Union of South Africa. Many white churches own thousands of acres in the South where black sharecroppers, desperately in need of land are being forced off into the already crowded urban ghettos. White churches make purchases of thousands of dollars and contract for the building of million dollar sanctuaries from discriminatory business and contractors and yet refuse to join Project Equality which uses church purchasing power to open up jobs for black folk. In face of these facts and others the idea of the churches paying reparations is neither offensive or ridiculous.

The concept of reparations has by no means been disallowed in modern times, however unorthodox the Manifesto's particular usage may be. Reparations are a form of indemnity to repair or mend "that honor which by injury was eclipsed" and are usually monetary in form, paid out of political interest or out of moral duty and concern for the general welfare. (Encyclopedia Americana)

Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and the U.S. received reparations from Japan after the hostilities of 1864; Spain and Peru in 1869, the U.S. from China in 1900. West Germany assumed the liability of two billion dollars for victims of the Nazi persecution. In 1953 the Federal Republic of Germany undertook the payment of \$820,000,000 (used to resettle 500,000 Jews) to indemnify individuals inside and outside of Hitler's Germany for their persecution. The United Nations laid upon Israel reparational obligations of \$336 million in land or moveable

Day by day, more and more black youth are finding it necessary to unite against the white man, and his racist capitalist system. Black students are realizing that we are being taught lies. We are not taught the true history of ourselves and our enemies. If we were taught the true history of Black men then we would know who our real enemy is, and that for 400 years or more, we have been lynched, murdered, and maimed, by that enemy. Black students are also now demanding the down fall of such racist brainwashing (whitewashing) educational systems as the ones that exist now in the city of Detroit.

Throughout the armed services, black youth are realizing their real enemy, and are learning how to deal with them. They know that Brother Robert F. Williams is correct when he stated that "the enemy is not some colored patriot, 10,000 miles away from Mississippi, but he is the savage white American beast. The enemy land is America and AMERICA IS THE BLACK MAN'S BATTLEGROUND!"

Black youth on the street know that black women and children are being beaten, brutalized, raped, and murdered like common dogs, because their skin is BLACK. The time has come to a screeching halt when a fat white, honky pig, can viciously beat and rope our beautiful black women, without us ever making it "even steven". AN EYE FOR AN EYE, and a TOOTH FOR A TOOTH, and TEN WHITE LIVES FOR ONE BLACK LIFE.

We also see through the Uncle Tom collaborators (the enemy within); they are the traitors and the enemies for our people, and must be dealt with. People such as Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young MUST BE DEALT WITH!

Black youth throughout the country must unite and fight to destroy this system of economic exploitation, racial oppression and social degradation. Our philosophy must be BLACK POWER AND SELF-DEFENSE for our black nation held in captivity in this wilderness called North America.

**BLACK YOUTH UNITE! THE WORLD IS YOURS, TAKE IT! LONG LIVE BLACK PEOPLE IN THIS RACIST LAND! DEATH TO OUR ENEMIES!!! JOIN THE BLACK YOUTH LIBERATION MOVEMENT**

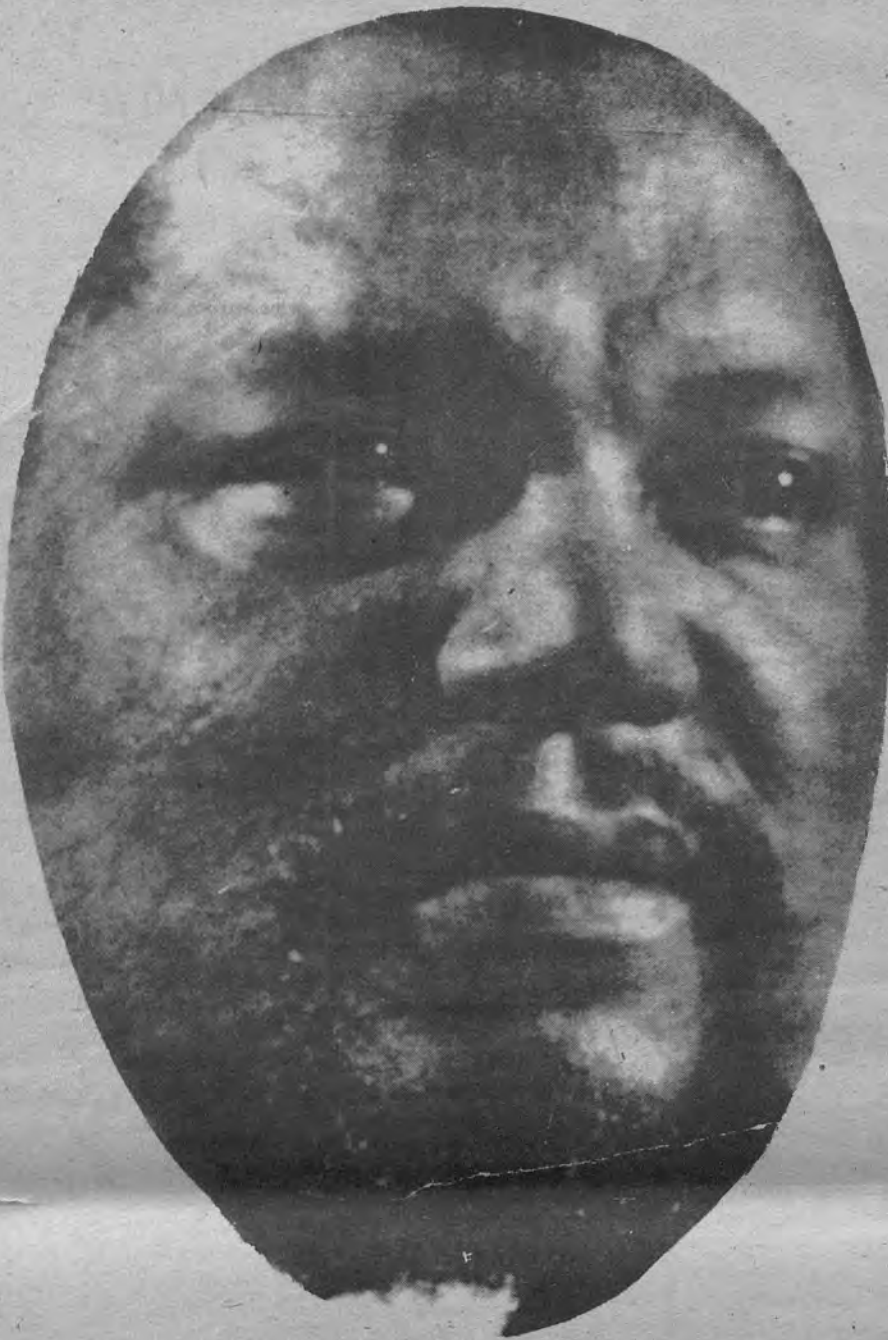
property lost by Arab refugees during the war of 1943. Israel refused the sum but agreed to make compensation if it could receive a loan.

Harvey G' Cox, recalling precedents for reparations to racial and ethnic groups, in a recent article notes that the U.S. government has made "sporadic and insufficient" reparation to American Indians; has made inadequate repayments to Americans of Japanese ancestry for losses suffered during their interment during World War II; and in another example, Cox mentions the GI Bill of Rights as reparational legislation.

