

# BLACK POLITICS



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MARCUS GARVEY

LEON BRADFORD

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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## Mexian student uprising

Police the world over have the same characteristics. There is a smell of the pig sty about all of them. Whether it be on Telegraph Avenue in Berkeley, in the Court Houses of New York City, in the Black Ghetto in Oakland, in the streets of Paris, or in the Zócalo of Mexico City they always attack anyone near the scene of a battle who appears to be a student. And no wonder--the students are too young to have been corrupted to the point of no longer being able to distinguish between what is right and wrong. And they act accordingly.

The ruling class in Mexico cannot understand how so many students can be in revolt against governmental authority at the same time. Nor can they understand why they are able to acquire support from the working class, although the government flagrantly violated its own constitution by invading the campus of the University of Mexico with armed troops; an act alone which calls for the arrest and imprisonment of the entire top leadership of the government and the armed forces who were sworn to uphold the constitution.

Like most people in all countries the Mexicans don't understand constitutional law, but they do understand the paying of indemnities to the families of persons killed during assaults on the people by the police. This is one of the six demands the students have made. It sounds like Huey P. Newton has been organizing the Mexican people, doesn't it?

Mexico, which is the only Latin American country to maintain diplomatic relations with Cuba, has long maintained a facade of bourgeois "democracy" and thus avoided revolts by the people the past fifty years. However, nothing scrapes away flimsy facades like illegal police actions.

Finally, the students of the Instituto Politecnico Nacional, under machine gun fire and tank attacks by the police and the army while holding peaceful demonstrations, resorted to armed self defense. Although more backward politically than the petty-bourgeois students of the

Autonomous National University of Mexico the I. P. N. students had a better understanding of the violence used to control the people. This is because of the class character of the Instituto's students. This school was founded in the late 1930's by the government of President Cardenas to produce the technicians it needed after it had expropriated the petroleum industry (primarily U. S. owned) and the railroads. It was planned along the lines of the Soviet technical schools for students from worker or peasant backgrounds.

Brothers, reading books about revolution is important, but few educated persons have the understanding of who really controls Mexico and the United States like their own respective oppressed people.

The Mexican working class is our natural ally. They are facing a stone wall because the Mexican capitalists literally cannot afford a massive wage increase comparable to the one recently granted in France!

Mexican students, peasants, and workers have borne the brunt of U. S. invasions of Latin America since the "Texas Revolution" of 1836. This was followed in 1846 by the outright theft of over half of Mexico's territory. These oppressed people are our allies and they need our support.

PABLOTTIC  
EDITORIAL

## INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

At first glance it may seem easy to ignore the recent invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union on the ground that it means nothing to black people. However, an experienced revolutionary knows that black people alone cannot sweep aside the obstacles to the nation of their dreams. With the aid of the handful of genuine white revolutionaries we cannot do it. Nor can we succeed if tens of thousands of young whites suddenly become revolutionaries and support us.

The criminals who run this country can be placed under arrest only when most of the poor people of the world revolt. Then, when the armed forces of the criminals are all busy... we will be able to take care of business here at home. The squealing of pigs shall be heard throughout the land.

The USSR invaded Czechoslovakia not because socialism was threatened but because bureaucratism and special privilege were being threatened. It feared the extension of such an anti-bureaucratic process into the USSR. The Soviet rulers were not upset by Dubcek's economic changes but his political concessions to the mass demand for democratization.

The Soviet leaders arrested the Czech "counter-revolutionaries," then sold out to them by opening up negotiations with them, and then made a deal with them! The Soviet leaders therefore betrayed the "loyal Communists" who had appealed for Russian soldiers to "save socialism" in Czechoslovakia in the first place.

Loyal communists in Latin America have long called for aid, so, the USSR continues to trade with and make loans to the very criminal governments these loyal communists are trying to overthrow.

Loyal communists in Vietnam who have been struggling against their invader, the enemy of all Mankind, have called upon the Soviet Union for help and so far have received only supplies and equipment. Yet, when some mythical "loyal communists" in Czechoslovakia called for "help" nearly a half-million armed troops were sent to occupy an allied country that offered no armed resistance whatsoever.

The Soviet occupation troops in Czechoslovakia should be withdrawn and sent to Vietnam to resist the Beasts of Babylon!

## EDITORIAL

## Yes On No, Or How To Cast A None Vote

Richard (trick'y dick) Nixon, Hubert Horatio Humphry, Eldridge Cleaver, etc., etc. The list goes on and on and with each name which appears the situation becomes much more muddled and complex, at times even impossible, for those who are concerned with the fact of exercising their right of "to" or "not to" vote and if so, for whom, why and why not? Most of these questions cannot be answered by the individual voter, the voter who wishes to give credence to the man, party, or ideology which he identifies with is baffled by all the double talk and half truths. Then, the entire process is infinitely more complex than to allow for a clear understanding on the part of a single person.

Here many people will expect to be attacked, to be challenged on their choices, others will be ready at a moments notice to defend themselves and their ideology to the end. I should not expect that there would be any merit in my endorsing or not endorsing a candidate for President of the United States. I shall, therefore, not restrict my comments to a diagnosis of the candidates, but will try to contextually examine their relevance to Black people here and now.

Law and Order, the Big question. The decadence of Nixon, the Racism of Wallace, and the Demogorgonic bold face lying of Humphry would seem to allow for little or no real bases for one to decide between the three. When they speak of Law and Order they are always condemning Black people. The fact that Cleaver is too young, and the "etcs." are a little too far removed from where Black people are at poses a grave problem to the Black voter this year. Black people are in the position to, and will, elect the next president of this Nation. Weighing heavy on the shoulders of the nation's Black population is the choice between a Wolf and a Wolf.

Nothing can serve to make either candidate more appealing than the other, they are different only in degree.

No candidate has shown any tendency toward a clear and distinct understanding of the position that Black Americans are required to observe in this nation. Being cognizant of this very important fact I reserve the right to refuse to endorse, by written word or action, either of these fascist oriented demigods.

I admonish all the Brothers and Sisters to take a long hard look at the domestic record of these men, weigh them carefully, and go out on the 5th and do your own thing. I feel that our local Black candidates, along with those few white candidates who obviously oppose the "Reagan Conspiracy," are far more important than the national candidates.

Even though we are far from being an effective voting Block we do exercise a considerable amount of power in certain key positions that are open for reelection. Do not be fooled by those Black or white silver tongued orators who speak of things other than coalition politics. Coalition politics is our only bet, and at least we preserve our principles as Black people in America.

Onij-Nejjih

## EDITORIAL

1968 U. S. Elections

"I am an invisible man. No, I am not a spook like those who haunted Edgar Allan Poe; nor am I one of your Hollywood--movie ectoplasms. I am a man of substance, of flesh and bone, fiber and liquids--and I might even be said to possess a mind. I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me."

With these words Ralph Ellison began his novel, Invisible Man, about a young black man's experiences in white-dominated America. Ellison's statement represents the predicament black people are in today in the United States--ignored, except when the whites want a scapegoat for their own mistakes.

Every black person in this country finds it necessary to insist upon his right to live almost from the moment of his birth. To refuse to vote in the coming presidential election will make black Americans even more invisible and be another act against their right to exist. To vote and make it meaningless by not voting a protest vote is just as bad.

There are four political programs of protest in the presidential race (always choose the program--never the candidate): 1. the Socialist Workers Party. 2. the Socialist Labor Party. 3. the Communist Party. 4. the Peace and Freedom Party. The Black Panther Party is not running a candidate for president.

As unexpected as it may seem the Peace and Freedom Party is ruled out for a revolutionary because above all else it is a reformist capitalist political party which wants only to change some of the worst things in society--not change society itself.

But, you say that the Peace and Freedom Party has Eldridge Cleaver, a black man, as its candidate. Yes, it does, and the Communist Party has a black woman for its presidential candidate. It is a serious error for any black revolutionary to campaign for public office on any ticket other than a Marxist-Leninist one or a Black Panther Party type ticket, which represents a growing and developing people's revolutionary movement. Remember: the candidates are unimportant. Only the program counts.

As for the Communist Party it long ago lost its desire to make a workers revolution in this country. The past twenty-four years, except for its brief flirtation in 1948 and in 1952 with the reformist capitalist Progressive Party, it has consistently supported the Democratic Party in national elections.

The third protest vote to consider is that of the Socialist Labor Party, founded in 1890 and a participant in every national election since. It advocates one big "industrial union," claiming that this union will replace capitalism, yet it stands aloof from the daily struggle of oppressed ethnic minorities and makes no immediate demands that could possibly be achieved under capitalism. The Socialist Labor Party will still be calling for a revolution after the Revolution has already taken place.

There is only one other political party to consider-- the Socialist Workers Party. The fact that its presidential candidate, Fred Halstead, is white and its vice-presidential candidate, Paul Boutelle, is black doesn't interest us very much although, of course, we do prefer to vote for black candidates. What does interest us is its program.

The Socialist Workers Party's immediate demands are:  
 BRING OUR BLACK GI'S HOME NOW.  
 BLACK CONTROL OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY.  
 SELF DEFENSE.  
 FOR AN INDEPENDENT BLACK PARTY.  
 UNITY WITH THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES OF OPPRESSED NATIONS.

