

BLACK POLITICS



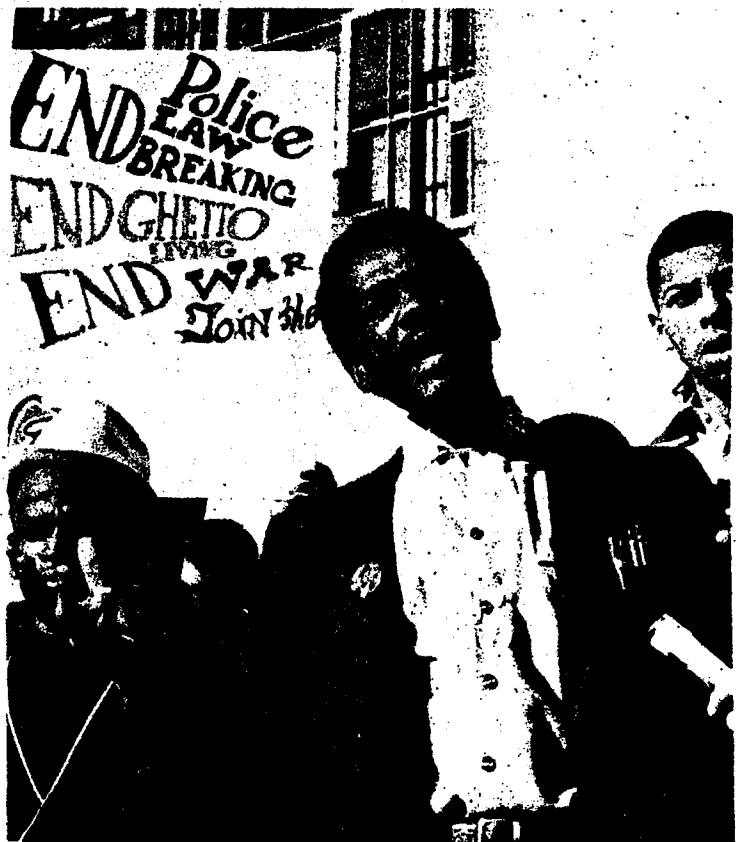
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FREE HUEY!



STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Black Politics is an independent journal whose purpose is to provide a forum for vanguard theories and ideas that deal with currently crucial issues.

We support the liberation struggles of the oppressed masses of the world.

We oppose the war in Vietnam and uphold the right of the people to determine their own destiny.

We are a part of the Black liberation movement and believe that freedom, justice, and equality must be attained by those means that the oppressed think necessary.

The editorials represent the official political position of the journal; articles are presented on the basis of their relevancy to the struggle and do not necessarily represent the opinions of the editorial board.

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EDITORIAL

The United States has not become a nation of violence-- it has always been a nation of violence. The early colonists murdered the Indian in order to steal his land and the overwhelming majority of the top leaders of the American War for Independence were racist slave owners who maintained their position with merciless force. The entire economic system and later industrialization was based upon the forced labor of kidnapped Africans. This was made possible only by force and violence. The "winning of the West" was made possible only by force and violence. The domination of the rest of the country by the northeastern industrialists was made possible only by force and violence (the Civil War of 1860-1865). The imperialist theft of Hawaii was made possible only by force and violence (the Hawaiian monarchy was overthrown after the Hawaiian people were all but wiped out). The imperialist theft of Puerto Rico, the Phillipines, and other Spanish possessions was made possible only by force and violence (the Spanish-American War of 1898). The descendants of the "freed slaves," the Indians that survived the three hundred year genocidal war against them, and the Mexican-Americans (whose forefathers were robbed of over half of Mexico in the Mexican War of 1845) have been kept as an internal colony for purposes of exploitation by force and violence. The false imprisonment of Japanese-Americans in Nazi-type concentration camps 1942-1945 was accomplished by force and violence. The continued bigotry and repression of other Americans of oriental ancestry and of those of Puerto Rican ancestry persists through force and violence. Since the beginning of European colonization here all of this force and violence has been perpetrated by the white ruling class and its lackeys.

THE PROBLEM OF GUN CONTROL HAS BEEN MISREPRESENTED BY THE U. S. POWER STRUCTURE. THE REAL QUESTION IS NOT HOW TO INITIATE GUN CONTROL LEGISLATION, BUT HOW TO STOP VIOLENCE EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD.

The world is a small place and the naked violence that the U. S. white-controlled military-industrial complex inflicts upon the Vietnamese people and other peoples of the world has its brutalizing effect upon all the world's inhabitants. The mass media of communication and entertainment presents open violence as a way of life to its viewers every day of the year.

The so-called leaders of society and government campaign for the continuation of the death penalty within their legal system. They prefer to murder true men of the people, like Huey Newton, within their legal framework rather than let them go free when they are innocent of any crime. They award promotions and medals to the murderers of Bobby James Hutton and other black militants. They provide the ghetto guards (the local police) with helicopters, machine guns, nerve spray ("mace"), armored cars, radiation machines to

injure eyes and cause epileptic seizures, heat ray devices to cause clothing to burst into flame, and sound machines to injure ear-drums (see Joseph F. Coates' Nonlethal Weapons For Use By U. S. Law Enforcement Officers published by the Institute for National Defense Analyses, Science and Technology Division, 400 Army-Navy Drive, Arlington, Virginia, ZIP 22202).

The so-called leaders of society and government have covered up the truth about the conspiratorial murderers of President John F. Kennedy and the ugly role that the Dallas Police and the CIA played in it. The recent murder of Senator Robert Kennedy under still clouded circumstances does not alter the delicate balance of power held by the conspiratorial elements who staged a palace coup d'état when President Kennedy was gunned down. It is ironic that no one had more to gain than Senator Kennedy himself had he the courage to reveal the intra-class struggle for power within the military-industrial complex. His powerlessness to do so stems from loyalty to his own class and not his devotion to truth. As New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison so well put it: "The name of the game is not Truth, but Power."

In spite of pleas by Congressional leaders for a "moratorium on violence" so-called government leaders who head the powerful House Ways and Means Committee only last month authorized the spending of more money for war and violence and of cutting back on schools and other "poor people's programs" that would keep down violence. (We must not forget that every child that dies of malnutrition dies a violent death). For years the Congress has refused to pass legislation to force the state governments to stop the crimes against black people in the South trying to exercise a few of their most elementary civil rights.

The so-called leaders of society and government claim they can not understand why there is violence in the land. They ignore their own violent acts, the Vietnam War, the daily acts of violence of their lackey police, the assassination of Malcolm X, Dr. Martin Luther King, and Bobby James Hutton, but act disturbed when one of their own, Senator Kennedy, is assassinated. The President immediately appointed a commission "of distinguished citizens" to make a study of why there is violence in the land in the hope that the Nation could learn "how we can stop it."

However, all government leaders are not blind and dumb all the time. Our finky white liberal "friend", Senator Eugene McCarthy, who was not chosen by the President to make a study of violence and who has always supported the war machine and the stifling of civil liberties, spoke out anyway in a statement issued shortly after the shooting of Senator Kennedy:

"The Nation I think bears too great a burden of guilt of the kind of neglect which has allowed the disposition of violence to grow here in our own land, or

the reflection of the violence which we have visited upon the rest of the world, or at least a part of the world" (Italics: editors').

Gun control legislation alone will not prevent crime. A criminal will steal a gun if he can't get one any other way; and, if necessary, he will make a "zip gun" from an iron pipe that can be as lethal as any precision made factory gun.

The government, local, state, and federal, must obey its own laws against violence in order for the violence raging throughout the world to stop. Ridiculous gun control laws must be replaced with effective laws to control the police. The police must be controlled by civilian review boards, be allowed to shoot only in defense of human life, and racist white pigs must be replaced with soul brothers. The brutal violence of the police against ethnic minorities is more responsible for the violence within this Nation than any other factor.

Yes, we editors of Black Politics favor gun control laws because of "the kind of neglect" that Senator McCarthy, as guilty as any other senator, spoke of above. We favor gun control laws that will deprive the racist pigs of vicious weapons of modern war with which to attack the black community. We favor gun control laws that will stop the United States from being the biggest war weapons manufacturer in the world for every fascist dictatorship and corrupt government that is challenged by its people. WE FAVOR GUN CONTROL LAWS THAT

WILL PROVIDE EVERY BLACK ADULT, FREE OF CHARGE, A RIFLE AND HANDGUN FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT UNTIL THE DANGER OF ATTACK BY RACISTS OF ANY KIND IS OVER.

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TEACH YOURSELF TO SHOOT

By

George Prosser

It is a military axiom that in war only hits count.

Do I speak of war? Clearly, civil war is what this country is moving toward. Without even discussing the rights and wrongs of the matter, let us merely reflect upon the most recent assassination of a prominent public figure, Senator Robert Kennedy. Is this event not a sharp reminder that we live in a state of political bankruptcy? Indeed, a condition of political bankruptcy has existed in this country since the 22nd of November 1963, when the last legitimately elected President, John F. Kennedy, was caught in a crossfire in Dealey Plaza and murdered by a gang of assassins. That event opened the era of domestic disorder and unparalleled foreign aggression, assassinations and lies, bloodshed riots and repression, in which we now live. This era has been identified for all time with the successor to President Kennedy, the man who came to power by means of an assassination, but it is also the characteristic expression of a society moving inexorably toward its own destruction.

If you are going to survive the period of turmoil, police repression and national hysteria which lies ahead, you must get ready for war. You must take up the rifle. Study the simple, applied science of marksmanship. Learn the principle of aimed fire. Understand its deadly effectiveness against even the best armed enemy. Teach yourself to shoot!

There is no such thing as the "born rifleman". Rifle marksmanship is not acquired at birth; it is learned through correct practice. There is nothing worth while doing that does not require some effort on our part to learn.

Recall some of the experience of the urban uprisings of the past few years. What has been the casualty ratio of insurgents, mostly black, as compared with the forces of repression? About 30 to 1. Yes, about 30 insurgents have died for each cop. There is a basic reason for this terrible discrepancy. The insurgents do not know how to shoot.

The lesson is plain. Learn to shoot now, while there is still time. While it is still relatively easy to do.

A certain humility is necessary when approaching any problem. Remember, there are no born riflemen. That means that everybody has a chance. You can be as good as the next guy, even if you start from behind. You can be better than the cop. You can be the expert. It depends entirely upon how much you are willing to put into it. How much you are willing to put into it depends upon how important you think it is; or, to put it more fundamentally, how much you value your life.

