

HOUSE OF UMOJA



Cradle of Civilization

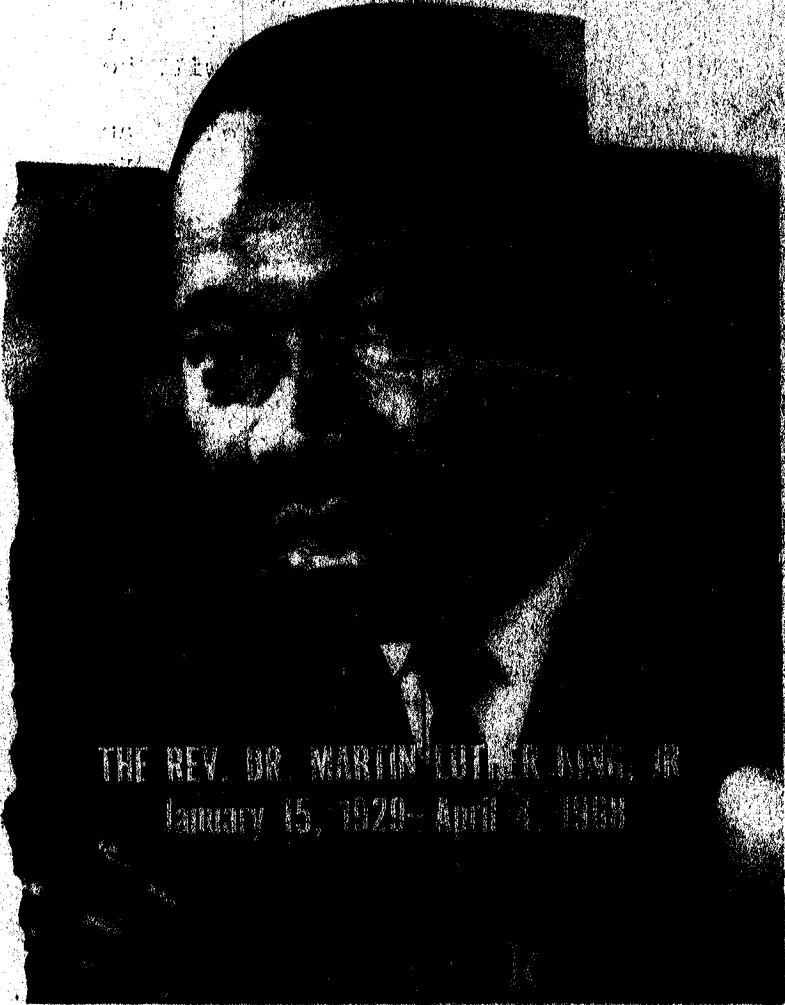
BLACK POWER!

PRICE: FIFTEEN CENTS

By Julia Wright Herve.
(from Le Monde, 4/10/68)

(Julia Wright Herve, who is currently living and writing in Paris, France, is the daughter of the greatest Black novelist of the century, Richard Wright. This article was translated from the French by the Foreign Language Department of BLACK POWER! newspaper.)

Martin Luther King, in my memory, is associated with a wound. I was a school girl. My father, the writer Richard Wright, sent for me so that I could be introduced to an already illustrious person, passing through Paris. He had just been
(continued on next page)



THE REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
January 15, 1929 - April 4, 1968

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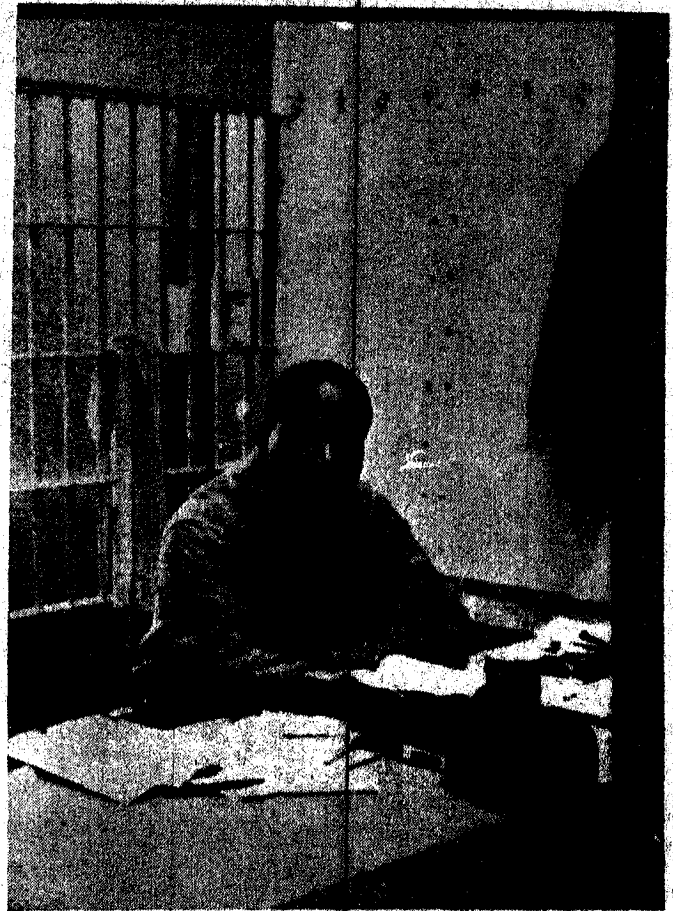
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING (continued)

