


black... black power... black panther... bla... power... black panth... black

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

... black power... black panther... bla... power... black panth... black

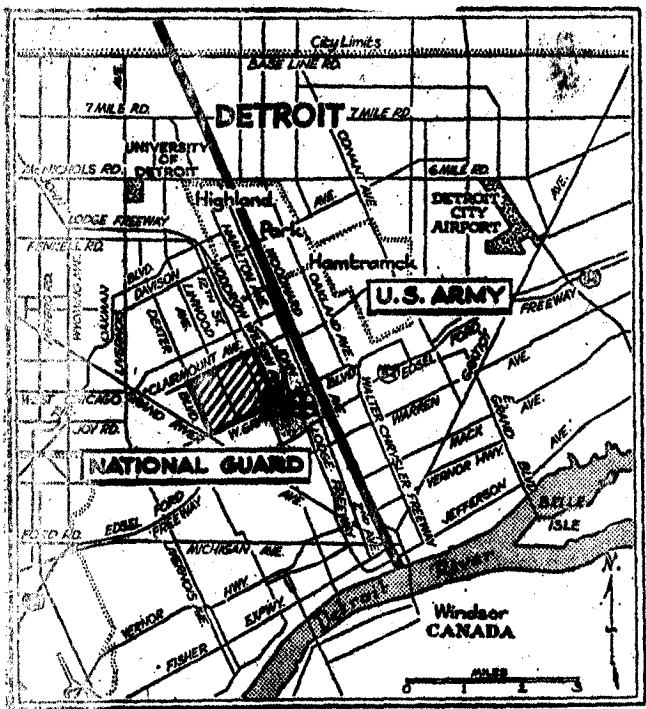



KARAMBEE!! UMOJA!! UHURU!!

Vol. I, No. 8 September, 1967 1211 Scott St. P.O. 15187 S.F., Calif.

THE BATTLE OF DETROIT:

'You ain't seen nothing yet, baby!'



The New York Times July 27, 1967
BATTLED CITY: Woodward Avenue (heavy line) is the primary between Army and National Guard operations. Squad was evacuated by police because of heavy gunfire.



BLACK AMERICA AND WHITE AMERICA: "...it's the government, not just the cops!"

DETROIT 1967: A WAR-TORN CITY

Temporary quiet, broken by sporadic gun duels between white and Black forces, has returned to war-torn Detroit following the biggest battle in this latest stage in the war between white America and Black America.

But, according to Black Brothers in the area, "You ain't seen nothing yet, baby."

There can be no doubt in Black People's minds just who we are protecting ourselves against...the use of the U.S. Army to put down the rebellion on the city's east side confirms the fact that it is the federal government, not the individual white racist, which is our main enemy.

The toll of the five-day battle between Black guerrilla bands of five to six snipers and National Guard troops was costly for both sides:

Black Liberation Forces lost at least 40, hundreds of bloods were burned out of their homes (most by white patrols who used the rebellion to carry out their racist plots), 2,100 were captured

and taken prisoner by white forces, and countless thousands were injured.

But the tolls inflicted by the bloods were fantastic by comparison: at least 15 whites killed, hundreds injured, over \$1 billion worth of damage to Whitey's industrial city center by fire and explosion and shutdown, and the loss of prestige to Whitey all over the world.

Black America showed the world and all disbelievers in the Battle of Detroit that Black People can and will take what is rightfully ours: our freedom from Whitey's oppression. We are on the road to national liberation!

While Whitey was frantically racing through Congress trying to figure out how the situation could be handled, Black sniper units in groups from two to six were staging hit and run attacks mostly in the 200-square block West Side of Detroit that kept National Guardsmen and firemen pinned down while other bloods gathered supplies from Whitey's stores.

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

The height of the battle came Tuesday night, July 25, when Black forces drove National Guardsmen and police back out of the West Side battle area with deadly rooftop and alleyway fire.

All of Whitey's highly technical army equipment, his troops, tanks, automatic weapons, and heavy artillery were useless against the liberation forces' guerrilla tactics.

Charges are now being brought forth that National Guardsmen and Detroit police officers beat, tortured, and then murdered three Black Brothers who had sought safety from the battle in a Detroit motel. This only confirms the fact that we are at war with Whitey, and the Beast will use and has used anything to keep from losing.

The spark that caused this rebellion isn't important; every blood in this

country realizes that this trouble began 400 years ago when Whitey ripped us up from the soul of Mother Africa, and the only ones who can be legally convicted for "inciting to riot" are president Johnson and the other rulers of white America who have forced Black People to live in these terrible conditions in the world's richest country.

The Battle of Detroit set off a chain of Black rebellions that swept the nation, causing billions of dollars in damage and proving that Black People are not going to sit back like the Jews while we are exterminated or put into concentration camps.