The Socialist Workers Party's long range plan is for a workers revolution with workers control of the means of production. This is the first major step towards ending racism of every form. As Marxist-Leninists we support only programs that call for the abolition of capitalism, unless a political party of a young and still developing movement such as the Black Panther Party, presents immediate demands that we can accept. Therefore, we see a vote for the Socialist Workers Party nationally and the Black Panther Party locally to be the only ones possible for a revolutionary in this election.

It is time to become visible.

Veneceremos,

Mara Kiana  
 Tom Sanders

22 October 1968

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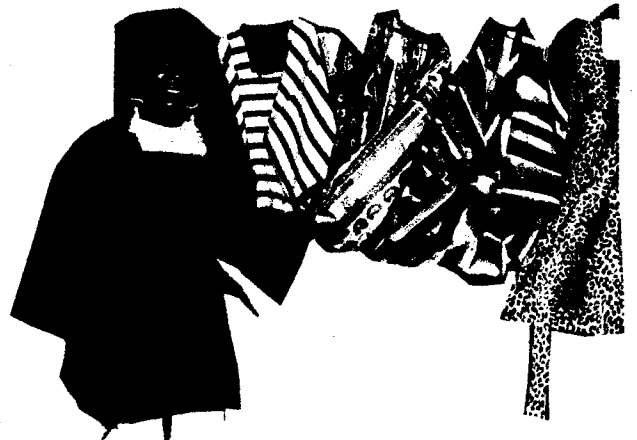
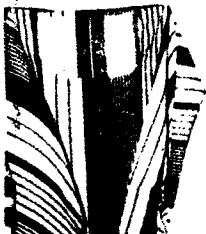
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## VOTE BLACK PANTHER

Brothers and Sisters,

The 1968 elections are here; Nixon, Humphrey and Wallace are asking for our votes. Do not vote for any of them; they do not represent our best interests. In general, we cannot get any real or fundamental changes in this election; the real change will take place on the streets.

The Black Panther Party truly represents our basic needs and aspirations; it is the vanguard party of the Afro-american nation. And it needs your votes.

Vote for all candidates who represent the Black Panther Party in your respective areas. Vote for the Party as a gesture of protest against the white and Uncle Tom candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties; vote for the Black Panther Party to register your support.

In the Oakland-San Francisco area, vote for:

Huey P. Newton 16th Assembly District

Bobby Seale 17th Assembly District

Kathleen Cleaver 18th Assembly District

Eldridge Cleaver (write in) President of U.S.A.

Finally, after you cast your vote for the Black Panther Party, go out and get involved in the liberation struggle.

Richard Assegai

Toussaint Lumumba

HUEY

STILL

MUST BE

SET FREE!

## CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN AMERICA

Reprinted with permission from a statement by the Asian-American Political Alliance.

On May 6, 1968 Edwin E. Willis, D-La., Chairman of HUAC, issued a 65-page report entitled Guerrilla Warfare Advocates in the United States which caused a good deal of controversy. The Washington Post of the same day carried an article about it under the caption "HUAC Would Intern Negro 'Guerrilla'." Locally the San Francisco Chronicle, also on the same day, carried a similar article under the caption "Probers Suggest Detention Camps." The press release of the report itself stated "that mixed Communist and Black nationalist elements are today planning and organizing paramilitary operations and that it is their intent to instigate additional riots which will pave the way for a general revolutionary uprising fought along guerrilla warfare lines." The avowed aim of this 65-page report was to alert and inform Congress and the American people of this imminent danger to national security.

Willis himself, in the foreword to the report, states that "it is my personal view that if the United States did not face an international Communist threat with the ever-present possibility of its being militarily engaged in other parts of the world, guerrilla warfare advocates would pose little danger to our country." Having said this he continues, "Should our military forces, in substantial numbers, be committed to actual combat in a number of other areas of the world, however, suppression of guerrilla warfare operations which were launched simultaneously in a number of major cities could pose a most serious problem." And because there is this possibility, according to the report, "acts of overt violence by the guerrillas would mean that they had declared a 'state of war' within the country and, therefore, would forfeit their rights as in wartime."

The most crucial features of this 65-page report lie in its recommendation for the usage of "detention centers" and the issuance of "census cards." In case of a national emergency, presumably when guerrilla violence has reached uncontrollable proportions, the report states: "The McCarran Act provides for various detention centers to be operated throughout the country and these might well be utilized for the temporary imprisonment of warring guerrillas."

The McCarran Act (also known as the Internal Security Act) of 1950, as amended, actually does have provisions to detain people under Title II which is called "Emergency Detention." Under this Title (Sec. 102 (a)) a state of "Internal Security Emergency" can be declared by the President in the event of any one of the following: 1) invasion of the territory of the United States or its possession;

2) declaration of war by Congress; or 3) insurrection within the United States in aid of a foreign enemy. The report of the HUAC, in asserting that this Act provides for detention centers, of course has the third and last emergency in mind.

Title II (Sec. 103 (a)) further goes on: "whenever there shall be in existence such an emergency the President, acting through the Attorney General, is hereby authorized to apprehend and by order detain, pursuant to the provisions of this title, each person as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person probably will engage in, or probably will conspire with others to engage in, acts of espionage or of sabotage." (Italics: Editors'). Upon 48 hours after arrest procedures are established in this Title whereby a person is granted the right to a preliminary hearing. But the procedures themselves are in clear violation of due "due process" because the arrested person "may introduce evidence in his own behalf, and may cross-examine witnesses against him, except that the Attorney General or his representative shall not be required to furnish information the revelation of which would disclose the identity or evidence of Government agents or officers which he believes would be dangerous to national safety and security to divulge." And so "if from the evidence it appears to the preliminary hearing officer that there is probable cause for the detention of such person pursuant to this title, such hearing officer shall forthwith issue an order for the detention of such person...."

The other crucial feature of the HUAC report is the recommendation for so-called "census cards." Such a card would bear the photograph of each person in the ghetto, his address, and other data about his home city. (Italics: Editors'). The purpose of these cards is to classify people, thereby facilitating the survey and control of their movement from one place to another in times of "emergency". In the words of the report itself: "This classification would aid the authorities in knowing the exact location of any suspect and who is in control of any given district." Again: "Under such a system, movement would be proscribed and the ability of the guerrilla to move freely from place to place seriously curtailed."

After the press release of this 65-page report was issued, the fears of detention centers were heightened, and understandably the report received considerable public attention. Prior to May 6, 1968 Attorney General Ramsey Clark, on NBC's "Meet the Press" on April 7, 1968, is reported to have denied the existence of concentration camps, for rumors of one kind or another about them were widespread even before this report was issued. "Rumors, and fear that arises from rumors," he stated, "are a great threat to us. Fear itself is a great threat and people who spread false rumors about concentration camps are either ignorant of the facts or have a motive of dividing this country." Later on

**WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY  
WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION**

Presidio of San Francisco, California

April 24, 1942

**INSTRUCTIONS  
TO ALL PERSONS OF  
JAPANESE  
ANCESTRY**

**Living in the Following Area:**

All of those portions of the Counties of Contra Costa and Alameda, State of California, within the boundary beginning at Carquines Strait; thence southerly on U. S. Highway No. 40 to its intersection with California State Highway No. 4, at or near Hercules; thence easterly on said Highway No. 4 to its intersection with California State Highway No. 21; thence southerly on said Highway No. 21 to its intersection with California State Highway No. 24, at Walnut Creek; thence westerly on said Highway No. 24 to the southerly limits of the City of Berkeley; thence following the said southerly city limits to San Francisco Bay; thence northerly and following the shore line of San Francisco Bay, through San Pablo Strait, and San Pablo Bay, to the point of beginning.

Pursuant to the provisions of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 19, this Headquarters, dated April 24, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above area by 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Friday, May 1, 1942.

No Japanese person living in the above area will be permitted to change residence after 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Friday, April 24, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the representative of the Commanding General, Northern California Sector, at the Civil Control Station located at:

2345 Channing Way, Berkeley, California.

Such permits will only be granted for the purpose of uniting members of a family, or in cases of grave emergency.

The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

1. Give advice and instructions on the evacuation.
2. Provide services with respect to the management, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most kinds of property, such as real estate, business and professional equipment, household goods, boats, automobiles and livestock.
3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.
4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence.

**The Following Instructions Must Be Observed:**

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Saturday, April 25, 1942, or between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Sunday, April 26, 1942.