Rifle marksmanship is not an art. That is, it is not an activity in which the individual expresses his personality to any great degree. If that is what you want to do, try finger painting. No, rifle marksmanship is a simple, applied science. This means that everybody who wants to succeed at it must practice it essentially the same way, with only minor variations depending upon one's physical build and nervous temperament. But physical build and nervous temperament are never very big obstacles to learning this science. Nor is sex an obstacle. Women can learn to shoot as well as men, if only they first overcome the emotional inhibitions which the society has impressed upon them. It is simply a matter of mastering the basic rules, and applying them. It is no more difficult than learning to drive a car.

First you must have a good rifle and plenty of ammunition. That is axiomatic. Then you must acquire a good book on the subject. The "Illustrated Shooters Guide", published by the National Rifle Association, is excellent, well written and illustrated. It can be obtained by writing to the National Rifle Association, 1600 Rhode Island Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Send \$2.00 if you are a member of the Association; send \$3.00 if you are not. The N. R. A. also publishes other interesting and factual material on shooting and related topics. Such as, the "Illustrated Shooting Handbook", a somewhat more advanced text. This one costs \$3.50 for members; \$4.50 for non-members. Sometimes these NRA illustrated handbooks can be bought from local dealers in firearms and accessories.

It is not my purpose in this article to attempt to duplicate a shooting handbook; in the available space, I could not do it nearly as well as it has been done in these N. R. A. handbooks. My purpose is to discuss the basic principles and to encourage you to acquire the materials and commence learning on your own. Incidentally, while we are on this subject, why not join the NRA? It costs only \$6.00 per year, and is well worth it. You get the monthly publication, the American Rifleman, which is filled with informative articles. You become eligible for the technical services the organization makes available. And you have the moral satisfaction of supporting an organization which is fighting every hour of every day to preserve our right to keep and bear arms. Anyone can join, except certified Commies and other "subversives". (Commies and other subversives do not read this magazine.)

After you have acquired your rifle, your ammunition and your shooters handbook, you will then commence to study and to practice. First you will read the manual carefully, and practice with the rifle at home, without ammunition. Pay especial attention to the safety rules taught in the handbook. You can learn a great deal about holding the rifle, aiming, proper trigger squeeze, etc, before you even go to the range. The first rule of safety is, never point the rifle at anything you do not wish to threaten or kill. At this stage you may find a buddy or pal who has had military experience, and who would be willing to point out your mistakes. The most important thing to remember is that your initial experience, in the first few weeks, will be crucial to your later success. Take care, when you first start out, that you consult the handbook closely, and do it right from the beginning. Otherwise you run a serious risk of

practicing the wrong way; later on, you will just have to unlearn these bad habits you acquired early.

After a reasonable amount of instruction and dry firing at home, you will be ready to go to the rifle range. Select a convenient range near your home, and visit it. It may be a public or private range; in either case there will be a small fee. Those ranges run by NRA members tend to be the best ones. Put on your shooting coat, pick up your rifle in one hand, your box of ammunition in the other, pay your fee, pick up your target, and go down to the firing line. You have as much right to be there as anyone else.

Familiarize yourself with the Range Rules. They will usually be posted in a prominent place that you will see as you walk onto the range. Study them carefully. Obey all the rules to the letter. The rules are set up to make the range a safe place to shoot. It is no hardship to obey them. Remember what you are there for. You have a serious purpose.

You may wish to bring your wife, or girlfriend, with you on your trips to the range. She will enjoy watching you try out. Better yet, she may want to try her hand herself. If so, you can coach her gently in the applied science of rifle marksmanship. It is often wise to encourage one's wife to learn to shoot; when she finds out what fun it is, she is not likely to object when you want to go out for a morning's practice.

You must have no reservations about visiting the public range to practice with your rifle. There is nothing unlawful about going to the range! Not yet. If you fail to avail yourself of the facilities which are sitting there, waiting for you, then you have no one but yourself to blame. It doesn't matter if you are black, brown or red. There is no color bar at the public rifle range. If you feel inhibited about going there, then the problem is in your own mind. You have a mental block. Get rid of it. It doesn't even matter if the "The Man" takes your picture. You're not doing anything illegal. Besides, you're a good looking kid; photogenic. You are an American citizen, with the same rights as everyone else. Exercise your lawful rights!

On the other hand, it definitely is not wise to go sneaking about in a conspiratorial manner, perhaps with an illegal popgun of dubious foreign manufacture under your coat. Most states have laws against carrying concealed weapons. It is a felony, if caught and convicted. Carry your weapon openly, whenever possible. Never carry a concealed weapon, unless it is more dangerous not to carry it than to violate the concealed weapons law; that is, your life must depend upon it. Likewise it is not advisable to sneak about in the woods looking for a place to shoot instead of going to the public range. You can get in trouble that way. Your bullet may skip over the crest of the hill and kill a farmer's cow. A good cow is worth five hundred dollars.

You may ask, "But won't I suffer harassment and intimidation by The Man if I exercise my rights?" Maybe; ask yourself if that is a good reason for not exercising them. If you allow The Man to harass and intimidate you, you will be all the weaker and more

vulnerable to intimidation from then on. If harassment is encountered, it is best to face and resist it in a calm and dignified manner.

Remember that black soldiers, with rifles in their hands, are fighting and dying right now to defend this Government's particular 'interests' in Vietnam. If you can take up a rifle over there upon orders from the Government, you can take up a rifle to defend yourself at home. Remind The Man of that.

Having established, by doing, your right to visit the local rifle range and practice marksmanship, you will then be well on the way to becoming an expert. As you learn to hit the bullseye most of the time, you will gain confidence. You will acquire a deep understanding of that ancient Christian moral principle, as applied to aimed fire, "It is better to give than to receive."

MARXISM AND INSURRECTION

A Letter to the Central Committee
of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolshevik)

(From Vol. 26 of Lenin's Collected Works, PAGE 22, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964). Written September 13-14 (26-27), 1917.

"To be successful, insurrection must rely not upon conspiracy and not upon a party, but upon the advanced class. That is the first point. Insurrection must rely upon a revolutionary upsurge of the people. That is the second point. Insurrection must rely upon that turning-point in the history of the growing revolution when the activity of the advanced ranks of the people is at its height, and then the vacillations in the ranks of the enemy and in the ranks of the weak, half-hearted and irresolute friends of the revolution are strongest. That is the third point. And these three conditions for raising the question of insurrection distinguish Marxism from Blanquism.

"Once these conditions exist, however, to refuse to treat insurrection as an art is a betrayal of Marxism and a betrayal of the revolution."

A PROLETARIAN MILITIA

(From Vol. 24 of Lenin's Collected Works, Page 179, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964). Written for Pravda No. 36, May 3 (April 20), 1917.

"At the present time, when the landowners and capitalists have come to realise the strength of the revolutionary masses, the most important thing for them is to safeguard the most essential institutions of the old regime, to safeguard the old instruments of oppression: the police, the bureaucracy, the standing army. They are trying to reduce the 'civil militia' to an institution of the old type, i.e., to small detachments of armed men standing apart from the people and as close as possible to the bourgeoisie and under the command of men from among the bourgeoisie.

"The minimum programme of the Social-Democrats calls for the replacement of the standing army by a universal arming of the people. Most of the official Social-Democrats in Europe and most of our own Menshevik leaders, however, have 'forgotten' or put aside the Party's programme, substituting chauvinism ('defencism') for internationalism, reformism for revolutionary tactics.

"Yet now of all times, at the present revolutionary moment, it is most urgent and essential that there be a universal arming of the people. To assert that, while we have a revolutionary army, there is no need to arm the proletariat, or that there would 'not be enough' arms to go round, is mere deception and trickery. The thing is to begin organising a universal militia straight away, so that everyone should learn the use of arms even if there is 'not enough' to go round, for it is not at all necessary that the people have enough weapons to arm everybody. The people must learn, one and all, how to use arms, they must belong, one and all, to the militia which is to replace the police

and the standing army.

"The workers do not want any army standing apart from the people; what they want is that the workers and soldiers should merge into a single militia consisting of all the people....

"The capitalists need a republic now, because they cannot 'manage' the people otherwise. But what they need is a 'parliamentary' republic, i. e., one where democracy would be limited to democratic elections, to the right of sending to parliament individuals who, as Marx aptly remarked, represent the people and oppress the people.

"The opportunists of contemporary Social-Democracy, who have substituted Scheidmann for Marx, have memorised the rule that parliamentarism 'should be utilised' (which is absolutely correct), but have forgotten what Marx taught concerning proletarian democracy as distinguished from bourgeois parliamentarism.

"The people need a republic in order to educate the masses in the methods of democracy. We need not only representation along democratic lines, but the building of the entire state administration from the bottom up by the masses themselves, their effective participation in all of life's steps, their active role in the administration. Replacement of the old organs of oppression, the police, the bureaucracy, the standing army, by a universal arming of the people, by a really universal militia, is the only way to guarantee the country a maximum of security against the restoration of the monarchy and to enable it to go forward firmly, systematically and resolutely towards socialism, not by 'introducing' it from above, but by raising the vast mass of proletarians and semi-proletarians to the art of state administration, to the use of the whole state power.

"Public service through a police standing above the people, through bureaucrats, who are the most faithful servants of the bourgeoisie, and through a standing army under the command of landowners and capitalists--that is the ideal of the bourgeois parliamentary republic, which is out to perpetuate the rule of Capital.

"Public service through a really universal people's militia, composed of men and women, a militia capable partly of replacing the bureaucrats--this, combined with the principle of elective office and displaceability of all public officers, with payment for their work according to proletarian, not 'master-class', bourgeois standards, is the ideal of the working class....

"But how can the militia be made universal when the proletarians and semi-proletarians are herded in the factories, crushed by unbearable labour for the landowners and the capitalists?

"There is only one way: the workers' militia must be paid for by the capitalists.

"The capitalists must pay the workers for the hours and days which they give to public service."



THE "DISARMAMENT" SLOGAN

(From Vol. 23 of Lenin's Collected Works, Page 95, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1964). Written in October 1916 for the Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata No. 2, December 1916.

"Disarmament is the ideal of socialism. There will be no wars in socialist society; consequently, disarmament will be achieved. But whoever expects that socialism will be achieved without a social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a socialist. Dictatorship is state power based directly on violence. And in the twentieth century--as in the age of civilisation generally--violence means neither a fist nor a club, but troops. To put 'disarmament' in the programme is tantamount to making the general declaration: We are opposed to the use of arms. There is as little Marxism in this as there would be if we were to say: We are opposed to violence!....

"An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves (Editors' italics). We cannot, unless we have become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, forget that we are living in a class society from which there is no way out, nor can there be, save through the class struggle and the overthrow of the power of the ruling class.

"In every class society, whether based on slavery, serfdom, or, as at present, on wage-labour, the oppressor class is always armed. Not only the modern standing army, but even the modern militia--and even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, Switzerland, for instance--represent the bourgeoisie armed against the proletariat. That is such an elementary truth that it is hardly necessary to dwell upon it. Suffice it to recall that in all capitalist countries without exception troops (including the republican-democratic militia) are used against strikers. A bourgeoisie armed against the proletariat is one of the biggest, fundamental and cardinal facts of modern capitalist society.