As one Congress white boy said, relations between Black America and white America will never be the same again.

Black Power, Brothers and Sisters! We gonna win! For real!



McKINLEY WELCH



UNIDENTIFIED



DONALD DUNCAN

The three people (they are definitely not Brothers and Sisters) pictured above are agents working for the Beast against all Black People.

THEY ARE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ARRESTS OF OUR 17 BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN NEW YORK LAST JUNE ON FRAMED-UP ASSASSINATION CHARGES (Roy Wilkins)!

Watch out for them! Be cool with them!

If you see them, get in contact with this newspaper immediately!

SUPPORT BROTHER VINCENT LYNCH !

THE WAR OF THE AMERICAS

The long hot summer is almost over.

What had been prophesized by practically everybody to be the most violent summer in recent history...the summer of 1967 has spread its Black rebellion to over 30 U.S. cities from California to New York at the time of this writing, and promises to sweep the entire country.

In Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Whitey cut his own throat economically when he imposed a 24-hour curfew on the city following outbreaks of violence between Black forces and white cops. For one full day nothing moved within the city except white troops and Black snipers who constantly harassed them, and although the violence let down there are promises of more to come. So what will the Beast try next: a one-week curfew?

On the East Side of Harlem, New York, and in the Bronx, three thousand Puerto Ricans (mostly Black) stormed through the streets in New York's worst racial uprising since 1964. Sniper fire from rooftops kept police pinned down while liberators secured supplies from stores in the area.

Similar incidents occurred in Grand Rapids, Michigan, Saginaw, Michigan, Pontiac, Michigan, Wyoming, Michigan, Flint, Michigan, Cincinnati, Ohio, and Toledo, Ohio, which ring the war-torn city of Detroit, and kept white power structure officials in a hurt worrying whether National Guard troops would be spread out too thin in the area. Local police were helpless in the uprisings, and National Guard troops were hard-pressed to fight disappearing bloods using guerrilla tactics.

Lakeland, Florida, Memphis, Tennessee, Wichita, Kansas, Catskills, New York, Rochester, New York, South Bend, Indiana, and Englewood, New Jersey, were the scene of gun duels between Blacks and police, and there were reports of rock and bottle throwing and burning by Black

gangs in Phoenix and Tucson, Arizona, Portsmouth, Virginia, Houston, Texas, Chicago, Illinois, Waukegan, Illinois, Bridgeport, Connecticut, Waterbury, Connecticut, and Portland, Oregon all in the same period of a week and a half.

The significance of these latest uprisings is that rather than depending on rocks and bottles and roving in large crowds, most bloods are more and more using hit-and-run, shoot-and-hide guerrilla tactics.



SUPPORT BROTHER VINCENT LYNCH!

RAP BROWN BLOWS SOUL

I am charged with inciting Black People to commit an offense by way of protest against the law, a law in which neither I nor any of my people have any say in preparing. The law against which the protest was directed (the law which denies freedom) is the law which established this country.

I consider myself neither morally nor legally bound to obey the laws made by a body, in which I have no representation. That the will of the people is the basis of the authority of government, is a principle universally acknowledged as sacred all over the civilized world and constitutes the basic foundation and is legally bound by the laws governing this country.



H. RAP BROWN
Rappin' it down

It should be equally understandable that we, as Black People, should adopt the attitude that we are neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws which were not made with our consent and which seek to oppress us. Nor can we be expected to have confidence in courts that interpret and enforce such laws. The white man makes all the laws, he drags us before his courts, he accuses us, and he sits in judgement over us.

Do not deceive yourselves into believing that penalties will deter men from the course that they believe is right. History shows that penalties do not deter my people or the colleagues with whom I have worked.

We stand on the eve of a Black Revolution. Masses of our people are on the move, fighting the enemy tit-for-tat, responding to counter-revolutionary vio-

lence with revolutionary violence, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a life for a life. These rebellions are but a dress rehearsal for real revolution.

Neither imprisonment nor threats of death will sway me from the path that I have taken, nor will they sway others like me. For to men, freedom in their own land is the pinnacle of their ambitions; and nothing can turn men of conviction and a strong sense of freedom aside.

More powerful than my fear of the dreadful conditions to which I might be subjected in prison is my hatred for the dread conditions to which my people are subjected to outside prisons throughout this country. I hate the practice of race discrimination, and in doing so, in my hatred, I am sustained by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind hate it equally. There is nothing any court can do to change in any way that hatred in me; it can only be removed by the removal of the injustices and the inhumanity which exist in this country. We seek to remove that injustice from the political, social, and economic life of the United States.