the victim of an attack. Upon my father's request, he showed me that wound, hardly closed: "The price," he explained, "that we, the Blacks, are paying for our liberation."

Martin Luther King's condemnation to death was announced long before April 4, 1968, and even before the death of Malcolm X, who, writing a few days before his own assassination, said: "My voice is only a voice among others. But our goal has always been the same. Certainly, my methods are radically opposed to those of Dr. King, the apostle of non-violence, a doctrine that has the advantage of pointing up the brutality of whites towards Blacks. But in the atmosphere that reigns presently in America, I ask myself which of these two extremists: the 'violent' Malcolm X or the 'non-violent' Dr. King will be dead first?"

Today, Stokely Carmichael, Rap Brown, Huey Newton, and the numerous Black leaders who advocate self defense have taken up these prophetic words and applied them to themselves. Since they are ready-made targets, the logic of the system condemns just as well they as the innocence (and ignorance) of non-violence. The dream of Martin Luther King did not die, as Johnson said, "with him," but rather before him, and it was just this (the death of his dream) that killed the man. Between August 1963 and April 1968, between a "March of Washington" that took place and a "March on Washington" that was to take place, five important years were played out. Five years that marked the tragic itinerary of a Black who in his desperate efforts to shrink the gap that stubbornly grows between the ghettos and the white power used himself up. The slow check gradual, often imperceptible, the wall of despair.

First "confrontation:" the denunciation by Malcolm X and the disinherited of the ghetto, and the political and financial mishandling of the Washington march in 1963 by



Though he seldom got the privilege, Dr. King is shown as he prepares to write James' Letter From Birmingham Jail.

Dr. King and other integrationist leaders. Then Malcolm, followed after his death by numerous Black leaders, denounced the "historically out of date" character of non-violence by raising the question of the war in Vietnam. Martin Luther King obliged to respond to the insistence of the youth of his own organization. "I have gone among the young who are desperate, rejected, and angry," he admitted. "I told them that guns would not solve their problems, because I was convinced that social change could never be really achieved except through non violence. . . . But they asked me, and they were right to do so: 'and Vietnam?'. Their questions crushed me, and I knew that I could never again raise my voice against violence of those who are oppressed in the ghettos without first speaking out, in no uncertain terms, against the greatest instigator of

(continued on page 24)

