

# BLACK

# POLITICS

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## STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

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

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

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

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

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

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Black Politics is a monthly journal published in Berkeley, Calif.

# THE CASE OF HUEY P. NEWTON

or

## WHITE AMERICA ON TRIAL

Richard Assegai

Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, is presently in jail charged with the slaying of an Oakland, Calif., police officer. What was the process leading to this condition?

Today the entire world is involved in a life and death struggle between opposing forces. One force is neo-colonialism which represents slavery, suffering and death; the other force is the anti-colonial liberation movements which represent freedom, justice and equality.

American capitalism, with its accomplices in Western Europe, England, and the Far East, has extended its tentacles into the four corners of the world. It's exported the American Way of Death, and imported billions of dollars in profit. This exchange has produced a high standard of living for the ruling class, a false sense of prosperity for the working class, a feeling of anxiety for the middle class, and virtually nothing for the Afro-american people. In order to protect U.S. vested economic interests, it's stationed millions of soldiers on thousands of bases in dozens of countries; in addition to its blatant occupation, it is aided and abetted by tyrannical civilian regimes and outright military dictatorships- all of which constitutes the unholy alliance known as the Free World.

The "wretched of the earth"- workers, peasants, intellectuals, students- have seized the banner of freedom, justice and equality, and have started on the road leading to self-determination. In Asia, Africa, and Latin America, dozens of national liberation movements are currently struggling against neo-colonialism, and all means are being utilized: rural and urban guerilla warfare, general strikes, mass demonstrations, etc.

The Afro-american liberation movement is an integral part of the international struggle against neo-colonialism. After nearly four centuries, the Afro-american people are, for all intents and purposes, a virtual internal colony of American capitalism. All the so-called "gains" are either tokens or illusions. The Afro-american people are economically exploited, politically disenfranchised, socially oppressed, and psychologically degraded. The liberation movement against these conditions is still in its embryonic stage, and many different forms are materializing in the process of the struggle.

In the Winter of 1966, Huey P. Newton and a handful of brothers created the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. Its primary purpose was to end the oppression of the Afro-american people in general and the oppression of the inhabitants of the Oakland ghettos in particular. The major tactical device utilized was armed self defense of the Afro-american community against the white police force which was conducting itself like a rapacious occupying army. Initially, "shotgun patrols" were instituted which patrolled the streets of the ghetto to observe police conduct, to prevent acts of police brutality, and to preserve the community from harm. In February, when sister Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X., visited the Bay Area, the Panthers provided an armed escort for her to protect her from a possible assassination. In April, the Afro-american community of North Richmond requested the help of the Panthers because one of its residents was killed



by the police under very mysterious circumstances, and the Party went to its aid. In May, the Party sent a delegation to the state legislature in Sacramento to protest the exploitation and oppression of the Afro-american people, and to publically announce that henceforth such acts would not be tolerated. As the Minister of Defense of the Party, brother Newton was always in the forefront of the struggle, and his leadership served as an example to follow.

Brother Newton, at the age of twenty-five, has been a lifelong victim of oppressive white society. Countless times he has been brutalized by the police, countless times he has been charged with felonious crimes, and just as many times he has been acquitted of these charges. In essence, this white racist society has attempted to kill, imprison or discredit a freedom fighter par excellence. This is not a new phenomenon; it is as old as this slave-owning society.

Besides attempting to kill or imprison Huey and other leaders of the Party, the white power structure used every legal and illegal means at its disposal to crush the organization, disperse its members, and terrorize the Afro-american community. Dozens were arrested and imprisoned; a virtual reign of terror existed, and still exists, in the ghettos of the Bay Area.

Recently one cop was slain and another seriously wounded in the center of the West Oakland ghetto; that same day brother Newton appeared at an Oakland hospital with gunshot wounds in the stomach and was arrested. He will soon be on trial for his life. He is innocent; the only crime that brother Newton committed was being born Black in a white racist society.

The real significance of the case is that Huey P. Newton is a shining symbol of a freedom fighter who is attempting to liberate the Afro-american people, and who is an integral part of the international struggle against the tyranny of neo-colonialism. Those who are attempting to railroad brother Newton to the gas chamber are the real criminals of this society. They should be put on trial for placing property rights above human rights, for supporting domestic racist policies, and for maintaining neo-colonialism overseas; and not brother Newton. HUEY MUST BE SET FREE.

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(Editors' Note:

Contributions to the case may be sent to:

Huey P. Newton Defense Fund  
P.O. Box 8641  
Emeryville Branch  
Oakland, California

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BLACK POWER AND THE THIRD WORLD

(Stokely Carmichael's Address to OLAS)

(The following is the complete text of the speech made by Stokely Carmichael at the OLAS (Organization of Latin-American Solidarity) Conference held in Havana July 31-August 10. This speech is reprinted from World Outlook, September 8, 1967.)

We greet you as comrades because it becomes increasingly clear to us each day that we share with you a common struggle; we have a common enemy. Our enemy is white Western imperialist society. (Note that we use the term white Western society as opposed to white Western civilization. The West has never been civilized. It has no right to speak of itself as a civilization.) Our struggle is to overthrow this system which feeds itself and expands itself through the economic and cultural exploitation of nonwhite, non-Western peoples --- the THIRD WORLD.

We share with you also a common vision of the establishment of humanistic societies in the place of those now existing. We seek with you to change the power bases of the world, where mankind will share the resources of their nations, instead of having to give them up to foreign plunderers where civilizations can retain their cultural sovereignty instead of being forced to submit to foreign rulers who impose their own corrupt cultures on those civilizations they would dominate.