A stable and just society cannot mount a successful offensive action against a Black youth who breaks a window and at the same time plead that it is powerless to protect Black youth who are being murdered because they seek to make American "democracy" a reality. Each time a Black church is bombed or burned, it is an act of violence in our streets. Each time a Black body is found in the swamps of Mississippi or Alabama, that is violence in our land. Each time Black human rights workers are refused protection by the government, that is anarchy. Each time a police officer shoots and kills a Black teen-ager, that is urban crime.

We see America for what it is, and we recognize our course of action...

* * * *

BLACKS REBEL IN EAST PALO ALTO

Police sicked dogs on Black Sisters and shot down Black Brothers in the street last month, causing bloods to go on a two-day rampage in East Palo Alto and sparking the beginning of a "Black Patrol" in the area.

On Saturday night, July 29, a concert at Menlo-Atherton High School given by the Majestics, a local Black singing group, was broken up by police violence when a white cop asked a Brother to leave because "I don't like your attitude."

After the show, a crowd of Brothers gathered around the two white cops, protesting the action, and when one of the cops pulled out his pistol he was bombarded with bottles and ash trays.

Police reinforcements, which had been waiting around the corner, were rushed in, complete with eight to ten dogs, which were immediately sicked on several Black Sisters. Several Black Sisters were pushed to the ground by police, and one Black Brother, Clarence Jenkins, was severely beaten by police.

The next night, a white cop fired twice into a crowd of young bloods after he was hit in the jaw by a brick. Two Brothers were hit and one of them, Ronnie Hall, was later charged with attempted murder, even though he did not throw the brick.

Brothers in the area have formed a Black Community Relations Association and are currently following police cars around, making sure they are fair and honest in their dealings with the Black East Palo Alto community.

RACIST NAZI LEADER ASSASSINATED

George Lincoln Rockwell, racist white leader of the American Nazi Party, was gunned down in a parking lot last week by "one of his most loyal followers," thus ending his 49 years of hate-peddling against Black People.

Ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha...

BROTHERS TURN ARMY SECRETS OVER TO USSR

Proving that Black People in all areas of American life, including the Army, are showing their hate of White Power, two Black U.S. Army sergeants were recently arrested for "conspiring to turn over national defense information" to the Russians.

Sgt. I.C. Ulysses L. Harris and S. Sgt. Leonard J. Stafford, the Brothers arrested, have blown the lid off the assumption that all Black Army personnell, especially non commissioned officers, are completely loyal to the white racist U.S. government.

There have been rumors that a large number of Black soldiers in the U.S. Armed Forces are getting ready to revolt, tired of fighting Whitey's wars abroad while the same Army they are fighting in murders their mothers and fathers back here in the U.S.

WILL U.S. LAW BE THROWN AWAY COMPLETELY?

Whitey is getting ready to change his Constitution.

It only takes 34 states to call for a Constitutional Convention, and at this writing 32 states (including California) have approved the calling.

Since the Constitution is the basis of all American law, any changes in the document will mean vast changes in Whitey's law.

According to foreign observers, the U.S. is going through its worst domestic troubles since the Civil War, and in the future anything can happen.

M.L. KING CALLS FOR USE OF ARMY ON BLOODS

Martin Luther King (Coon) has endorsed the use of federal troops to stop Black People fighting for our freedom in the streets (where our freedom was lost), proving once more that he has ties with the white racist power structure.

"There is no question that when a riot erupts it has to be halted," King said. But when asked if he would go into a war zone to help Whitey put down the Black rebellion, King said no, that there was nothing he could do.

A. Philip Randolph, Whitney Young, and Roy Wilkins all made similar statements.

BLACK PEOPLE DO IT TO DEATH IN NEWARK

The Battle of Newark, 1967:

Ranking along with Los Angeles, 1965, Chicago, 1966, and Detroit, 1967, as the biggest confrontations between Black America and white U.S. forces, Newark, New Jersey, is one of the countless American cities from San Francisco to Tampa, from New York to San Diego, that has felt the wrath of 400 years of pent-up Black anger and frustration.

In a five-day skirmish in the only major U.S. city to have a majority Black population (most other U.S. cities will reach a majority Black population by 1975, at the latest), Black guerrilla fighters pinned down police with sniper fire while liberation forces searched white shops for supplies.

White forces declared "open season on niggers," shooting Black women and children on the streets and even sitting in their homes, inflicting 1,600 injuries, and murdering unofficially up to 50 Black Brothers and Sisters. LeRoi Jones a Black poet who has been in the Bay Area for some time, was picked up off the streets, beaten by the cops, and later framed on a concealed weapons charge.

White forces also destroyed most Black businesses in the area, shooting out the windows and setting fire to many blood



LeROI JONES: Beaten, framed

stores with "Soul Brother" written on them.

However, the final total damage to the Beast's pocketbook was well over \$100 million, and, according to the Brothers from all over the Black nation, "You ain't seen nothing yet, baby."

* * * *

(In the next issue of BLACK POWER!:
an exclusive report on the Newark Black
Power Conference.)