BLACK MARKETER

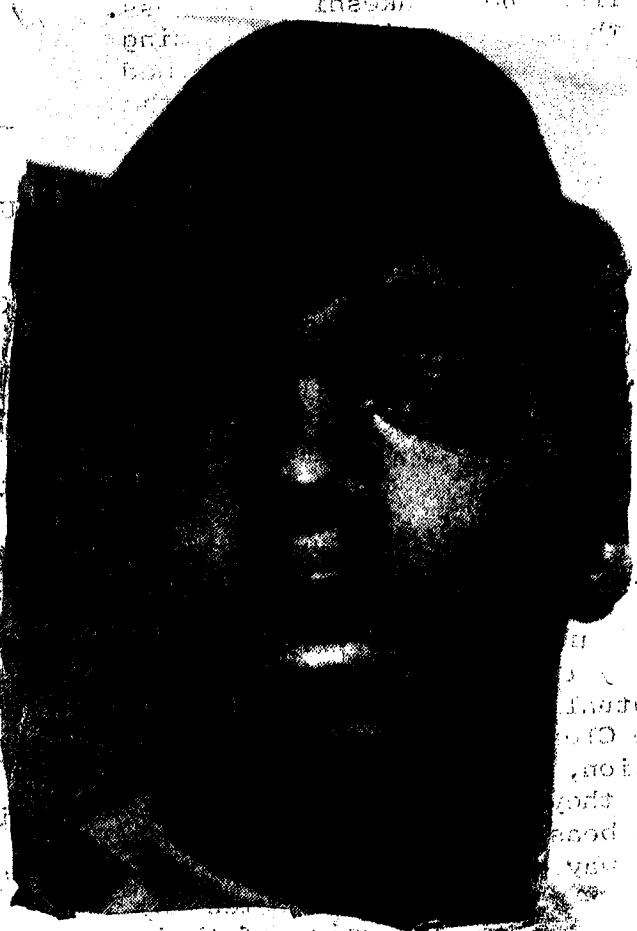
PANTHERS SET-UP FOR KILL

For a long time now, the anti-Black Oakland cops have been searching for a means to destroy the Black Panther Party (BPP) which it considers a threat to white supremacy and race oppression in the Bay Area. Saturday night, April 6, they got what they hoped was their chance.

The set-up was the nation-wide strife bubbling in the wake of Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination. With Black Rebellions leveling white America's cities both North and South, the Oakland cops intended to use the super-charged atmosphere in the Bay Area as a stage for the assassination of Panthers.

Saturday night, members of the BPP had congregated in West Oakland around 28th and Union, reportedly near the home of a Panther member. The cops, who had either followed them or had stumbled upon them, first surrounded the area, and then sent in a squad car with two honkey beasts in order to provoke an incident. It appears that the two cops fired first on a group of Brothers who were in the street, who then fired back on the cops in return, wounding both. Some of the Panthers are said to have been around the corner to find refuge in homes along 28th street, while others made it up the street. At any rate, the cops, who already had the neighborhood entirely surrounded sealed off a two block area and closed in for what they hoped would be a bloody massacre of Black People.

Cops searched Black homes at gunpoint, forcing occupants to lie on the floor while they ransacked the rooms. Without bothering to check,



they fired into a home at 1208 28th street narrowly missing and frightening to death three elderly Black sisters who lived there. After combing through the entire neighborhood and terrorizing Black residents there, the cops stumbled upon 3 panthers who had taken refuge inside a house.

A gun battle between Panthers and cops then raged for over an hour and a half, with members of the BPP holding up inside the basement of a house at 1218 28th street. But the Panthers stayed on in spite of machine-gun fire, tear gas barrages,

which some sources state was ignited by an exploding tear gas cannister, others that it was deliberately set by cops after tear gas and bullets failed to route the Panthers from their makeshift fortress.

In the end, facing overwhelming odds of some three dozen cops armed to the teeth and with more on the way, the Panthers finally decided to surrender. With searchlights beaming from seemingly every direction, Bubby Hutton, BPP treasurer, emerged first from the bullet-ridden house. His hands were high in the air. His eyes smarted from the sting of tear gas. Then the cops ordered him to run towards one of the squad cars. And as he did, one of the beasts hollered, "He has a gun!" They smacked their lips as they opened fire on this unarmed Black youth, and little Bobby Hutton, blood pouring from the bullet wounds in his body, fell to the earth, murdered by the beast. He was only 17 years old.

Eventually, Wendell Wells and Eldridge Cleaver, BPP Minister of Information, emerged from the house, where they were taken into custody by the beast. As soon as they were taken away from the site of the battle, both were severely beaten by the beast cops in spite of their injuries. All in all, 8 Panthers were arrested by the beast, and charged with several counts of "assault with intent to commit murder" and had bail set at \$40,000. Cleaver has been charged with three counts, with bail set at \$63,000.

At the time of this writing, the Panthers have succeeded in getting only one Brother, Wendell Wells, released.

 / The House of Umoja (Unity) expresses /
 / condolences to the family and friends /
 / of Bobby James Hutton (1950-1968) /
 / and the other ambushed Black Panther /
 / Party Members. /
 / THEIR BLOOD WILL BE REMEMBERED. /

SWAHILI LESSON

Umalalaje	How did you sleep?
Kwaheri	Good-by
Chai	Tea
Mke	Wife
Nyumbani	House
Kaka	Older brother
Karama	Gracious gift
Katili	Cruel
Kikaka	Rush; hurry
Kilaj	Food
KiKoa	Co-operation; a team
Kitisho	A threat
Utamu	Sweetness
Simu ya midomo	Telephone
Ororo	Tender
Taksi	Taxi
A kukolea	Tasty
Upendo	Love
Chakula cha adhuhuri	Lunch



RAP BROWN:
A LETTER
FROM
PRISON

Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life, one loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe. No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins. Everyday I am in prison I will refuse both food and water.