Anglo society has been nearly successful in keeping all of us --- the oppressed of the Third World --- separated and fragmented. They do this for their survival, because if we felt our unity we would know our strength. Especially here on this continent, where the Anglo is in the minority, he has for hundreds of years succeeded in keeping all of us who are oppressed from realizing our common plight. But the call of Che Guevara for a continental struggle against a common enemy would seem to ameliorate this fragmentation among those who would resist Western imperialism.

We speak with you, comrades, because we wish to make clear that we understand that our destinies are intertwined. Our world can only be the Third World; our only struggle, for the Third World; our only vision, of the Third World.

Until recently, most African-Americans thought that the best way to alleviate their oppression was through attempts at integration into the society. If we could enjoy public accommodations in the United States (motels, hotels, restaurants, etc.) our condition would be alleviated, many of us believed. This attitude was characteristic of the "civil rights movement" and clearly points up the bourgeois character of that "movement." Only the bourgeoisie are in a position to be concerned about public accommodations.

The African-American masses, on the other hand, do not have any jobs, any housing worthy of the name decent, nor the money to enjoy restaurants, hotels, motels, etc. The "civil rights movement" did not actively involve the masses, because it did not speak to the needs of the masses.

Nonetheless, the "civil rights movement" was a beginning and because its aims met resistance throughout the U.S.A., depths of racism heretofore unrecognized were laid bare. It had been thought that the aims of the "civil rights movement" would be easily realizable, because the United States Constitution supported them. But thousands of African-Americans were jailed, intimidated, beaten, and some murdered for agitation for those rights guaranteed by the Constitution, but only available to whites.

Eventually, the United States Congress passed a Civil Rights Bill and a Voting Rights Bill, assuring us of those rights for which we had been agitating. By this time, however, more and more of us were realizing that



our problems would not be solved by the enacting of these laws.

In fact, these laws did not begin to speak to our problems. Our problems were an inherent part of the capitalist system and therefore could not be alleviated within that system.

The African-American masses had been outside the "civil rights movement." For four years they watched to see if any significant changes would come from the nonviolent demonstrations. It became clear to us that nothing would change and in the summer of 1964, only a couple of weeks after the Civil Rights Bill was passed, the first of what is now over one hundred rebellions occurred. The following year, the same year that the Voting Rights Bill was enacted, one of the largest rebellions occurred in Watts.

These rebellions were violent uprisings in which African-Americans exchanged gunfire with policemen and army troops, burned down stores and took from the stores those commodities that are rightfully ours --- food and clothing --- and which we never had.

These rebellions are increasing with intensity and frequency each year until now practically every major city has seen us rise to say, "We will seize the day or be killed in the attempt."

The "civil rights movement" could never attract and hold the young bloods who clearly understood the savagery of white United States and who are ready to meet this savagery with armed resistance. It is the young bloods who contain especially the hatred Che Guevara speaks of when he says, "Hatred as an element of the struggle --- relentless hatred of the enemy that impels us over and beyond the natural limitations of man and transforms us into an effective, violent, selected and cold killing machine."

The black power movement has been the catalyst for the bringing together of these young bloods: the real revolutionary proletariat ready to fight by any means necessary for the liberation of our people. In exposing the extent of racism and exploitation which permeates all institutions in the United States, the black power movement has unique appeal to young black students on campuses across the country. These students have been deluded by the fiction that exists in white North America that if the black man would educate himself and behave himself he would be acceptable enough to leave the ranks of the oppressed and join white society.

This year, when provoked by savage white policemen, students on many campuses fought back, whereas before they had accepted these incidents without rebellion. As students are a part of these rebellions they begin to acquire a resistance consciousness. They begin to realize that white North America might let a very few of them escape one by one into the mainstream of her society, but as soon as blacks move in concert around their blackness, she will reply with a fury which reveals her true racist nature.

We are moving to control our African-American communities as you are moving to wrest control of your countries --- of the entire Latin continent --- from the hands of foreign imperialist powers. Therefore there is only one course open to us. We must change North America so that the economy and politics of the country will be in the hands of the people. Our particular concern is our people --- African-Americans. But it is clear that a community based on the community ownership of all resources could not exist within the present capitalist framework. For the total transformation to take place, whites must see the struggle that we're engaged in as being their own struggle. At the present time, they do not. Even though the white worker is exploited, he sees his own best interest lying with the power structure. Because of the racist nature of this country, we cannot work in white communities, but have asked those whites who work with us to go into their own communities to begin propagandizing and organizing. When the



white workers realize their true condition, then there will exist the possibilities for alliances between ourselves and them.

However, we cannot wait for this to happen, or despair if it does not happen.

The struggle we are engaged in is international. We well know what happens in Vietnam affects our struggle here and what we do affects the struggle of the Vietnamese people. This is even more apparent when we look at ourselves not as African-Americans of the United States, but as African-Americans of the Americas.

At the present moment, the power structure has sown the seeds of hate and discord between African-Americans and Spanish-speaking people in the large cities where they live. In the state of California, Mexican-Americans and Spanish-speaking people comprise almost 50 percent of the population, yet the two view each other with suspicion and sometimes, outright hostility. We recognize this as the old trick of "divide and conquer" and we are working to see that it does not succeed this time.

Last week Puerto Ricans and blacks took the streets together in New York City to fight against the police, which demonstrates success in this area. Our destiny cannot be separated from the destiny of the Spanish-speaking people in the United States and of the Americas. Our victory will not be achieved unless they celebrate their liberation side by side with us. For it is not their struggle, but our struggle.

We have already pledged ourselves to do what we are asked to aid the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico, to free it from domination by United States business and military interests. And we look upon Cuba as a shining example of hope in our hemisphere. We do not view our struggle as being contained within the boundaries of the United States as they are defined by present-day maps. Instead we look to the day when a true United States of America will extend from Tierra del Fuego to Alaska, when those formerly oppressed will stand together, a liberated people.