CARMICHAEL BLOWS HARD AT CUBA CONFERENCE

Stokely Carmichael, former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is currently in Havana, Cuba, attending a conference of the Latin American Organization of Solidarity.

Prensa Latina, the Cuban press agency, quoted Carmichael as saying, "we are preparing groups of urban guerrillas for our defense in the cities. The price of these rebellions is a high price that one must pay. This fight is not going to be a simple street meeting. It is going to be a fight to the death."

Brother Stokely visited Puerto Rico earlier this year, and he is reported to be leaving for Hanoi, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, later this week for a visit.



WHITE FORCES USE CHEMICAL "MACE" TO HALT BLACKS IN NEW HAVEN

White cops used chemical warfare to rout angry bloods off the streets of New Haven, Conn., last week, proving that the enemy is moving toward the complete use of gas on Black Americans.

"Mace," a chemical which "blinds the eyes and causes the victim to lose his will to resist," was used to aid Whitey in the arrest of 200 Brothers and Sis-

ters on charges ranging from "inciting to riot" to "curfew violation."

This completely throws out any claims by the enemy that he is too humane to use gas on Black People. Whitey does not consider us to be human, and we can expect him to break out more damaging chemicals in the future.

Get together, Brothers!

BLACK REBELLIONS ROCK THE BAY AREA

In the same period that saw Black Liberation Forces and Whitey's troops battle in Detroit and in cities from coast to coast, California, particularly the Bay Area, was also hit.

In San Francisco, Black youths tossed fire bombs in the Mayfair Supermarket at Geary and Webster in the Fillmore District, and police sealed off a 30-square block section of the district after the bloods broke out most of the store windows up and down the street. One Brother was shot by a Black Tom clerk at the Mayfair Supermarket, and the window-smashing and looting spread to the nearby Haight-Ashbury District and as far away as Market Street.

The scene was about the same at Oakland's 85th Avenue and E. 14th St. on the East Side, scene of similar rock and bottle throwing incidents since last October.

There were repeated gun duels between police and Black Liberation Forces in Marin City, and molotov cocktails were thrown at white stores and white police.

And in Sacramento, Uncle Tom Assemblyman Willie Brown was booed down by a crowd of bloods in the Oak Park section of town when he tried to talk them into leaving the streets.

"Go home and have a drink with your white boss," one Brother shouted.

Bloods tossed gasoline bombs and bottles in the state capitol.

WHITEY BREAKS THE TREATY OF 1863:
SHOSHONE INDIAN ILLEGALLY SENTENCED

A Shoshone Indian, legally exempt from the U.S. draft because of a treaty Whitey signed with his people in 1863, was illegally sentenced by the Beast to 5 years at hard labor for refusing to serve in the "white man's war in Vietnam."

Richard D. Williams, the sole support of his aged mother and crippled father, was originally tricked into submitting to induction by draft board members and a white "Indian agent," who told him that if he went in he would soon get a hardship discharge.

"The draft board doesn't take the sons of rich (white) farmers and ranchers," Williams said in court. "Just dumb Indians like me."

Rolling Thunder, who represented more than 6000 Nevada Shoshones in his testimony, charged that the 1863 Treaty of Ruby Valley was only one of 300 the Beast made and later broke with the original and legal owners of America.

"That treaty, gentlemen, was written with the blood of our people," Rolling Thunder rapped. "The Indians came unarmed....the soldiers had rifles....they killed an Indian and put him in an iron pot....cooked him...made the other Indians eat him."

This is only more proof that Whitey cares nothing for anyone but Whitey, even if he must break his own laws to do so.

B.P.C. CALLS FOR BLACK UNIV.

For full many a decade the Black race in America has suffered the failure of the Negro college. Such institutions have swept potential theorists from the Black community and converted them into sterile lackeys for an oppressive and morally decadent society. As of now, the situation shows no signs (judging from a number of studies, statistics, and systematic observation) of mending itself, and indeed appears to grow worse each hour of the day.

We, the members of the Black Power Committee, stand opposed to that pathetic and shameless trend. Our aims are: (1) the overthrow of the Negro college with white innards and (2) to raise in its place a militant Black University which will counteract the whitewashing Black students now receive in "Negro" and white institutions. We are working to bring the Black college and the Black community together as one in a common and invincible army to fight our common enemy.

We (Black students, Black professors, Black Women, and Black prisoners of the ghetto) represent a variety of "social" groups bound together by a common devotion to Black Justice and Black Freedom. Never, so long as we breathe, will we buckle under in the struggle to mold the Black Unity heretofore disrupted by this white trickery and deception. Our model is South Carolina State College (in Orangeburg) which recently struck in droves, although they suffered a news "whiteout" by the free white press of America.