2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Assembly Center, the following property:
  - (a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;
  - (b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
  - (c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
  - (d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls and cups for each member of the family;
  - (e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

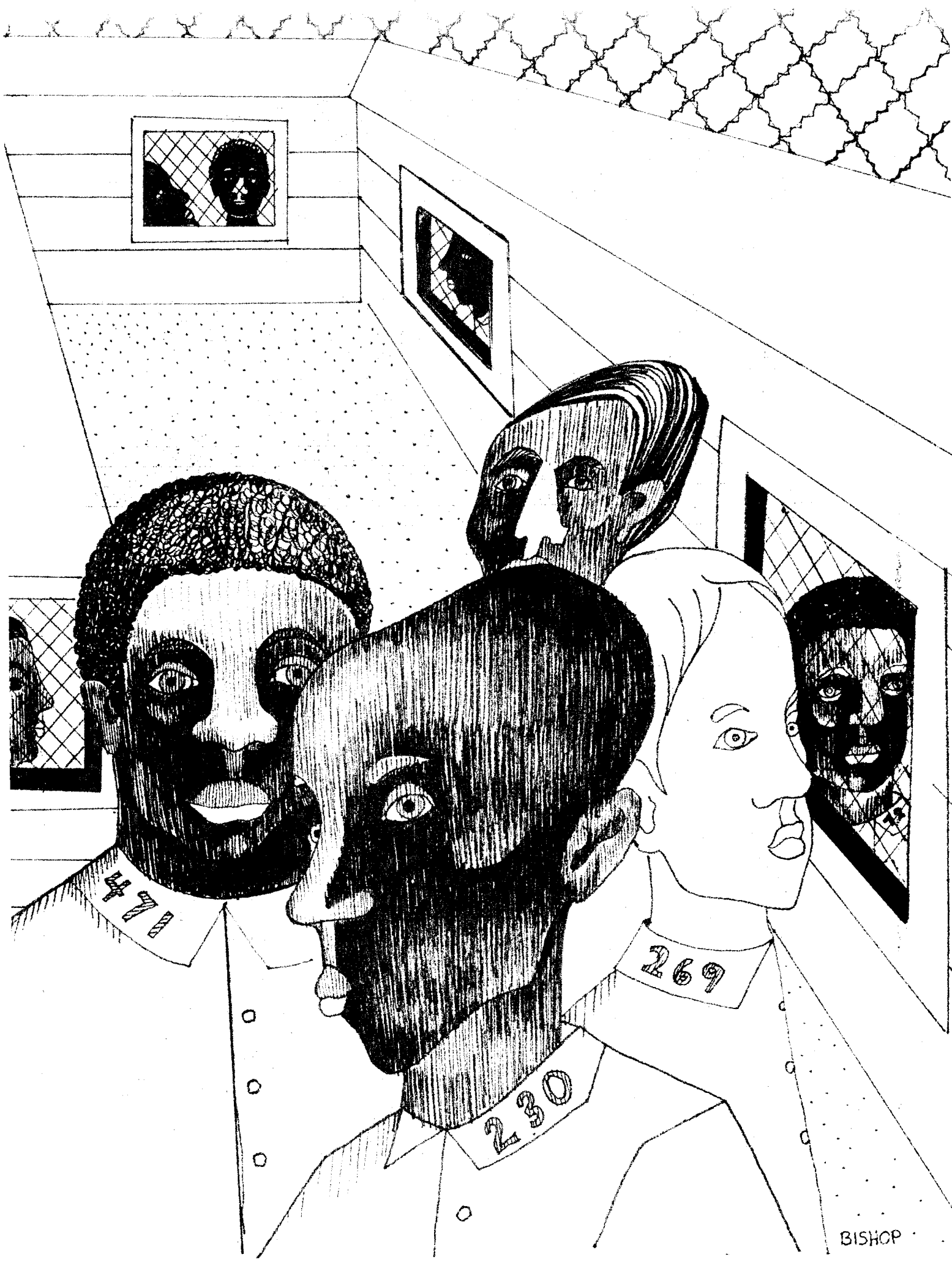
All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions obtained at the Civil Control Station.

The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

3. No pets of any kind will be permitted.
4. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage at the sole risk of the owner of the more substantial household items, such as iceboxes, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furniture. Cooking utensils and other small items will be accepted for storage if crated, packed and plainly marked with the name and address of the owner. Only one name and address will be used by a given family.
5. Each family, and individual living alone, will be furnished transportation to the Assembly Center or will be authorized to travel by private automobile in a supervised group. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

**Go to the Civil Control Station between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Saturday, April 25, 1942, or between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Sunday, April 26, 1942, to receive further instructions.**

J. I. DeWITT  
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army  
Commanding



BISHOP

May 12, 1968, after the issuance of the report, on ABC's "Issues and Answers," he repeated his view: "There are no concentration camps in this country. There are no plans to prepare any concentration camps in this country. No concentration camps are needed in this country. We have not had a situation in all of the difficulties that we have faced from the standpoint of riots and disturbances throughout our history, which has indicated a need for any mass detention facilities for American citizens, and I see no such need now."

J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General, who heads the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice and who hence would be directly responsible for administering Title II, has echoed Attorney General Ramsey Clark's statements. He has categorically denied the existence of any concentration camps as well as any government intent to detain any one under the provisions of Title II. He has admitted, however, that six detention facilities were maintained up until around 1957 in accordance with its provisions. These six facilities were as follows: Tule Lake, California; Wickenburg and Florence, Arizona; El Reno, Oklahoma; Allenwood, Pennsylvania; and Avon Park, Florida. (Italics: Editors'). Though these facilities were maintained up to about 1957, according to Yeagley, they were never used to detain any one under Title II and have been abandoned since. He cites two basic reasons why the McCarran Act can not be invoked. First, "the act requires that each 'detained' person be arrested on a warrant specifying his name and stating the Government's belief that he may engage or conspire to engage in sabotage or espionage." Second, "even if the rioting were formally declared an 'insurrection', there is no evidence to date that it is or may be fomented 'in aid of a foreign enemy' as required before Title II could be applied." Concluding, Yeagley stated: "I know of no contingency plan for mass Federal detention of Negroes under Title II or any other statute."

So much for Willis' HUAC report and the government response to it. It is true that the government under the provisions of Title II is required to name each person to be arrested and ultimately detained. But this requirement by no means would hinder the government from taking action, for we would be naive not to believe that the government does not have a list of militants, black and white, as well as of others who have dissented strongly against the Viet Nam war and racism. In addition, even though the government has to state its belief that the arrested person is engaging in or conspires to engage in acts of sabotage or espionage, as we have clearly seen, it is under no final obligation to produce the source of its evidence for its belief. For the provisions of Title II in fact places the burden of innocence upon the suspected person, judging him as guilty unless he himself can prove otherwise, with the government itself under the obligation of stating only its probable belief and no more.

That there are no detention camps at present, as the Attorney General's office states, is beside the point. The important point is that the McCarran Act provides for detention camps and that, if arrests are made under its Title II provisions, then they could be built with relative ease. The definition as to when there is a state of emergency, particularly the third and last one which states in the event of "insurrection in the United States in aid of a foreign enemy," thus becomes of paramount importance. How is "in aid of a foreign enemy" to be interpreted? The HUAC report mentions groups such as the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and the Progressive Labor Party and such individuals as Stokely Carmichael and Thomas Hayden. Now, depending upon the interpretation, any number of other groups and individuals besides these specifically mentioned could be included. Does it include the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense here in Oakland which has become affiliated with SNNC, and hence with Stokely Carmichael? In this connection it should be remembered that even Reverend Abernathy has been accused of being a Communist and that Japanese-Americans were alleged to be aiding a foreign enemy which allegation became one of the ostensible reasons for their "evacuation."

Thus the key issue is not whether or not Title II of the McCarran Act can be invoked or not. It is rather the very existence of the Act itself which provides for detention camps and which therefore permits some one like Willis to suggest their usage. Some say that the McCarran Act is a product of the McCarthy era, dismissing it at that. We of the Asian-American Political Alliance feel, as long as it is in effect, that it can be, and for that matter will be, and is being invoked against Black militants as well as white radicals. Moreover, given the current assumptions of American foreign policy, we see the clear possibility of a major war with Communist China; and if such should come to pass, then we do not proclude the possibility of Chinese-Americans being placed into detention camps in the same way Japanese-Americans were during World II. And so we of the Asian-American Political Alliance demand that all politicians take an unequivocal stand on this issue. Are they in favor for the repeal of the McCarran Act or not? Rumors about detention camps will not disappear by simply stating arguments that it will not or can not be invoked. Instead they will increase, especially when one considers that a new Internal Security Act of 1968 is now being proposed which will in effect make acts of dissent equivalent to treason (See S. 2988, introduced by Senator Eastland of Mississippi on February 19, 1968). Only with its actual repeal will the legal justifications for political prisoners crumble, and the Asian-American Political Alliance demands that it be.

ASIAN-AMERICAN POLITICAL ALLIANCE  
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## HANDGUNS

George Prosser

As a fighting weapon, the handgun is inferior to the rifle in every respect--power, range, accuracy. In only one respect does the handgun have an advantage over the rifle, namely, concealability. For that reason it is suitable for personal defense at close range.

Because one's life may depend upon one's choice of a personal defense weapon, it is important that the merits of the various weapons be carefully considered and their characteristics analysed. There are only two types of handguns suitable for personal defense: revolvers and automatic pistols. Each has advantages and disadvantages. Let us consider what some of them are.

The automatic pistol, a more recent development than the revolver, has the advantage of larger magazine capacity, therefore greater firepower. This is the principle reason why it is chosen by the military. Also, it is clip loading. This feature enhances the firepower of the pistol, making it very quick to reload. A third advantage of the automatic pistol, from the military point of view, is ease of manufacture. Automatic pistols are much cheaper to produce than good revolvers, and their design makes them readily adaptable to mass production. Large quantities of standard parts are easily turned out, and these parts can be fitted to the pistol with a minimum of gunsmithing. The best automatic pistol ever developed for military use was the Colt .45, adopted by the U. S. Army.

Despite the advantage of automatics, they have never been used on a wide scale by the police. And for a very good reason, namely, their reliability is uncertain. There are several reasons for this. First of all, the automatic is totally dependent upon perfect ammunition. In case of a faulty cartridge, a loose primer, a misfire, the automatic is out of action until the slide is pulled back, the faulty cartridge ejected, and a new round chambered. This takes time, and it takes both hands. If this sort of a malfunction occurs at a critical moment, the consequences could be serious.

By contrast, if a misfire should occur with a revolver, all you have to do is to squeeze the trigger again, bringing another cartridge in line with the chamber, and fire.