"And in face of this fact, revolutionary Social-Democrats are urged to 'demand' 'disarmament'! That is tantamount to complete abandonment of the class-struggle point of view, to renunciation of all thought of revolution. Our slogan must be : arming of the proletariat to defeat, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie. These are the only tactics possible for a revolutionary class, tactics that follow logically from, and are dictated by, the whole objective development of capitalist militarism. Only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historic mission, to consign all armaments to the scrap-heap. And the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before.

"If the present war arouses among the reactionary Christian socialists, among the whimpering petty bourgeoisie, only horror and fright, only aversion to all use of arms, to bloodshed, death, etc., then we must say: Capitalist society is and has always been horror without end. And if this most reactionary of all wars is now preparing for that society an end in horror, we have no reason to fall into despair. But the disarmament 'demand', or more correctly, the

dream of disarmament, is, objectively, nothing but an expression of despair at a time when, as everyone can see, the bourgeoisie itself is paving the way for the only legitimate and revolutionary war--civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie....

"Today the imperialist bourgeoisie militarises the youth as well as the adults; tomorrow it may begin militarising the women. Our attitude should be: All the better! Full speed ahead! For the faster we move, the nearer shall we be to the armed uprising against capitalism. How can Social-Democrats give way to fear of the militarisation of the youth, etc., if they have not forgotten the example of the Paris Commune?....

"A certain bourgeois observer of the Paris Commune, writing to an English newspaper in May 1871, said: 'If the French nation consisted entirely of women, what a terrible nation it would be!' Women and teen-age children fought in the Paris Commune side by side with the men. It will be no different in the coming battles for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian women will not look on passively as poorly armed or unarmed workers are shot down by the well-armed forces of the bourgeoisie. They will take to arms, as they did in 1871, and from the cowed nations of today--or more correctly, from the present-day labour movement, disorganised more by the opportunists than by the governments--there will undoubtedly arise, sooner or later, but with absolute certainty, an international league of the 'terrible nations' of the revolutionary proletariat.

"The whole of social life is now being militarised. Imperialism is a fierce struggle of the Great Powers for the division and redivision of the world. It is therefore bound to lead to further militarisation in all countries, even in neutral and small ones. How will proletarian women oppose this? Only by cursing all war and everything military, only by demanding disarmament? The women of an oppressed and really revolutionary class will never accept that shameful role. They will say to their sons:

"You will soon be grown up. You will be given a gun. Take it and learn the military art properly. The proletarians need this knowledge not to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries, as is being done in the present war, and as the traitors to socialism are telling you to do. They need it to fight the bourgeoisie of their own country, to put an end to exploitation, poverty and war, and not by pious wishes, but by defeating and disarming the bourgeoisie."

#

"For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?...."

I Corinthians 14:8

THE CRUDE ART OF MURDER

By

Cherkaoui Abdelhag

It could have been Detroit in 1943 or 1967, Washington in 1948 or 1968. But it was California, where, for the Black man, the American Dream is generally the American Nightmare; state where the White man can legally kill the Black man because the system is based upon White Power which builds institutions such as San Quentin, Folsom, the Oakland jail, and which will build more until the Black man acts to prevent this perverted American dream from becoming his personal nightmare.

In the 20 year period, 1943 to 1963, before any riots or rebellions, more than one out of every five persons executed in California was black. Twenty-three percent of the executions were of "negroes", while the "negro" averaged only 3 percent of the California population from 1940 to 1960 (last available census). For the same period in the USA, the total number of non-white prisoners executed was over 1100; the white total was 700 (see chart).

And now, five years later when the Black man is awake to the truth of the system, "The Civil Disorders Commission" spends \$2 million to tell us that we are a divided country and racism is a reality. The system must be changed, the dividing walls must be torn down: Huey P. Newton will be the beginning of the end of centuries of walls.

The following is an account of an actual experience I had as a San Quentin Prison Chaplain's Assistant a few years ago.

I witnessed the execution of a Black man. The death room was a renovated corner of the prison wall. Sickly green paint covered the walls, the ceiling, and the gas chamber at the end of the room. Raised platforms had been built so everyone could look down on the windowed chamber and see some part of the victim. A door in the chamber opened into the room where the spiritual and physical preparations were being made by a team which puts the victim into what the psychiatrist calls "execution readiness." I followed the gleaming rail to its end point and stared directly into the gas chamber, less than an arm's length away. Sealed square windows, recently cleaned, disclosed two half metal seats with small arm rests and black leather straps to keep the victim in his death chair and hooked up to the control room. The top of the cylindrical chamber came to a point, but the whole apparatus looked like the one man concrete bunkers I had seen surrounding concentration camps during the war.

Soon the door opened and in stepped two white "bulls" with the Black prisoner between them. They looked excited and moved like they enjoyed their work. His blackness clashed with their brown uniforms and the green walls as they strapped him into the half seat. The smaller guard inserted the stethoscope inside the thin prison made shirt next to his heart. It protruded like some sickly umbilical cord. One man never looked at the victim, and took care only to lay the wire from

U. S. A.EXECUTIONS BY RACE

BY PERCENTAGE

1940-1964

YEAR	1. Total Number Executed	2. % Non-white	% White
1940	125	60	40
1941	125	56	44
1942	145	55	45
1943	130	58	42
1944	120	58	42
1945	120	63	37
1946	125	64	36
1947	150	70	30
1948	115	70	30
1949	115	60	40
1950	80	44	56
1951	100	50	50
1952	80	56	44
1953	65	46	54
1954	80	44	56
1955	75	40	60
1956	70	57	43
1957	70	43	57
1958	48	57	43

ASSEGAI

YEAR	Total Number Executed	% Non-white	% White
1959	48	63	37
1960	53	61	39
1961	35	57	43
1962	45	33	66
1963	20	50	50
1964	12	50	50

1. Approximate figures.
2. Non-whites represent only 14% of the total population.

ASSEGAI

#

"The governing class should stop their luxurious expenditures in order to help the governed class. For only when a man has been provided with the ordinary means of living, and yet steals, may he be really called a thief."

--Kenko Hoshi
(Japanese Buddhist priest of the 14th Century)

#

"While there is a lower class, I am in it. While there is a criminal element, I am of it. While there is a soul in jail, I am not free."

--Eugene V. Debs
(American labor union leader and presidential candidate of the Socialist Party)

#

the stethoscope under the heavy padded door. After the instrument and chair had been double checked the bigger man patted the Black's leg as if tucking him in for his final agony and sleep.

It was 10 a. m. and everyone was looking and waiting. For 100 years, in this place, at this time, murder was scheduled and committed. My thoughts were suddenly broken by the sound of an explosive hissing. Cyanide gas pellets had dropped into a liquid acid gurgling in a well under his chair. The deadly acid gas filled the small chamber. The victim seemed unable to turn his head to see where the sound was coming from. He may not have known that these long seconds before unconsciousness were supposed to extinguish him in the quickest possible time. Instantly, his eyes opened wide and his pupils bulged out as if they would fly out of their sockets. He started to cough violently. As the coughing became louder and more spasmodic, some onlookers closed their eyes or walked away. The man was straining for every second of consciousness he could grasp. The coughing lessened as he leaned as far as he could against the seat strap and vomited his last breakfast as a final offering to his murderers.

Although his eyes had closed after three minutes of the gas, his body became horribly animated as it lurched against the strap and the seat. When the body went forward, his head would jerk up. When it threw itself back again, the mouth opened, dripping spit and blood over the turret until more viscera burst, throwing him forward against the strap. Had he really lost consciousness? Six minutes passed. His spasms increased to the point where red cellular tissue clung to his lips despite the rolling of his head. As he became one huge convulsion straining against the bare seat, I looked away. He was being tortured to death.

Around me, reporters scribbled notes and short descriptions as if covering a routine assignment. In my mind I saw them running to the phones yelling to the city desk that "..... .., Negro" had died in exactly 12 minutes, 20 and one-half seconds. I looked back at death itself. I had the feeling that some of us experiencing death in this way for the first time were too shocked and numbed for any physical reaction. We had heard death by gas was the most "pleasant" way to die, and that it took the shortest time of the "modern" methods to kill a man. The acid gas was said to smell like peach blossoms.

We had come to see our most "civilized" and "humane" punishment and had entered instead, a primitive torture chamber. We were 20th century men weary of destruction, but still waiting for an automatic stethoscope to record the precise instant when another heart ceased to beat on this crowded planet. Did we look concerned because it took so long?

After 12 minutes and 20 seconds it was done. Society had eliminated another embodiment of itself. A member of the most important class of people on earth--the working class--had been killed by its class enemy--the ruling class.

We then responded to the soft rustle of heads looking around again toward the door as it opened. We knew it was time to resume our "normal" lives. Most of us, clipping pens back to our pockets,

still unable to really see anything except what we had seen, hardly noticed the Warden of Custody, the Chief Psychiatrist, and the Chaplain silently parting the group as it moved away from this absurd state gassing. I understand that the warden had been a minister, the psychiatrist had psychoanalysed his dog, and the Chaplain thought he had the best job in the system. As we followed these empty-handed, empty-headed pall-bearers out of the death house, I too reentered this strange world run by old and tired men who had always killed. I wondered how many more they would kill before we began to change enough to get rid of them.

#

"Do not waste your time on Social Questions. What is the matter with the poor is Poverty; what is the matter with the Rich is Uselessness."

--George Bernard Shaw

#

"The law in its majestic equality forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets and to steal bread."