We must unite or perish. We are calling, therefore, for two nationwide conferences. One is to bring together revolutionary Black students and Brothers from Black communities across the land. The other will shape and cement a new spirit of concern, unity, and revolutionary thought and inquiry on the part of Black professors in "Negro" and white colleges and universities.

Although most of the specifics of our program will be developed at these conferences, our goals revolve around the complete revamping of the "Negro" college. This includes a purge of the brainwashing factories now called libraries, where students read second-hand Shakespeare and learn little or nothing of merit and relevance to the Black Man's predicament. Moreover, we must have a complete overhauling of the present curricula and the building of courses of study more pertinent to the present and future demands of the Black struggle in America and the world. Swahili, for example, a major African language, should be compulsory now. At the same time, it is necessary to launch a vigorous campaign to change the names of Black universities to commemorate the courage and deeds of Black thinkers and theorists now dead rather than white imperialists and their Black Toms. A move is already underway at Lincoln University (Pa.) to switch the name to Fredrick Douglass University. We applaud the initiative shown by these students and de-

(Continued on next Page)



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mand that Howard University (after Oliver Otis Howard, late white general in the U.S. army) become Garvey University or Turner University.

We stand opposed to the present situation in which Black students and potential students are drafted and murdered in Vietnam for a freedom they do not have in their own land. We believe that the service of Black Men in U.S. war efforts stretching back to the Revolutionary War proves that our military participation will have no bearing on the prospects for Black Freedom and Justice in America. Therefore, we call for a solidified effort to bring Black troops back home. Bring Black troops back home. America is the Black Man's true battleground. It is both futile and ludicrous for Black Men to kill, defend, and die in Vietnam and leave behind their women and children to fend for themselves. This seems merely one more Black genocidal effort on the part of U.S. society in which Black Women will experience an even greater shortage of Black mates.

The Black Woman's rage in the face of this oppression grows stronger with each day. Black Women across the country have formed Black Women Enraged organiz-

ations..not only to protest, but also to halt this heinous situation. The Black Power Committee, in conjunction with these Black Sisters, is recruiting other Black Women, especially the wives and mothers of Black Men now soldiers in Vietnam. These Sisters will be picketing, waging write-in campaigns, purging "beauty" shops, and generally working to bring about a Black awareness that America is the Black Man's battleground. And, because America is the Black Man's true battleground, the Black race must rally around Muhammad Ali and other Brothers like him to protest their draft notices.

The prime movers for this struggle will consist of Black students, Black professors, Black Women, and the Black community. We call for the abolition of ROTC on Black college campuses. We resist the further removal of Black students by means of tests standardized on the privileged white students and their "mean" scores. We seek rather to halt the present invasion on the part of white students and teachers who take up seats and salaries which might go to Black students and teachers unable to meet tuition and quota demands of white colleges.

We will not retreat from our struggle, come what may, and we will strive, by any means available, to bring freedom and justice to the Black race or give to a cruel and racist white America the destruction it deserves.

SUPPORT BROTHER VINCENT LYNCH!

Two weeks ago, Brother Vincent Lynch, a Revolutionary Black Nationalist who has worked for Black Power in the Bay Area for several years and whose father was the West Coast coordinator of the Marcus Garvey Movement back in the 20's, was "set-up" by the white racist power structure of White America.

In order to fight the trumped-up charges of his case, Bro' Lynch needs financial as well as physical support. For further information, write to the VINCENT LYNCH DEFENSE FUND, P.O. 1097, Berkeley, Calif., 94701.

Let's make Black Power work!

EARTH

(for Mrs. Mary Bethune and the
African and African-American woman)
(by Roland Snellings, from SOULBOOK 2)

Where are the warriors, the young men?

Who guards the women's quarters -- the burnt-haired
women's quarters --

and hears their broken sobbing in the night?

To endure. To remain, like the red earth, strong and fecundant.

Your coppery, chocolate, obony warm-skin scoured...and toughened
by the arid wind.

The wrinkles in your eyes, your smile, your frowning foreheads
are the Stars within your Crown, my women.

Cares come and go; dreams fade away; sons are lost
on lonely battlefields...severed by Nordic Meataxe.

Men are broken...babble...lift their bloody genitals
upon the tainted altar of the Snow Queen

Her frigid, sterile smile is a tribute to the vengeance of her Caesars.

Where, then, is Spartacus, is Attila, is Hannibal?

Who thunders, now, upon those Seven Hills?

They are gone...and...only you remain!

You whose Womb has warmed the European hills and made the Pale Snows tawny.

Pagan Spain, sunny France, Italy and the fabled Grecian Isles
are drenched by the Sunlight of your smile:

Mother of the World!