Most automatics use rimless cartridges, and headspace is controlled by the front edge of the cartridge case resting on a shoulder in the chamber of the pistol. This headspace is critical to the proper ignition of the cartridge, and the cartridge case must be exactly the correct length. High quality ammunition, of uniform characteristics, is a necessity.

Revolvers, on the other hand, will digest nearly any ammunition of the right caliber. Revolver cartridges are rimmed, and since the headspace is controlled by the rim resting against the back face of the cylinder, it doesn't matter if one cartridge is a little shorter or longer than another.

Automatic pistols are dependent upon the force of the explosion when they are fired to actuate the mechanism, eject the spent case, and chamber a new cartridge. If the ammunition used is not loaded uniformly, the mechanism will not function properly. If the cartridge is slightly underloaded, the weapon may not eject at all; if the cartridge is overloaded, it will slam the slide back with excessive force, eventually damaging the mechanism.

So you can see why the automatic pistol is clearly dependent upon uniform, high quality ammunition for proper functioning. Besides this factor, automatics require cartridges loaded with jacketed bullets because lead bullets will not function through the magazine. This makes the ammunition more expensive than revolver ammunition, and jacketed bullets wear out the barrel much faster than lead bullets do. The barrel life of an automatic pistol using standard jacketed bullets is about 5000 rounds; the barrel life of a revolver using standard, lead bullet ammunition is about 100,000 rounds! Lead bullets, particularly those with flat noses, have more stopping power than round nose jacketed bullets.

We have spoken of the advantage of greater firepower with respect to the automatics due to the fact that the magazine carries 7 to 13 rounds, whereas the revolver carries only six. Also, extra magazines can be carried in one's pockets, if one thinks that they will be needed. This advantage is somewhat offset by the fact that it is more difficult to load an empty magazine than it is to load a revolver cylinder, particularly if the hands are stiff with cold, or if one is excited. Also, magazines are easily lost. An automatic without a magazine is a single shot handgun; the lips of magazines can be bent from misuse or abuse, and then they will not feed the cartridges. Finally,

the button can be inadvertently pushed just when you are getting ready to shoot it, causing the magazine to drop out of the gun at a critical moment.

Whenever the police investigate a gun battle or shooting incident, they invariably make a careful search of the area to pick up cartridge cases that may be lying about. These empty cases are quite valuable to the police, often enabling them to identify the caliber, type and make of weapon from which they were fired. Furthermore, careful laboratory analysis sometimes can help the police identify the particular weapon that was used in the shootout. It is a bad thing to leave empty cartridge cases lying about after a fight. In this respect, as in so many others, the automatic pistol is much more dangerous than the revolver; the automatic ejects all of its cartridges on the spot, whereas the revolver does not. In the aftermath of an encounter with the enemy, you might not have time to search the whole area, and pick up all of your fired cases. In an all-out fight in which several combatants are involved, this factor might not matter very much; but in a lone encounter, especially at night, it might assume some importance.

Besides being totally dependent upon perfect ammunition, all automatics regardless of make are inherently less reliable than revolvers. They are all prone to jamming due to poorly fitted parts, too much or too little lubrication, incomplete ejection of the empty case, dirt or trash getting into the mechanism. Good revolvers are immune to this sort of trouble; all you have to do is keep squeezing the trigger and they will continue to fire. The most reliable automatic pistol ever developed was the Colt .45. It was relatively reliable because the Government spent thousands of dollars and hundreds of man hours in the attempt to make it so. Ordinary commercial pistols, and especially those of cheap, foreign manufacture, have nothing resembling this sort of reliability.

To be ready to use instantly in an emergency, an automatic pistol must be carried fully loaded, with a round in the chamber, cocked, and with the safety on. A revolver can be carried fully loaded, with the hammer down, and be ready to fire instantly double action. It is perfectly safe to carry it this way. It does not have a separate safety and does not need one; the safety feature is inherent in the double action mechanism. The automatic is not nearly as safe to carry loaded, and is more likely to be fired when you do not intend to fire it.

All modern revolvers are double-action; the only exception is the old Single Action, a romantic holdover from the days of the frontier. Double action means that the revolver can be fired by first cocking the hammer and then squeezing the trigger, as with the Single Action; or the revolver can be fired by just squeezing the trigger--the hammer will cock and fire by itself. With the hammer down, the revolver cannot be fired by accident. This is not true of the automatic. The fastest weapon in the world for repeat fire is the double-action revolver, faster than any automatic. This has been demonstrated on many occasions.

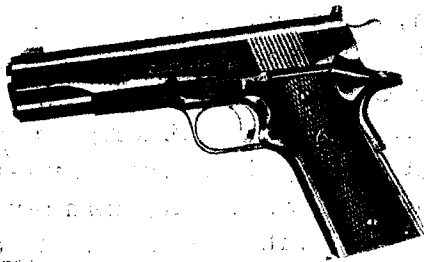
The trigger pull on a revolver can be adjusted to anything from 2½ pounds upwards, with perfect safety; automatic pistols are not safe with a light trigger pull, and the mechanism can become worn so that it will fire full automatic, which is exceedingly dangerous. The weapon cannot be controlled firing full automatic. Bullets will be flying all over the place, and finally the weapon itself will take off as if jet propelled in all likelihood.

The automatic has a slight advantage over the revolver in that it is flatter in shape, therefore a little easier to conceal. This advantage is offset by the fact that the automatic has poorer pointing qualities than the revolver. The automatic tends to be muzzle heavy, and will point toward the ground, particularly if fired from the hip or at night time. One must make a conscious effort to raise the muzzle. Whereas the revolver is a "natural" pointer and can be pointed and fired instinctively. This is especially important when shooting at night at an obscure target.

Some late model automatics, such as the P-38 and the Smith & Wesson Model 39, have a double action trigger mechanism similar to that of a revolver, and so can be fired double action on the first shot. This a distinct improvement insofar as it makes these automatics safe to carry fully loaded with a round in the chamber. But all of the other disadvantages in comparison with revolvers still apply to them.

With the exception of the Colt .45, most modern automatics tend to be chambered for the 9 mm. Parabellum cartridge or the .38 Super. Both are inferior in stopping power to the old police standby, the .38 Special, loaded with flat nose lead bullets at high velocity. Far superior to any .38 caliber is the .44 or the .45. This is the caliber that gives sure stopping power with one solid hit anywhere between the pelvis and the cranium. In any sort of gunfight it is most important, I believe, to be able to

HANDGUNS FOR SELF DEFENSE



AN AUTOMATIC PISTOL  
( .45 ACP Colt )

A REVOLVER  
( .38 Special Smith & Wesson )



Recommended:

9mm P-38 Walther



9mm M39 Smith & Wesson



.455 Webley MK VI Revolver

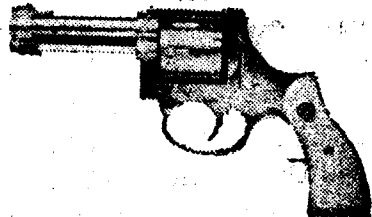


.357 Magnum Python Colt

Suicide Special



.25 Browning



Texas .32 S&W

stop an opponent with one well placed shot. One might be facing more than one opponent, for instance. An opponent hit with the .38 Special, or the jacketed 9 mm. bullet, might still be capable of shooting back, with deadly effect.

A good double-action revolver will not malfunction, and if it were chambered for a good, heavy .44 or .45 caliber cartridge, the oppressor's gendarmes will not be shooting back after being hit. The only automatic pistol with this kind of power is the Colt .45. Besides being somewhat difficult to learn to shoot well, it has all of the disadvantages of automatics. It must be admitted that at very close range it is hard to miss. But I have seen troops in the Army, totally frustrated, unable to hit the target at all with the Army's Colt .45 at 25 yards.

So, if you own a .45 Colt Automatic Pistol, and you must rely upon it for personal defense, learn to carry it loaded with a round in the chamber, cocked and with the safety on. Then, if you get into a gun battle, the tactical rule is to get up close and fire as fast as you can. Keep firing as long as the enemy is moving. No other automatic pistol is recommended for personal defense.

For utter reliability under all circumstances, the double-action revolver is recommended above all other handguns. Choose preferably a caliber of .44 or .45 for sure stopping power. Never choose any caliber less than .38 Special for personal defense. All of those little .32's and .25's are nothing more than "suicide specials." Suicide is especially tragic when it is unintentional. A good double-action revolver loaded with cartridges of .38 Special caliber or larger can be fired faster and more accurately than any other weapon, and it can be used with equal facility by a right or left handed man. For curing anxiety due to defencelessness it is the proper medicine.

After you have acquired your revolver, and plenty of ammunition, take it out to the range and practice. Yes, practice, practice, practice and only practice makes perfect. If you are not willing to practice with your weapon, and become proficient with it, you are better off, safer, with no weapon at all. Consider the fate of the untrained marksman who takes a wild shot at somebody, and then discovers that his opponent not only has a gun, but knows how to use it!

Colt and Smith & Wesson are the two makes of revolvers most familiar to Americans. Both are of high quality. Despite the fact that there has been some relative deterior-

ation in the quality of the Smith & Wesson in the past two or three years due to the pressures of war production, both of these two revolvers are still better than the cheaper makes. Not to be overlooked is the British Webley. Particularly those models not made in war time are unexcelled for sturdiness and reliability. The Webley was designed as a combat revolver, and one of these in good condition is practically fool proof. It is chambered, moreover, for a heavy cartridge, the .455 Webley--a sure stopper.