Our people are a colony within the United States; you are colonies outside the United States. It is more than a figure of speech to say that the black communities in America are the victims of white imperialism and colonial exploitation. This is in practical economic and political terms true.

There are over thirty million of us in the United States. For the most part we live in sharply defined areas in the rural black belt areas and shantytowns of the South, and more and more in the slums of the northern and western industrial cities. It is estimated that in another five to ten years, two-thirds of our thirty million will be in the ghettos --- in the heart of the cities. Joining us are the hundreds and thousands of Puerto Ricans, Mexican-American and American Indian populations. The American city is, in essence, populated by people of the Third World, while the white middle class flee the cities to the suburbs.

In these cities we do not control our resources. We do not control the land, the houses or the stores. These are owned by whites who live outside the community. These are very real colonies, as their capital and cheap labor are exploited by those who live outside the cities. White power makes the laws and enforces those laws with guns and nightsticks in the hands of white racist policemen and black mercenaries.

The capitalist system gave birth to these black enclaves and formally articulated the terms of their colonial and dependent status as was done, for example, by the apartheid government of Azania [South Africa], which the U.S. keeps alive by its support.



The struggle for black power in this country is the struggle to free these colonies from external domination. But we do not seek to create communities where in place of white rulers, black rulers control the lives of black masses and where black money goes into a few black pockets: we want to see it go into the communal pocket. The society we seek to build among black people is not an oppressive capitalist society --- for capitalism by its very nature cannot create structures free from exploitation. We are fighting for the redistribution of wealth and for the end of private property inside the United States.

The question that may be asked is how does the struggle to free these internal colonies relate to your struggle to destroy imperialism. We realistically survey our numbers and know that it is not possible for black people to take over the entire country militarily and hold large areas of land.

In a highly industrialized nation the struggle is different. The heart of production and the heart of commercial trade is in the cities. We are in the cities. With our rebellions we have become a disruptive force in the flow of services, goods and capital.

Since 1966, the cry of the rebellions has been "Black Power." In this cry, there was an ideology implied which the masses understood instinctively. It is because we are powerless that we are oppressed and it is only with power that we can make the decisions governing our lives and our communities. Those who have power have everything; those who are without power have nothing. Without power we have to beg for what is rightfully ours. With power we will take our birthright, because it was with power that our birthright was taken from us.

Black power is more than a slogan; it is a way of looking at our problems and the beginning of a solution to them. It attacks racism and exploitation, the horns of the bull that seek to gore us.

The United States is a racist country. From its very beginning it has built itself upon the subjugation of colored people. The Europeans who settled the United States systematically stole the land and destroyed the native population, the Indians, forcing them eventually onto reservations where they live today, a mere 0.3 percent of the total population. And at the same time the United States was waging genocide against the Indians, it was raping the African continent of its natives and bringing them to the Americas to work as slaves.

To enslave another human being, one needs a justification and the United States has always found this justification in proclaiming the superiority of whites and the inferiority of nonwhites. We are called "niggers"; Spanish-speaking people are called "spicks"; the Chinese, "chinks"; the Vietnamese, "gooks." By dehumanizing us and all others of color, it therefore becomes just, in the mind of the white man, that we should be enslaved, exploited and oppressed.

However, it becomes even easier to keep a man a slave when he himself can be convinced that he is inferior. How much easier it is to keep a man in chains by making him believe his own inferiority! As long as he does, he will keep himself in chains. As long as a slave allows himself to be defined as a slave by the master, he will be a slave, even if the master dies.

This technique has been successfully practiced not only against us, but wherever people have been enslaved, oppressed and exploited. We can see it happening today in the schools of large U.S. cities where Puerto Rican and Mexican children are not allowed to speak Spanish and are taught nothing of their country and their history. It is apparent in many African countries, where one is not considered educated unless he has studied in France and speaks French.



Black power attacks this brainwashing by saying, WE WILL DEFINE OURSELVES. We will no longer accept the white man's definition of ourselves as ugly, ignorant and uncultured. We will recognize our own beauty and our own culture and will no longer be ashamed of ourselves, for a people ashamed of themselves cannot be free.

Because our color has been used as a weapon to oppress us, we must use our color as a weapon of liberation. This is the same as other people using their nationality as a weapon for their liberation.

This coming together around our race was an inevitable part of our struggle. We recognize, however, that this is not the totality, only the necessary beginning.

Black power recognizes that while we are made to feel inferior, this is only so that we may be more easily exploited. Even if we destroy racism, we would not necessarily destroy exploitation. Thus, we must constantly launch a two-pronged attack; we must constantly keep our eyes on both of the bull's horns.

Color and culture were and are key in our oppression. Therefore our analysis of history and our economic analysis are rooted in these concepts. Our historical analysis for example, views the United States as being conceived in racism. Although the first settlers themselves were escaping from oppression, and although their armed uprising against their mother country was around the aggravations of colonialism--"taxation without representation," etc. --the white European settlers could not extend their lofty theories of democracy to the Indian, whom they systematically exterminated as they expanded into the interior of the country. Indeed, in that same town where the settlers set up their model of government based on the theory of representative democracy-- in that same town the first slaves were brought from Africa.

In our economic analysis our interpretation of Marx comes not only from his writings, but from how we see capitalism's relationships to people of color.

The labor movement of the United States while in the beginning containing some great leaders in the struggle against the absolute control of the economy by the industrial lord, essentially fought only for more money. Those few who had the vision of extending the fight for workers control of production, never succeeded in transmitting their entire vision to the rank and file. This labor found itself asking the industrial lords not to give up their control but merely to pass out a few more of the fruits of this control. Unlike us, they do not raise questions of redistributing the wealth inside of the U.S.

