

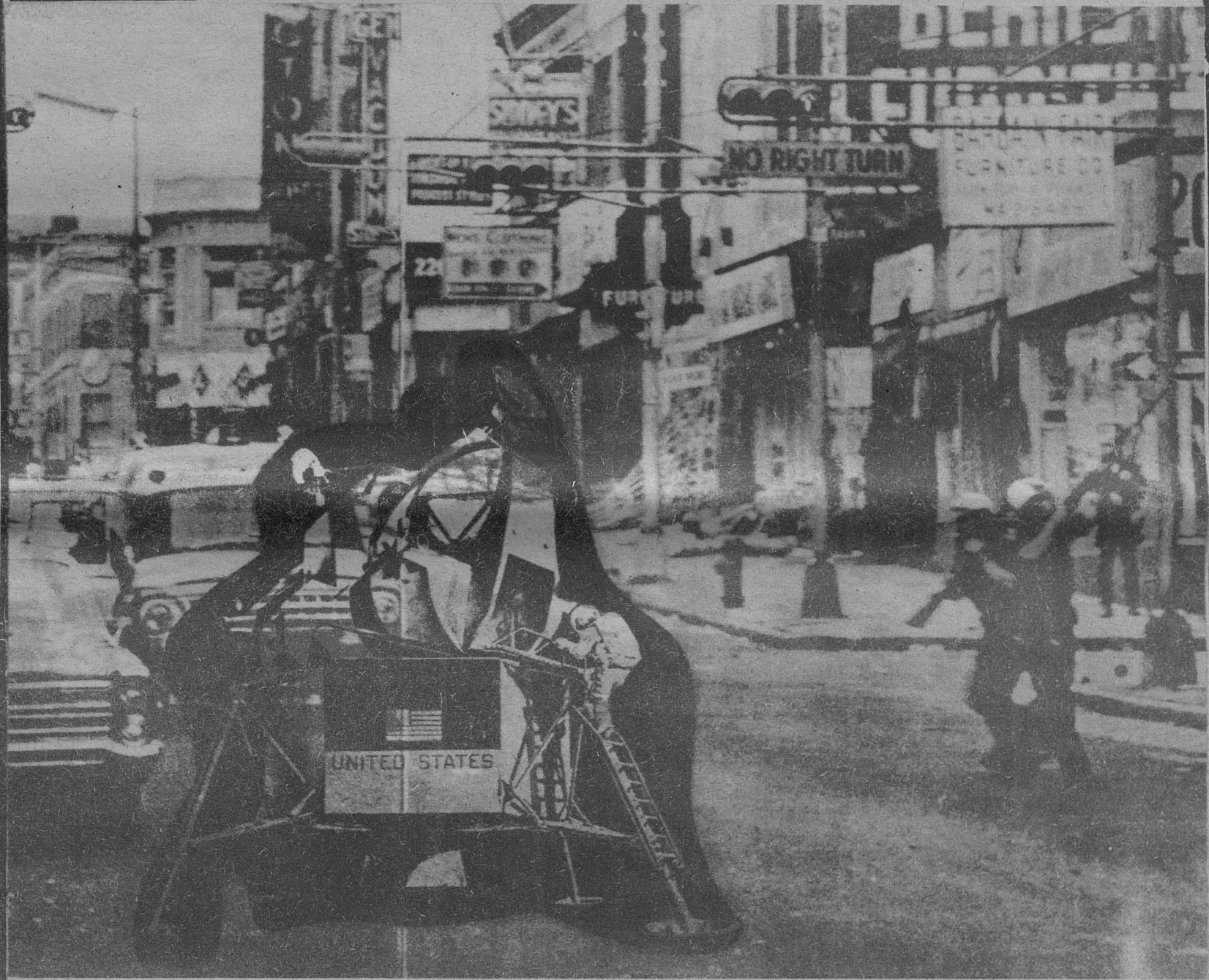
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Volume 1

September, 1969

Number 9



John Watson

on the

Inner City Voice

Robert

F. Williams

Local 124 vs.