Our readers should be reminded that a new federal law absolutely banning the mail order sale of all firearms and ammunition goes into effect on the 16th of December 1968. After that date firearms and ammunition will be available only from local dealers. Those interested in obtaining firearms and ammunition by mail order before this deadline should consult a copy of the Shotgun News or the American Rifleman at once.

So much for the handgun for personal defense. Compared with a good repeating rifle or .12 guage shotgun, in terms of power and ability to hit, the handgun is almost a toy. It's sole usefulness is for personal defense at close range. (To my knowledge there are only two exceptions in the history of modern guerrilla warfare where the handgun was used with limited effectiveness in certain tactical situations; namely the Irish Rebellion and the recent Algerian War for Independence. I firmly believe these to be very special circumstances.) If I am standing across the street from a man armed with a handgun, and I have a good rifle, I believe that I would have little cause to feel insecure. While he may hit me by accident as he lets fly with all six cylinders, I will hit him for sure with one well-aimed shot from the rifle. I will hit him, moreover, if he is standing behind a telephone pole or tree, or crouched inside an automobile.

One final word on this subject before we close it. It concerns the use of silencers. Many brothers in the movement are concerned about this question, so a few comments are in order.

First, silencers work only on weapons with a muzzle velocity less than the speed of sound. This is about 1090 feet per second at 0 degrees Centigrade. If the bullet leaves the muzzle at more than that velocity, the silencer is ineffective. Second, the silencer tends to rob the bullet of its initial velocity, thus rendering it less effective. Third, the long and bulky silencer makes the weapon much less easy to conceal. Since the only valid

reason for carrying a handgun instead of a rifle is portability and concealability, the silencer defeats the purpose of the handgun. The silencer equipped gun is more a weapon of assassination than of self defense. If that is your purpose, you would better be advised to select an accurate rifle, and get back to a longer range from your target, thus affording yourself a better chance of escape. No accessory fitted to any gun, in my opinion, is any good unless it increases the effectiveness of the weapon. In the case of the silencer, the accessory actually decreases the weapon's effectiveness.

Finally, silencers are illegal. They violate the Federal Firearms Act. Since they are illegal, silencers are prohibitively expensive to manufacture. Mere possession of one will send you to the Penitentiary for five years, with a possible \$5,000 fine to boot. Is it worth the risk for a gadget which only reduces the effectiveness of your weapon in exchange for making it quieter to shoot? We may as well face it, if we are going to fight effectively against the enemy who is trying to crush us, we are going to have to make a little noise. When the crunch comes, that will be the least of our worries.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 ----- 0 -----  
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"The attitude of the white race is to subjugate, to exploit, and if necessary exterminate the weaker peoples with whom they come in contact.

"They subjugate first, if the weaker peoples will stand for it; then exploit, and if they will not stand for SUBJUGATION nor EXPLOITATION, the other recourse is EXTERMINATION."

----- 0 -----

"There can be no peace among men and nations, so long as the strong continues to oppress the weak, so long as injustice is done to other peoples, just so long will we have cause for war, and make a lasting peace an impossibility."

----- 0 -----

"Hungry men have no respect for law, authority or human life."

--Marcus Garvey

Philosophy and Opinions

Volume One, Edited by Amy Jacques-Garvey



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# SOUL ON ICE

by Eldridge Cleaver

Introduction by Maxwell Geismar



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## INSIDE THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

## Part II

## The Trial of Nonviolence

Onij-Nejjih

The brown surly substance squished through the young girl's toes as she walked through the clearing that had once been designated as the City Plaza. This was Resurrection City, U. S. A. The place where many had come to erode the status they had been accorded by the government of the U.S.A. Those who came had faith, Blind faith, in the abilities of those who professed to lead them. They, the Poor inhabitants of Resurrection City, had left their homes and had brought with them the well wishes of their friends and relatives to face the enemy, the Haves. The mud, the rain, the frustration of the people made Resurrection City seem like any other Black Ghetto. The people began to complain about the food, then the leadership, and then among themselves about things that had little merit outside of pure boredom. They were frustrated and angry. They had come thousands of miles to get something done to "take care of business" and had done nothing since arriving in Washington but sit around and go on a few superfluous marches.

The leadership of SCLC was baffled, the whole lot seemed to be very tired. Many of the SCLC staff had not wished to go on with the PPC after Dr. King's death; they had wanted to do other things that seemed more important, but they had not won the ultimate battle for dominance of the organization in its Atlanta meeting which decided their fate.

With this decision weighing heavily on his shoulders, Rev. Ralph David Abernathy decided to go on with the late Dr. King's Dream. Was this an accurate, or correct, posture to assume? Many thought that it was not. The Poor People of Resurrection City thought it was. The whole group, with the exception of a small minority, wanted to try it once more the Nonviolent way. With this in mind they went forward in great numbers ready to sacrifice once more their human dignity with the hope of attaining, for the great bulk of Black America, First Class Citizenship.

With this conviction serving as their sustaining energy the poor came. The urban poor came, the rural poor came, the poor Black, white, Red and Brown came. They all came, but

many left discouraged, many still hopeful, none were sure of the accomplishments of their efforts, indeed, not even if they had had any effect at all.

Few of the people had had any idea that SCLC had made a gentlemen's agreement with the "Establishment". Few knew that they were being used as props. The fact that SCLC had been given sanitation facilities by the city of Washington, D.C. would throw a shadow of doubt over the whole campaign it had seemed to me. However, when electric power, medical supplies and even transportation began to pour in at a tremendous rate I was sure that the Poor People of this nation had been co-opted once more and would, by this act of congress, be rendered ineffective.

Where were the leaders of the Poor People's Campaign when the rain began to fall? When children coughed into the wee hours of the morning shivering from the damp unfriendly cold; when old women and men wandered about helplessly and young people treaded over the cold muddy earth trying to find them: Where were the Leaders? Most of them were sitting warm and dry enjoying their favorite imported Cognac in the bowels of the Pitt's hotel. They spent more time in this dim cavern of comfort than they spent in Resurrection City. They were not there when the people complained about nothing to do; nor were they there when they wanted to do anything that might embarrass the Democratic Party in an election year. I contend there were very few endeavors made by the officials, no matter the reason behind it, that were expressly for the benefit, or betterment of the position of the Poor People in America.

When an old laborer died of malnutrition while standing in a line to receive food at the United States Agricultural Building Cafeteria, SCLC did nothing. They didn't want to do anything because this would have been a breach of the gentlemen's agreement and some of the young aspiring ministers in SCLC might have been ruined politically.

While the leaders vegetated and prostituted themselves, the Black, the Brown, the Red and the white talked of direct nonviolent action. The Brown people launched their campaign on the Justice Department; an individual, moved by his concern for justice for all men, was brutally beaten by the police when he attempted to lower the American flag after hearing of the late Senator Kennedy's death. SCLC had nothing to say for these people. SCLC had nothing to do with them and their actions were not according to SCLC policy. In other words SCLC had their image to worry about, and any one who violated this would be disavowed.

The young Rev. Jesse Jackson won the hearts and devotion of the Resurrection City inhabitants by his militant political oratory. He sensed that the people of the city were bored to death; he also knew that what they wanted was not a twice daily prayer meeting but some kind of action that

would give them a feeling of being and effectiveness. Rev. Jackson did not enjoy his position in the city government very long. Maybe because he wouldn't go along with the joke, or maybe because he wasn't in on it; either way he was soon to be discharged under the guise that it was because of his health. He was sent to Chicago to head the SCLC branch of the PPC there and with him went the only hope for a mass scale political confrontation during the campaign. From this point until the closing days of the campaign it would be a situation where the leadership was just holding on until after the Solidarity Day Celebration.

With the withdrawal of Rev. Jackson the situation in the city became worse. The hostility of the groups became more pronounced. The ever present appetite of the various news reporters chafed the tolerance of the inhabitants to a supersensitive level of repulsion. In-groups began to form and band together against other out-groups. The Commandos began to bait the members of Peace Brothers, each being composed of young men aching for some action. The young Brothers all over the city began to use force to handle minor infractions of the rules where a little talk would have sufficed.

When Bayard Rustin quit his post as march coordinator he was merely protecting himself from what was an obvious flop. This, however, only confounded the already overtaxed SCLC staff. They could have cared less about Rustin, but they would have preferred to have his assistance as opposed to his accusations. The organization in the city dropped to zero, the people of the city moped around and waited for the end. There was little joy in the city now it was as if a shroud had been placed at its door.

The city dwindled to a precious two or three hundred almost overnight. The people began to filter out to their homes, and with them was carried a greater burden of frustration and anguish than many had ever known. The PPC had projected its aims as those of bringing the plight of the poor before the consciousness of America, to articulate the needs, aspirations, and dreams of the Poor. To change the plight of this nation's starving millions; or to stay until something was done about it; bearing this in mind I think it did not fail in its stated purpose, but it failed its people. It used the Poor, trusting and honest people of this nation to present a lie to the American public; the poor are hardly better off today than before the PPC. Nonviolence had been dealt another harsh defeat at the hands of the slick Washington pawns of the "established" order. With this defeat all Black people of conviction should take heart, for with every disillusioned true believer at the hands of the Pigs of Power, we gain a believer in the relevance of self defense and self preservation; we move closer to our ultimate goal of freedom and self government in a nation where all men will enjoy the benefits of technology and the protection of a government of, by and for the people.