My hunger is for the liberation of my people; my thirst is for the ending of oppression. I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs that Black people must be free. The government has taken a position true to its fascist nature. Those who they cannot convert, they must silence. This government has become the enemy of mankind.

Death can no longer alter our path to freedom. For our people, death has been the only known exit from slavery and oppression. We must open others. Our will to live must no longer supersede our will to fight, for our fighting will determine if our race shall live.

To desire freedom is not enough. We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution. For every black death, there must be ten dead racist cops. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be ten Detroits, and for every Orangeburg, there must be a Dien Bien Phu.

Brothers and Sisters, and all oppressed people, we must prepare ourselves both mentally and physically, for the major confrontation is yet to come. We must fight! It is the people who in the final analysis make and determine history, not leaders or systems. The laws to govern us must be made by us.

May the deaths of '68 signal the beginning of the end for this country. I do what I must out of the love for my people. My will is to fight; my resistance is not enough. Aggression is the order of the day.

(Continued on next page)

--A Letter From Prison

NOTE TO AMERICA!!

AMERICA! If it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you, and to organize your troops to revolt against you, and to organize your children, your god, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life.

BUT MY SOUL BELONGS TO MY PEOPLE!

LASIME TUSHINDE MBILASHAKA!!

WE SHALL CONQUER WITHOUT A DOUBT!!

Editor's Late Note:
Rap Brown was freed on bail from New Orleans Parish jail and is again confined to New York City.

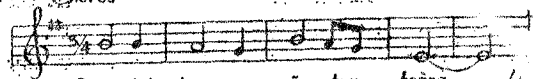
Rap

Viet Nam, O Viet Nam!

Words and music by Julius Lester

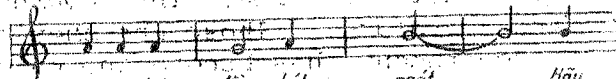
Chorus

Viet Nam, O Viet Nam!
Her rice-fields shine in the sun
For ever hold dear your beautiful land!
Defend it and keep it your own!



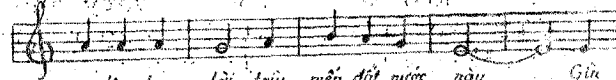
Quê ánh dương rực rỡ huy hoàng

In the fields the young girls work.
Beautiful, strong and true.
They plant the rice with rifles near-by
Ready to die for you.

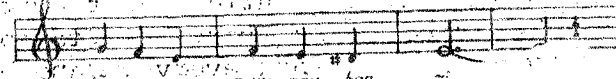


gái trẻ trên đồng bát ngát

Though now you are divided
Your heart still beats as one.
And one day soon the sun will rise
On a unified Viet Nam.



ca lên bao lời trù mến đất nước này



quê nước này hơn

Julius Lester, an Afro-American writer and composer. During his stay in the D.R.V.N., he composed this song dedicated to the Vietnamese people.



While officials argue that the District of Columbia is neither a Newark nor a Detroit, they are developing plans to use city police, the National Guard and regular army troops (who abound in nearby bases) to quell any outbreaks of insurgency in the city. Some observers have noted that Washington's urban plan, designed by Pierre l'Enfant around the time of the French revolution, inhibits riots since wide diagonal avenues give police unusual mobility.

When it comes to black power politics and the possibility of violence, Washington is a special case for reasons that are rarely stated by either the federal government or black militants. If Washington is to continue to be the home of the federal government as it is now constituted, the security of that government depends on control of its environment. Ultimately, black power here means that black people will decide under what conditions the federal government can function and before black power ever gets to that stage, violent outbreaks could seriously threaten the day-to-day operations of the government. A rebellion in Washington could be the equivalent of the recent guerrilla attack on the U.S. Embassy complex in Saigon.

There is no doubt that the black people of Washington are moving toward a confrontation with the white establishment. Two institutions, both relatively new, point undeniably toward such a confrontation. They are the Black United Front and the New School for Afro-American Thought.

At a press conference called recently, the Front's statement of purpose was declared: "The Black United Front is hereby established for the purpose of expanding the lines of communication between, and

effecting togetherness among, all Black people in the District of Columbia in order to obtain a rightful and proportionate share in the decision-making councils of the District, and rightful and proportionate control of the economic institutions in the Black Community."