A.F.L. racism

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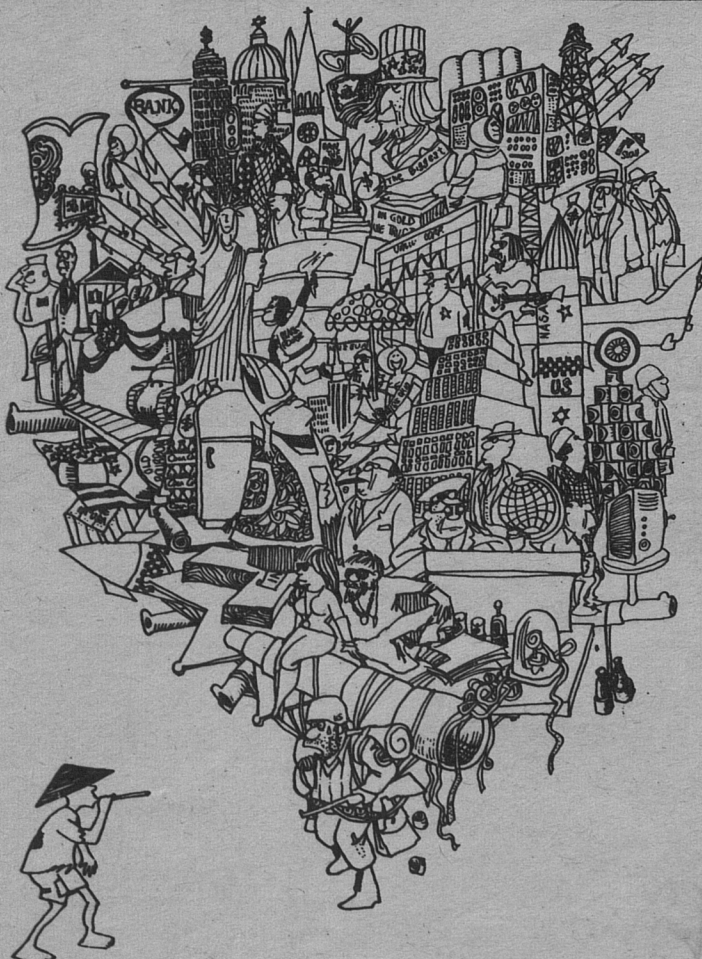
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SAUTI

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 179 Cortland
 Highland Park, Michigan 48203
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AFL WAGES WAR ON BLACKS

LOCAL 124

by Adam A. Caddell

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

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

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

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

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

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

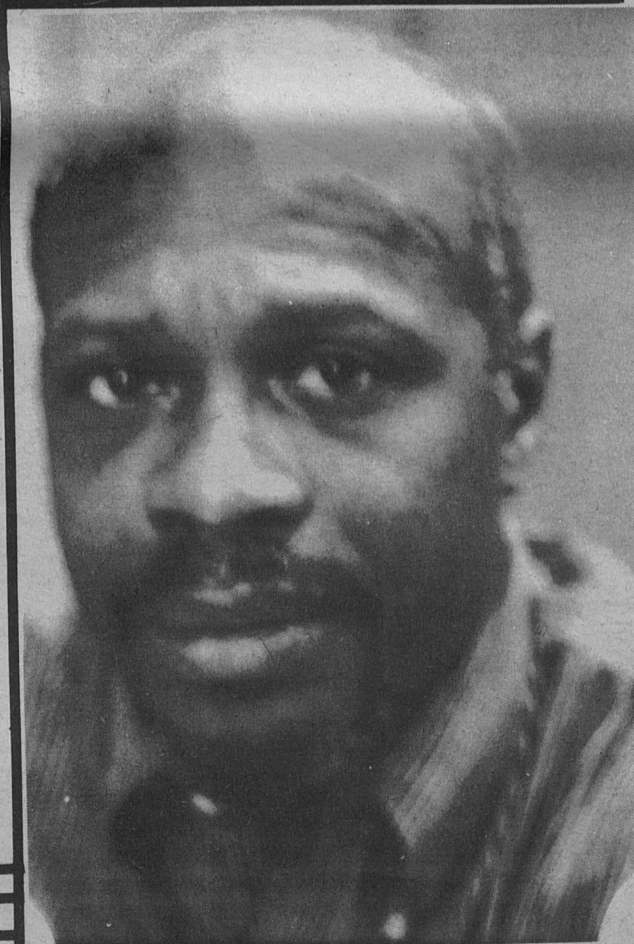
The A.F.L. had dug up painters, carpenters, apprentices and one racist "red neck" who was not an A.F.L. member but, viewing from his actions, he served as nothing more than a hired fool whose job was to try to make trouble at any given moment. An A.F.L. picket also stated that if they did not picket,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

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

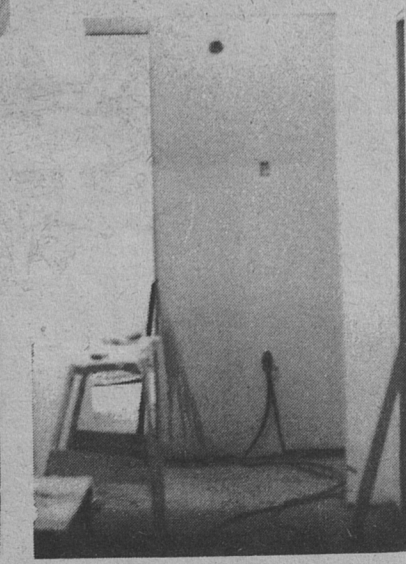
Jackson also stated that he was told by Raymond Glotsky, business agent of the Wayne, Oakland and Macomb County branch of the A.F.L.'s Building Trades Council, that he had orders to see that Local 124 is busted, even if they had to spend all of the 82 million dollars in their slush fund. And Jackson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

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

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



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



September, 1969

2001: SPACE POVERTY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GOVERNMENT FRAUD

Highland Park: Testing Grounds for Phony Programs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

September, 1969

WHO REALLY KILLED MBOYA

By E. C. Cooper

CAPITALIST !!