Gordon C' Bjork, in the June 24, 1968 issue of Christianity and Crisis, writes: "The estate of one generation in our society is passed to the next after the subtraction of liabilities incurred. By the same logic the debts incurred by our white forefathers in the deprivation of Negroes by slavery and discrimination calls for the repayment of debts from our massive inheritance. It is a

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September, 1969



### THE DEPRIVED: REBELLION IN THE STREETS

That nation which insists on a society of law and order without prior attention to justice arbitrarily demands submission to tyranny. Such a government, consequently, must be prepared to enforce its demands with a precipitous brute force that ultimately decays and erodes the very pillars on which its security rests. The more coercion and repressive force a government is inclined to unjustly use against a sector of its population the wider the area of conflict will become, until finally it unwittingly succeeds in isolating itself from the very people it purports to lead. A government callous enough to employ repressive force and violence as a substitute for the solution of long-standing social ills paves the road to its own extinction.

Modern man has evolved to a new state of social consciousness and spiritual being. The extensiveness of mass communications and the subsequent shrinkage of the size of the world, relative to perception and dialogue, has resulted in a greater state of awareness on the part of the masses. Present-day man is concerned with controlling the political and social factors that determine his state of being. The masses of today's society are no longer content to leave their fate to mystical providence or to despotic politicians. A great technological revolution has transformed the mental and physical state of the world's population. The various social and political structures of society have become less stable today than at any previous time in the history of the world. The current social and political transition is a product of, and reaction to, the technical revolution. Certain dislocations of former factors of stabilization militate on behalf of radical change. The intransigent power structure is resorting to devious means of deception or outright naked violence in trying to preserve the salient features of the status quo. It is initiating mere stopgap reforms in a desperate effort to stave off the radical changes necessary for the harmonious stabilization of a transformed society being subjected to the natural and technical laws of evolution.

The power structure is playing a counterrevolutionary role that places it in opposition to universal progress. Such a reactionary position is engendering a protracted conflict that can only be resolved through decisive force and violence. As the profundity of the technical revolution deepens, so does the friction between the establishment of deprivers and the masses of deprived. Human emotions relative to wholesome and constructive attributes necessary for harmonious collective living are smothered and frustrated. Under these conditions

# THE CRUSADER

by ROBERT F. WILLIAMS

the deprivers deny the deprived normal means of desirable development, and violence becomes the only channel open to expression and meaningful protest. Arbitrary rule in the oppressive and authoritarian society is following a collision course with many sectors of society. The deprived classes today are being extended far beyond the miserable sector of the economically destitute semi-slave labor. It extends even further than the racially deprived. Because of the great gap between technical advances and social stagnation, the so-called modern world is becoming more and more ridden with intellectual, cultural, spiritual and humanistic deprivation. Consequently, the violent type of reaction that was once almost exclusively peculiar to the economically, politically and racially deprived is now being manifested by other sectors of the population that are becoming acutely aware of the widening blight of social deprivation.

Certain conditions of deprivation and repression plaguing Black Americans have their counterparts in other capitalist societies. As a result, more and more struggles abroad are taking on some of the similarities of the one in racist America, and vice versa. Students, humanitarians, intellectuals, minorities and religious groupings in many regions of the world constitute what could readily be classified as the deprived "nigger" element. This social phenomenon creates a basis for a universal fellowship of the rebellious deprived. Certain aspects of the relativity of authoritarian deprivation gives the chief victim of white supremacy Americanism common cause with the racially, economically, intellectually, spiritually and culturally deprived of the entire world. Though the Afro-American must be prepared to bear the burden of his own liberation, sight should not be lost of the fact that all revolutionary struggles of the deprived complement each other. The Afro-American in his revolutionary outlook must avoid the splittist attitude and activity of those seeking to create superficial divisions, sectarian barriers and conditions that will sabotage essential and effective unity, locally and universally.

Skillful manipulation of the mass media, the educational system, selective bribery, conditioning and violent intimidation once served as powerful preservatives of the status quo. Aside from the powerful propellents inherent in the technical transition, a state of over-conditioning is militating against the establishment. Great sectors of the population have reached the saturation point of artificial motivation and are no longer sensitive to the normal doses of propaganda stimulation. The youth and intellectuals are forming a vanguard of a restive society. They tire of the old worn clichés and dull stimulants. They are awakening to the power structure's perennial hoax and are turning to resistance and rebellion. The process of radicalization is irreversible. Its logical and ultimate course is universal upheaval staged by a loose coalition of the world's deprived.

A loosely knit coalition of the universally deprived will gradually emerge to form an irrepressible force that will completely alter world society to conform to the new demands of a less accommodating populace. Modern communications are spreading ideas and experiences from one part of the world to the other. The power of suggestion is playing a dramatic role in the triggering of widespread rebellious reaction to long-standing social injustices. Social struggles and forces are interacting on each other. Successful tactics of rebellion from one sector are being transferred to another as a wealth of revolutionary experience accumulates. The Afro-American, as the most oppressed segment of domestic Americanism, constitutes a vanguard revolutionary force that is pioneering in a new phase of protest, urban warfare and street combat.

The tyranny of deprivation is the motive force behind rebellion. The tyrant will employ any cruel and cunning means to safeguard the status quo of his tyranny, while the enlightened oppressed will resort to any means necessary to overturn tyranny. The conflict of interest is becoming ever sharper. The universal forces of the deprivers and the deprived are moving swiftly towards an impending contest of survival. The oppressed and dehumanized Afro-American must animate himself with the knowledge that the present conflict, as far as he is concerned, is one of survival and that this makes him a sub-zero factor on the scale of class graduations relative to white nationalism and the spoils of monopoly capital. Thus, the Afro-American along with other sectors of the deprived must adjust to the fact that there may be divergent reasons, needs and degrees of response necessary in combatting a common enemy. There must be toleration of divergence of opinion and analysis of specific situations. There are forces on both the extreme right and "left" that constitute a threat to the unity and concerted action of the universally deprived.

At this stage of history, the rebel forces are a minority in the world despite the fact that the deprived constitute an overwhelming majority of the population. Most of all the establishment fears the spread of

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September, 1969

# THE LOST MAN

## MOVIE REVIEW

By Charles Simmons

"The Lost Man" could very well have been named: "The Lost Movie." For when asked what the movie consisted of, one could reply with some confusion: it was a highly elaborate but unsuccessful robbery of a payroll office by a group of black men, but certainly, that would be insufficient. You would have to add that the only consistent factor about the movie is that of the cops hunting down the robbers, and the businessman attempting to prevent the robbers from making their escape. Furthermore, in considering Hollywood's treatment of the police, one would wonder about the comparison. In this movie the police are highly organized, socially intergrated, courageous and dedicated, whereas Sidney and his organization are portrayed as the bumbling militants.

Yet, some important questions would go unanswered: What exactly is the money to be used for, and what is the purpose of the organization responsible for the undertaking? Granted, we did overhear Sidney mutter something about feeding the sick children of prisoners, and we could go ahead and assume that those prisoners were members of the "organization" but that is as far as we get.

The movie begins with a non-violent demonstration, protesting who-knows-what in which the non-violent leader is severely beaten by the police. Even the racist Detroit News would have given some explanation, however distorted, concerning the purpose of this event, but Hollywood offers us nothing. The lady at my right whispered a bit loudly: "what are they trying to do?", and she was not alone in the confusion; that one question persisted throughout each act, and scene: "what are they trying to do, and why?" If we accept that the organization is composed of revolutionaries and freedom fighters, then the events of the movie will present us with three harsh possibilities, those being welcome to the establishment. The first is that revolutionaries and freedom fighters values are no different than those of the corrupt rulers of this country whom the freedom fighters seek to replace. Hence, the freedom fighters see no harm in exploiting their people as in the case of the demonstration which was utilized for the purpose of a diversionary tactic as the organization carried out the robbery. This purpose was not explained to the participants of the demonstration, but known only to the leadership.