As for the New School, its orientation is cultural and educational rather than political, though ultimately its work is of political relevance. "We know there is going to be a confrontation," Don Freeman, a member of The House of Omoja (Unity), and the school's director, told the Guardian. "We want to have concrete alternatives to offer."

For both the Front and the school, black identity is a foremost aim. The Front, as the name implies, seems itself as a broad agency for social change. Youthful militant leaders such as Stokely Carmichael, the temporary chairman, have provided such of the impetus and the tone for the group. But the Front also included individuals close to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League, as well as people like Chuck Stone, who is Adam Clayton Powell's assistant and a believer in traditional politics, and Rev. Walter Fauntroy, a social leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and member of the new D.C. city council.

The local establishment press has tried to expose "rifts" in the organization, but in fact, has done little more than to point out the differences between the members which is hardly news to anybody. Carmichael has given very few clues as to how he relates his current role in a broad front to the revolutionary rhetoric he used during most of his trip recent to third-world nations. He verbalized some of his current thinking recently,

"One of the ways of bringout our people home is by using patience, love, brotherhood and unity -- not force -- love, patience brotherhood and unity. We try and we try and we try. If they become a threat, we off them. We off them.

"But we must begin to understand that in a context of forming inside our community a united front, a black united front, which engulfs every sector, every facet and every person inside our community working for the benefit of black people working for the benefit of black people. And that is for each other's survival.

Likewise, the New School, which moves into new expanded quarters in March, has adopted a long-range view. The school's aim, as explained by Freeman, is to change the dissatisfaction of the city's black people in order to create nationalistic pride. The school draws on blacks from two worlds---- the underworld of pimps, prostitutes and numbers racketeers, and the overground world of government employees.

The school differs profoundly from establishment-oriented poverty program schools. Freeman explains: "You can't teach a prostitute things so she can earn \$100 a week when she's been earning \$100 a night. You must teach new values, give a new framework for life."

Freeman says that the school is building an "anti-system" something outside a community; we want to have something concrete when the confrontation takes place. We don't relate to Walter Washington or establishment politics. Whoever comes into the school tactily realizes that 'the system' is not our concern."

The school's activities are open only to blacks Freeman said, adding that while he considers white leftists are "allies", he rejects contacts that are not entirely "hatural." He noted that "white leftists sometimes harm black organizations by moving them away from

nationalism toward a romantic view of revolution based on Mao Tse-tung and selling the red book of quotations:

In Oakland, Carmichael also addressed himself to the question of the relationship between blacks and white radicals:

"Communism is not an ideology suited for black people, period. Period. Socialism is not an ideology fitted for black people, period. Period. And I will tell you why. And it must become crystal clear in our minds. Now we don't say that because the honkies call us communist, we don't care what they call us, it don't make a difference, don't make a difference. The ideologies of communism and socialism speak to class structure. They speak to people who oppress people from the top down to the bottom. We are not just facing exploitation. We are facing something much more important because we are the victims of racism. Communism nor socialism does not speak to the problem of racism....

Now for the white people who are communists, the question of communism comes first, because they're exploited by their own people....

It is not that for us.... We must therefore consciously strive for an ideology which deals with racism first, and if we do that we recognize the necessity of hooking up with the 900 million black people in the world today....."

At this stage in their struggle when the emphasis is on unity in preparation for confrontation---- both the Front and the New School are more interested in reaching Negroes and transforming them into blacks than in formal allies with whites of any sort.

AFRICAN PROVERB:

When spider webs unite, they can tie up a lion.

DRUM

THE FUTURE

ROLE OF

BLACK

WRITERS



There can be no victory in Nigeria's civil war. Spokesmen for both the federal government and the seceding Biafran state insist that if they do not win, Nigeria will be reduced to total chaos breeding nothing but tribal hatred, guerrilla warfare and petty dictatorships. In an effort to avert this tragic demolition of Africa's once "model democracy," Wole Soyinka, Nigeria's foremost poet and playwright (with two Off/Broadway plays this season), published a statement in the Daily Sketch, Ibadan, calling for a cease fire. Ten days later he was "detained," two months later the government claimed Soyinka had confessed to conspiring with the rebels; he denied the charges and is still in jail awaiting trial. Whatever the actual facts may be, Soyinka is a painfully accurate example of the dilemma of the African writer who is morally unable to isolate himself from his society, yet, cannot find a safe vantage point from which to comment on the scene around him. Before his arrest Soyinka wrote an article for the distinguished Uganda magazine, Transition, in which he tries to define the writer's true responsibility in the "movement toward chaos in modern Africa."