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

nationalism in Tanzania.

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

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

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

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

STRENGTHENED WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS

EXPANSION OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

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

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

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

INDEPENDENCE
1. Genuinely Independent states
2. Puppet states

Collective IMPERIALISM
Neo-colonialism

WELFARE STATE

FASCISM

CAPITALIST IMPERIALIST STATES

what is to be done
continued from page 5

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

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

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

NIXON WHIPS BLACK

STRUGGLE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LA REVOLUZIONE ITALIANA: FIAT WORKERS START A MOVEMENT

Liberation News Service

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



continued on page 14

September, 1969

The United Farm Workers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*A DELANTE TIGERES
ANGELINOS*



**VIVA LA HUELGA
VIVA LA CAUSA**

THE WAR CRY

from LA RAZA MAGAZINE

EL GRITO

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

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

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

*A DELANTE MIS TIGERES ANGELINOW!
A R R I B A M E R A Z A D E
BRONZE... QUERIDA
QUE VIVA ME RAZA... MI RAZA
QUERIDA*

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

EDITORIAL

PAGE

Editorial

By John Watson

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



From student paper, Reed College

Don't get caught
up in the system

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

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

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

SUPPORT SAUTI
179 CORTLAND
HIGHLAND PARK, MICHIGAN
48203

The "Voice of Revolution" Will Not Be Silenced

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our motto is:

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

VENCEREMOS

THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE ARE RESOLVED TO SURGE AHEAD

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

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

continued on next page

BLACKS DUPED

AGAIN

UNITED FRONT AGAINST FACISM

By Nick Gruenberg

Liberation News Service

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

September 1969

Gaynard S. Wilmore

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN COUNCIL ON CHURCH AND RACE

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

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

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

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

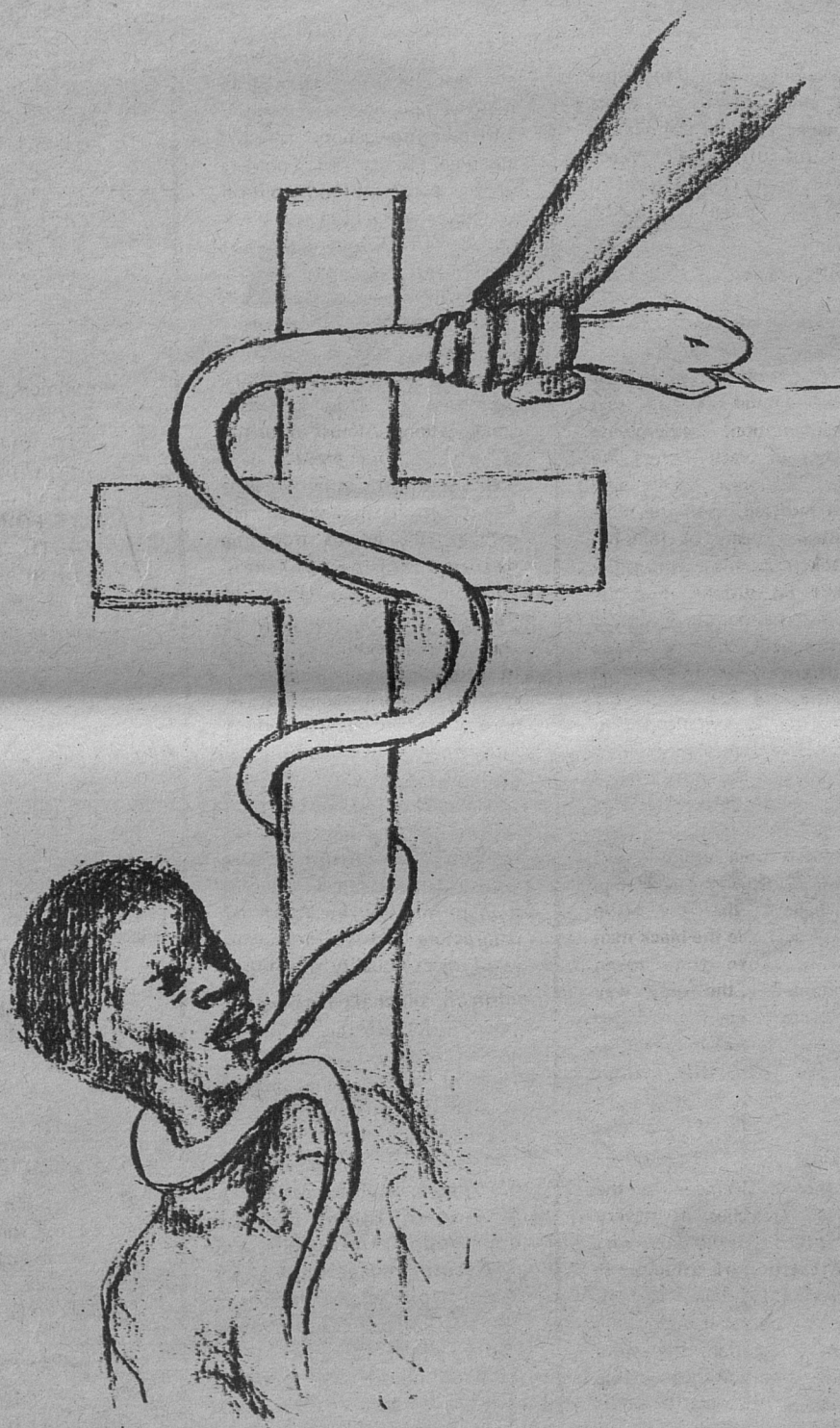
whether to call black people "Negroes" or "colored", black college students at Cornell carrying guns or the decline in interracial meetings and in the number of blacks applying for membership in church or country club, is strained, slightly guilty, a little frightened and most of all-confused.