It is also implied that the freedom fighters are as money-hungry as the capitalist oppressor. This is the case of one member of the organization who lingers momentarily after the robbery in order to stuff his pockets with more cash. If that does not imply enough, Hollywood goes further and has two members of the organization spending their final hours in a whore-house which turns out to be a fatal mistake: the black house mother signals the police.

### Whites And Freedom Fighters

A second possibility is that revolutionaries and freedom fighters, although hardened and heartless in the company of other blacks, can be softened and easily penetrated by a determined white woman. This is suggested by Sidney's refusal to exchange smiles with a young black girl who peers at him through a window, and by his coldness toward a black woman who rescues him from the police. Compare that with his smiles and warmth when confronted by a young liberal white divorcee.

A final possibility which the audience must taste as the police kill the freedom fighter (?), and his lady friend is this: revolution or any other goal not sanctioned by whites will not succeed, because black militancy is no more humane, no more just and no more justified than the white racist system it seeks to replace. Therefore we ask: where is the proof that these men are really freedom fighters or revolutionaries? No one has told us, but Hollywood implied it. How was it done? It is this: the game had already been worked on us by the white mass media before we took our seats at the Adams theatre (and no doubt the same thing was worked on the audience across the street where "Che" was being shown.). The media had tricked us into believing that anyone who wears a natural hair-do, dark glasses, a dashiki or blue denims, is a rebel against the system. The media had rammed its slick logic down our throats and we had swallowed it.

How did it begin? Members of the Black Panther Party wear black leather jackets and advocate revolution. Therefore anyone wearing black leather jackets is a revolutionary. Che



Guevara and Fidel Castro wore beards and berets while making a revolution in Cuba. Therefore anyone wearing beards and berets are projected as revolutionary or sympathetic toward the revolution. However, the mass media carefully omits the fact that true revolutionaries are walking projections of new men and women filled with the spirit of sacrifice and love for their people. The mass media does not tell us that freedom fighters are not determined by the clothes they wear, but by their actions.

### What About Unemployment?

The Lost Man wore the militant paraphanelia, but nothing was spoken concerning justice for their people or better living conditions for the poor, or a new society based on sharing the resources of the land and productions. Neither did they mention the elimination of hunger and unemployment. Those are the things that revolutionaries and freedom fighters struggle for, so why no mention of them? Was it a mistake or was it the intention of Hollywood to slander the movement and its freedom fighters?

To answer the final question, one has only to consider the frequency of the so-called mistakes, and the increasing frequency of the new pseudo-black movies which all echo the same racist message to the oppressed: Abandon all hope. So how are we the oppressed to answer Hollywood? We must realize that Hollywood is not simply an innocent non-political vehicle for entertainment. On the contrary, we must realize that Hollywood is nothing more nor less than a reflection of white ruling class attitudes in this society. And just as the system cannot tolerate the freedom struggle of blacks, neither can Hollywood. Therefore we must abandon Hollywood and its like and turn our dramatic interests toward the independent black news media, and the independent black theatre which have their base in the black community, and identify with the oppression of black people.

## CAPON CORNER

It is becoming increasingly difficult for black people in Detroit to stomach an Uncle Tom. At a time when the black community is at a peak of unity, some Toms are still making spectacles of themselves in their attempts to show their love for the master.

Even some whites seem to be disgusted by the ass kissing of some of their black stooges . . . . . A prime example of this, is that so-called black labor group, the Tom U L C. . . . . I have found that a large number of Northern born brothers, do not know what a Capon is. By way of explanation, a capon is a rooster that has been CASTRATED in order to make him more plump and tender. This column deals with that species of black man who has sold his manhood to the devil for a few cents.

Wonder what ever happened to shuffling SHOULDERS, the wife beating Reverend. Heard he was running for mayor on a "law and order" platform. I would suggest that he do his campaigning in the white community . . . . . it might not be the wisest move for him to come down on 12th street talking that foolishness or even looking like he does . . . . . the man has the look of a born "trick" about himself.

### QUESTIONS:

1. I wonder how long it has been since Horace Sheffield was in a factory?
2. I wonder what would happen if a sell-out Uncle Tom union official showed up at Dodge Main?

### THE NATIONALIST ANTHEM

Oh, say can you see by the devil's dim light  
What so proudly he hailed at his twilight's last gleaming?  
Whose blood stripes and deep scars, thru our perilous fight  
O'er the ramparts they watched so arrogantly dreaming?  
And the killer cop's cold glare, violence bursting in air,  
Gives proof day and night that Jim Crow is still there.  
Oh, say does that blood-spangled banner yet wave  
O'er the land of white hate and the home of the slave?

And where is that klan who so vauntingly swear  
That havoc of war and the battle's confusion,  
A home and a country shall lead us nowhere!  
Their blood shall wash out their foul deeds pollution.  
No refuge can save whitey's flight from the slave  
From the terror of the night or the doom of the grave;  
And the blood-spangle-I banner no longer will wave  
O'er the land of white hate and the home of the slave!

Oh! thus be it ever, when bondmen shall stand  
Between their loved homes and the city's desolation!  
Blest with courage and anger, gas bombs firm in hand  
Praise Black Power, the battlecry sweeping the nation.  
Burn baby we must, insurrection is just,  
And this be our cry: "In Guns is our trust."  
And our glorious new flag in triumph shall wave  
O'er a Black people free never more to be slave!

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repayment of the systematic underpayment of a minority race that was suppressed by law and violence."

It is to his credit that Dr. Ernest Campbell, minister of Riverside Church, was the first churchman, since the publication of the Black Manifesto, to point out the theological meaning of reparations. "From the beginning" he wrote in the June 1 issue of Tempo, "the Christian church has taught that restitution is an essential part of penitance. You don't simply say, 'I'm sorry' to a man you've robbed. You return what you stole or your apology takes on a hollow ring...."

Penitence, in other words, is sorrow for sin as an offense against God and involves a purpose of amendment. It is clear that such amendment is related to the concept of reparations. The same idea is contained in the Christian doctrine of repentance.

"There is in repentance a certain quality of infinitude. With the penitent mood comes new insight, fresh illumination leading to an almost painful anxiety to make atonement to the person or persons wronged, to society, to the spiritual order which has been violated. The repentant man stands ready for any task, however great, for any service however distasteful. Repentance is thus transformed into a moral dynamic."

No institution in American society has made more confessions of guilt for its involvement in the sin of slavery and in segregation and discrimination against black people than has the Christian

Church. No institution in America has issued more high-sounding pronouncements of the principle of justice. If reparations are truly an acceptable form of the concrete expression of repentance, then the white churches of the nation have a religious duty to demonstrate the seriousness and sincerity of the Christian conscience by repaying to oppressed minorities whatever reasonable portion can be calculated from the benefits which have accrued to them through slavery.

Whatever one may think of James Forman's politics and tactics of disruptive confrontation, the church should recognize that this is not the first time that God has called upon the wrath of those outside of the church to summon it to repentance and obedience. The great wealth that the churches have accumulated has become a spiritual liability because rather than help men and women to destroy and dehumanizing, demonic structures which cripple them, it has been used to enhance the welfare of the churches and their members.