Thereby did the United States anticipate the 'prophecy' of Marx and avoided the inevitable class struggle within the country by expanding into the Third World and exploiting the resources and slave labor of people of color.

U.S. capitalists never cut down on their domestic profits to share with the workers. Instead they expanded internationally and threw the bones of their profits to the American working class.

The American working class enjoys the fruits of the labors of the Third World workers. The proletariat has become the Third World; the bourgeoisie is white Western society.

The true potential revolutionaries in this country are the black youths of the ghettos; those who have developed insurgence in the cities are African-American and Latin communities where past rebellions have taught important lessons in dealing with the government's armed reaction to our uprisings.



These rebellions should not be taken lightly. In the past three years, there have been over one hundred uprisings in the internal colonies of the United States. These are no doubt reported to you as "minor disturbances initiated by a few malcontents." These are major rebellions with numbers of participants who are developing a consciousness of resistance.

It is with increasing concern that we see the United States will by any means necessary attempt to prevent the liberation struggles sweeping across the Third World. But in particular we know that the United States fears most the liberation struggle on this continent. In order to secure itself geographically, the United States must have Latin America, both economically, politically and culturally. It will not do for the Anglos to be isolated on a continent of hostiles.

Black power not only addresses itself to exploitation, but the problem of cultural integrity.

Wherever imperialism has gone, she has imposed her culture by force on other peoples, forcing them to adopt her language and way of life. When African slaves were brought to this country, the Anglo saw that if he took away the language of the African, he broke one of the bonds which kept them united and struggling. Africans were forbidden to speak to each other in their own language. If they were found doing so, they were savagely beaten into silence.

Western society has always understood the importance of language to a people's cultural consciousness and integrity. When it moved into the Third World, it has moved to impose its own language. In Puerto Rico, where Yankee cultural imposition is at its height, English is taught in all high schools for three years, while Spanish is taught for two years.

Anglo society learned other valuable lessons from the enslavement of Africans in this country. If you separate a man's family, as was done to the slaves, you again weaken his resistance. But carry the separation further. Take a few of the weaker slaves and treat them as house pets --- the lighter skinned slaves (the offspring of the master's rape of the African woman) was preferred. Give him the crumbs from the master's table and cast-off clothing and soon he will fear to lose these small comforts. Then use his fears by getting him to report on the activities of the bad slaves, report the impending revolts and uprisings. Distrust and dissent is created among the Africans, and thus they will fight among themselves instead of uniting to fight their oppressors.

Today's descendants of African slaves brought to America have been separated from their cultural and national roots.

Black children are not taught of the glory of African civilization in the history of mankind; they are instead taught about Africa: the dark continent inhabited by man-eating savages. They are not taught of the thousands of black martyrs who died resisting the white slave masters. They are not taught of the numerous uprisings and revolts where hundreds of brave Africans refused to submit to slavery. Instead, their history books read of "happy slaves singing in their fields . . . content with their new lives." Those "few" slaves who did resist are called "troublemakers," "malcontents," "crazy."

Black children in North America grow up aspiring only to enter white society --- not only because white society eats better, is housed and clothed better and can make a better living --- but also because they have been bombarded by the white-controlled communications media and educated by black teachers with white minds (our petty Yankees) that white IS better, white is beautiful. Anglo features, manner of speech and aspirations are to be acquired if one is to be successful, even WITHIN the black community.



The white man hardly needs to police his colonies within this country for he has plundered the cultures and enslaved the minds of the people of color until their resistance is paralyzed by self-hate.

An important fight in the Third World therefore is the fight for cultural integrity. Wherever Western society has gone, as Frantz Fanon tells us, she has imposed through force her culture.

Through force and bribery (the giving of a few crumbs to a few petty Yankees) the people of a conquered country begin to believe that Western culture is better than their own. The young people begin to put aside the richness of their native culture to take on the tinsel of Western culture. They become ashamed of their roots and inevitably can only be trapped in a life of self-hate and private pursuit for self-gain.

Thus does the West entrap whole peoples with little resistance.

One of our major battles is to root out corrupt Western values and our resistance cannot prevail unless our cultural integrity is restored and maintained.

It is from our people's history, therefore, that we know our struggles and your struggles are the same. We have difficulty getting the information we need on what is happening in your countries. In so many ways we are illiterate of your heroes, your battles and your victories.

We are working now to increase the consciousness of the African-American so it will extend internationally. The United States fears this more than anything else, not only because such a consciousness would destroy within black communities the minority complex so carefully cultivated by the Anglos, but because it knows that if the black man realizes that the counter-insurgency efforts of this country are directed against his brother, he will not go, he cannot go. Then it will become crystal clear to the world that the imperialist wars are racist wars.

During the past year we have instituted a black resistance to the draft movement, not only because we are against black men fighting their brothers in Vietnam, but also because we are certain that the next Vietnam will be on this continent. Perhaps Bolivia where there are now "special forces advisors," perhaps Guatemala, Brazil, Peru or the Dominican Republic.

The African-American has tried for the past four hundred years to peacefully exist inside the country. It has been to no avail.

Our history demonstrates that the reward for trying to peacefully exist has been physical and psychological murder of our peoples. We have been lynched, our houses have been bombed and our churches burned. We are now being shot down in the streets like dogs by white racist policemen and we can no longer accept this oppression without retribution. We must join those who are for armed struggle around the world.

We understand that as we expand our resistance and internationalize the consciousness of our people as our martyred brother Malcolm X taught us, retaliation from the government will come to us as it did to him.

As the resistance struggle escalates, we are well aware of the reality of Che Guevara's words that the "struggle will not be a mere street fight . . . but will be long and harsh." In the end our common brotherhood sustains us all, as we struggle for our liberation by any means necessary.