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

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

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

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



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

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

The Theological Meaning of the Present Crisis

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

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

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

ON THE MANIFEST

BLACK YOUTH UNITE

MALCOLM X

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

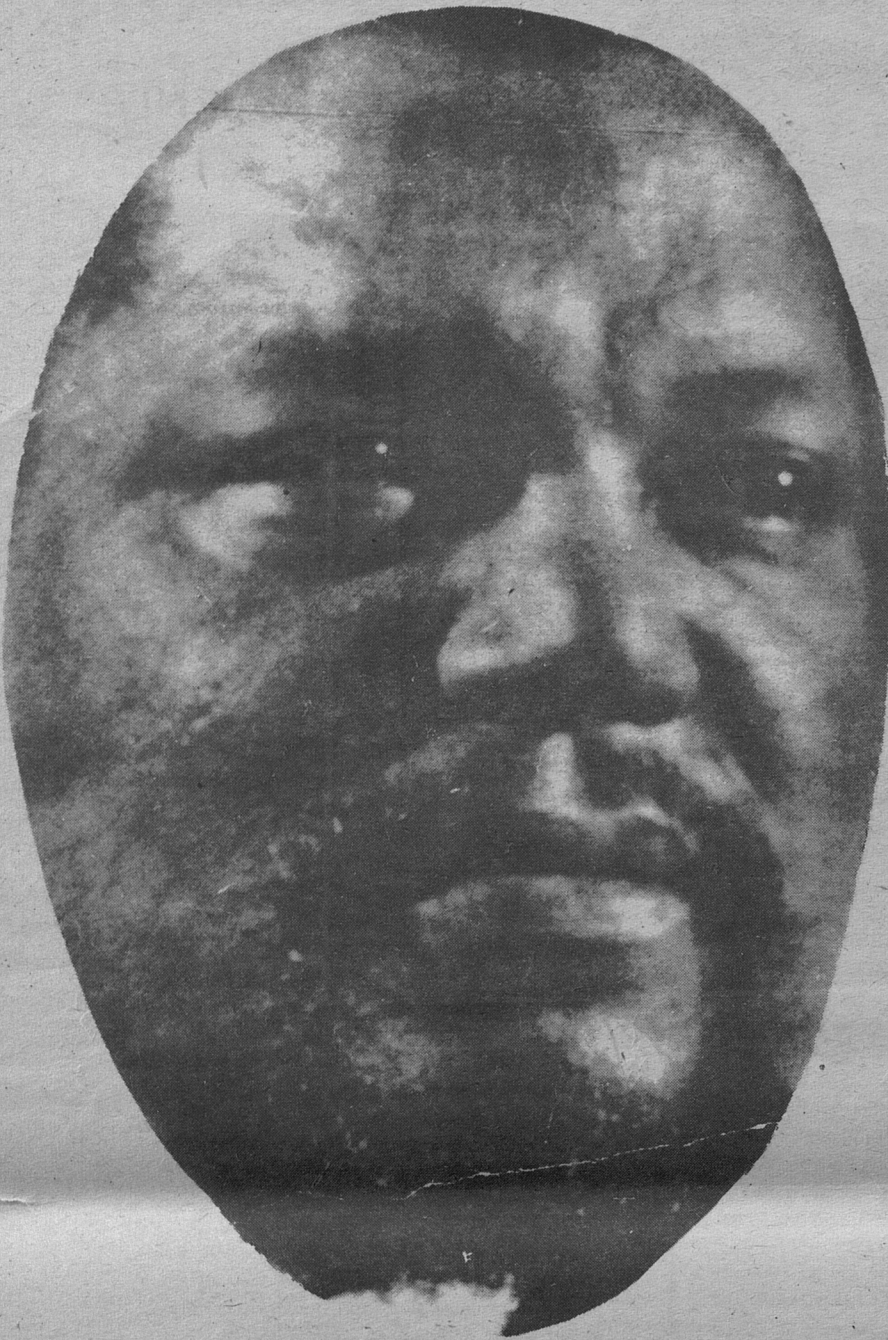
property lost by Arab refugees during the war of 1943. Israel refused the sum but agreed to make compensation if it could receive a loan.