My concern in this article is primarily with the non-South African writer and why, before very long, he may begin to envy the South African the bleak immensity of his problems. For the South African has still the right to hope; and this prospect of a future as yet uncompromised by failure on his own part, in his own right is

something which has lately ceased to exist for writers of other African states.

While he may debate what constitutes a Black writer and what does not, one breed of humanity which we cannot comfortably deny is that of the writer. In new societies which began the deductive experiment in authoritarianism, it

has become a familiar experience to watch society crush the writer under a load of guilt for his daring outlook apart from and independent of the mass direction. The revolutionary mood in society is a particularly potent tyrant in this respect and since the writer is, at the very least, sensitive to mood, he respects the demand of the moment and effects his definition as a writer by an act of choice. And in the modern African state especially, the position of the writer has been such that he is in fact the very prop of state machinery. Independence in every instance had meant an emergency pooling of every mental resource. This writer must, for the moment at least (he persuades himself), postpone that unique reflection on experience and events which is what makes a writer -- and constitute himself into a part of the machinery that will actually shape events. Let this impulse be clearly understood and valued for itself; the Black writer found that he could not deny his society; he could however, temporarily at least, deny himself. He therefore too, his place in the new state as a privileged person, personally placed above the effects of the narrow vision which usually accompanies the impatience of new nations. He, the special eye and ear, the special knowledge and response, lost even his recreative consciousness, which, from time to time, left active and alert in his creative work, might have demanded a reexamination of his own position.

If he has not already arrived at this discovery, the writer from East or West African states is coming closer to the terrible understanding that it is not his South African comrade who is the creature of compassion. Already he has begun

to shrink from the bewildered stare of the South African, knowing that he, the supposedly free mind who once symbolized a loophole for the dead end of the South African dilemma, has himself become the creature of despair. The change in circumstances is quite direct. The background begins at the united opposition of the colonized to the external tyrant. Victory, of sorts, came and the writer submitted his integrity to the monolithic stresses of the time. For this any manifesto seemed valid, any -ism could be embraced with a clean conscience. With few exceptions the writer directed his energies to enshrining victory, to reaffirming his identification with the aspirations of nationalism and the stabilization of society.

The third stage, the stage at which we find ourselves now, is the stage of disillusionment, and it is this which prompts an honest examination of what has been the failure of the African writer, as a writer. And this is not to say that if the Black writer had truly responded to the political moment of his society he would not still be faced with disillusionment. For the situation today is the same the world over;--it is not one of the tragedies which come of isolated human failures, but the very collapse of humanity. Nevertheless, the Black writer has done nothing to indicate that he is even aware of this awful collapse. For he has generally lacked vision. The distractions away from vision were of course enormous-- the distractions away from a vision clarified in human terms and not in dogma. And they were such as gave full scope for the exploitation by demagogic opportunists of the new aggressive national consciousness. Reality, the ever-present fertile

reality, was ignored by the writer and relegated to the new visionary--the politician. Since the phase of anti-colonialist writing was clearly over and that purpose rendered redundant, a new distraction had to be created for the aggressive demands of the writer's restless mind. And the publishers were at hand, waiting. Cultural definitions became a new source of literature--not so new in fact, but they acquired a new significance in the context of political independence. The curiosity of the outside world far exceeded their critical faculties and publishers hovered like benevolent vultures on the still foetus of the Black Muse. At a given signal they tore off bits and pieces, fanned up with powerful wings delusions of significance in commonness and banality. The average published writer in the early post-colonial years was the most celebrated skin of inconsequence ever to obscure the true flesh of the Black dilemma.

This was the beginning of the abdication of the African writer and the deception which he caused by fabricating a magnitude of unfelt abstractions. Isolated by his very position in society, he mistook his own personal and temporary cultural predicament for the predicament of his entire society and turned attention from what was really happening within that society. He even tried to give society something that the society has never lost---- its identity. Now, identity is a much-abused word, and perhaps the Black writer is a much abused person in this respect, for poet, novelist, or sculptor, the artist labors from an inbuilt, initiative responsibility not only to himself but to his roots. The rest of the narrowness or breadth of his vision is whether he tries to stretch accidental situations to embrace his race and society or the fundamental

truths of his community inform his vision and enable him to acquire even a prophetic insight into the evolution of that society.