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## BLACK UNITY

Oakland Direct Action Committee

Mara Kiana

Mark Comfort, a grass roots community organizer, is director of the Oakland Direct Action Committee, which was formed under his leadership in 1964. Its store front office is located at 9435 East 14th St. where the people can readily seek service. ODAC intervenes in behalf of the people with the welfare department, the probation department, the police department and the schools. It helps people get medical and legal services and provides a meeting place for youth.

In November, 1964, ODAC sent Mark Comfort to Lowndes County, Alabama to work on voter registration. An alliance was formed with the Lowndes County Freedom Organization.

In 1966, the Parents Association for Better Schools was formed by ODAC to press for free school lunches for needy children. This project was successful and the parents continue to work to improve the quality of education in the Ad Hoc Committee for Better Schools.

In 1966, Mark Comfort was a candidate for the State Assembly and came out 4th in a field of nine in a campaign run almost entirely without funds.

In August, 1967, ODAC gathered fifteen tons of food and medical supplies for Lowndes County to help freedom organizations care for victims of poverty and racism.

As a part of the Poor Peoples' Campaign in Washington, D.C. in May and June, 1968, ODAC formed a Western Caravan to Resurrection City and was responsible for safely transporting three busloads of people to and from Washington and caring for them while there.

In October, 1968, classes resumed for the fifth year of the John F. Kennedy School, Inc., a free private school, run by ODAC, that invites dropouts to "drop-in" and continue their education. More than 500 Alameda County youths have attended the school since it opened in the Spring of 1964. Their average length of stay is two to three months, when many return to public school and others enter Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, junior colleges or apprenticeships. Rather than focus on their dysfunctions, the program attempts to build on skills already acquired--whether academic or street skills--toward constructive creative behavior.

ODAC is sending 40 Brothers and Sisters to Alabama to ensure that Black people can vote, November 5th, without being harassed, murdered and otherwise victims of racist tactics. Some left in September and all hope to return to the Bay Area by November 9th. ODAC needs \$5000 from supporters to cover the cost of the trip.

Now that its services and projects are becoming more and more a part of the Oakland Black community, ODAC desperately needs funding to continue its work. A \$3,456 grant from the Glide Foundation was depleted August 1st. Minimum monthly expenses (rent, utilities, telephone, office supplies, etc.) amount to a total of \$850. If ODAC is to continue its work, to be able to purchase athletic equipment, classroom and office supplies and distribute a newsletter, it must have assistance from outside the poverty pocket in which it operates.

Pledges so far amount to \$450. Pledges of \$5, \$10 or more are urgently needed. If you cannot pledge on a regular basis any contribution at any time will be greatly appreciated. Your brothers and sisters are dedicating long, often frustrating, loving hours towards organizing Black people-- show your support by giving money!

O D A C  
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 Oakland, California 94603  
 Phone 568-1662

Mark Comfort  
 Director

Michael Reshard  
 Director of Security

Styles Price  
 Asst. Director

Lafayette Robinson  
 Director of  
 Field Activities

Wilbert Harden  
 Chairman

\* \* \* \* \*  
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"The ends you serve that are selfish will take you no further than yourself; but the ends you serve that are for all, in common, will take you even into eternity."

# # # # #

"The only protection against INJUSTICE in man is POWER --Physical, financial and scientific."

--Marcus Garvey

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Volume One, Edited by Amy Jacques-Garvey

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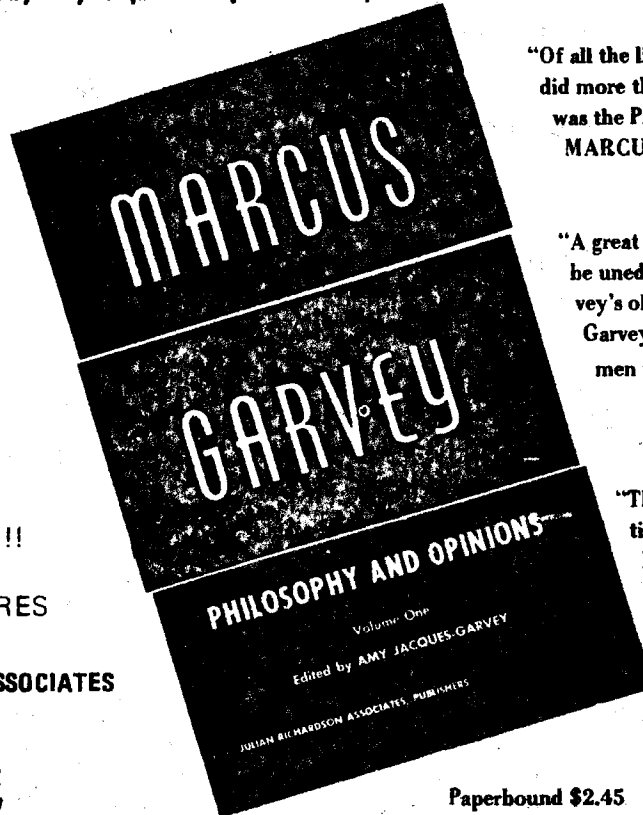
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## From PHILOSOPHY AND OPINIONS OF MARCUS GARVEY, Vol. I:

"This is the day of racial activity, when each and every group of this great human family must exercise its own initiative and influence its own protection, therefore Negroes should be more determined today than they ever have been, because the mighty forces of the world are operating against non-organized people, who are not ambitious enough to protect their own interests."

"Propaganda has done more to defeat the good intentions of races and nations than even open warfare . . . We of the Negro race are suffering more than any other race in the world from propaganda---Propaganda to destroy our hopes, our ambitions and our confidence in self."

". . . it is advisable for the Negro to get POWER in education, science, industry, politics and higher government.. That kind of power that will stand out signally so that other races and nations can see, and if they will not see, then feel . . . Man is not satisfied or moved by prayers or petitions, but every man is moved by that power of authority which forces him to do it even against his own will."

## QUOTES FROM MARCUS GARVEY

(Editors' note: The following quotations of Marcus Garvey were selected from Volume One of his Philosophy and Opinions, edited by his widow, Mrs. Amy Jacques-Garvey, who now resides in Jamaica. We are reprinting with the permission of Julian Richardson Associates, 146 Leavenworth St., San Francisco, California, ZIP 94102. Please note the publisher's statement elsewhere in this issue of Black Politics about Marcus Garvey's Philosophy and Opinions.)

## White Man's Solution For The Negro Problem

## In America

"Immediately after the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation in America, the white man started to think how he could solve the new problem of the Negro.

"He saw that the Negro could not be slaughtered by wholesale killing in that it would be a blot on American civilization, he therefore had to resort to some means of solving the problem, which meant the extinction of the Negro in America.

"The plan he decided on was as follows:

"'Now that America is undeveloped and we have but 34,000,000 in population (30,000,000 being white and 4,000,000 black) a number not large enough to develop the country as we want it, we will use the 4,000,000 blacks until we have built up the country, sufficiently and when we no longer need their labor, we will throw them off and let them starve economically and die of themselves, or emigrate elsewhere, we care not where. Then no one can accuse us of being inhuman to the Negro as we shall not have massacred him.'

"A hearty welcome is extended to white people from all parts of the world to come to and settle in America. They come in by the thousands every month. Why? The idea is to build up a vast white population in America, so as to make the white people independent of Negro labor; thereby depriving them of the means of livelihood, the wherewithal to buy bread, which means that in a short while they will die of starvation.

"Those of us who study industrial conditions among the race must have noticed that Negroes in America have been thrown out of jobs that they occupied formerly, and their positions taken by European Immigrants. Now if the white people have not reached the apex of their intention industrially, as far as the development of the country is concerned, and they have exhibited such a degree of pre-

judice since they started their plan; how much more prejudiced will they not become in the next one hundred years when their population will be doubled by emigration and birthrate? This is the problem the Negro has to face in America."

From A Speech Delivered At Liberty Hall  
N. Y. C. During Second International  
Convention of Negroes August 1921

"....At no time in the history of the world, for the last five hundred years, was there ever a serious attempt made to free Negroes. We have been camouflaged into believing that we were made free by Abraham Lincoln. That we were made free by Victoria of England, but up to now we are still slaves, we are industrial slaves, we are social slaves, we are political slaves, and the new Negro desires a freedom that has no boundary, no limit....

"....The enemy may argue with you to show you the impossibility of a free and redeemed Africa, but I want you to take as your argument the thirteen colonies of America, that once owed their sovereignty to Great Britain, that sovereignty has been destroyed to make a United States of America. George Washington was not God Almighty. He was a man like any Negro in this building, and if he and his associates were able to make a free America, we too can make a free Africa. Hampden, Gladstone, Pitt and Disraeli were not the representatives of God in the person of Jesus Christ. They were but men, but in their time they worked for the expansion of the British Empire, and today they boast of a British Empire upon which 'the sun never sets.' As Pitt and Gladstone were able to work for the expansion of the British Empire, so you and I can work for the expansion of a great African Empire. Voltaire and Mirabeau were not Jesus Christs, they were but men like ourselves. They worked and overturned the French Monarchy. They worked for the Democracy which France now enjoys, and if they were able to do that, we are able to work for a democracy in Africa. Lenin and Trotsky were not Jesus Christs, but they were able to overthrow the depotism of Russia, and today they have given to the world a Social Republic, the first of its kind. If Lenin and Trotsky were able to do that for Russia, you and I can do that for Africa. Therefore, let no man, let no power on earth, turn you from this sacred cause of liberty....