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

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

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September, 1969




THE DEPRIVED: REBELLION IN THE STREETS

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

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

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



THE CRUSADER

by ROBERT F. WILLIAMS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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THE LOST MAN

MOVIE REVIEW

By Charles Simmons

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

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

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

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

Whites And Freedom Fighters

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

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

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



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

What About Unemployment?

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

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

CAPON CORNER

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

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

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

QUESTIONS:

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

THE NATIONALIST ANTHEM

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

And where is that klan who so vauntingly swear
 That havoc of war and the battle's confusion,
 A home and a country shall lead us nowhere!
 Their blood shall wash out their foul deeds pollution.
 No refuge can save whitey's flight from the slave
 From the terror of the night or the doom of the grave;
 And the blood-spangle-1 banner no longer will wave
 O'er the land of white hate and the home of the slave!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

YA KUONANA
(Until We Meet)

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

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

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

Right on Brother

Neno

Ndugu Neno, Uhali Gani?

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

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

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

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

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

OPERATION FALLTHROUGH

by Charles Simmons

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

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

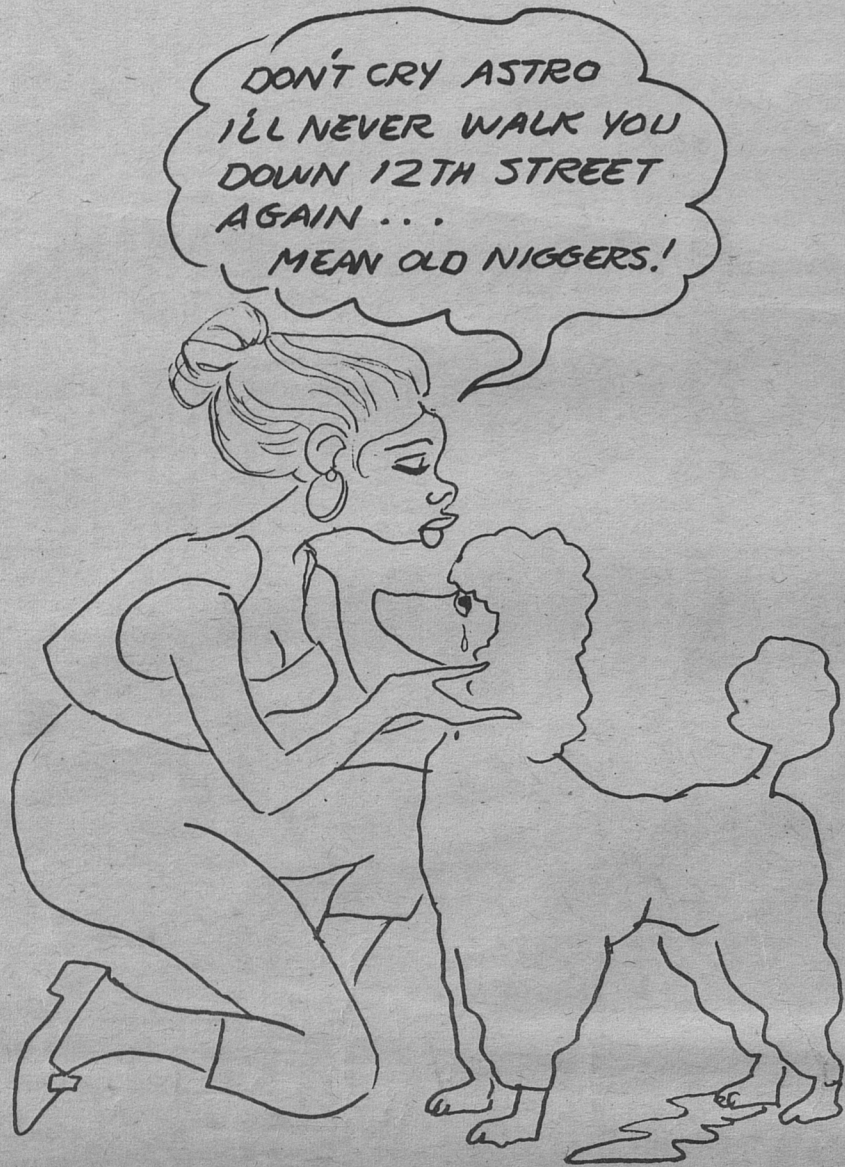
Furthermore, the Housing and Urban Development act of 1968, which calls for 26 million new or rehabilitated homes over the next ten years, has made no progress. Add to this the rising cost of money, land, and materials, plus outdated zoning and building codes, and it will be clear that decreasing construction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