The time may be at hand for the cleansing of the Temple as our Lord accomplished it. The time may be here, as the Scriptures warned, for "judgment to begin in the household of faith." It well may be that for all his vehemence and rudeness, James Forman is being used by God to declare to the churches "this night your soul is required of you; and the things you have prepared, whose will they be?"

The theological meaning of the present crisis of race relations in the United States is that Black Power, the legan

concept of reparations and the appearance of James Forman as a stringent and arrogant critic of the American religious establishment may be seen, through the eyes of faith, to be redemptive.

First, the theological defense of integration never took account of the painful deracination and dehumanization which black people were called upon to suffer as the price of a powerless and humiliating assimilation into an essentially racist white Christian culture.

Secondly, the concept of reparation appears as a creative and altogether practical way to concretize the theological doctrine of repentance and break with the spiritual sterility of a church which is suffering from an excessive verbalization and a deficient performance of theology. It is, in somewhat the same sense as the new interest in churches paying taxes, an appropriate form of servanthood to the community of poverty and oppression, in the spirit of the kenosis or "self-emptying" of Christ and his subjection to secular authority in obedience to God.

Finally, the black militant and Chicano leaders who are confronting the churches and disrupting worship services, insofar as they speak the truth (where truth has often been withheld by the false prophets who cry "peace! peace! when there is no peace") render service to the church as unwitting instruments in God's hands for the burning and healing of his people. By the witness of men like James Forman the church as institution is called to be renewed as the revolutionary

vanguard of God's in-breaking Kingdom. The bland, liberal theology and missionary posture of conventional American Christianity are exposed as inadequate for a world in which God is shaking the foundations. Something more is needed for today--a radical theology of revolution which can impel churchmen beyond Black Power and White Power to grasp the reality of the new being of humanity which Christ came to bring and which he made possible by the dethronement of all the principalities and powers of this world.

If it is the Black Manifesto which has revealed this crisis of theological clarity and ethical commitment within the churches and synagogues of America churchmen ought to read it carefully and critically, but also joyously, giving God the praise. Instead of locking church doors, calling the police and sending personnel home from the denominational offices, churchmen should be listening to what the black and brown militants are saying and engaging them in intensive dialogue. Open hearings should be held in local churches (as did one congregation in a wealthy suburb of Detroit) in order that church people can discuss the Manifesto, ask questions of the pastor and assess the legitimacy of the reparations concept and the surplus resource of their congregations.

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state--though voting discrimination is only common in the South--would force the small Civil Rights Section of the Justice Department to spread itself across the nation and thus relieve the strong pressure they were exerting on the seven Southern states.

In addition, the proposals would weaken the legal powers of the Justice Department. Presently, the voting laws of the Southern States are virtually under federal control. The states are prohibited from changing their laws without permission either from the Attorney General or the Federal Court in the District of Columbia. This set of laws has allowed nearly 800,000 blacks to register in the South since 1965.

Under the administration proposals, the Southern states once again would be given the right to enact their own voting laws and the Justice Department's only method of control would be to seek court orders forbidding particular practices through case-by-case enforcement. The ensuing legal appeals would allow the South many more years of preventing blacks from voting.

Not every one is happy with the Nixon voting rights plans--including some Northern Republicans who fear that an increase in the power of Southern Republicans is a threat to their own power in the GOP.

A week after Mitchell's voting rights proposal, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Robert Finch, made another announcement, designed to attract Southern reactionaries into the Republican camp. He revealed the administration would ignore the September, 1969 deadline for all Southern school districts to be desegregated. Under the Johnson administration nearly 3300 of the 4425 Southern school districts have submitted desegregation plans. Most of them had done so because Johnson was adamant on the September deadline. If the school district did not get HEW approval for their plan, they faced an immediate cutoff of all federal aid.

Finch attacked the September deadline as "arbitrary," indicating that HEW would be understanding of the "special problems of Southern school districts."

In a further weakening of school desegregation, Finch also announced that jurisdiction over the enforcement of desegregation guidelines would be transferred from HEW to the Justice Department. Under present law, the predominantly liberal staff of HEW can cut off federal aid by simple administrative decision. Under the new procedure, enforcement is in the hands of Attorney General Mitchell--Nixon's campaign manager and the architect of the "southern strategy." To enforce desegregation, the Justice Department says it will seek compliance through the courts--a long, time-consuming process that the South is certain to applaud.

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People in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and progressive people the world over including the people of the United States, who have always sympathized with the South Vietnamese people and their National Liberation Front, and lent them valuable support and assistance, approve of the logic and sensible five-point stand. They have shown their militant solidarity which greatly encouraged us and for which we wish to thank them sincerely.

The South Vietnamese people are deeply attached to peace, genuine peace in independence and liberty. Nothing can possibly prevent them from fighting off the US aggressors to achieve independence and liberty. So long as the United States does not give up its aggressive design, continues to encroach upon Viet Nam's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and refuses to withdraw unconditionally all US and satellite troops from South Viet Nam, the South Vietnamese people resolutely use their sacred self-defense right to deliver it well-deserved blows. Promoting the March 19 spirit and bringing their strong, winning position into full play, the armed forces and people of South Viet Nam will follow up their victories and strike more accurate and powerful hits until there is no the shadow of an American aggressor on their beloved land.

September, 1969

YA KUONANA  
(Until We Meet)

I have received many letters from the Penitentiary, many from brothers that I don't know personally, but after hearing from them I feel as if I've known them for some time. They put things into the perspective of our problems that are the same as theirs.

Many become aware of themselves while locked up by the pig. All of us must move to every level possible to get power for our people, we must have people that think, act, breathes and sleeps the question of power. This we find from brothers that are confined.

Here is one of many letters sent to me from Jackson Prison. His slave is unimportant but his free name is. He has degrees in African History, Afro-American History, Swahili Teacher.

Right on Brother

Neno

Ndugu Neno, Uhali Gani?

I received your lively letter and am assured by what I have read, that there are some beautiful things happening for you, which fills your letters with so much intensity. I not only crave this revolutionary stimulant; because it is a normal part of what I am, moreso than it being an attitude of what we are together as "Black Brothers!"

As a result of my penalized position, I'm able to feel the dual, oppressive and institutional racism which makes many of my Black Brothers, here, mindful of their roles. In a greater degree, because we are not able to exert "Free Speech" (We become dependent on one another to show, or display some form of solidarity among ourselves. It isn't the easiest thing to do, nor is it furtive to be open around our oppressor. I recall reading from "Eldridge Cleaver's", book, "Soul on Ice", where he mentions, that the question concerning the "convict" (word used to, and by society; another misnomer to make me think I have done something) that must be resolved before Gabriel blows his horn. (Black trumpeter) All societies, have at one time or another, had to face the stern revolutionaries, who were forced out of a sick society, into an institutional one. Here, as history has pointed out numerous times, that social revolutionaries do not come from within the society, but from those who have been cast out from it. There is a beautiful point to be stressed about confinement, so I will tarry for awhile on a certain "Martin Luther King" who, after spending many silent moments in "jail cells", never to realize "that" tremendous effect it had on him. There is a certain, or a different kind of force which moves one away from what he thought he was, to what he can become once the road has been made clear. It is called "Ideology". In my preceding letter I mentioned "Ideology" as being, "a philosophy concocted from human miseries and social injustices, carried out in the name of morality, Christianity!" Many a leader is falsely unsuitable if this is his bag of independence for my Black Brothers and Sisters. If this, and it used to be the case, is his modus operandi, his ideology is the white homosexual, who upheld Christianity because Jesus Christ had all male disciples!