--Anatole France

#

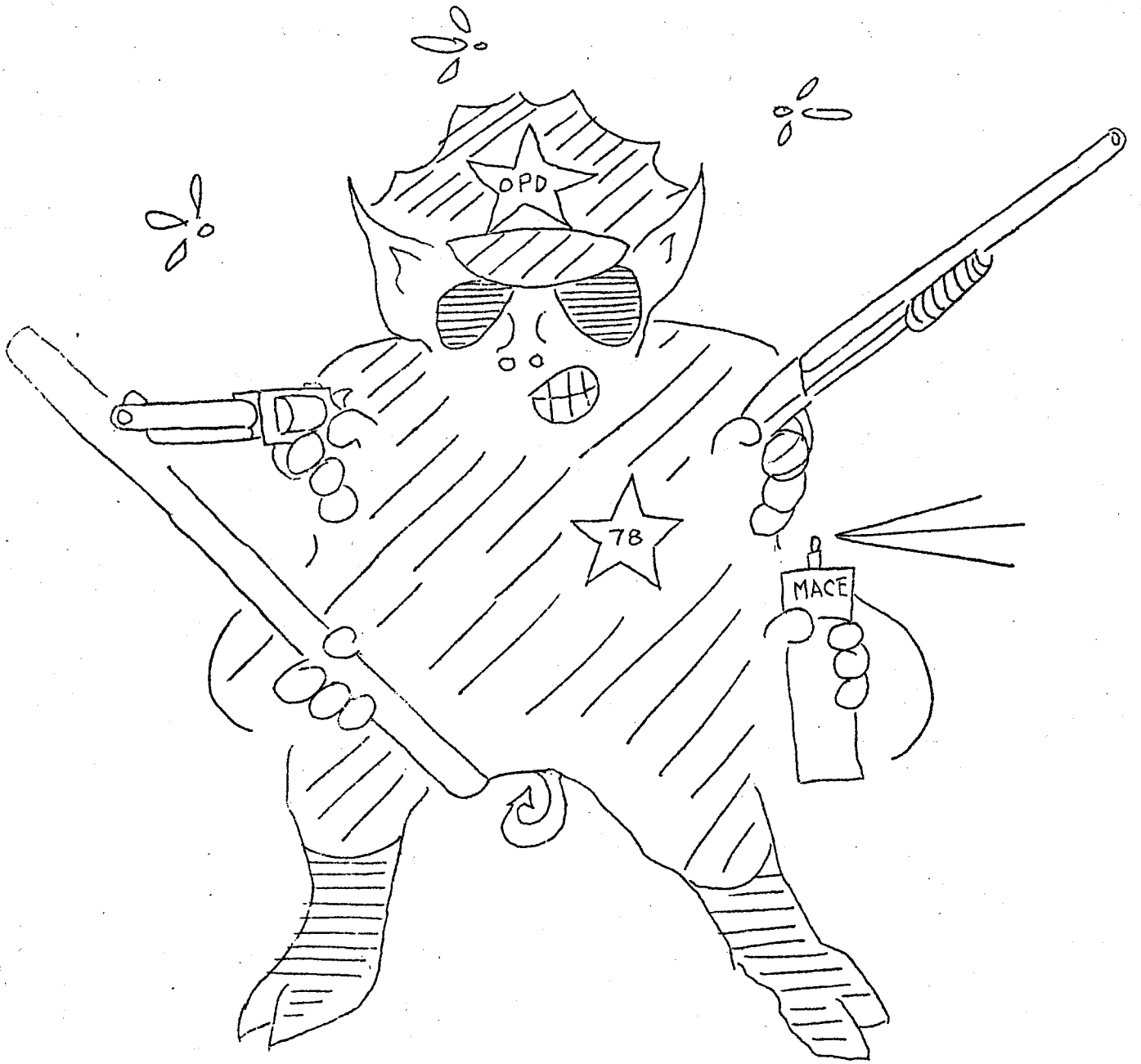
"If Christianity were taught and understood conformably to the spirit of its Founder, the existing social organism could not last a day."

--Emile de Lavelaye

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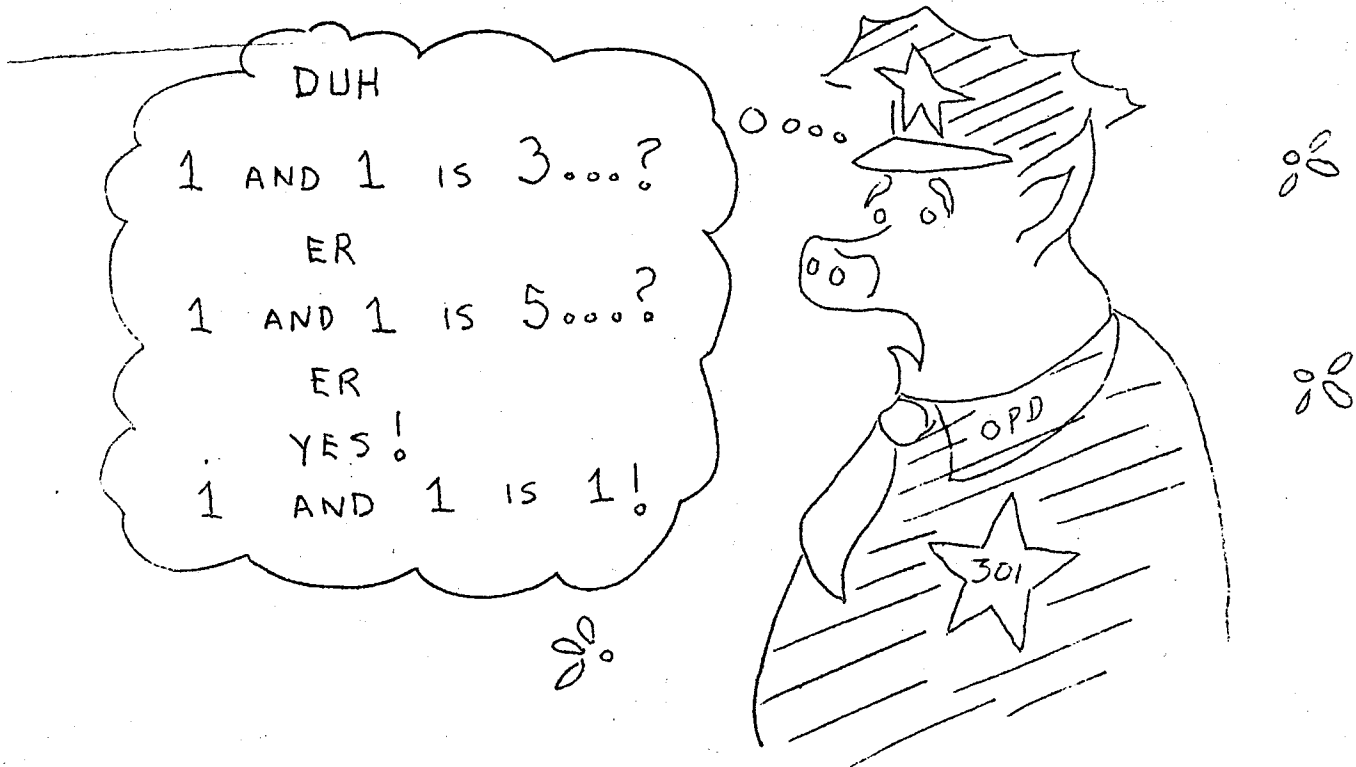
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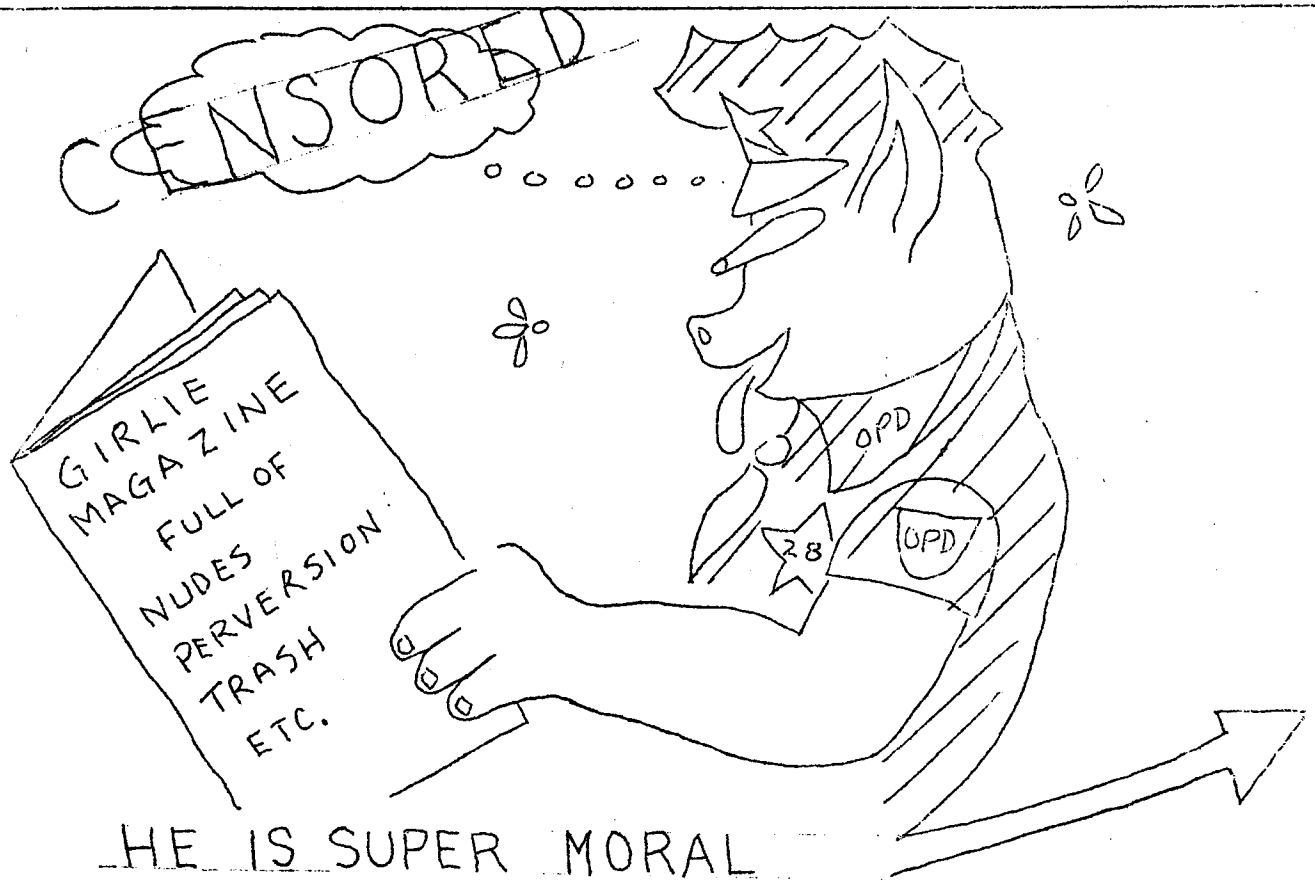
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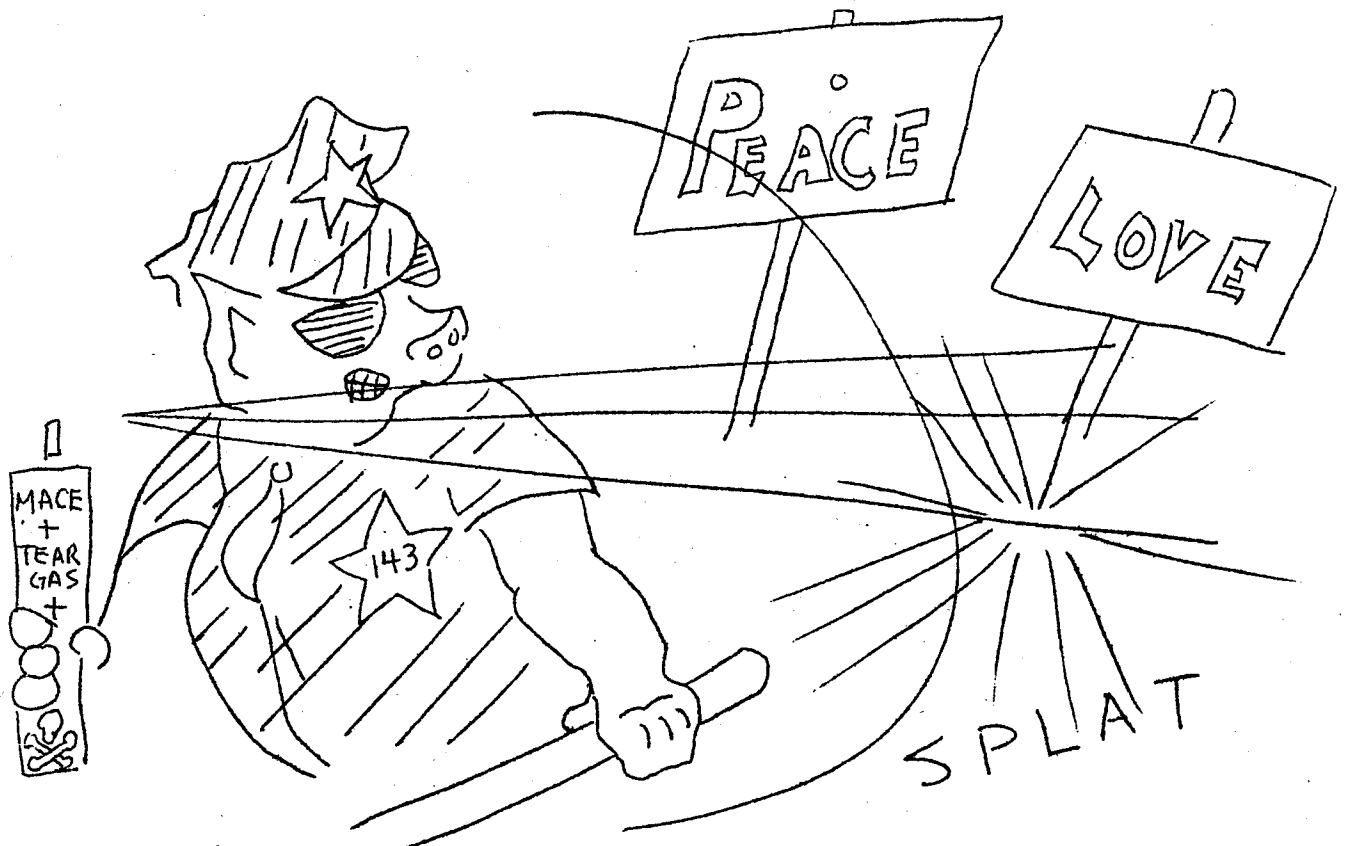
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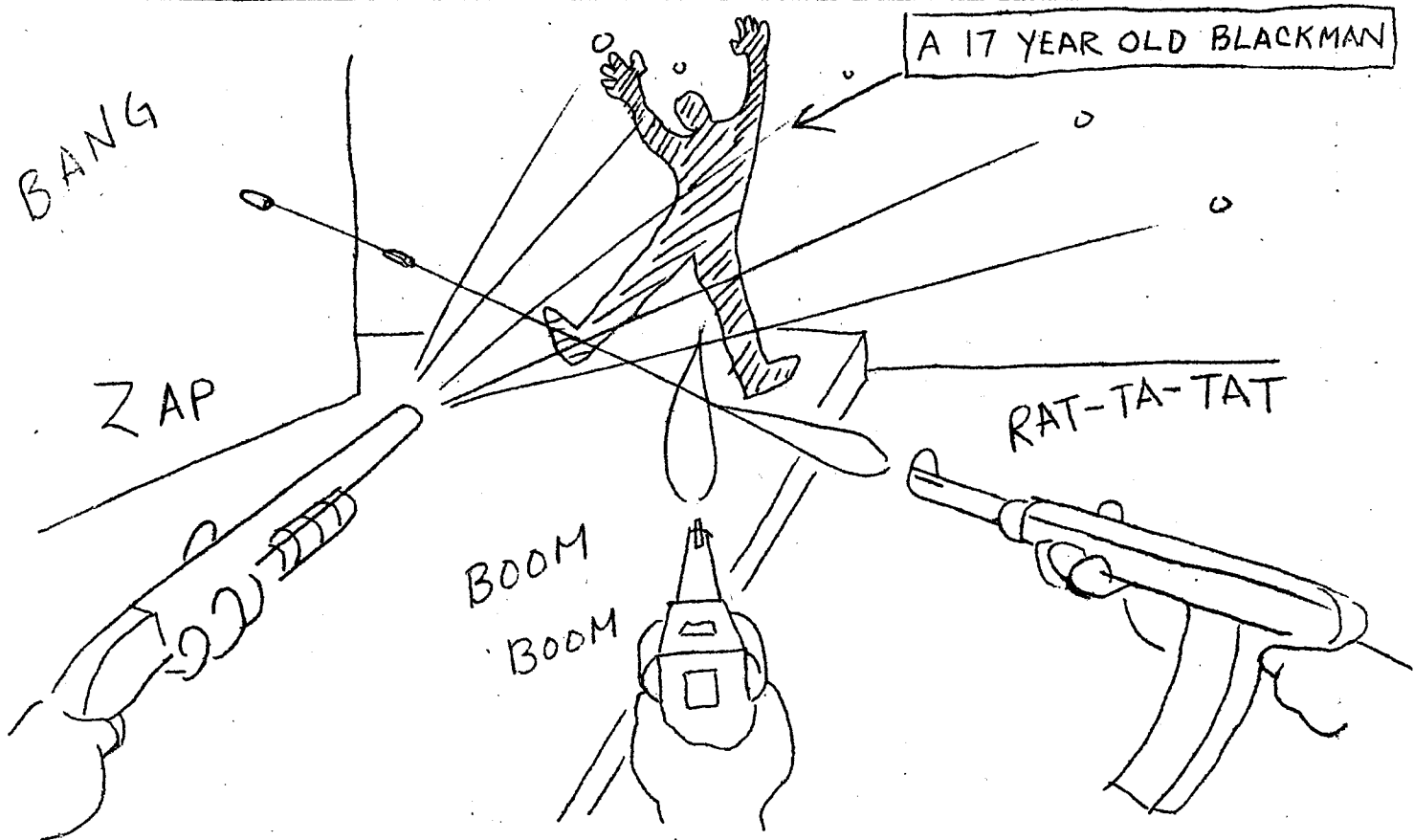
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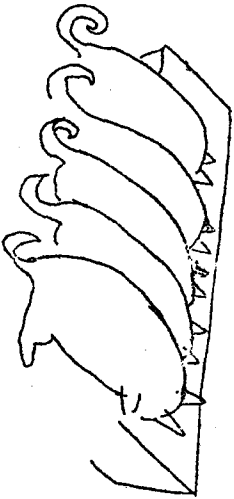
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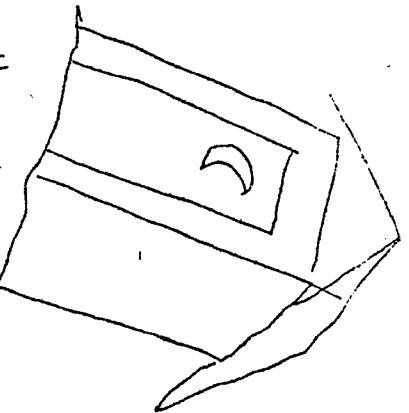
HE IS A SUPER MARKSMAN