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

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

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

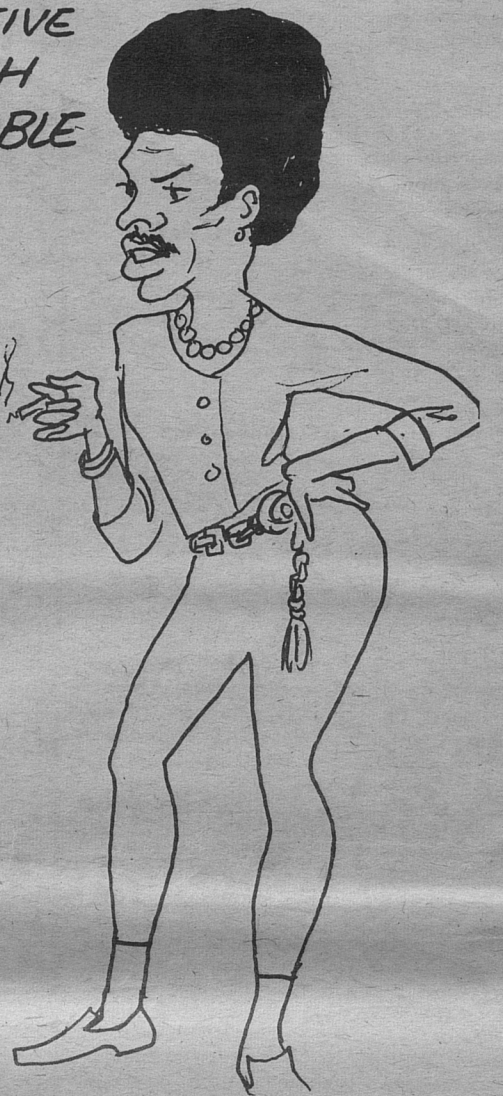
Census statistics also remind us that every year a new Philadelphia is added to the nation's population. Every month roughly 300,000 persons are being added to the large cities, and in spite of all the talk, nothing has been done, and in the final analysis, under capitalism, nothing will be done. Our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



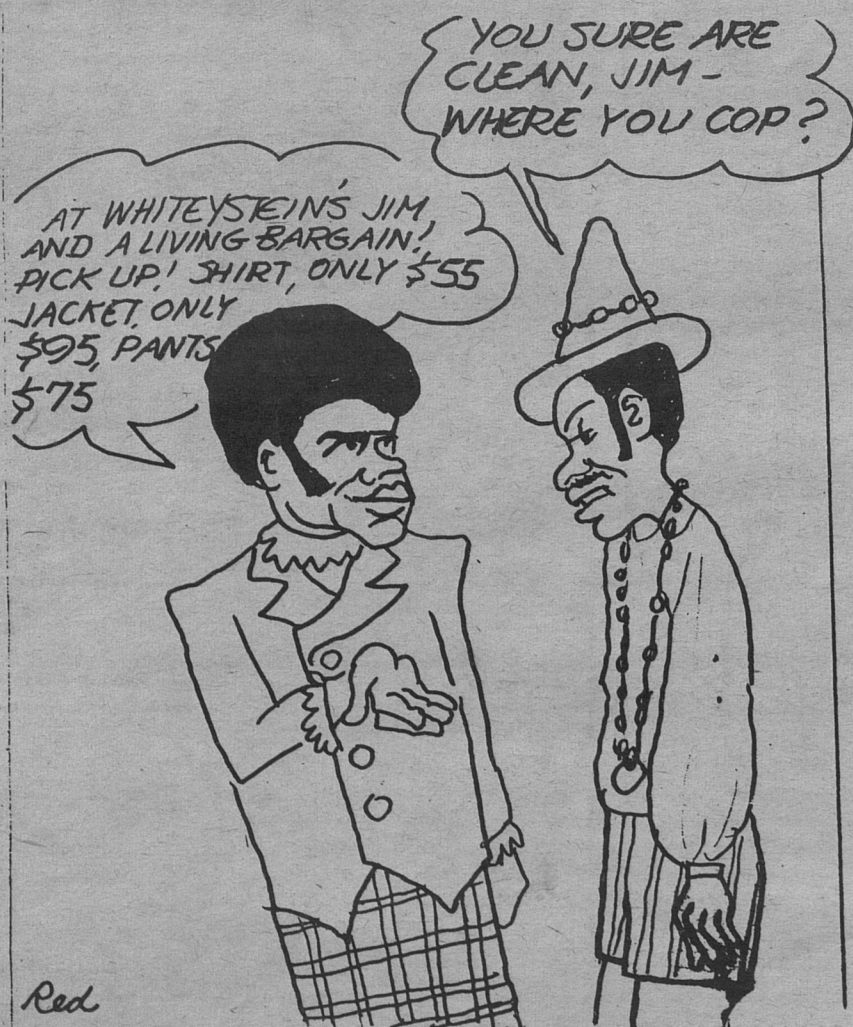
RED

YOU'VE COME A LONG WAY, BABY!
yes weve got damn near
everything.. this is the the
age of the New Nigger
BEAUTIFUL
EXCITING
PROVOCATIVE
STYLISH
FASHIONABLE