A leader must understand that moving away from this "social - pathology" and into a "sterile civilization", where the accent is stressed on and about, "Humanism", and we, as the lumpen proletariat, are the third world, and we speak through the voice of no one man, who is exposed menacing by as a threat to this perfidious society; but as "that idea who's time has come". Prison is a dual dehumanizing process, that eats out the inner reason and logical hypocricys of an oppressive, racist society, orientated to engulf the third world peoples. I have contented, that if the system is to change at all, the convict; Black convict, because at this time he is the only one fitting for such a major role. For within him lies the inner sufferings of what freedom means. A black man, locked up and away from a society which had semblance of freedom, in the end only provided another form of imprisonment. The convict, Black convict, is avantgarde, in that he has been bombarded

with everything that's degrading and dehumanizing. Those seeking answers and clues turn to books, books and more books with truth and guts within every page; find themselves on the threshold of what men are, and not just a "meat lioned-body and alley cop traits of intelligence." The hidden histories of Blacks bogaloo across the pages of many a civilization. He finds avenues to circumvent the entrapments that the white system has used so long to become what it is today: a big white lie punctured with immorality. This convict has used this force of intellect with in so many black movements.

I hadn't realized I've said so much in my writing without asking you your opinions about Ideology. In your next letter stretch out, Neno. I would and will respond to the sisters who wish to write me. Black womanhood meets Black manhood can be... Weusi na Wapendaza Inkatha

# OPERATION FALLTHROUGH

by Charles Simmons

Anyone who has heard all the talk and read some of the news concerning the governments efforts to support increased home building for low and moderate income families would probably welcome the comparison with an old proverb: "there was a lot of noise on the stairs but nobody came into the room." Most of the noise came in the form of Housing and Urban Development Chief (HUD) George Romney, who has been desperately peddling his plan around the country for prefabricated homes which he calls Operation Breakthrough. The purpose of building prefabricated homes would be to decrease the construction costs. To reduce the construction costs even further, Romney plans to award contracts to some ten to twenty private manufacturers to produce prototype dwellings suitable for mass production.

In spite of the fact that more than 11 million Americans live in substandard or overcrowded homes, Operation Breakthrough has made no headway thus far, and seems doomed to failure along with the previous government projects over the past 20 years. In fact, two decades of urban renewal projects, federal highway construction, and similar programs have destroyed more low-income homes than the government and private contractors have built.

Furthermore, the Housing and Urban Development act of 1968, which calls for 26 million new or rehabilitated homes over the next ten years, has made no progress. Add to this the rising cost of money, land, and materials, plus outdated zoning and building codes, and it will be clear that decreasing construction costs alone will not even put a dent in the tremendous cost of housing.

Of course, the talk is nothing more than talk. The government does not intend to do anything about low cost housing. Congress recently slashed \$384 million from the Housing Departments budget for low income housing and model cities. Yet, the senate may kill even the modest \$15 million Romney has budgeted for development of the prefab housing models. Compare that with \$24 Billion spent for the Moonshot, and \$30 billion spent for Vietnam in one year.

Super capitalist Edgar Kaiser, who headed Cowboy Lyndon Johnson's committee on urban housing for more than a year, pointed out in a recent speech that labor and materials are only part of the cost of housing. Other costs--"land, interest, taxes, and other indirect expenses-- are so much higher than labor and materials that even cutting construction costs in half would reduce monthly rental charges on a home by only 12.5%. The indirect costs, of course, would remain untouched by Romney's program."

The labor research associations bulletin, "economic notes" states in July 69 edition: "Housing operates according to peculiar rules under capitalism. While times are good, when workers presumably have wages and buying power, houses do not get built because all funds available for investment are diverted to help business expand, so housing is cut off. When times are bad, earnings fall off and there is reduced demand for housing, so housing again is cut off." In short, there are never enough houses being built for those who need them, and the physical evidence of this is constantly before us in the shape of festering slums which continue to deteriorate.

Census statistics also remind us that every year a new Philadelphia is added to the nation's population. Every month roughly 300,000 persons are being added to the large cities, and in spite of all the talk, nothing has been done, and in the final analysis, under capitalism, nothing will be done. Our major hope is to change the system to one which will spend most of societies money on people rather than objects of war.



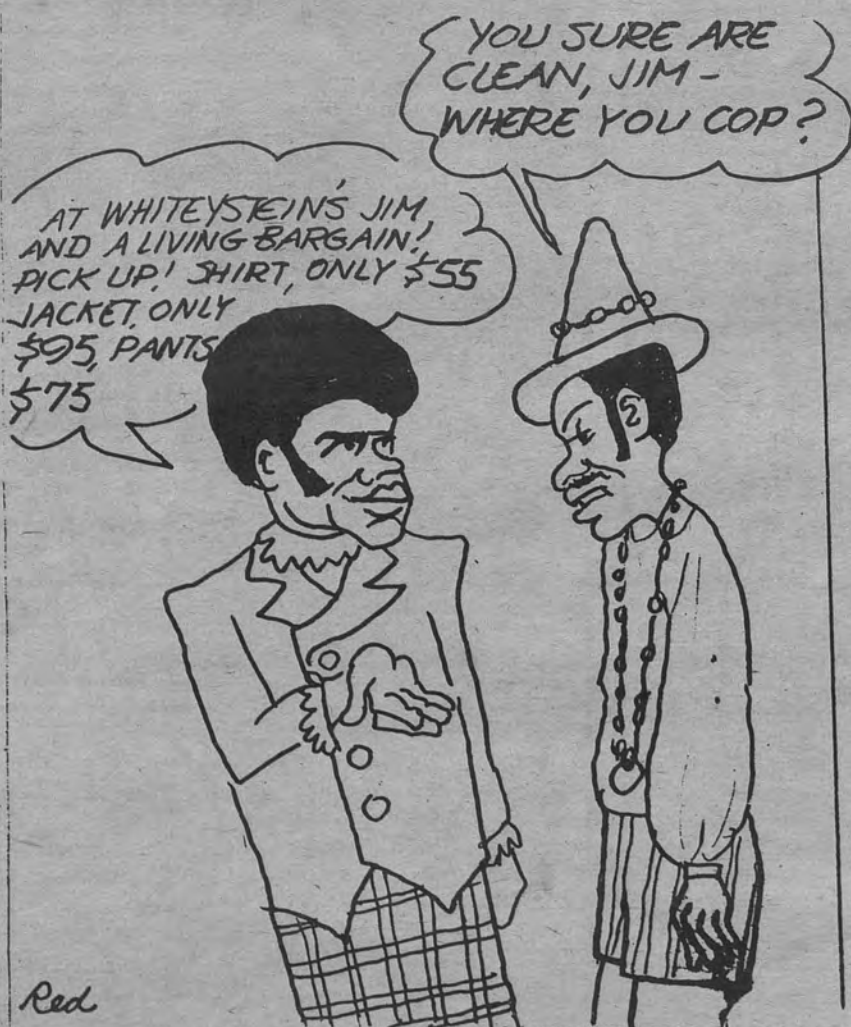
**RED**

YOU'VE COME A LONG WAY, BABY!  
 YES WEVE GOT DAMN NEAR  
 EVERYTHING.. THIS IS THE THE  
 AGE OF THE NEW NIGGER  
 BEAUTIFUL  
 EXCITING  
 PROVOCATIVE  
 STYLISH  
 FASHIONABLE