" THE LITTLE ONES "



HE IS A SUPER FAMILYMAN



" HOME SWEET HOME "

FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE TRACKS

by Julius Lester

reprinted with permission from
THE GUARDIAN March 16, 1968

The commitment of a revolutionary is found in one basic old-fashioned idea--right and wrong.

For these ultramodern, sophisticated times, to speak of a right and a wrong is to be accused of being simplistic and of being unable to understand the complexities of life. The revolutionary is he who refuses to understand anything except that no man has the right to oppress another and that the oppressed can do no wrong and the oppressor can do no right.

It is wrong that one man should be forced to live his life for the profit of another; it is wrong that children should be hungry (and most of the world's children are); it is wrong that any man, woman or child should be hungry, without adequate clothing and shelter as long as other men, women and children have these things. No amount of intellectualizing, theorizing or reason will make these things right.

There is a class of whites who call themselves liberals, who will agree with anything a revolutionary may say up to the point of agreeing to what must be done to solve the problem. At that point he "puts his eyes in his pocket and his nose to the ground," as Dylan so graphically described the phenomenon of consciously refusing to see. The white liberal is the Mr. Jones who knows that something is happening and knows what it is and all he can do is become filled with despair. In that state he tries ever more feverishly to breathe life into those dummies that have become symbols of oppression for the oppressed--the vote, Love, Reason, slum rehabilitation, etc. He sees the wrong being committed but his fear of doing whatever may be necessary is greater than his abhorrence of the wrong. The oppressed have no fear; only a total and complete hatred of wrong and the knowledge that whatever must be done to destroy the wrong must be done.

The white liberal is unable to understand why the black revolutionary has more contempt for him than for a cop. One knows where a cop stands and there is no necessity to even think about it. A cop can be trusted to act like a cop. A liberal can be trusted to act like a liberal, which means that he can't be trusted. There comes a point in a nation's history when events overpower us and we are helpless as we feel ourselves being pushed toward the demarcation line. We feel our lives crumbling before us at the breakfast table. A choice must be made between the forces of oppression and the forces of liberation, and the liberal chooses despair, i.e., oppression. Yet while choosing to make no choice, the liberal continues to mouth the rhetoric of concern, pointing to what is wrong, agonizing over that wrong and being afraid to pay whatever price is required to kill the wrong. The black militant knows

this about the white liberal and hates him, for who is more despicable than the man who knows what is wrong and refuses to act against it?

It would all be infinitely easier if one could say that revolution is an amiable affair that demands very little from its participants. But it isn't. People get hurt, maimed and killed in revolutions. People starve and the liberal tries to blame the holocaust of revolution on the revolutionary. One such liberal recently told me, "One third of the nation now lives in poverty. What you propose will result in the entire nation living in poverty much worse than anything which has ever existed in this country." The alternative implied in that answer is that I continue to live in oppression. The liberal denied it and fell into despair, recognizing the inevitability of the oppressed coming alive and saying NO! The oppressed are fanatics about ending oppression; the liberal is as he is named--liberal about ending oppression. He would rather a portion of this nation and the majority of humanity be oppressed. The oppressed would rather all the nation and all of humanity be free. And before that can be, perhaps all will have to suffer. That is a small price to pay for the creation of the new Man.