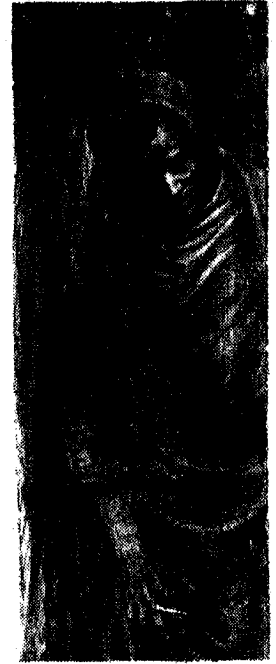
Fecundant, Beating Heart!

Enduring Earth!

Only you remain!!

Where are the warriors, the young men?

Who guards the women's quarters?



SUPPORT MRS. VINCENT LYNCH
AND FAMILY



FILIPINOS TCB; DEVELOP ARMED BASES

The Philippine People's Liberation Army (PLA) has been carrying out a policy of developing base areas to work from as well as engaging in armed struggle, according to a Manila report. They now come out more often than before on raiding missions in support of the peasants' struggle against local tyrants and their accomplices.

In the ten days from June 3 to June 12 the liberation fighters made three raids in Central Luzon, killing six landlords who had been accused of mistreating peasants. A Manila press report said that on the evening of June 6, three PLA men went into the house of one of these land owners in Pampunga Province, arrested him, tried and convicted him on the spot of mistreating peasants, and then shot him to death.

Another report said that two PLA men had ambushed five special agents of the first military district of security forces of the Philippine government, killing four of them and heavily wounding another, before they themselves safely returned to their base.

The Philippine paper "Daily Mirror" disclosed that in the first four months of this year the PLA had supported the peasants' struggle by killing 18 tyrant landlords. Last year it had done away with 73 landlords, and has definitely won the warm support of the broad masses of the poor peasants.

GUERRILLA FIGHTERS TAKE HOLD IN ECUADOR

QUITO, ECUADOR...The daily, "El Comercio," has affirmed that in spite of denials by the Ecuador government, guerrilla groups do exist in the Guayllamba zone, Pichincha province. The publication confirmed that groups of revolutionaries are now operating in the San Lorenzo jungle and that they are using motor boats to move from one place to another across the Esmeralda river. On the other hand, the government minister, Benjamin Teran, again denied the existence of these guerrillas. Ain't that cold?

ARAB LAWYERS' FEDERATION CONDEMNS CHUCK

CAIRO, UAR...The Arab Lawyers' federation recently issued a statement condemning US imperialism for manipulating the United Nations to serve its policies of aggression. The statement commented on the UN's failure to adopt a resolution denouncing the US-British-Israeli aggression against Arab countries or to order the aggressors to withdraw. It said that the failure of the UN clearly showed that world imperialism headed by the US continued to exercise control over this international body to serve Chuck's policy of aggression, stifle the independence and freedom of Black peoples, and to strike at the liberation movements in the Third World.

MOZAMBIQUE BROTHERS "GET WHITEY"

DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA...Mozambique guerrillas launched 16 attacks and ambushes against the portuguese colonialist troops in Cabo Delgado province from April 24 to June 6, killing 166 portuguese soldiers and wounding many others, according to a communique recently published by the Mozambique freedom fighters. The communique also said that our Brothers in Mozambique destroyed five enemy vehicles and sabotaged a number of roads controlled by the enemy.

B L A C K P O W E R !

SUPPORT BROTHER VINCENT LYNCH!

DRUM:

THE
BLACKEST
PANTHER

"It can therefore be said that politics is war without bloodshed while war is politics with bloodshed."

--~~Abel P. Newton~~

--Mao Tse-tung

Selected Military
Writings (Page 227)

Today, self-defense as a system and as a reality has been liquidated by the march of events.

Colombia with its zones of peasant self-defense, and Bolivia with its zones of worker self-defense, constituted the two countries in which this conception acquired the strength of a line. These two "nuclei of subversion" were, within a few months of each other, liquidated by the army: Marquetalia, in southern Colombia, occupied in May of 1964, and the Bolivian mines invaded in May and September of 1965, after tragic battles. This double defeat signifies the end of an epoch and attests to the death of a certain ideology. It is necessary that the revolutionary movement should once and for all accept this demise.

The end of an epoch, the epoch of relative class equilibrium. The beginning of another, that of total class warfare, excluding compromises solutions and shared power.

In view of the present polarization of exploited and exploiters in a neocolonial country, the fact that a portion of territory can exist in which the army and the state cannot proceed "to the normal exercise of their functions," is more than the new imperialist legality can tolerate but at the same time not enough to endanger it. The failure of armed self-defense of the masses corresponds on the military level to the failure of reformism on the political level. In the new context of struggle to the death, there is no place for spurious solutions, no place for the pursuit of an equilibrium between oligarchic and popular forces through tacit non-aggression pacts. Oligarchical dictatorships pose the alternative of beginning to destroy them en bloc or of accepting them en bloc: there is no middle way. Besides, self-defense is discredited today; its own former supporters have made of it the beginning of higher forms of struggle. But beware! It tends to appear again in more seductive forms, though naturally without revealing its name. It tends to reappear because it is rooted in an ideology with as many shapes as Uncle Tom. At the time self-defense was foundering, Trotskyism came along to extend a hand to it and attempt to revive it. It is this rebirth that concerns us here.