But black power means that we see ourselves as part of the Third World; that we see our struggle as closely related to liberation struggles around the world. We must hook up with these struggles. We must, for example, ask ourselves: When black people in Africa begin to storm Johannesburg, when Latin Americans revolt, what will be the role of the United States and that of African-Americans.

It seems inevitable that this nation will move to protect its financial interests in South Africa and Latin America which means protecting white rule in these countries. Black people in the United States then have the responsibility



to oppose, at least, to neutralize, that effort by the United States.

This is but one example of many such situations which have already arisen around the world --- with more to come.

There is only one place for black Americans in these struggles, and that is on the side of the Third World. Frantz Fanon, in The Wretched of the Earth, puts forth clearly the reasons for this and the relationship of the concept of a new force in the world:

Let us decide not to imitate Europe; let us try to create the whole man, whom Europe has been incapable of bringing to triumphant birth.

Two centuries ago, a former European colony decided to catch up with Europe. It succeeded so well that the United States of America became a monster, in which the taints, the sickness and the inhumanity of Europe have grown to appalling dimensions . . .

The Third World today faces Europe like a colossal mass whose aim should be to try to resolve the problems to which Europe has not been able to find the answers ...

It is a question of the Third World starting a new history of man, a history which will have regard to the sometimes prodigious theses which Europe has put forward, but which will also not forget Europe's crimes of which the most horrible was committed in the heart of man, and consisted of the pathological tearing apart of his functions and the crumbling away of his unity.

No, there is no question of a return to nature. It is simply a very concrete question of not dragging men towards mutilation, of not imposing upon the brain rhythms which very quickly obliterate it and wreck it.

The pretext of catching up must not be used to push man around, to tear him away from himself or from his privacy, to break and kill him.

No, we do not want to catch up with anyone. What we want to do is go forward all the time, night and day, in the company of man, in the company of all men . . .

## WEAPONS FOR SELF DEFENSE

George Prosser

The question is frequently asked, "What sort of weapon should I obtain to defend myself and to protect my family?" The answer depends upon an evaluation of the situation, and its particular dangers for the oppressed of this land that we anticipate in the near future, as well as an appreciation of what is available on the firearms market at a given time.

First, I think that we can safely anticipate a situation of increasing tension, domestic strife and internal struggle in the near future, as America's chickens come home to roost in increasing numbers. The United States is conducting a brutal and vicious war of extermination against a brave and beautiful people in Southeast Asia, a war which has already produced serious domestic repercussions. As this dirty war continues to escalate, and as the outraged peoples of the world give increasing resistance, we can expect to experience more severe responses at home. Economic inflation, hysteria, witch-hunting, and repression, are all likely to increase. It is safe to predict that all of the dirty methods being used by our government in Vietnam, and other places around the world, such as the suppression of minorities, the transportation of dissenters to unhealthful places, and interrogations by torture, will all be experienced here at home in good time. It is likely that there will be an attempt in the near future to transform the black ghettos of our cities into virtual concentration camps by ringing them with troops and occupying them with a brutal and murderous gendarmerie.

Under the circumstances, the type of weapon which should be chosen is one which will be suitable for a condition of guerilla warfare against an alien, occupation army. This weapon can only be a good rifle.

Second, it cannot be anticipated that the present open market in firearms of all types will continue indefinitely. There are special reasons why there is presently such an abundance in surplus military weapons --- reasons related to America's maneuvering in the international firearms traffic --- but this situation will not continue long after the oppressor government in Washington realizes that it has a truly serious domestic resistance on its hands. Once this realization comes home, the oppressor government will institute severe restrictions on the sale, purchase and ownership of firearms. Attempts to force the owners of weapons to register them with the authorities will probably be inaugurated. It behooves the thoughtful person, therefore, to arm himself while time remains, and to reflect upon a safe place in which to cache his weapons and the ammunition against a season of strife.

A good rifle is always to be preferred to a pistol or revolver. Handguns are only satisfactory for personal defense at close range; they are not suitable as a fighting weapon. They are insufficient in power and penetration and are difficult to learn to shoot accurately. A good rifle is superior to the pistol in every way. It has far greater range and power, is inherently accurate, and is not difficult to learn to shoot. It must be remembered that the forces of resistance will not be able to match the firepower of the forces of oppression in a standup military confrontation. Of necessity, the resistance fighters must adopt the tactics and strategy of the guerilla: hitting the enemy when and where he least expects it, striking from cover and retreating quickly, operating mostly at night, learning the value of surprise and the cunning use of ambush. In this type of warfare, accurate aimed fire is of paramount importance. This can only be achieved with a rifle.



There is one exception to this rule. In a close-quarters, all-out fight of brief duration against superior numbers, as when attempting to break out of encirclement, there is no substitute for the sub machinegun. With this weapon, the soldier skilled in its use can concentrate overwhelming firepower against a narrow sector of the enemy front, clearing an opening through which the trapped detachment can make its way to safety. The experienced guerilla will take every possible precaution against encirclement, of course.

It is not illegal to purchase and possess a sub machinegun or other fully automatic weapon, although the government has made it very difficult and expensive to do so. Under the Federal Firearms Act of 1937, every fully automatic weapon in private hands in this country must be registered with the Treasury department, and a Transfer Tax of \$200.00 must be paid every time the weapon changes ownership. In effect, the Federal Government restricted the ownership and sale of these weapons by a prohibitive tax, an abuse of the tax power as defined in the Constitution, incidentally. But the provisions of the Constitution have never prevented the oppressor government from taking any measures it deemed necessary in the interests of the classes it represents. The net result of this law is that the ownership of sub machine guns, machine guns, and other fully automatic weapons, is restricted to the wealthy; the poor can not afford them. Machine guns, such as the .30 calibre Browning, the Thompson sub machinegun, and the B.A.R., are all being sold openly on the market today, and they are being purchased by wealthy conservatives and their allies, organizations like the Minutemen and the Rangers. The forces of reaction always have the best weapons; but that does not guarantee them victory.