The time has come when one will choose his friends by what side they are on and the revolutionary has only one friend--a fellow revolutionary. Those who sympathize with the revolution, yet do not do what they can to aid it are as much the enemy as the active counterrevolutionary. Once the oppressed begin fighting the oppressor, there is no compromise. There is only the wrong to be destroyed and the right to be created. The liberal who has always sought to be fair, who has always sought to see both sides of the question, must realize there is only one side. There is no compromise with oppression. From whatever side it is viewed, it can only be seen as wrong.

This is no time for despair. It is a time of joy and exhilaration. The oppressed are coming alive and saying NO! Nothing gives more cause for hope. Nothing could be more beautiful. Everybody's saying they ain't gon' work on Maggie's farm no more.

#

"Whoever produces anything by weary labor, does not need a revelation from heaven to teach him that he has a right to the thing produced."

--Robert G. Ingersoll

(American lawyer and lecturer, 1883-1899)

CAN A LEOPARD CHANGE ITS SPOTS?

(Editors' Note:--Due to a new interest in Senator Eugene McCarthy on the part of the Black Community we are reprinting the following from the Socialist Workers Campaigner, a publication of the Socialist Workers Party.)

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE McCARTHY CAMPAIGN

"In response to the growing divisions in the ruling class, the continued escalation of the Vietnam war, and the growth and increased militancy of the antiwar movement, Senator Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.) is running in the Democratic Party primaries as a critic of President Johnson's war policies. He hopes to exploit the desire of antiwar militants to express their opposition to the Johnson administration in the 1968 elections.

"McCarthy has two central purposes. He wants to undercut the possibility of any incipient third party and third ticket developments by channeling antiwar opposition and debate into Democratic Party channels. Second, he wants to divert energies that are currently being used to organize mass antiwar demonstrations in the streets into campaigning for him in the Democratic Party primaries.

"He has not attempted to hide his motives, but, on the contrary, has openly expressed them at news conferences and in speeches. In a statement read at a news conference in Washington, D. D. on November 30, 1967, and printed in the New York Times, Dec. 1, 1967, McCarthy stated:

"In addition, there is growing evidence of a deepening moral crisis in America--discontent and frustration and a disposition to take extra-legal actions to manifest protest.

"I am hopeful that this challenge, which I am making, which I hope will be supported by other members of the Senate and other politicians, may alleviate at least in some degree this sense of political helplessness and restore to many people a belief in the processes of American politics and of American government.

"That the college campuses, especially--on those campuses--and also among adult thoughtful Americans, that it may counter the growing sense of alienation from politics which I think is currently reflected in a tendency to withdraw from political action, to talk of nonparticipation, to become cynical and to make threats of support for third parties or fourth parties or other irregular political movements.

"The New York Times chimed in on the same theme in an editorial (Dec. 1, 1967) by stating:

"The decision of Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota to challenge Johnson in the Democratic Presidential primaries now enables

those who dissent from the Administration's policy in Vietnam to find political expression for their conviction. Energies that might otherwise be dissipated in marches and demonstrations which often antagonize more people than they persuade can now be used constructively in politics....' (Emphasis added)....

"McCarthy is not opposed to imperialist war. His criticisms of Johnson's policy in Vietnam, just as those of other 'doves' in both the Democratic and Republican parties, are tactical objections raised within the overall objectives of American imperialism.

"At his press conference November 31, when McCarthy threw his hat into the ring, he declared, 'I think there are many places where we could take a stand against communism. If we are really concerned about the expansion of Chinese communism, it seems to me that to waste our manpower and resources where we are doing it in Vietnam would be the worst of all possible choices. We still have the fleet, we still have Japan, we still have a position in South Korea, we have built up a strong base in Thailand....'

"The Japanese will be interested to learn that 'we still have Japan.' Translated into English, the above statement means that we should use our military might to crush the colonial revolution in Asia in a different manner. His emphasis on the fleet and bases rather than use of manpower gives a hint as to what he means in concrete terms.

"In fact at times McCarthy's very wording is stolen from LBJ. Discussing the bombing pause of last year, McCarthy stated at his November 31 press conference, 'So far as the bombing last January, I did not particularly join in urging bombing not be resumed or that it be stopped at that time because there was no evidence of intent to negotiate....' Sometimes McCarthy even goes further than LBJ. After Johnson made a statement claiming that he would withdraw within six months after negotiations, McCarthy commented, 'I think I would advise him against moving that fast. I would put the limit at five years.' This statement was also made at the November 31 press conference....

"Secondly, would McCarthy fundamentally alter the policy of the Johnson administration toward the Afro-American community? If McCarthy were President would he have mobilized the National Guard to crush the revolt in Detroit last summer?

"Yes, McCarthy would have called out the National Guard in order to preserve 'law and order' and protect private property. Nowhere in his program or in his record has McCarthy ever called for a public spending program sufficient to build the necessary housing, schools, and recreation centers in the black community. And he has certainly not endorsed the demand of the black liberation movement that this money be allocated to organizations controlled by the black community to decide how it is to be spent.

"Thirdly, if McCarthy were elected President would there be more freedom for dissent and a genuine respect for civil liberties? When he was a member of the House of Representatives, McCarthy voted consistently for appropriations to the House Committee on Un-American

Activities, and for every contempt of Congress citation brought against HUAC witnesses. He voted for the Student Loyalty Oath Bill requiring all recipients of federal assistance under the National Defense Education Act to sign a loyalty oath. As the chief executive of American capitalism, he could definitely be expected to curtail civil liberties.

"As a Democratic Party politician McCarthy would not be able to fundamentally change the foreign policy or the domestic policy of this country. The problems of the United States are not a result of misrule by insensitive or egotistical personalities nor are they a product of this or that faulty policy. The basic problem is the rotten capitalist system (Editors' italics). Both the Democratic and Republican parties are capitalist parties whose policies and disagreements are within the framework of supporting the capitalist system. To be a capitalist politician in the United States today means to support imperialist wars of aggression against just struggles for land reform and national independence. It means supporting the physical suppression of Afro-Americans when they rebel against the oppressive conditions they are forced to live in. If a person wants to eliminate wars, fight racism, and change our society, there is no 'lesser evil' among the capitalist politicians. They are all bad. In 1964 President Johnson was a 'lesser evil, peace' candidate against Barry Goldwater. Today McCarthy is proposed as a 'lesser evil, peace' candidate against President Johnson. This fact by itself says a lot about the bankruptcy of 'lesser evil' politics....

EUGENE McCARTHY'S VOTING RECORD

(The year and number identifies the particular bill)
(Editors' note: This is an incomplete list.)

Civil Liberties

- "1954/444 Voted for admissibility of evidence gained by wiretapping in federal courts; for Dies motion which made membership in the Communist Party a felony.
1954/446 Voted for HUAC appropriations. Voted for contempt of Congress citations for Baxter and Deutsch for failing to answer HUAC's questions.
1956/187 Voted for HUAC appropriations.
Note: During his time in the House of Representatives he voted for every contempt of Congress citation for HUAC witnesses.

Civil Rights

- 1961/574 Voted against withholding of federal school aid from segregated schools.

Tax Reform and the 'War on Poverty'

- "1958/371 Voted to raise pay of all military personnel except privates.
1965/1051 Voted to have government pay printing costs (\$2,000) of annual report of the Daughters of the American Revolution.
1966/948 Voted against raising rent subsidy funds from \$12 million to \$20 million annually.

Foreign Policy

- "1954/292 Voted for Joint Resolution opposing China's admittance to the United Nations.
 - 1956/221 Voted for Joint Resolution opposing China's admittance to the United Nations.
 - 1962/689 Voted for the 'Cuban Resolution' which said the U. S. should take any necessary action to get 'offensive' missiles out of Cuba.
 - 1964/710 Voted for Tonkin Gulf resolution.
- Note: McCarthy voted for every appropriation bill to conduct the war against Vietnam.

The Draft

"1966/943 Voted to kill a proposed amendment that would have prohibited use of draftees in Vietnam unless they volunteered.

Protection of Workers and Unions

"1960/514 Voted to exclude about 1,000,000 additional workers from minimum wage coverage."

#

"Come now, you rich men, weep and shriek over your impending miseries!
 You have been storing up treasure in the very last days;
 Your wealth lies rotting, and your clothes are moth-eaten;
 Your gold and silver lie rusted over, and their rust will be evidence against you, it will devour your flesh like fire.
 See, the wages of which you have defrauded the workmen who mowed your fields cry out,
 And the cries of the harvesters have reached the ears of the Lord of Hosts.
 You have revelled on earth and plunged into dissipation;
 You have fattened yourselves as for the Day of Slaughter;
 You have condemned, you have murdered the righteous--
 un resisting."

--James 5: 1-6. The New Testament, A New Translation, by James Moffatt.

INSIDE THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

Part I

By

Onij-Nejjih

Amidst the howling menacing sound of a siren the lone derelict wanders into the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) office that's at the corner of U and 14th St. N. W. in the middle of the exploited Black colony of Washington, D. C. This, of course, must have been one of the late Dr. King's moments of genius in picking this location where all the social misfits hang out. The derelict finds himself hemmed in with the sound of typewriters and telephones assaulting at every sensory opening. A stranger, dressed in an overall work suit and tennis-shoes, comes up to him and asks; "What can we do for you, Brother?" The derelict blinks and smiles a wine stained smile of mutual confinement. "Hey, Brother, whats happening?" He stumbles forward and puts his arm around the young man's shoulders for support and as a friendly gesture. "Is everything up tight? Don't lighten up, tighten up, ha-ha." The young Brother, looking a little lost for resources, glances around for some assistance. A gentleman dressed in a dark business suit comes to his aid. "Look, old timer", he begins in his southern preacher style as he starts the old wine-O toward the door he had come in only a brief minute before, "you can't hang around here with that stuff. So why don't you be a good guy and let us do our work".

This, to many of you, might seem to be a small and common incident. But to me it was one of the most revealing things that could have happened on this particular evening. SCLC--the friend of the poor, the organization, that single handed would change the plight of the poor, had just committed an unforgiveable crime. It, through it's honorable representative, had just dismissed one of it's clients; a Black poor person. You may still feel that this person was just one of those faceless, mindless, wine breath degenerates who deserved no better and should be glad that he had been treated as gentle as he was; "cause the white man would'a kick his all and put him in jail, where he belonged--no doubt." If this is the way you feel, read no further because this message isn't for you.