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son's crocodile tears when
asks of "human sufferings"
by TA LUI



Global Views

BLACK WEST INDIANS DEFY FRENCH

HONKIES://Guadeloupe is one of the two West Indian Islands controlled by the French. Its capitol, Fort de France, is famous because it is the birth place of Frantz Fanon - and greatest 20th century Black Poet, Aime Cesaire. //

Paris, March second-- The "trial" of black guadeloupe anti-colonialist fighters which was staged by the french ruling circles to suppress the guadeloupe national movement for independence has ended in complete failure. The resolute-struggle of the guadeloupe patriots and the support of the French progressives have turned the "trial" into an indictment of French colonial rule.

The scandalous trial started on Feb. 19 in Paris. The 19 Guadeloupe patriots standing trial (one in absentia) were arrested last May by the French colonial authorities during a sanguinary suppression of the demonstration of the Guadeloupe people. They were preposterously charged with "threatening the territorial integrity of the country" just because they demanded an end to French colonial rule.

The Black Guadeloupe anti-colonialist fighters put up a good fight in court. They are their barrister turned the court into an anti-co-

lonialist platform. They laid bare the miserable life of the Guadeloupe people under colonial exploitation and racial discrimination and being deprived of all rights. They voiced the just demand of the Guadeloupe people to be the masters of their own destiny.

Before the sentence was passed, Serge Glaude, representative of the patriots, declared at the court that "we reaffirm our political claim our struggle is just because it is the struggle for the liberation, dignity, and progress of our people"

A



A solidarity committee was organized by the French and progressives on the very day when these Black Guadeloupe anti-colonialist

fighters were arrested. A similar committee has also been formed by the residents of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Guiana, (French colonies in Latin America) in France. These two solidarity committees have organized a number of demonstrations.

It was precisely under the resolute struggle of the Guadeloupe patriots and the pressure of public opinion that the French court had to acquit 13 of the 19 arrested patriots. However, six patriots were arbitrarily sentenced to three or four years' imprisonment with the benefit of respite.

Iraqi, Mali, newspapers support Afro-Americans' struggle against racial oppression - April tenth -

Iraqi and Mali newspaper have expressed support for the Afro-Americans' struggle against racial oppression which is sweeping the United States and pointed out that the oppressed nations and people must oppose counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence.

The Iraqi paper al shaab in a commentary on April 7 said that the Afro-Americans armed resistance to violent suppression was shaking the rule of Washington to its very foundations and filling the U.S. with fear.

The paper said that in order to cover the expenses for military aggression against other nations, the U.S. imperialists have imposed exorbitant taxes and high cost of living on the middle class and the poor including the Afro-Americans. The policy of aggression pursued by U.S. imperialism will undoubtedly lead it to its collapse.

An article carried by the paper on the same day referred to the assassination of Martin Luther King by a racist white. It said, King wanted peace through non-violence, but met with a violent death; he wanted to achieve his rights with speeches, but was killed with bul-

lets. The Afro-Americans, therefore, must counter violence with violence.

The Mali paper essor wrote in an editorial yesterday that "for many people the death of King means the end of the myth of non-violence."

The nature of imperialism will never change, it said and added, "before the policy of capitalists and racist exploitation, the oppressed are left with two options: either counter the reactionary violence of their enemies with organized violence; or submit to violence without taking any violent action."

"History has proved that it is useless for the oppressed and exploited to count on the 'conscience', prudence or 'good will'-- of the reactionary authorities."

In conclusion, the paper said that victory certainly belongs to the 22 million Afro-American brothers in the United States so long as they rely on their own courage, are united, close their ranks, dare to fight, overcome all difficulties and advance wave upon wave.

AFRICAN PROVERB:

If you are building a house and the nail breaks, you don't stop building; you change the nails.

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Burning Spear

The Culture and History of Black Folk

CHEYEMNE FLIGHT NORTH: (This is Part II of a series of three continued sections to be run in BLACK POWER!)

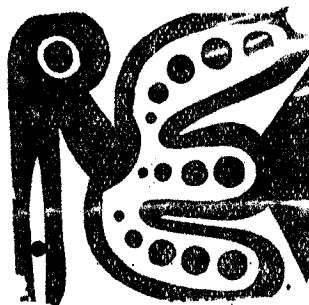
At noon, when the fight was nearly over, the Cheyenne survivors slipped away toward the camp of Crazy Horse. They had nearly none of their food they had carefully prepared for winter, and most of their other belongings had been lost when MacKenzie's Pawnees had plundered their village and destroyed the lodges by fire. On the way to Crazy Horse, eleven children froze to death. Horses had to be killed for food. But the Cheyenne warriors vowed revenge on MacKenzie's Pawnees once they joined forces with Crazy Horse.