A weapon which is a substitute for the sub machinegun at close range is the automatic or pump-action shotgun loaded with buckshot. The sub machinegun is effective to about 200 yards; the automatic shotgun is effective to only about 50 yards. But within that fifty-yard range, the shotgun is deadly. It is particularly effective at night and in close quarters, such as alleys, hallways, rooms, staircases, etc. Against a rifle, the shotgun will always prove to be inferior, provided only that the rifleman is out of range of the shotgunner. But within a single detachment, the judicious combination of riflemen and shotgunners will prove to be highly effective against the enemy.

Since it is still legal to purchase and own a rifle of any type, provided it is not capable of fully automatic fire, and since rifles of the military type are readily available on the firearms market today, the next question which arises is, "Which type of rifle should I choose from among those available?"

One very good choice is the Mauser Military Rifle. Because the many nations of the world which were equipped with this rifle have been converting in recent years to self-loading weapons, which have greater fire-power, large quantities of Mausers have been available cheaply. (A self-loading weapon is distinguished from a fully automatic one in that the former fires only one shot with each separate squeeze of the trigger, whereas the latter will fire a burst of rounds with one squeeze.) The Mauser is an excellent weapon, the standard of the German Army in both World Wars, and the standard of most of the small nations of the earth for over fifty years. Many people do not know that the famed Springfield Rifle, with which the United States Army was equipped for over thirty years, was only a Mauser. The government paid Paul Mauser, the inventor, \$200,000 in royalties for the use of the patents, before the First World War. The U.S. Ordnance Department modified the rifle somewhat, thinking to improve it, but the "improvements" were poorly conceived, and only succeeded in making the Springfield less reliable than the original.



The Mauser Rifle is a sturdy, reliable, accurate bolt action weapon which is manually operated and clip loaded, with a five shot capacity magazine. The clip does not go into the magazine along with the cartridges; instead, the cartridges are stripped off the clip, and lie free in the magazine. The clip is picked up and saved, to be used again. It has a positive safety which interrupts the firing pin, and which is easy to see and to use. The military models have a standard military double-pull trigger. It should not be altered to the single-stage "sporting" type. Such alterations generally accomplish little of value, and often render the weapon unsafe. There is a military leaf sight affixed to the barrel by a ring, in such a manner that it cannot be knocked off, and it is usually graduated in meters, from 300 to 2,000. Sometimes it is graduated from 100 or 200 to 2,000. Since meters and yards are very similar to each other, there are no practical problems involved in using a rifle with a sight graduated in meters, just as it is. Sometimes a rifle with a sight graduated from 300 meters, or yards, on up, will shoot higher than the point of aim at 100 meters than you will consider desirable. The way to correct this is to install a higher front sight blade. Under ordinary circumstances, you will not be using the rifle at ranges greater than 600 meters, or yards, so you will not use the higher elevations on the sight leaf.

The Mauser Rifle is chambered for a variety of military cartridges, ranging from 6.5 mm to 8 mm. The 7 mm and the 7.65 mm are common. Some were even chambered for the American 30-06 cartridge, the metric designation for which is 7.62. All these standard military cartridges are equally suitable for military purposes. The choice of calibre depends largely upon what is available in quantity at any particular time and personal preference. It is important to remember, when buying a rifle, that quantity of the ammunition also be purchased at the same time sufficient for extended practice and for any foreseeable emergency. Remember, as was pointed out at the beginning of this article, the present ready availability of military type arms and ammunition is not likely to continue indefinitely. The wise man will buy both rifle and ammunition at the same time, and stock in enough ammunition to provide for all his needs even when it can no longer be purchased on the open market. It is recommended that a minimum of 600 rounds be purchased for each rifle, and preferably 1,000 rounds. Moreover, the ammunition is cheaper when purchased in case lots, usually 1,000 rounds. It is usually advisable to buy ammunition that is fairly recent, made not over twenty years ago. The date of manufacture is always stamped in the head of the cartridge. There are exceptions to this twenty-year rule. Sometimes ammo that is very old, if it was of high quality to begin with, and stored under proper conditions, is still quite serviceable. If in doubt about old ammo, always test a small quantity before buying.

Military cartridges are loaded with full metal jacketed bullets, in contrast to the soft nose "sporting" type bullets that you may be familiar with for your hunting rifle. For military use, the full metal jacket type is superior, without a doubt. You may be assured that if the contrary were true, the governments would have supplied their armies with the soft nose type, international treaties notwithstanding. The full metal jacketed bullet has greater power of penetration than the soft nose variety. With it you can shoot at any enemy who is hiding behind a thick tree trunk. You can wreck the engine of an automobile with one shot. You can shoot clear through an automobile from end to end. It will not pierce the armor plate of a tank, however; for that you need a special type of bullet called "armor piercing." Armor piercing bullets will penetrate the light armor of light tanks and armored cars.

Almost all military ammunition is loaded with the so-called "corrosive" priming. Actually, the primers are not corrosive; that is a misnomer. What is



referred to is the potassium chlorate primer. This primer was a favorite with all of the military establishments because it kept well in storage. That is why some very old ammunition, loaded with chlorate primers, will still fire after seventy years. (Ammo this old cannot be considered reliable, however.)