"....Our cause is based upon righteousness. And anything that is not righteous we have no respect for, because God Almighty is our leader and Jesus Christ our standard bearer. We rely on them for that kind of leadership that will make us free, for it is the same God who inspired the Psalmist to write 'Princes shall come out of Egypt and Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God.'...."

# THE MILITANT

As we celebrate the fortieth anniversary of **The Militant**, which was founded in 1928, one of the proudest chapters in the history of the paper that we can point to is its coverage of the Cuban Revolution.

Throughout an entire period of press falsification about the revolution, **The Militant** established an international reputation as a source of accurate information about major Cuban developments. We have published more texts of speeches by Fidel and Che than any other English-language publication.

Along with the Socialist Workers Party, **The Militant** has played a key role in rallying opposition to the anti-Cuba drive. These efforts mobilized significant support of Cuba and were important in developing the initial stage of the present radicalization in this country.

If you are a new reader and would like to try us out for a period, you may obtain a special, three-month introductory subscription to **THE MILITANT** for only \$1. Send check or money order to **THE MILITANT**, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

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BLACK CAPITALISM - SALVATION OR SELL OUT?

Ofari Aku

Recently, Republican presidential candidate Richard Nixon announced that the solution to the problems confronting Black people in this country lies in the development of Black private ownership of businesses in greater numbers. And, of course, in conformity with the overall prevailing pattern of capitalistic enterprise which has been "so successful in making this country the richest and most powerful in the world."

After this pronouncement, a few Black organizations immediately endorsed this "concept." The most notable being CORE. This has even led to speculation that the new director of CORE, Roy Innis, would endorse the candidacy of Richard Nixon. To understand the roots of this issue, it is necessary to examine it in an historical context.

There is nothing new and certainly nothing revolutionary in attempting to build Black businesses and enterprises into a viable economic base which would be capable of securing for Black people the increase in jobs and income necessary to break the vicious cycle of poverty and unemployment, which has been the continuing legacy of Black people since our so-called emancipation.

The Free African Society organized in Philadelphia in 1787, by two free Black leaders, Absalom Jones and Richard Allen was one of the earliest recorded attempts to develop an independent economic base in the Black community. The Free African Society existed for the purpose of extending mutual aid and cooperation among Black people. In the following years, a succession of "mutual aid" societies began to spring up in various northern cities.

In the latter 19th and early 20th century, Booker T. Washington from his position as president of the National Negro Business League, became the leading exponent of Black "economic self-sufficiency." A few years later, this theme was picked up by Marcus Garvey who called Booker T. Washington his "hero" and "inspiration." Garvey tried to develop many of Washington's ideas in the hope of achieving the mythical independent economic base for Black people. Garvey's efforts resulted in the Black Star Line fiasco (a plan calling for Black investment in a chain of ships which would carry people "back to Africa"). Subsequently, millions of Black people lost enormous sums of money in the

venture, many, their entire life savings.

The positions taken by Washington and Garvey stood in direct contrast to the economic concept envisioned by W. E. B. DuBois. In his second autobiography, "Dusk of Dawn", DuBois laid out by far the most concise and well-rounded economic system based on socialist principles for Black people. He termed this a "cooperative commonwealth" or planned economic sharing.

In a more contemporary vein, the Nation of Islam, under the leadership of The Honorable Elijah Muhammad, perhaps best exemplifies the concept of "Black Capitalism" in practice. They have established across the country numerous small businesses ranging from restaurants to supermarkets. Though still operative on a limited scale, the Nation of Islam seeks to corner ultimately all avenues of business exchange in the Black community.

Merely increasing the number of Black merchants in ghettos as advocated by Nixon and CORE will not substantially alter the dire economic plight of the Black ghetto-dweller. After all, what difference does it make who runs the pawnshop, liquor store or corner grocery store if you are still being charged the same exorbitant prices for the same inferior goods? If Black businessmen continue to leave the ghetto as soon as they have profited financially, which is the prevailing tendency, how is this any different from the Jewish or Italian merchants? In both cases, the end result is the same; the money Black people spend is not staying in the Black community to insure both the increase and the equitable distribution of the goods and services for all the people.

The whole notion of Black people being able to compete with white monopoly capitalism and, thereby, raise the material standards of the ghetto to an equal level with that of the white community is a fallacy. It stems primarily from the inability to properly analyze the mechanisms and the working dynamics underlying the foundation of U. S. capitalism.

U. S. capitalism as a system has in the main been responsible for both the origin and institutionalization of the racism, exploitation and oppression that pervades the entire fabric of this country. Not content with the exploitation of its own workers, the U.S. has set up a brutal imperialistic network of economic domination throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America, thus, reducing

many of the countries in the Third World Bloc to little more than neo-colonies of the U.S. with their diplomatic and political policies completely subservient to the dictates of the U.S.

When viewing capitalism in its proper perspective, it seems not only ludicrous but dangerous for Black people to attempt to adopt a system which has proven itself so detrimental to the great masses of the world's people, who are primarily Black. I think the long term effect of a concentrated drive to put more individual Black faces in business will only result in a change in the color of the exploiter. Further, it will greatly compound an acute problem, by dividing Black people into distinct vested interest groups. This will prevent the Black community from forming a united front to insure the collective group solidarity which, at the moment, is of paramount importance. Above all, the greatest threat that Black capitalism presents is the perpetuation of a small Black elite who will only serve as a bulwark for white capitalism's interest in the ghettos.

It should be clear that "Black Capitalism" will not succeed in economically transforming the Black community precisely because capitalism, in general, has created the conditions which now exist. To achieve any kind of genuine progress in the economic renovation of the Black community, the system of capitalism will have to be dismantled through a highly concerted and broadly based National Liberation Movement. As H. Rap Brown recently pointed out, Black people can never really hope to control the Black community until they control the country. Therefore, the first step would necessarily entail nationalization (on the local level--communization) of all institutions: schools, recreation facilities, service centers, courts, etc. This, along with the expropriation of all business enterprises in the Black community would be done in the name of the new United Nation of Afro-America. They would be turned over to the people who have more than paid for them through years of price gouging and robbing on the part of white merchants.

The second phase of the N.L.M. would actively seek alliances with Puerto Ricans, Indians, Mexican-Americans and all other exploited national minority groups as well as poor white workers. Taken as a collective unit, this group composes the overwhelming bulk of the population.

The third phase of the struggle would seek to replace

capitalism with a socialistic system bases on humanitarian principles. This would have as its goal the complete equalitarian distribution of the U.S.'s land, wealth and power among all the people who, after all, have contributed the most toward the building of the U.S. financial empire.

In the end, the pursuance of "Black Capitalism" within the framework and under the guardianship of U.S. capitalism will serve only to divert the truly revolutionary potential which is developing in the Black masses (as some 400 national rebellions over the last four years have shown). The alternative "Black Capitalism" offers is a deadend form of reactionary nationalism rather than a real solution to the problems of Black people. That solution lies in a protracted National Liberation Struggle which would ultimately link up with the International Liberation Struggle.

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#### RADICALISM

"'Radical' is a label that is always applied to people who are endeavoring to get freedom.

Jesus Christ was the greatest radical the world ever saw. He came and saw a world of sin and his program was to inspire it with spiritual feeling. He was therefore a radical.

"George Washington was dubbed a radical when he took up his sword to fight his way to liberty in America one hundred and forty years ago.

"All men who call themselves reformers are perforce radicals. They cannot be anything else, because they are revolting against the conditions that exist.

"Conditions as they exist reveal a conservative state, and if you desire to change these conditions you must be a radical.

"I am, therefore, satisfied to be the same kind of radical, if through radicalism I can free Africa."

--Marcus Garvey

Philosophy and Opinions

Volume One, Edited by Amy Jacques-Garvey

## LETTER TO THE EDITORS

N. Y., N. Y.  
16 June 1968

Dear Sir,

In building an armed force and seeing that black people are an internal colony of the United States is indeed a major step forward for the Black Panthers. The Black Panthers, however, are defensive and static in their violence. That is, the police can attack them but they can't attack the police. If you can't attack them you really can't defend yourself. The attacks and harassment of the Black Panther leadership shows us that. Bobby Seale was arrested, Bobby Hutton killed and Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton shot. Yet the police can still move about with impunity.

I was listening to one of the Black Panthers on the radio here and he explained that the Panthers used the gun as a deterrent against the police. He drew the analogy between the atomic forces of Russia and China against the United States, that Russia or China wouldn't attack the United States and vice versa because all three had nuclear force as a deterrent against the other. What he failed to see is that both China and Russia are independent countries and use nuclear force to maintain their independence. The Black nation is not independent and if every black man just owned a gun with no intention of using it unless attacked then we would be no closer to independence than we are today. The white men think twice before attempting to do to us what Hitler did to the Jews but we wouldn't be independent either.

In forming an alliance between the Peace and Freedom Party and (Ed: word unclear)...for electoral politics the Black Panthers have taken a most backward step politically.

Both Robert Williams and Malcolm X blasted whites for the disruptive role they have played in the black revolution both past and present and after similar experience both SNCC and CORE either ousted whites or force them into very subordinate roles.

Black Panthers come along and reverse the whole process and go back to the old black and white, white workers, white radicals, etc., unite and fight.

Looks like not everybody wants to get off this honky's plantation. The same sort of self-hatred and contempt for black people which their Information Minister Eldridge Cleaver denounces in James Baldwin is precisely what he practices in himself.