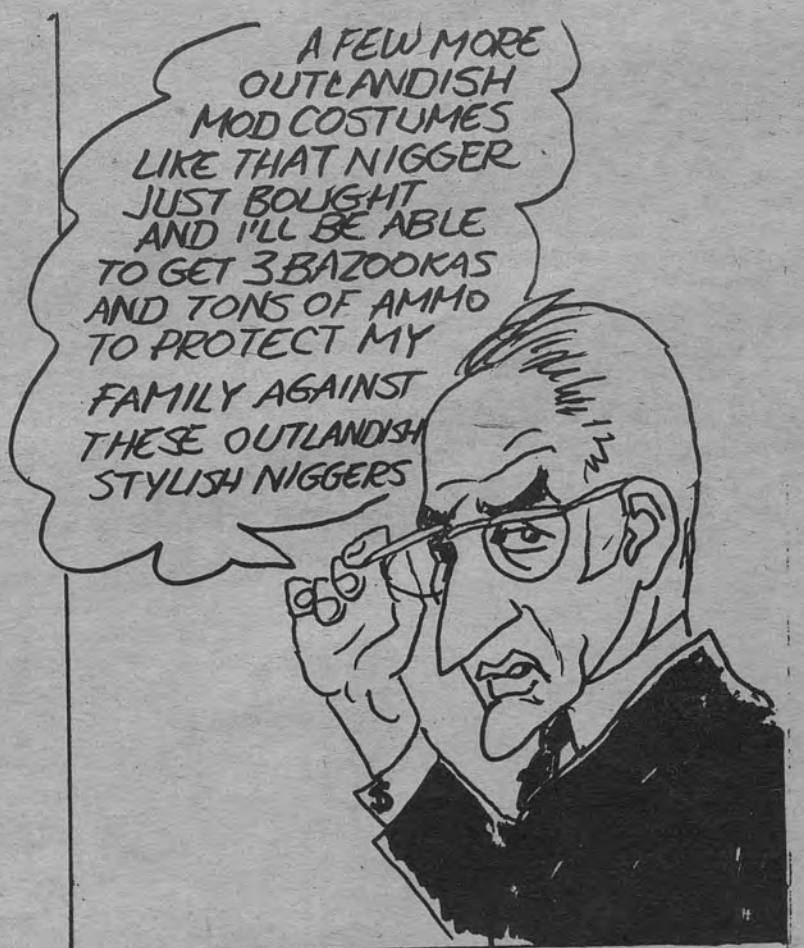
BUT  
 THE  
 WOMEN  
 STILL  
 LOOK  
 BETTER!



red



Red





**TOM OF THE MONTH**

Sauti would like to present, August's **Tom of the Month**. This role is assigned to the person who most fits our idea of an ardent "kiss ass", provided that the appropriate object of this **Tom's** affection, just happens to be white. This sort of animal can be found in the lowest, most fowl regions of white society. This **Tom** by virtue of his being in the bowels of white society, he has rejected the hopes and the aspirations of his or her own people, so that he or she may shuffle, grin and dance before his white master, while his own people are being tortured by this same master. But remember this animal doesn't care about anyone but himself. With this in mind, Sauti's August **Tom** is president of the National Baptist Convention, Joseph (or as whitey would say, "Ole Black Joe") Jackson. Some of our Baptist readers should pay close attention to the following, and then they can confront and deal with this animal.

This oversized boy believes, "Negro people do not hate America, they are American." After making this brilliant observation, **Boy** goes on to denounce the struggle that many black people were engaged in during the fifties and sixties by still holding on to that **Tom** line which says that the demonstrations that took place over the years were not the answer. **Boy** goes on to say that freedom and justice can be achieved "through the framework and ideology of the U.S. constitution" Some one should interrupt **Tom** in the middle of one of his pork chop orgies, and inform him that the demonstrators were trying to achieve the very thing that **Tom** pretends he believes in, but all of the racist honkies in all sectors of the government, prevented black people from ever achieving these goals, and murdered Dr. King as an extra, added bonus.

So, **Boy** also offers another solution. This **Tom** now has a "national unity headquarters" in Chicago, where he will be dispatching little Tomlettes to different college campuses, urging black and white unity or integration, which is the same thing the demonstrators were after when some of them formed SNCC, and later discovered that even college honkies, don't want any black butts hanging around them or their women, and as a added bonus, three, integrated, college students were murdered in Mississippi by the same whites tthat **Boy** would like to grin and shuffle with.

Now, if **Boy** rejected the civil right demonstrations of yester-year, it stands to reason that this **Tom** would reject something as progressive as the "Black Manifesto". **Old Black Joe** seems to think that black people cannot make a progressive move without the white man. **Boy** states that the demand for reparations is nothing more than a paint job, and a restatement of Marx's "Communist

Manifesto". **Boy** should read the "Black Manifesto" again (or for the first time and stop imitating the whites), and note the difference between the two documents. The Black Manifesto represents the immediate problems of black people in this country, and Marx's Manifesto represents the problems of European industrialization during the time of Marx. There are some basic scientific principle that the black community can learn from the works of Marx, but they are not found in the "Communist Manifesto", so it behoves the **Big Boy** to give the Black men that originally conceived the "Black Manifesto", the credit that is due them without coming into the white press saying that black men haven't suffered enough and are not smart enough to make a document which puts black people in some sort of responsible position of overthrowing their racist oppressor, and their bootlicking boys.

There are so many Toms in the community that one a month would not cover the whole herd of them. So therefore, next month Sauti will present a mass media first, the Sauti Rogues Gallery of Toms.

Watch for this in our next edition.