In the ideological background of self-defense there are to be found ideologies which Lenin repeatedly described as indigenous to the working class and which he said would again and again come to the fore whenever Marxists and Communists lowered their guard: "economism" and "spontaneity." Economism is the exclusive defense by trade unions of the workers' job interests against encroachments by the power of management. Since an attack on the boss's political power...the bourgeois state...is excluded, such a defense in effect accepts and guarantees that which it claims to combat. It is not by mere chance that it is in Bolivia, where the oldest anarcho-syndicalist tradition among the workers exists, that the struggle has, since the 1952 revolution, taken the form of a workers' self-defense militia.

The term self-defense is not the most apt. It suggests a passive, timorous, withdrawn
(Continued on next Page)

less regular army, no independent shock troops. The insurgents, masters of the countryside, disdained to march on Lima, seat of the Vice Royalty. This gave Lima time to regroup an army; and reconquest was achieved without difficulty, under what conditions one can well imagine. The uprising of the Comuneros of Colombia, led by the famous Manuela Beltran, in roughly the same epoch, could also be called self-defense.

Just as economism denies the vanguard role of the party, self-defense denies the role of the armed unit, which is organically separate from the civilian population. Just as reformism aims to constitute a mass party without selection of its militants or disciplined organization, self-defense aspires to integrate everyone into the armed struggle, to create a mass guerrilla force with women, children, and domestic animals in the midst of the guerrilla column.

Just as spontaneity does not aspire to political power for the exploited and consequently does not organize itself into a political party, self-defense does not aim at military supremacy for the exploited and consequently does not aspire to organize itself as a popular regular army with its own mobility and initiative. It may be said that there is self-defense wherever a strategic mobile force is not the number one objective of the armed struggle, wherever the conquest of political power is not the conscious and visible goal. Self-defense does not exclude insurrection, but such an insurrection will always be local and will not seek to extend its action to the entire country. Self-defense is partial. Revolutionary guerrilla warfare aims at total war by combining under its hegemony all forms of struggle at all points within the territory. Local, therefore localized from the beginning, the community practising self-defense is denied any initiative. There is no choice of the site of combat, no benefits of mobility, maneuver, or surprise. Since the zone of self-defense is already exposed, it will be the object of an encircling action and a carefully prepared attack by the enemy at the moment of its own choosing. The zone or city defended by the population itself can only passively await the enemy's attack and is dependent on its goodwill. Nor does self-defense oblige the enemy to "see to it that the situation does not worsen." (Che Guevara) It does not force either representative democracies or oligarchic regimes to reveal their class content openly. Self-defense permits the ruling class to conceal its true character as a dictatorship of violence; it maintains the "equilibrium between oligarchic dictatorship and popular pressure" rather than "rupturing" it. (Che) It enters into and plays the game of the ruling class, promoting divisions in the dominated classes, disguising compromise solutions as victories.

In Vietnam above all, and also in China, armed self-defense of the peasants, organized in militias, has played an important role as the foundation stone of the structure of the armed forces of liberation--but self-defense extended to zones already militarily liberated or semi-liberated; in no way did it bring autonomous zones into being. These territories of self-defense were viable only because total war was being carried out on other fronts, with the regular and mobile forces of the Vietminh. They permitted the integration of the entire population into the war without resting the principal weight of the struggle upon it. By dispersing the French expeditionary force, these zones lightened the task of the regular and semi-regular forces and permitted them to concentrate a maximum of troops on battle fronts chosen in accordance with the strategic plans of the General Staff.



(Continued on next Page)

Che Guevara writes, in his preface to Giap's War of the People, Army of the People:

"Self-defense is nothing more than a small part of a whole, with special characteristics. It is never possible to conceive of a self-defense zone as complete in itself, i.e. as a region where the popular forces attempt to defend themselves against enemy attack, while the entire zone beyond remains free of disturbances. In such a case, the foco would be localized, cornered, and defeated, unless there occurred an immediate passage to the first phase of the people's war, in other words, to guerrilla warfare."