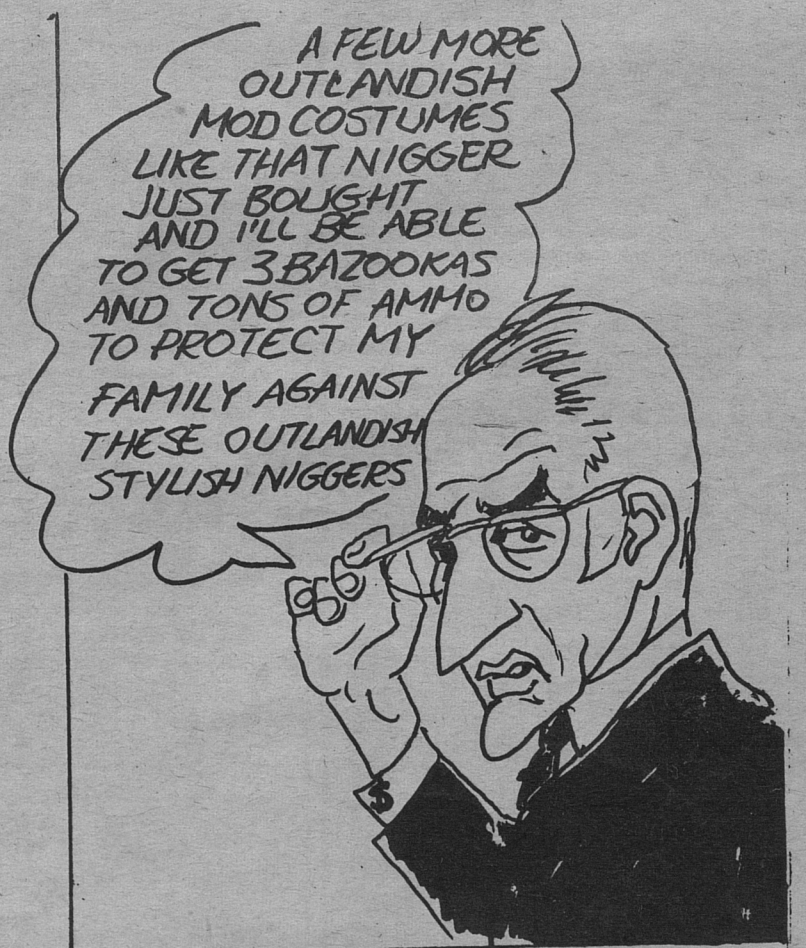
BUT
THE
WOMEN
STILL
LOOK
BETTER!



red



Red



TOM OF THE MONTH

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

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

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

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

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

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

Watch for this in our next edition.