Potassium chlorate is an unstable compound. That is why it detonates when the firing pin (striker) hits the primer (cap.) When the chlorate primer detonates, and the cartridge is fired, the potassium chlorate disintegrates into a simpler, more stable compound, releasing heat and energy in the process. The more simple compound is potassium chloride, an ingredient of sea water. That is why the deposit left in the bore of a rifle after firing a military cartridge is referred to as "primer salts." These salts cause rusting and pitting of the bore, if not removed. Like all salts they dissolve readily in water. For this reason, the best way to clean your rifle after firing military cartridges with chlorate primers is to pour large quantities of boiling hot water down the barrel from the breech end. Do this every day after you have fired, and the bore of your rifle will always be clean and shiny. (There will be more about the care and cleaning of your rifle in future articles which will appear in this journal.)

Besides the Mauser, there is another type of military rifle available today which is also a sound choice. That is the British Enfield, the full name of which is the Short Magazine Lee Enfield, or S.M.L.E. This is the rifle with which the British Army fought both World Wars, and with which all of the countries of the Commonwealth were armed. It does not have quite the same inherent accuracy of the Mauser, but it is a sturdy, reliable weapon all the same, and adequately accurate for all military purposes. Its advantages are larger magazine capacity --- it holds ten rounds instead of five; a short throw bolt action which is very fast to operate --- it is the fastest of all the manually operated rifles; it will go through very hard conditions of mud, grime, dirt, heat and cold and always be reliable. Also, it is usually a few dollars cheaper than a good Mauser, which is more finely made. For combat purposes, the S.M.L.E., or "Enfield," cannot be surpassed.

This rifle is sometimes available in a carbine version, called the "Mark V" or "Jungle Carbine." This is the latest issue of the Enfield and was developed toward the end of World War II. It features a short, 22-inch barrel, equipped with a flash hider, a cut down stock, and a rubber recoil pad fitted to the butt. Like other military rifles it has a bayonet stud. Some of these rifles even have "Vernier" rear sights, which are highly accurate. If you can obtain one of these, you should use it "as is," without any alteration whatsoever. It is ready to go. (Generally speaking, it is not a good idea to alter military rifles, like cutting down the stock, and so on. Usually such attempts at "improvement" end up poorly, and you have a less reliable weapon than when you started out.) All Lee-Enfields are chambered for the .303 British cartridge, which was standard during two World Wars. This is a rimmed cartridge of about .30 calibre. All of the remarks I have made about military cartridges in the preceding paragraphs apply to the .303 British.

After you have purchased your rifle and ammunition, you should then practice with it until you become expert. If you follow the well-established principles with respect to learning rifle marksmanship, you will soon learn to shoot accurately. This is your first responsibility. Remember, it is a military axiom that "only hits count." Mere volume of fire-power, of itself, means little. For this reason, the self-loading rifle, with its greater fire-power, is not a sound choice for the beginner. In the hands of an untrained shooter, all that extra fire-power merely means "more misses per minute." Some self-loading rifles are rugged and well made, but none of them have the inherent reliability of the bolt-action type, whether Mauser or Enfield. You will never be able to match



the fire power of the oppressor, in any case; so your only option is to make every shot count. Aimed fire, not mere volume of fire, will give you a definite advantage. (Look for articles on "How To Learn To Shoot Accurately" in future issues of this journal.)

Remember, when the oppressor government institutes his regime of terror and violence, you will not be helpless to defend yourself, provided you have prepared during the time which is still available to you. After you have acquired your weapon, and your case of ammunition, and have practiced with it enough so that you can hit the target, you will have more confidence when you have to face the forces of the peoples' enemy. You will acquit yourself well.

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### THE GREAT CONSPIRATOR'S CONSPIRACY

Robert F. Williams

(Reprinted from The Crusader Newsletter, July 1967.)

The master conspirator and great deceiver has contrived yet another mythological plot to whip up mass hysteria against the Afro-American Revolution. Once again the most militant segment of the black liberation struggle has been victimized by the most vicious enemy of the ghetto community, the predatory beasts masquerading as the saintly guardians of the savage white man's law. The so-called assassination plot is pure and simple white supremacy vindictiveness aimed at crushing the resistant spirit now sweeping Black America. This so-called "early morning swoop-down on plotting assassins", is nothing more than a conspirator's conspiracy to intimidate all who are determined to resolutely resist racist American tyranny. The vicious police running dogs of fascist tyranny are not only masters at cruel and savage repression against the enemies of oppression, but they are also masters at prefabricating lies to give some semblance of justification to their abominable action.

RAM [Revolutionary Action Movement] is not now, and has never been an organization given to pointless assassination. What would be the logic of murdering zombies who exist only on the rump to mouth resuscitation of their white saviors? What would be the logic of murdering black Samboes resurrected from the tombs of white America merely to serve as dummies for racist and reactionary ventriloquists? If I were an advocate of assassination, what would be the logic of a "murder conspiracy" against Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young while the chief villains of the 1961 Monroe frame-up and those responsible for my present exile continue to harass and persecute Afro-Americans in a racist community where the racist culprits live in peace and security with no thought of retaliation on my part?

The racist white power structure contrived this outlandish and bogus "plot" against black misleaders because it wanted to create an image of the black mind being capable only of petty and pointless acts of violence and terror. It wanted to play on the power of suggestion by suggesting that black resentment should be unleashed against black puppets instead of being directed at the chief culprits, the white puppet masters. This was a vicious design to divide our people and to spread mass suspicion. It is a shopworn trick long used by the white imperialist oppressor to instigate black to fight black while sadistical white oppressors amuse themselves by watching the ancient Roman sport of blood letting and mayhem.