# TOM OF THE MONTH

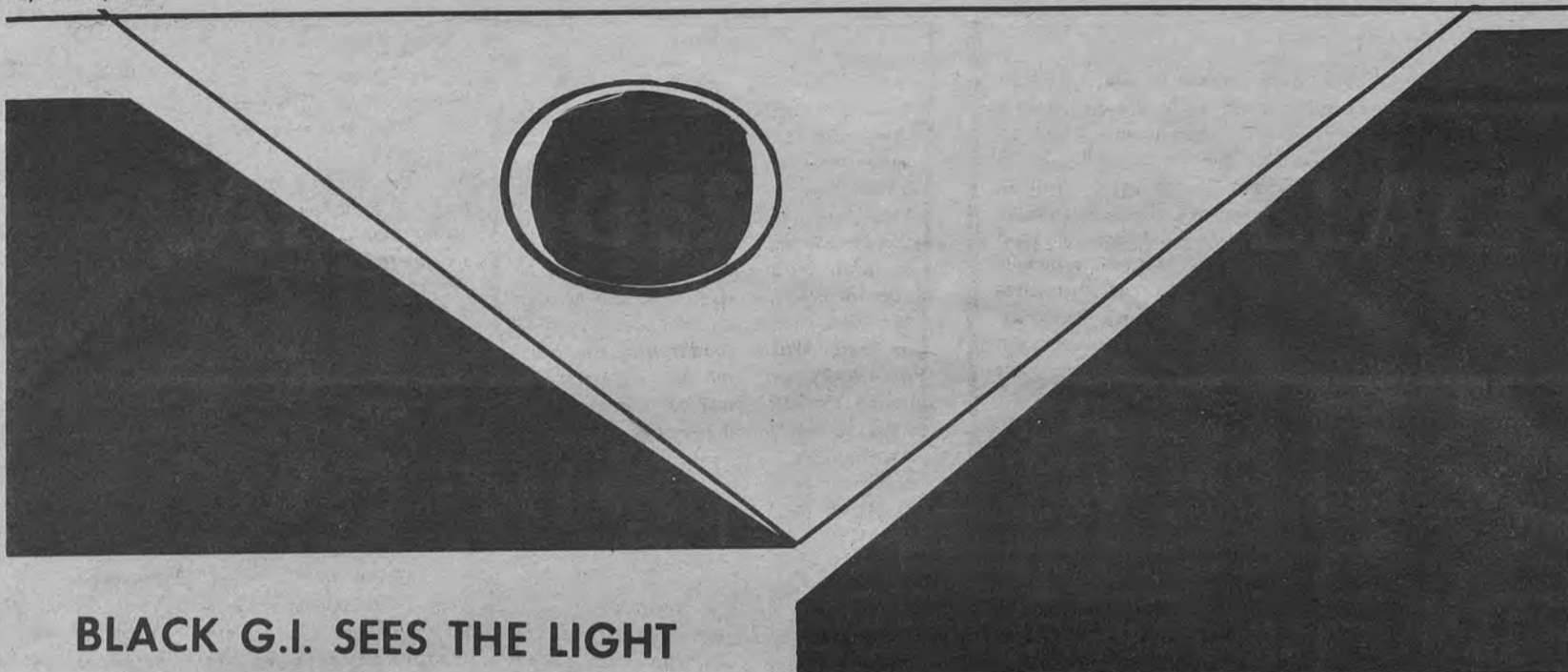


**AMERICA THE BRUTEFUL**

Oh how ill-gotten her mighty wealth  
 From whence she dopes and drinks herself to death--  
 Frantically she dances to a sordid tune  
 Swears and curses that age has flown too soon.  
 Oh what a despicable species of the human race  
 Drunken and lewd with yet a haughty smirk upon her face--  
 Self-proclaimed saint with Bible in her hand  
 Oh thanks to her that God is a mighty man.  
 Blasphemous woman full of vanity and disgrace  
 How artful the veil that hides her demonic face--  
 Scarlet Mother of brutes and spiteful knaves  
 Who ghoulishly consume the blood of paupers and of slaves.  
 Oh how decadent and given to savage rage  
 Gaudily painted, drunken and clinging to a moribound age--  
 Bruteful America paining with death and laughing hysterically  
 Cursing the God she made for his impotence of eternity.



September, 1969



## BLACK G.I. SEES THE LIGHT

*(Editor's Note: The article below is based on notes taken during a conversation with an ex-GI in Jackson, Miss. on May 24. It contains his reaction, as a Black man, to the war in Vietnam and his relationship to the Black liberation struggle in this country. The account, which is verbatim, suggests that there are two American fighting forces in Vietnam--one black and one white--and that the only unifying force, aside from military discipline, is the possibility of death in action.*

*(The ex-GI is not identified since he asked not to be; he is Black, a reservist, and has a job to hang on to. He returned from Vietnam about two months ago.)*

"In Vietnam it is a question of survival. To begin with it depends on how a person is brought up. I think a soul brother can survive because he has been brought up the hard way--he's used to accepting life as being hard. You take a kid who's made it and he's put in a situation where everything is different, where he has to depend on himself, on his animal instincts, and he's in a bad way. The average brother can adjust to being under pressure because he's been under pressure, psychological and other kinds, all his life.

"I was in Fort Polk (Louisiana) for basic training. We were given the line that your country means more to you than anything in this world. They talk about past wars but not about black people's participation in them. Also, they say that if you don't stop communism over there, you are going to have to fight them over here.

"Basic lasted two months. Everyone was under a lot of pressure. Discrimination? It was there: one incident happened when eight of us, four brothers, and four white boys, two from Texas, one from Philly (Pa.), and the other from New York, went out together on a week-end pass. We went to Shreveport, I think. We got a cab there and decided to get some food. The nearest place was the bus station. When we got there one of the white boys from Texas said to another white guy that he didn't know whether he could eat with us. There was a big disturbance then. The two boys from Texas stayed and the other two decided to come with us. It showed that when we were on the Post everything was OK, but they didn't want to associate with us outside.

"At Fort AIT (California), it was about 120 in our company, about 75 were sou brothers. Right there I realized that sou brothers can stick together and accomplish anything they want. The army doesn't want us to associate together. They try and keep you separated. I know several times here and in Vietnam, a bunch of brothers would get together and talk, and the white ma-

would always come over and try and find out what we were talking about.

"I was in the 199th Infantry Brigade. It was already in Vietnam at Long Binh. My first impression of the country was seeing the rebel (Confederate) flag on the convoy trucks that came to pick us up when we arrived. During this time there was a lot of tension because it was just after Martin Luther King was killed. There had been a fight on the base because a white Southerner had said it was good King was killed and that all his kind should be killed. We were told that if anyone started a riot there would be mutiny charges, and we knew the threat was directed mainly at black folk.

"We had a week of what they call 'red cathcer' training. They give you a general training of what to expect in the field. There was another kind of training, too. After a brother gets there, the old timers get hold of him and tell him what's going on. They tell you about the techniques used against us there. You know that from the percentage of black casualties to white casualties.

"Over there is the only place in the world where brothers can face the fact that they are black and take a pride in that fact. A brother has something to identify himself with over there. We speak our own language--we call it rapping. It's more like gutter-talk. The average white person doesn't know what he is talking about. Plus over there the brother doesn't shake hands or wave--he gives a black power salute. If you shake hands with a brother, the brother will say you've got to come out of that bag--that's whitey's way of greeting.

"At times you wish it was possible to make it together, black and white, but you know and he knows that when you come to the U.S. you know it would be a completely different thing. In the field you work together but still the thing is there--I'm black and you are white. If you are in the field and you hear that someone was hurt, the first thing you ask is whether it was a brother and if they say, no, you say--well, fuck it. I imagine they say the same thing. In a way, it's natural.

"Over there the brothers are one big family. You are concerned about one another, about each other's families, about one another's problems. You get to know yourself by knowing a brother.

"A lot of times we had open interracial conversations, just blacks and whites sitting down and giving their honest opinion about the race problem. But the average white guy doesn't know . . . he'll say he's not prejudiced. Then you ask him what he'd feel about you marrying his sister and he's not ready for that. The average white kid is taught that he's better than us. He feels that we should have better schools etc, but that

he should still be in power to control our destiny.

"Our attitude to the Viet Cong was really a matter of survival. I talked with a VC in a village--at least he said he was one--and he asked me how I felt about fighting over there when I have to go back home and fight. There are stories that the VC would avoid shooting brothers when they could.

It's true that a lot of times brothers would get out of jams when they shouldn't have. It may have been luck or it may have been sympathy on the VC's part.

"You read back here that no-one smokes marijuana. I would say that at least 80 per cent use it. What happens is that the average guy gets there and he becomes aware that he might not make it back. That's when he looks for something to ease his tension.

"This--the marijuana--is not what messes a person up. That happens when you come home capable of being a very different person than what you were before you went out. It's pretty hard for a brother to accept the U.S. and particularly his own people. The brother over here is still trying to sell himself to white society.