TOM OF THE MONTH

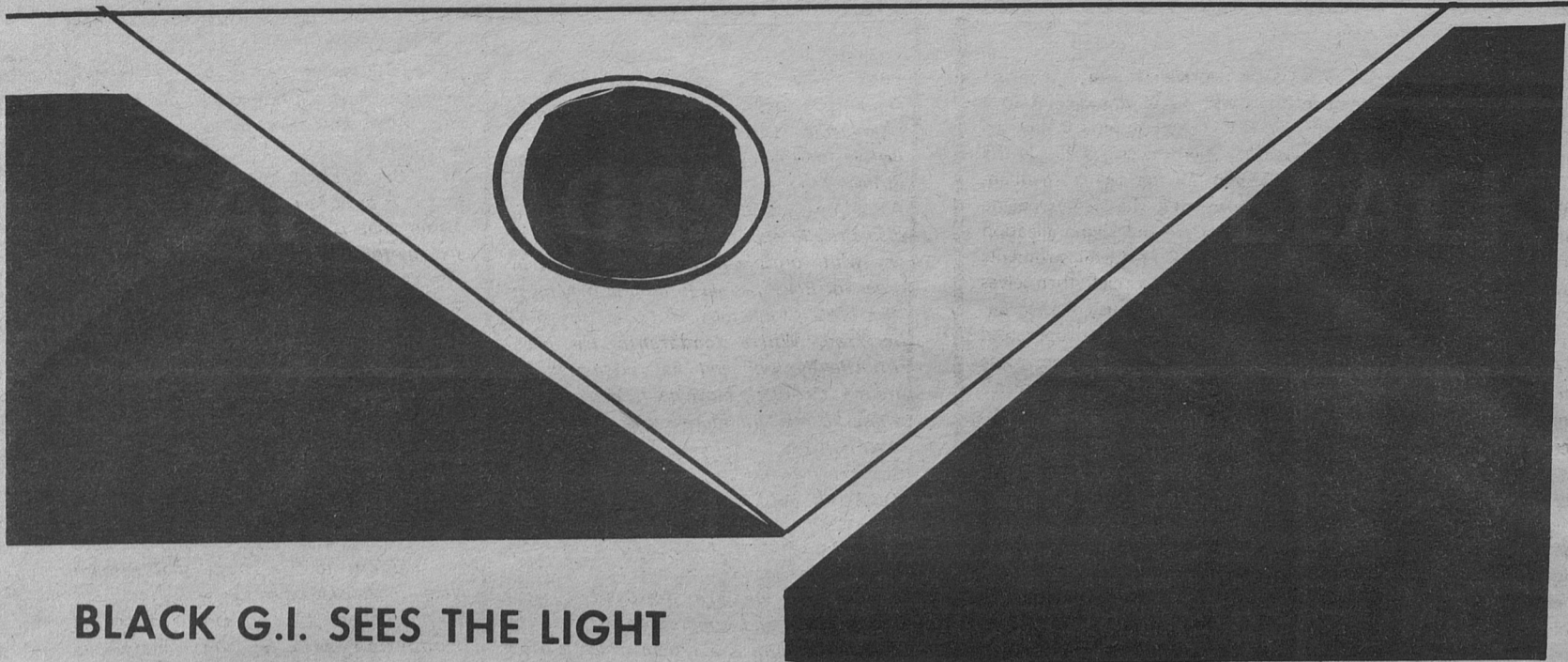


AMERICA THE BRUTEFUL

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



September, 1969



BLACK G.I. SEES THE LIGHT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

he should still be in power to control our destiny.

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

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

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

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

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



continued from page 12

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SA: What is the Black Youth Liberation Movement?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

social degradation of the Black Man by white racist.

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

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

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

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

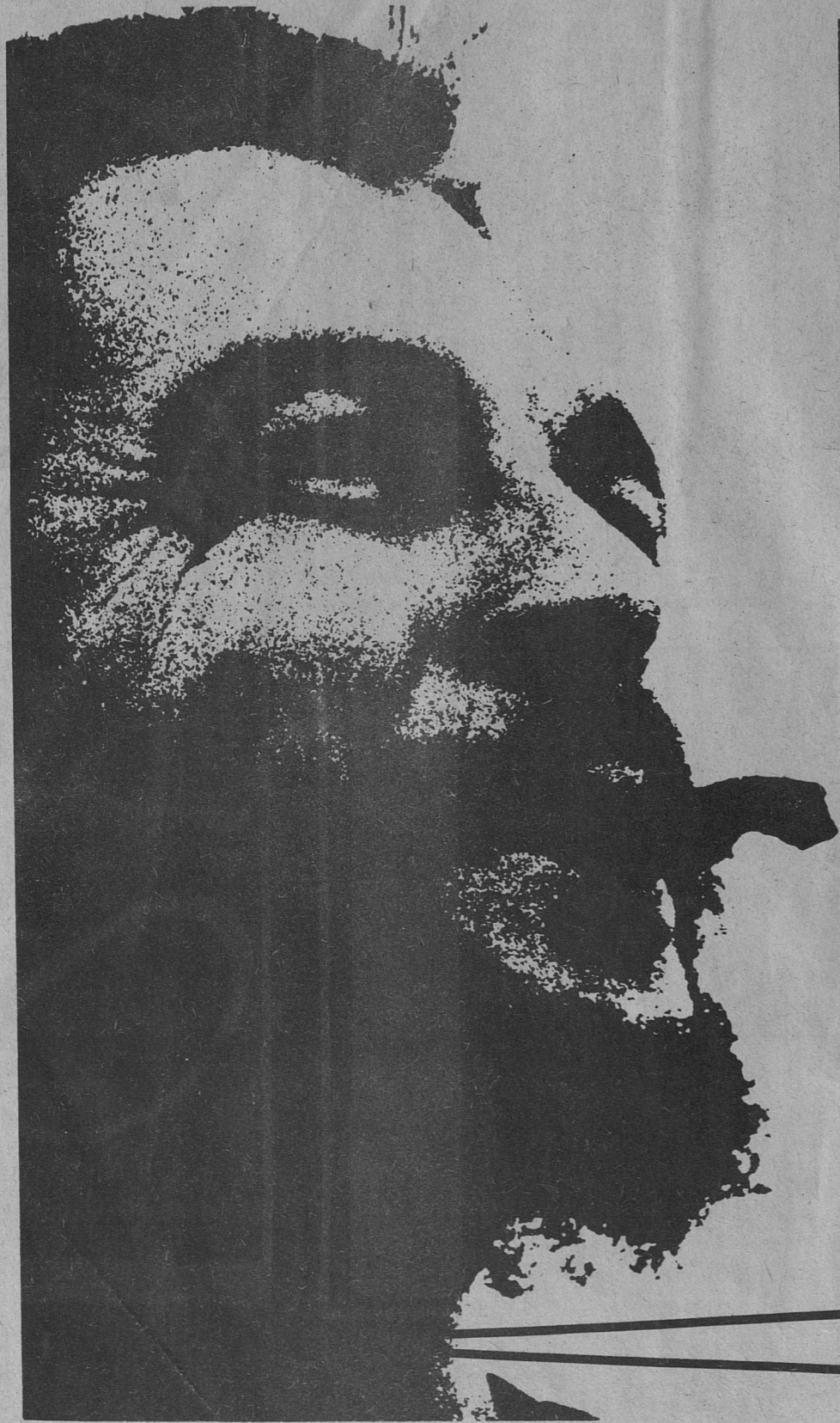
SA: Some people might consider it a contradiction between the words internationalist and nationalist. Could you elaborate on that point?

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

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

A: No, no, no.

SAUTI INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM MITCHELL OF THE BLACK YOUTH LIBERATION MOVEMENT



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

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