This vicious plot against RAM and other black militants was supposed to serve as a brake on America's headlong plunge into the long hot summer. RAM had been informed months ago by sympathetic police sources that a frame-up was



in the making. This is why some brothers moved out of the New York area. This is why they had become deliberately inactive. All revolutionary acts of violence now taking place in America, according to police logic, are done under the direction of members of RAM. This is not true. RAM has long advocated a policy of self-defense and revolutionary resistance to tyrannical oppression. We are anti-imperialist, anti-racist and all black, and for this we offer no apologies. The police vultures dared not contrive a plot around an alleged murder plan against Whitey because they knew that this would project RAM as the greatest saviors of Black America. This would make RAM the toast of the ghetto, for every black child now knows that black men who kill white oppressors are great heroes worthy of emulation.

The RAM case proves the fascist nature of the U.S. power structure. The charges against RAM are openly political. Among other things, RAM is being charged with planning the overthrow of the U.S. Government. The incarceration of militant blacks under such trumped-up political charges is incontrovertible proof that American fascism has shamelessly started to collect black political prisoners. Those of RAM and other militant groups who are charged and imprisoned by state and federal police are not criminals but are political prisoners seized as opponents by an over-zealous and tyrannical power structure.

The racist power structure hoped to head off the long hot summer of Afro-American rebellion by staging cruel and aggressive sneak attacks on some of the most militant leaders of the revolutionary black community throughout racist America. By staging a Pearl Harbor sneak attack on the ghettos they hoped to seize the initiative, thus stemming the tide of ever spreading discontent and massive ghetto uprisings. The battle of Newark should be a lesson to the oppressor that his tactic of vicious repression is not an answer to the black man's thrust for human dignity. Violent repression results in violent reaction to violent repression. The greater the force of oppression, the greater the ultimate force of resistance.

The plot against RAM and other black militants throughout the country portends the unleashing of massive terror against our captive people of the ghetto. Newark is one battle of the many ahead in the future. The tyrannical American white man is an incorrigible oppressor. The black man cannot peacefully co-exist in close proximity with such a savage beast. The black man's strongest dialogue with the oppressive American white man is the revolutionary sound of fury and violence in the Street. Our people must answer the challenge of white terror with well organized and revolutionary violence. Though the insensate power structure is desperately trying to stem the tide of the black revolt by using innocent scapegoats for examples of intimidation; we must become ever more courageous and proficient in urban guerilla warfare. Our oppressive enemies have grossly miscalculated the situation. Such vicious frame-ups and savage repression only serve to kindle the smoldering unrest already nearing the explosion point throughout the width and breadth of tyrannical and imperialist America. Our response to these mendacious frame-ups is a clarion call to oppressed Black America to UNITE OR PERISH! MOBILIZE FOR PEOPLE'S WAR BECAUSE AMERICA IS THE BLACK MAN'S BATTLEGROUND!

\* \* \* \* \*

If anyone attacks us and if the conditions are favourable for battle, we will certainly act in self-defense to wipe him out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely (we do not strike rashly, but when we do strike, we must win).

---Mao Tse-Tung





### JOHN BROWN AND TAKING CARE OF BUSINESS

Booker T. Washington

John Brown was a social revolutionary. He had long been satisfied that the "milk and water" principles of the abolitionist, as he called their belief in moral suasion, would effect nothing. Social revolution inevitably brings about much dislocation and suffering. One's judgement of whether such revolution represents progress or whether the progress is worth the price depends on one's value system. John Brown believed that social revolution was worth the price, for he bridged the void between thought and action. His raid on Harpers Ferry represented an awareness on his part that the American political system was incapable of dealing with slavery. That slavery was so deeply embedded in the matrix of American society that only violence could exorcise it.

John Brown came to these conclusions after a careful examination of the values of the society in which he lived. He knew that nineteenth century politicians considered slavery to be politically divisive and therefore a subject which should not be discussed openly. John Brown was also aware that nineteenth century politicians were also cautious in dealing with slavery because slaves constituted a peculiar species of property. Federal abolition of slavery might set a precedent for the abolition of other forms of property. In a country in which private property was, and is, deified, this was unthinkable.

John Brown transcended this milieu. He said "give a slave a pike, and you make him a man." He realized that slavery had cowed black people and that when the slaves stood like men, the nation would respect them. Violence therefore was therapeutic. It would bind the black masses together and at the



same time disabuse white people of the notion that black people were cowering animals.

One can assume from this (If he likes) that John Brown was a real soul brother who knew how to take care of business. He realized the futility of working in and with a system which was not committed to change. Not only not committed, but incapable because of certain value priorities of doing anything meaningful about the condition of black people.

John Brown failed. He did not liberate one slave. His band was overwhelmed and he was hanged. But this should not prejudice us against John Brown. Failure is not evidence of a lack of perception. John Brown knew what it was all about. He knew that power and organization speak in a society in which power is everything. He understood that an organized black community which was proud of its blackness would command respect. To achieve this goal John Brown intended (if he had succeeded) to organize black communities in the mountains of Virginia. In these communities black people would have been educated and trained for self-defense. And from these communities they would have conducted raids to liberate other blacks held in bondage.

If history has a didactic purpose --- that is to say, if history teaches us lessons --- certain things may be learned from the career of John Brown. And this is that political systems are mutable. That when they oppress they must be changed. And, as one historian has observed, "nothing exists in history to assure us that the great moral dilemmas can be resolved without pain."

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#### The John Brown School

For one, when a white man comes to me and tells me how liberal he is, the first thing I want to know, is he a nonviolent liberal, or the other kind. I don't go for any nonviolent white liberals. If you are for me and my problems --- when I say me, I mean us, our people --- then you have to be willing to do as old John Brown did. And if you're not of the John Brown school of liberals, we get you later --- later.

--- Malcolm X.



Future issues of Black Politics will have articles on the following topics:

Malcolm X

West African History

The New Left

Che Guevara

Chaka Zulu

Ghetto Self-Defense

1968 Elections



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