"But the brother in Vietnam feels that this is home. He leaves Vietnam feeling that eventually he will control his own destiny, regardless of the means. This situation here hits him in the face but he can accept it, knowing that control over his own community has got to come, and also a say-so over the decisions that the U.S. makes--the foreign policy decisions of the U.S. Because it's true--we are a split nation.



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rebellion to an ever widening circle of the deprived. It, too, is involved in a survival situation. Subsequently, it will go to any extent in a desperate effort to prolong its survival. It will use any ploy that serves its interests. It will feign humanitarianism. It will feign a belief in the just enforcement of law and order and in the rights of man. Psychological warfare is a highly effective element in the enemy's scheme of survival. Confusion, deception, intimidation and demoralization fostered by the deprivors are being used as highly effective instruments of counterrevolution. Agents provocateurs, who call themselves "nationalists", "revolutionists" or "communists", are busy making war on the deprived rather than on the deprivors. The oppressed Afro-American is already a minority in racist America and yet some super duper "revolutionaries" and Uncle Tom "communists" disseminating the thought of the C.I.A. are moving might and main to induce further division by focusing unwarranted attention on an exaggerated class structure, thereby diverting fire away from the racist power structure. There are no black imperialists or monopoly capitalists in America. Most certainly, there are negro Americans who have such mentalities and are the running dogs of such exploiters, but they are deprived of the means to be a discriminatory power elite. Contrary to the rantings of the criminal distortionists, who call themselves "revolutionary communists", the Black bourgeoisie is not the number one enemy and oppressor of the oppressed peoples of the world. Only a sham C.I.A. directed Marxist-Leninist could deduce such sinister dogma from a class analysis based on the revolutionary teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao-Tse-tung's thought.

It is no mere accident that all of the monopoly capitalists and imperialists in racist America are white. It is no mere accident that reactionary blacks comprise only a running-dog class. While we should seriously concern ourselves with the activities of black Judases, any deep fear of black imperialists and monopoly capitalists is but a figment unduly planted in the minds of dupes too naive to perceive the true facts of life.

SA: How does your movement differ from the other anti-draft, and other movements started by whites who also believe that they are in a Liberational Struggle?

A: Yes, well we feel that we are diametrically opposed to white leadership in any white organization. We believe that in order for Black people to be free they must lead, black people must lead any struggle to be free. White leadership has been inherently evil and has attempted to destroy the Black movement. Many of the white liberals are more racist than these other honkies.

SA: Then, I'd like to know what system could be used for the future economic control of the Black Community, and how would this new system be most effective as opposed to the old?

A: Yes, we are opposed to the exploitation and suppression of man by man. Capitalism is a system which is based on exploitation of Black Labor, so therefore, on the basis of this, we feel we should set up a system where there is no exploitation, no oppression and no degradation to one man by another. The system we have in mind is communalism.

SA: Mitch would you give us your concept of communism or socialism as opposed to communalism?

A: Communalism and socialism are mainly the same thing, for the simple reason that the means of production are taken out of the hands of the rich white honkies and put into the hands of the state. Communalism is a Third term for Socialism, the white man would call it socialism.

SA: Tell us what would be your position of related roles you would have dealing with this new concept of so-called Black Capitalism?

A: Our position on Black Capitalism is that it is an imaginary thing for the simple reason that Black capitalism cannot exist and any form of capitalism that doesn't exist now cannot continue to exist, from the laws of nature. We feel that terms like capitalism was drawn into the campaign by Nixon in order to win Black votes. By saying that he supported Black capitalism. If Black Capitalism could exist then we would be opposed to that because we don't want to be exploited by Black nor white people.

SA: During the campaign for the presidency by Richard Nixon, he would speak of Black Capitalism. Did you ever have any illusions to the effect that Richard Nixon might plan on turning over any means of production, I mean serious means of production such as, arms, automobile factories, instead of these little shoestring operations to Black people?

A: That gimmick, you know that gimmick, about him saying that he supports Black capitalism. You know, if he did support Black capitalism he would in fact give up many of the things that he personally owns and the ruling class owns. But we never had any illusions about him giving up any property, any capital, any machinery or any land to Black people.

SA: How does your organization differ, let's say, from the Black Student Movement, or from its publication the Black Student Voice?

A: Our movement differs none from that movement for the simple reason that some of the same people who are involved in the Black Student Movement and the Black Student Voice are presently involved in the Black Liberation Movement. We intend to use the Black Student Voice, which is the newsletter of the Black Student Movement as an official organ of the Black Youth Liberation Movement. Also we intend to be organizing youth on every level possible because we are going to organize Black people under the age of 24. So that included college student, high school students, and Black worker in the auto factories, etc.

SA: What is the Black Youth Liberation Movement?

A: The Black Youth Liberation Movement is an organization of Black Youth from different parts of the ghetto. It started out as an organization called The Sons of Malcolm X, which was not going to well, for the simple reason that the Leadership was failing the group. Some of the people with me came together and tried to do a different thing.

SA: From what we can see, you seem to have a Revolutionary Black Nationalist outlook, could you explain the role of a Revolutionary Nationalist?

A: Yes, we call ourselves Revolutionary Nationalist, and I would like to break that down and take it part by part. We consider a Revolutionary as being one who, intends to change the current system of capitalism, imperialism, and exploitation and we are also Nationalist in the sense that we want to build a Black Nation.

SA: Could you tell us how will your movement be able to overcome the emotional unity of the Black Community, as opposed to instituting unity on some sort of political basis?

A: Yes, we believe that the unity of Black People must be based on agreements on political lines that is projected, rather than emotional unity. We say this for the simple reason that we can unite as Black People, but we can also have many disagreements over political questions, therefore we think that when we unite, we should unite over political questions.

SA: You say you would like to unite on a political line, would you care to explain exactly what political line that would be?

A: Well our political line which we are projecting is mainly the formation of a Black National formation of armed self-defense groups to protect the Black Community and another part of our line would be the revolutionary aspect of our line which would be the overthrow of this present system of

social degradation of the Black Man by white racist.

SA: How does the Black Youth Liberation Movement differ from other movements of so-called liberation?

A: Out of many organizations which are formed to organize Black People, very few of them are formed to organize Black Youth, which we visualize them, as being one of the most brainwashed part of the population. So what we attempt to do is organize the Black Brothers, to come together and protect the Black Community, from attacks by white racist, racist police or any other threatening dangers.

SA: Why don't you consider yourselves Black Internationalist as opposed to Black Nationalist?

A: Yes we do consider ourselves to be Black Internationalist, although Black Nationalist apply to the situation at home, in our own country. We are internationalist because we believe in the freedom, liberation of Black people around the world, mainly Asia, Africa and Latin America. We are nationalist because we want freedom justice and liberation of Black people right here in America.

SA: Some people might consider it a contradiction between the words internationalist and nationalist. Could you elaborate on that point?

A: Yes, Nationalist means to be independent, an independent nation, where as international means that we want to form unity, liberation for the entire Black world. To be nationalist and internationalist is not a contradiction, for the simple reason that being a nationalist compliments being a internationalist. You must first free yourself before you can even attempt to free other Black people of the world.

SA: So therefore it is not a contradiction to be both?

A: No, no, no.

## SAUTI INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM MITCHELL OF THE BLACK YOUTH LIBERATION MOVEMENT



LET ME SAY,  
AT THE RISK  
OF SEEMING  
RIDICULOUS,  
THAT THE  
TRUE  
REVOLUTIONARY  
IS GUIDED  
BY GREAT  
FEELINGS  
OF LOVE

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