The wide eyed Berkeley coed looked perplexed. "I thought that those were the people that we were here to help." Maybe that's what most of the people here thought, but some how nobody told the leaders of SCLC. Day after day the scene around the office became worse and the tension built to an overwhelming level. The D. C. fire department ran a constant siren concerto up and down 14th street. The poor came, the wretched came, the frustrated came, the sincere came, the willing came, the talented from the University of California at Berkeley, Riverside, Santa Cruz, Santa Barbara, and Davis came. They all came and kept coming until the office at U and 14th Street looked like an army transit barrack. They came and they were frustrated. What to do, where to go, where to send this, who to see for that--and SCLC fiddled while the smoldering heat of frustration built to fever pitch and small girls huddled whimpering in the arms of strong old Black men for the comfort of their under-

standing.

Where, Oh, where was SCLC? Where were those who would deliver the children of Israel from the Pharaohs? God, in his infinite knowledge, only knew. In and out, in and out all day long the men whom we all looked to for directions came and went. Questions were left for days on the desk of some coed who had to either lie about why it hadn't been answered or answer it herself, which happened more often than I would like to admit. News men, both Black and White, were kept waiting for hours. And after this they found themselves proud possessors of no more information than the man on the street had given them. Many of their stories were either reports given by those whom they encountered on the streets, or from their own observations. There were very few SCLC news releases.

The office filled itself with clothes donated by good white people, clothes that were not fit for anyone to wear, clothes that needed sanitary care and mending, clothes that were more trouble and worry to the small crew of committed people than they were worth when new.

The Black colony of Washington, D. C. knew little or nothing about the Poor People's Campaign and from the evidence I saw cared even less. They, from personal interviews, cared little for their so-called leaders who never bothered to come to them and ask them to act in this great drama. They felt left out, not considered again, this time by their own kind; "that's what hurts". The street outside the SCLC office hummed with human energy. The SNCC workers walked by; some stopped and others just looked with an awful look of disdain. Stokely, feeling that he should let them know he was watching, came in a few times accompanied by his personal guard. He was polite and smiled constantly. The majority of the Black people stopped to look at the collage that had been affixed to the glass door of the front of the building. Vendors, selling pictures, necklaces, buttons and scarfs bearing the likeness of Dr. King and President Kennedy, swooped down on the poor as well as the others. The poor huddled in a crowd to defend themselves from the onslaught spearheaded by the immaculately dressed Muhammad Speaks! salesmen. They wandered into the SCLC office with vacant looks to be met by an SCLC marshal asking for a pass, or a not quite so polite receptionist asking for their reasons to be there. They all felt quite out-of-place.

Was SCLC all bad? Were there people who were genuinely interested in seeing the campaign succeed? This is an attempt to set the record straight for the Black Brothers and Sisters who were not there and who have been hearing conflicting stories about what went on there. Our next article concerning the PPC will consider the poor people in Resurrection City, U. S. A. We will focus on the mood, environment, city leadership, and how SCLC handled the conflicts there. We will, in other words, present the Pro side of the argument. We trust that the Brothers and Sisters will not confuse this attempt to inform with an accusation on the part of this reporter; after all, I was there.

U.S. BLACKS STIR WORLD WITH THEIR HEROISM

by Juan Marrero

reprinted from GRANMA April 14, 1968

About the middle of the last century, curfew was common in slave cities throughout the USA. A bell tolled at sundown as a signal to all blacks to remain within their quarters on pain of being imprisoned and whipped. It is said that in Key West when the bell tolled and the blacks headed for their quarters white racists would chant:

Run, nigger, run.

Filor's gonna catch ya.

I wish I were sheriff--

I'd make you trot even faster.

The curfew of yesterday is being reemployed today, a century later. And today's Sheriff Filor is Lyndon B. Johnson, who has set the stage for a curfew to be declared for all blacks in Memphis, Washington, Baltimore, Chicago, Pittsburgh and other cities throughout the nation. He has not, however, employed tolling bells. These days the bell is considered a bit old-fashioned. Today, in place of the bell, we see tanks, machine guns, thousands of soldiers, National Guardsmen and police, all armed to the teeth, patrolling the streets.

But more than one thing has changed these days. U.S. blacks don't scurry, terrified, into their ghettos. The racist Sheriff Filor doesn't frighten them. The murderer of the Vietnamese people frightens them even less. Today blacks have taken to the streets. They are burning vehicles and businesses. They have burned hundreds of blocks in major U.S. cities. They are confronting Johnson's repressive forces with guns, clubs, rocks and bottles. For some days now the American black man has been stirring the world with his heroism, as he writes a glorious chapter in his history.

The black man has found equality only on paper, while in practice he has felt discrimination. He has seen thousands of his brothers lynched in nearly every state of the Union (5000 recorded lynchings between 1882 and 1960). He has been forced to sit in "special" seats on trains, in buses, in planes and in restaurants. He has not been able to live where he wishes. (In many U.S. cities there are billboards that read: Nigger! If you know how to read, better start running. If you don't know how to read, start running anyway!)

He is the first, on the other hand, to be sent to Vietnam as cannon fodder, with only an infinitesimal chance of going as an officer. His chance of becoming a professional is virtually nil. (Only 10% of U.S. blacks have been able to complete tenth grade.) He can't even look at a white woman. (In 1958 a black man was sentenced to two years on a chain gang on the charge of having "attacked a white woman" because he looked at her as she passed by in an automobile 20 meters away.)

Blacks in more than 60 cities throughout the United States have risen up against all that and much more. And it is logical to expect even more deeds of heroism. On the day following Martin Luther King's assassination, black leader Stokely

Carmichael warned, "What happened the night we learned of Dr. King's murder is nothing compared with what is going to happen."

No longer does the U.S. black man run. He is on the offensive now.

 #

"Everything new and progressive on the Negro question came from Moscow, after the revolution of 1917, and as a result of the revolution--not only for the American communists who responded directly, but for all others concerned with the question.

"By themselves, the American communists never thought of anything new or different from the traditional position of American radicalism on the Negro question....The simplistic formula that the Negro problem was merely economic, a part of the capital-labor problem, never struck fire among the Negroes who knew better even if they didn't say so; they had to live with brutal discrimination every day and every hour.

"There was nothing subtle or concealed about this discrimination. Everybody knew that the Negro was getting the worst of it at every turn, but hardly anybody cared about it or wanted to do anything to try to moderate or change it. The 90 percent white majority of American society, including its working class sector, North as well as South, was saturated with prejudice against the Negro; and the socialist movement reflected this prejudice to a considerable extent--even though, in deference to the ideal of human brotherhood, the socialist attitude was muted and took the form of evasion. The old theory of American radicalism turned out in practice to be a formula for inaction on the Negro front, and--incidentally--a convenient shield for the dormant racial prejudices of the white radicals themselves.

"The Russian intervention changed all that, and changed it drastically, and for the better. Even before the First World War and the Russian Revolution, Lenin and the Bolsheviks were distinguished from all other tendencies in the international socialist and labor movement by their concern with the problems of oppressed nations and national minorities...."

--James P. Cannon

The First Ten Years of American Communism,
 Lyle Stuart, New York, 1962

REBELLION ASTIR INSIDE THE USA

reprinted from GRANMA May 5, 1968

If we look at the domestic violence in the United States, with the high rates of corruption, crime, vice and every sort of moral deterioration, and add to this the crimes committed by U.S. troops in Vietnam and U.S. Government support of every gangster regime in the world, it is manifest that U.S. society, today more than ever before, is marked by violence in every sphere.

Four years ago Johnson called upon the nation to build the Great Society. Were it not for the dozens of black martyrs, the thousands of people tortured and murdered in South Vietnam and the cities razed by Yankee bombs, this demagogic, cynical catchword would move us to disgusted laughter.

Even U.S. leaders and spokesmen have declared the Great Society to be a sick society.

The most evident sign of such sickness is the increase in violence. This phenomenon is part and parcel of the history of the United States. The use of violence has characterized U.S. society for more than a century. The U.S. Government has made systematic use of violence both in that country and abroad.

Peoples the world over and the black people of the United States know this only too well.

A society based on violence, crime, aggressions against other countries, the seizing of territories and the plunder of a large number of countries; a society torn by discrimination, petty self-interest, the drive for personal affluence and wealth; a society in which the loss of basic human values has increased apace can only be pictured as a Great Society by the demagogic propaganda of a cheap politician.

The imperialist spokesmen's acrid admission that the Great Society is a sick society proves that the great technological development and high standard of living in the United States not only cannot smooth over the internal contradictions, but, in fact, exacerbate them.

Some imperialists, frankly alarmed by this state of affairs, now proclaim the need to hang on to "American traditions," arguing that the nation is sick as a result of violence and urging people to remember these traditions.

What traditions?

The tradition of those who sponsored close to one hundred direct and indirect interventions in Latin America from 1806 on?

The tradition of those who invaded Mexico in the 1840s and stole one third of its territory?

The tradition of those who murdered President Lincoln, the man who had declared the slaves free?

The tradition of those who exterminated the American Indians, who invaded the West, killing and plundering, in a history of conquest and cruelty equaled only by the criminal "feats" of modern imperialists?

The tradition of those who intervened in Cuba's War of Independence so as to take possession of Spain's few remaining colonies in America and the Philippine Islands, holding Cuba under neocolonialist domination?

The tradition of the murder of thousands upon thousands of blacks by racists?

Or, perhaps, the "peace-loving" traditions of those who murdered four U.S. presidents?

The "traditions" of the Ku Klux Klan?

The "peace-loving" traditions of those who committed genocide at Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

The traditions of the torturers and murderers who bomb and kill the people of Vietnam?

Does the crime-ridden atmosphere of Dallas, do the assassins of John F. Kennedy, come under these "peace-loving" traditions? A society which lets its President be murdered and then finds itself unable to clear up the crime can only be described as "peace-loving" by the cynical, outrageous language of Yankee propaganda.

But this history of violence is reaching its climax. The United States is today faced with the only possible response to such brutality: rebellion among U.S. blacks and among the exploited peoples of the world.

The U.S. black man's struggle for social and racial liberation is a tremendous help to mankind. This struggle is stepped up with the victories of the Vietnamese people. The fight of the exploited peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America encourages revolutionary action within the United States. At the same time, such action shows the peoples of the world that the U.S. empire is not all-powerful, that the giant has feet of clay.

U.S. black people are despised within their own country by mindless, arrogant white racists. However, people in every latitude, of every conceivable shade of skin, have nothing but contempt and hatred for the savage racists of the United States, who are driven by ignorance, cruelty and the mania to dominate and exploit other peoples.

It is the white racists who have shown the black masses the path before them: rebellion against such brutal treatment --rebellion, the only possible action for civilized man under such circumstances.

The rebelliousness and heroism demonstrated by U.S. blacks and young people in general show clearly that these are the best, most advanced and promising sectors within the United States.