Some time after Che wrote this, "the peasant zone of self-defense" of Marquetalia, Colombia, and the other "independent republics" were occupied and dissolved by the enemy, and Marulanda had to return to mobile guerrilla warfare. A self-defense zone when it is neither the result of a total or partial military defeat of enemy forces, nor protected by a guerrilla front constantly on the offensive, is no more than a colossus with feet of clay. Its collapse deals a blow to the morale of the popular forces all the more serious and unexpected because this type of status quo appears to be unalterable; a euphoric mythology develops and envelops the reality of these zones. Since they may last for years, it is forgotten that they are the fruit of a tacit compromise, not of a real victory; and they come to be considered impregnable. Vigilance is lulled; more and more it is forgotten to put the militias to the test, to supervise training and armament; discipline is relaxed. On the revolutionary side these territories, presumably liberated, are converted into a simple object of political propaganda---alibis for inaction rather than incitations to greater action. On the side of reaction, they provide ready-made justification for posing as guardians of national unity and territorial integrity threatened by this cancerous growth, and for attacking the communist "separatists." For propaganda reasons, the bourgeoisie little by little inflates the real danger and the fear it feels, an inflation which can deceive the revolutionaries themselves, eventually persuading them that the guerrilla force is really a cancer, and that time alone will finish off the patient. Thus, the "subsiding of the swelling," when the army passes over to the attack after long preparations made at its leisure, will have a major effect: a great victory for the bourgeoisie, a great defeat for the revolutionaries.

--Reprinted from Revolution in the Revolution by Regis Debray
MONTHLY REVIEW -- July-August, 1967

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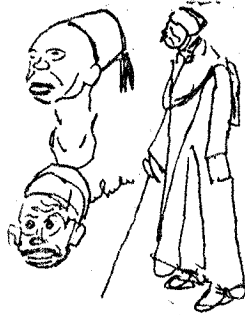
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All of the religious messiahs who preceded Jesus of Nazareth were Black. In ancient days, the messiahs in India, China, Japan, and Egypt were portrayed as having Black skin, wooly hair, thick mouths, and flat noses. These messiahs all lived over 1,000 years before Jesus Christ, and led lives which closely paralleled his. All had virgin births, ten disciples, and performed miracles. They were all crucified at the age of 33 and rose from the dead on the third day to descend into something equivalent to heaven.

In one part of India, this Black messiah was called Ies Christna (Christna means "the Black One"). The similarity between the name "Christna" and "Christ" leads one to believe that Christ may have been derived from Christna. (This also implies that Jesus Christ was a Black Man.)

In another part of India, the Black messiah was called Buddha. Another name also used for Buddha was Sut-Meshi, which is the name for the Black African from ancient Nubia.

Buddha is clearly portrayed with Black skin, wooly hair, thick lips, and a flat nose. He was foretold by prophets and was prematurely wise in his youth.

Whether called Christna or Buddha, this Indian messiah led the same life. Ies Christna even dined with his ten disciples at his last supper. At his crucifixion, the earth shook and the sun eclipsed.

In Japan, the Black messiah was called Buddha also, but in China, he was called Lao-tse or Lao-kuin. Both the Japanese and the Chinese Buddhas were portrayed as having wooly hair.



Quitzaocall, ancient Black Mexican messiah, fasted 40 days and was tempted by the evil one (naturally, he resisted), but he came 700 years after Christ.

In Egypt (1350 BC or earlier) the messiah was called Osiris, god of the Nile. Osiris was part of a divine trinity consisting of Isis (mother) Larus (child) and Osiris (father). Osiris also had ten disciples and rose from the dead. All three are portrayed as having typical "negroid" features, hair, and color.

It is interesting to note that the Jews were polytheists (believed in more than one god) until they were enslaved in Egypt, where they first began to believe in one god.

In all cases, the beginnings of civilizations and religions began with Black People.

Special Bulletin:

BROTHERS BREAK OUT GUERRILLA WARFARE
IN ZIMBABWE; EYE TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA
BULAWAYO, ZIMBABWE...African National-

ist forces have exploded into guerrilla warfare against the white racist "government" of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) in the second largest city in the country, and according to informed sources the Brothers are pushing to move across the border to bring the fight to the Union of South Africa as well.

This is the most out of sight thing to happen in the Mother Country, which had seemed to be sliding backwards in the struggle since Kwame Nkrumah, leader of Ghana, was kicked out of his country by a CIA coup.

The heavy fighting in Bulawayo marked the first time white troops had been killed in action in Zimbabwe since the turn of the century, when they first began their bloody, racist conquest of our African Brothers.

The white Rhodesian government and the racist white government of the Union of South Africa are the strongholds of the Beast's racist exploitation of Africa, and when the Brothers defeat them, you know we'll have the set uptight.

MAURITANIAN PRESIDENT DECLARES
ANTI-IMPERIALIST POLICY

PEKING, CHINA...Mauritanian president Moktar Ould Daddah declared last week that the policy of his country is essentially based on the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, according to a report from Nouakchett. Referring to the construction of his country, Brother Daddah said that all Mauritians "should mainly rely on their own efforts. This must apply not only to social and economic development, but also to all other fields."



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