Eldridge Cleaver, James Baldwin, John O. Killens, etc. belong to that old school that the black man because he loves the United States so much will save and transform the United

States. They look upon the relationship between blacks and whites in this country, not as the relationship between oppressed and oppressor, exploiter and exploited but as pretty much a lover's quarrel. Perhaps, for them, it is a lover's quarrel because they love the white man so much.

Personally as I see it we blacks have slaved for this honky and have been more loyal to him than any dog and this honky has cursed us, spit on us and mocked us in our misery. I don't see why on top of all that we should be called upon to play Jesus Christ for this rotten country and save it. The hell with this country and the hell with this honky.

Robert Williams and R.A.M. I believe have come up with the best program. They have rejected white leadership and have recognized that even so-called alliance between black and white have not always worked to the best interest of black people. Robert Williams has come up with a program urban guerrilla warfare and R.A.M.'s principles of anti-imperialism, anti-racism are most important. The principle of anti-exploitation of man by man is indeed most important. It is not enough to just overthrow honky power but we must replace it with something better. We must establish a social system whose basic premise is the non-exploitation of man by man. For the exploitation of man by man is what gives rise to imperialism, racism and colonialism. Capitalism is premised on the exploitation of man by man.

Socialism is premised on the non-exploitation of man by man. When so-called leaders like Stokeley Carmichael come out and denounce socialism and claim that socialism is not for black people then I automatically become suspicious of such "leaders." I suspect that these today's "leaders" will become tomorrow's exploiters. Just as in Africa where independence, in some cases, Algeria, Kenya was won through the great shedding of blood, the people, for the most part, are no better off today than they were under Colonialism. We blacks had better work for something better than that. To date only Robert Williams and R.A.M. have really formulated a program. Our liberties can only be won through urban guerrilla warfare, separation and socialism.

Yours truly,

(Name withheld on request.)

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"The function of the Press is public service without prejudice or partiality, to convey the truth as it is seen and understood without favoritism or bias."

--Marcus Garvey

Philosophy and Opinions

Volume One, Edited by Amy Jacques-Garvey

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THE EDITORS' REPORT TO THE READERS

BLACK POLITICS is a unique journal dedicated to developing correct revolutionary thought relevant to the liberation struggle of the oppressed masses of the world. We need your financial and intellectual support.

Please help increase our circulation--send a subscription to your library, school, labor union, political group, or to a friend, etc. WE ARE OFFERING A FREE PAPERBACK COPY of Marcus Garvey's PHILOSOPHY AND OPINIONS, Vol. I, to each person who sends us 5 (five) or more subscriptions! (This offer expires January 31, 1969.) You may purchase a bundle of BLACK POLITICS at a discount and sell them in your community. Write us for information.

We are continually finding ways of improving this journal and they are expensive. By pledging \$1.00 or more per month or giving donations when you can you can actively help the spread of Black radical thought. We also suggest that you sponsor a social affair with the proceeds to be contributed to BLACK POLITICS.

Please note our new section, LETTERS TO THE EDITORS. We welcome comments and suggestions from our readers and would also like to have manuscripts which are appropriate to the aims of this journal--political theory, strategy, tactics of resistance, Black history, etc. We would also be interested in having articles about pertinent events in your local community which have been suppressed or ignored by the national news media. Share your concerns, ideas and interests with your Black Brothers.

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ADVERTISING RATES:

Ads should be relevant to the Black Liberation Movement and promote the interests of Black people or other oppressed ethnic minority groups. Take advantage of our current low rates now before they are increased!

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 \$16 per one half page.  
 \$32 per page.

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**SIGN AND CIRCULATE PETITIONS: KEEP ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
OUT OF PRISON!**

On April 6, 1968, Bobby Hutton, age 17, was murdered by the Oakland Pigs. The 50 pigs surrounded the house in which Cleaver and Hutton were trapped and for 90 minutes, fired relentlessly into the house until it caught fire. Bobby Hutton was shot and killed with his hands in the air, surrendering to the police. Cleaver and seven other Panthers were arrested for "attempted murder" of the pigs. Cleaver's parole was revoked and he was jailed immediately.

The following is the text of the petition being circulated by the Black Panther Party which will be presented to the California Adult Authority:

"ONLY THE PEOPLE IN MASS CAN DESTROY RACISM IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. So we the undersigned who are citizens of America and peoples around the world, DEMAND, that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party; Candidate for President of the United States of America on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket; author of the book, SOUL ON ICE; and managing editor for Ramparts Magazine, we say and demand that he, Eldridge Cleaver, should not be sent back to prison after being released from prison by Judge Sherwin of Solano County in California. Release because the Judge stated that Eldridge then was being held as a "political prisoner." ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is now out of prison on legal bail. We the undersigned say that the California Governor with his "Adult Authority," the courts of California and the federal courts of the U.S.A. had better recognize that everyone is innocent until proven guilty with the right to bail before trial, that this is every human beings right by the United States Constitution, including Eldridge Cleaver."

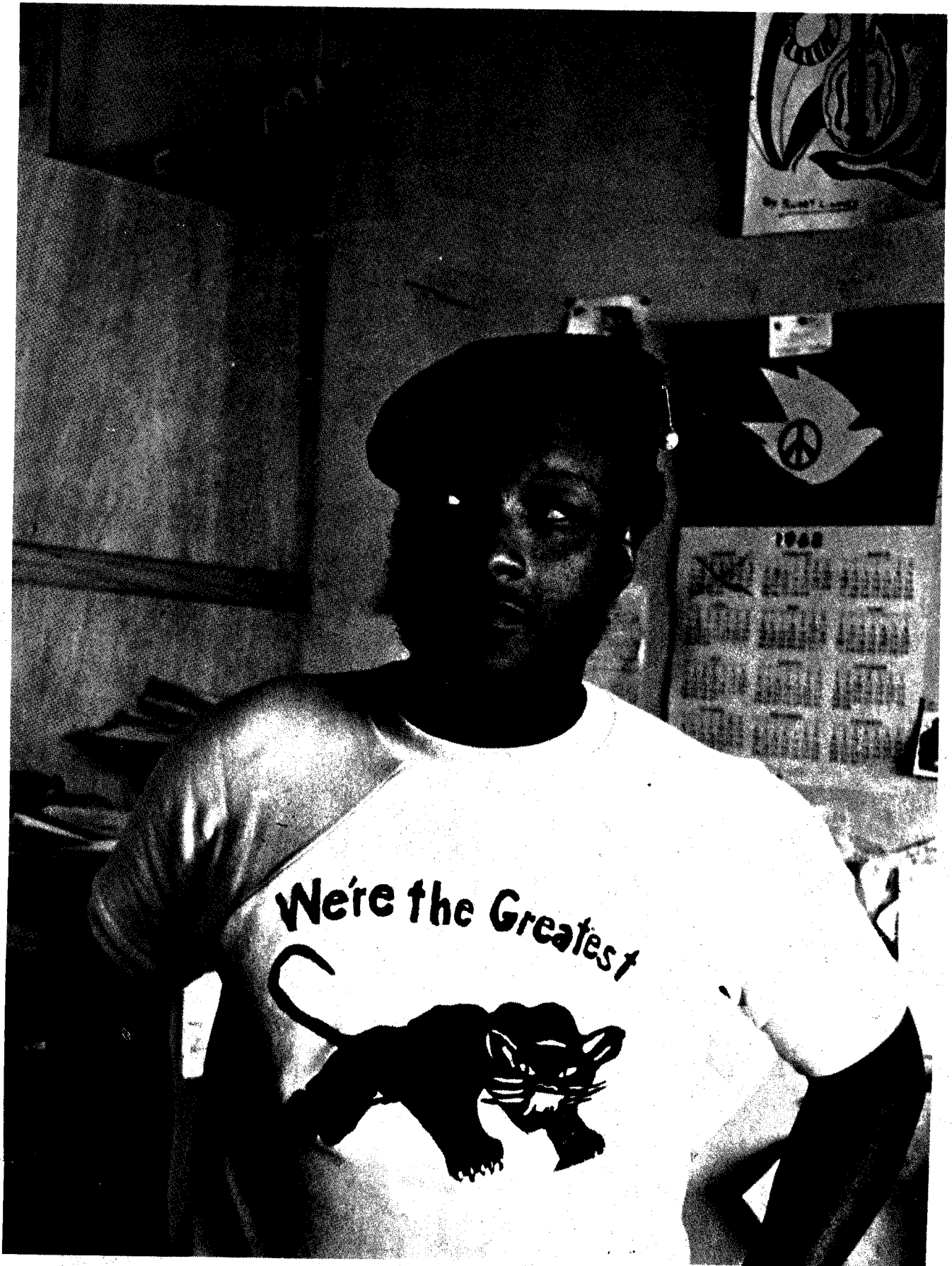
1,000,000 Signatures are needed! Copies of the petition may be obtained in the Black Panther newspaper or by writing to:

Black Panther Party National Headquarters  
P. O. Box 8541, Emeryville Branch  
Oakland, California

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Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party, continues to direct the Party from the California Men's Colony-East at Los Padres (Near San Luis Obispo). This prison is considered a preferred institution and houses largely inmates who are not "trouble-makers." His attorneys are working on an appeal of his conviction for voluntary manslaughter and money is needed to finance the legal costs. Note: see page 26 for the address.

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MARK COMFORT

TOGETHER WE CAN TAKE CARE OF BUSINESS