We are certain that in the course of struggle the black masses, who are the most exploited and militant group in the United States today, will become more and more aware of the true state of things and will set increasingly radical and universal objectives.

History proves that when reactionary classes resort to overt violence, and when chaos and anarchy become the order of the day, this is tantamount to admitting that rebellion is under way. With the slaying of Martin Luther King, all other doors have been closed to U.S. blacks. Day by day they are realizing that rebellion is the only way out. The facts show that in the USA itself reactionary violence must be met with revolutionary violence.

THE EDITORS' REPORT TO THE READERS

In order that more people may acquire our journal we have dropped the price per copy to 40¢ and a twelve months subscription from \$5 to \$4. Our circulation is growing rapidly, but the entire cost for every issue has not yet been met. However, now that we feel we are definitely here to stay we made the decision to lower our sale price before we increase our printing costs by improving the journal's outward appearance. That will come a little later.

We want Black Politics to have as nice a professional appearance as any other magazine on the stands today and we will accept donations from our readers to help make this possible. Remember: There is no other journal like Black Politics.

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Everyone who took a subscription to Black Politics at the old rate of \$5 will receive three extra issues for a total of fifteen issues. We feel that the early subscribers certainly deserve this consideration because without them we could not have continued to exist.

* * * * *

Please note the changes made in our editorial board. The delay in printing the summer issues was because we spent the summer months reorganizing and reorienting ourselves. We will continue to receive the valuable help of Ed Turner, Martin Delany, Onii Malik, and Denmark Vesey, but they will no longer function on the editorial board. The new staff and editorial board publicly extend to them the same thanks and appreciation that we have communicated in private for a job well done.

Also, please note our new East and West Coast Distributors. Beverly Smirni's work on the East Coast has resulted in a circulation there almost equal to that on the West Coast! Therefore, we asked Toussaint Lumumba to temporarily relinquish his post as an editor and try some of the things that worked so well for Miss Smirni. If Harlem can be made aware of Black Politics so can the flatlands of Oakland and Los Angeles.

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The influence of Black Politics continues to grow. We have already had letters from Canada, Mexico, Cuba, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, China, and Africa. A portion of George Prosser's Weapons For Self Defense appeared in the Monroe, North Carolina newsletter Did You Know?, Vol. 5, No. 4 (published by Robert F. Williams' old group); Part I of Tom Sanders' A Common Past

of Greatness was reprinted in the University of California's Daily Californian, Feb. 21, 1968 and so was Onij-Nejjih's In Memory of El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. Other articles have been reprinted in various other university publications in the East that we do not have the complete story on yet, and now Cadernos Movimento of Sao Paulo, Brazil has requested permission to reprint Tom Sanders' A Common Past of Greatness. In addition to all this radio stations in the San Francisco Bay Area have broadcast large portions of various articles from Black Politics the past six months.

There is a definite need for a journal of the type of Black Politics and we need your support if we are to continue doing our work. If you are not yet a subscriber please note the subscription blank on the last page.

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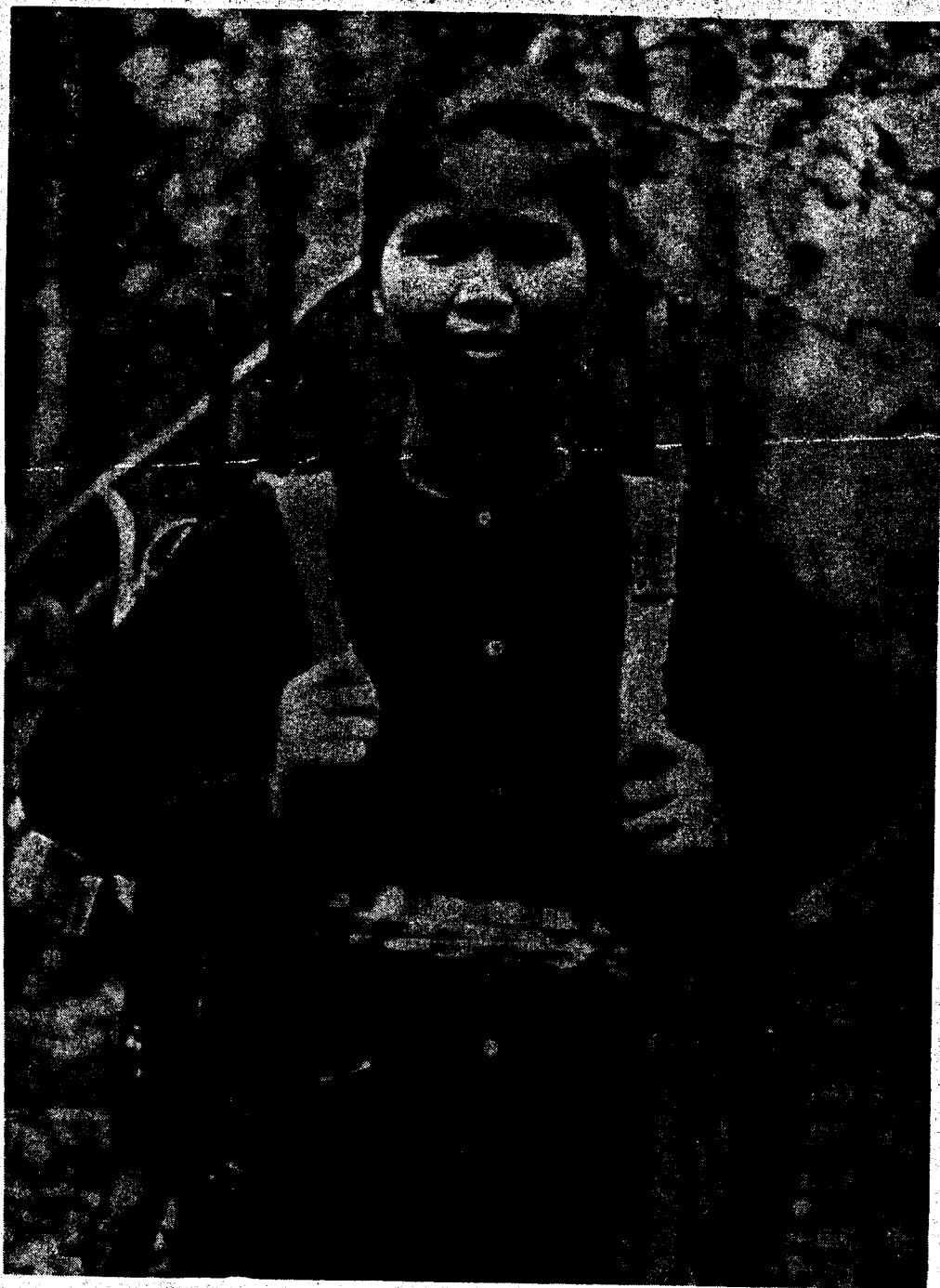
NOTE ON OUR COVER:

We plan to have a picture on every cover in the future. The one for this issue is of 17 year-old Bobby James Hutton, Black Panther Party Treasurer, who was murdered in cold blood last spring by Oakland hoodlums dressed in police uniforms and in the pay of the City of Oakland. To this date no charges of any kind have been filed against these murderers.

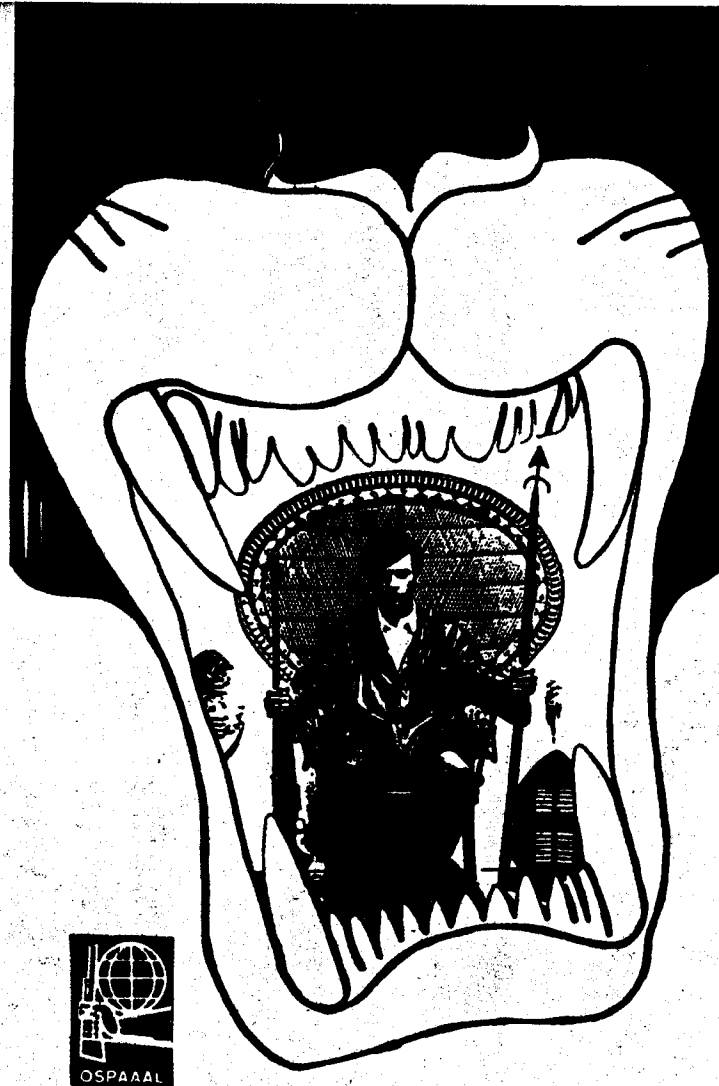
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"The penalty that people pay for not being interested in politics is to be governed by people worse than themselves."

--Plato



**Freedom
Fighter
of the month**



FREE HUEY NEWTON!

APPEAL FOR THE FREEDOM OF HUEY NEWTON

Shot, imprisoned and held incommunicado for over nine months, Huey Newton resists and reaffirms his resolve to fight. The founder and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense is now the center of the physical elimination or plots of the U. S. imperialists and racists; the method to be followed might be either "legal" or "accidental". No Justice whatsoever can or should be expected from imperialist "democracy." Free Huey Newton! is not an appeal for mercy or a legal recourse; it is a challenge to the death to imperialism and racism in the U. S. that becomes a thundering battle cry of the Afro-Americans and of the peoples and combatants of Africa, Asia and Latin America, who have rallied together in a historic and decisive battle. The genuine freedom of Huey Newton will be brought about as the result of the revolutionary action of the Afro-Americans and the white people who are willing to run the same risks; it will be the result of new Watts, Newarks, Detroit and Clevelands. In this endeavor they will have the support and solidarity of their revolutionary brothers of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

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