But Crazy Horse refused to join the Cheyennes in reckless reprisals. "It is useless. The Wasichus outnumber the blades of grass on the prairie; we Indians can no longer stand against them. Friend Shahielas, it is time for us to be smart and prepare to walk the white man's road. Otherwise, we shall all be killed!" Dull Knife agreed. He believed that the only chance for survival was making peace with the white man.

The band of Cheyennes surrendered to General Nelson Miles at Fort

Keogh in the spring of 1877. Thirty braves, indignant at Crazy Horse's "betrayal", enlisted as scouts with Miles Calvary to help round up the Sioux. The rest were sent south to Darlington Reservation in Indian Territory ---- not Oklahoma. There they joined the Southern Cheyennes and waited for the peace and prosperity they had been promised.

In the south, the buffalo were gone and the Southern Cheyennes had cleaned up what small game there had been. Still, the Northern Cheyennes would not take food away from their relatives. Sickness and fever weakened the starving band.



Within a year more than half of Dull Knife's people were dead.

One day in the middle of August 1878, Dull Knife and Little Wolf went to the agent and asked him to allow the Cheyennes to go back to their home. Dull Knife was sick, so Little Wolf spoke:

"We have come to ask the agent that we be sent home to our own country in the mountains. My people were raised there in a land of pines and clear, cold rivers. There, we were always healthy, for there was meat enough for all. We were happy there until the Great Father's soldiers brought us here. Now, in the years that we have been in this southern country, more than half of us have died. This is not a good place for us -- there is too much sickness and heat and dust, and not enough food. We wish to return to

our home in the mountains. If you have not the power to allow us to go there, let some of us go on to Washington and tell them there how it is or do you write to Washington and get permission for us to go back north?"

Agent John Miles was in the quandry. He had never received enough supplies for the Indians. He knew the Indians were sick and hungry yet he had his orders from Washington. He answered Little Wolf "I cannot do anything now. Stay here another year and then I will see what can be done for you."

Little Wolf answered: "No, we can not stay here another year; we must go now! Before another year has passed we shall all be dead. We must go now!"

Three weeks later Miles called Little Wolf. Three braves had run away from the reservation and Miles wanted Little Wolf to turn over ten hostages to him.

Little Wolf refused. "I will not do as you ask. If you follow those three men, you cannot find them. Three men who are traveling over country can hide, so that they cannot be found. You never could get those three men, so you would never set my men free. You would keep them always."

Then Miles became angry. "You must do as I say! If you do not give me these ten men, I will give you no rations. Your people will starve!"

But Little Wolf got the last word "My friend, you must think me a fool! My people have been hungry ever since we were brought to this country, so you cannot frighten me with loud talk of starving. Last night I saw children eating grass because they had no food. Will you take the grass away from them?" (Little Wolf paused, but Miles did not speak) "I am now going to my camp. I do not wish the ground around this agency to be made bloody but now listen to what I say to you

I am going to leave here; am going North to my own country. I do not want to see blood spilled about this agency. If you are going to send soldiers after me, I wish that you would let me get a little distance away from this agency-- Then if you want to fight, I will fight you, and we can make the ground bloody at that place."

*To be continued in next issue of
BLACK POWER!



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POLYGAMY IS
A PERVERSION

SAYS

KWESI
AKUFFO

Polygamy is a subject on which many people have written for and against. In Africa the protagonists speak of it as an African custom and monogamy European. But polygamy as a form of marriage is practiced in many parts of the world besides Africa. It requires no definition but for the purpose of clarity it can be described as a form of marriage in which several

wives are united to one man, each having status of a legal consort, while the offspring are regarded as legal children of the husband. It is often forgotten that polygamy is not so much a form of marriage fundamentally distinct from monogamy as rather a multiple monogamy. It is always, in fact, the repetition of a marriage contract entered individually with each

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wife, establishing an individual relationship between the man and each of his partners.

It is a truism to say that monogamy is, has been, and will remain the true type of marriage. It is the pattern and prototype of marriage.

The real basic principle of any marriage in its true sense is the union of personalities. The Bible says for the sake of marriage: "a man leaves his father and his mother and cleaves to his wife, and they become one flesh". It is in monogamy that this ideal is achieved. The whole institution in its sexual, parental, economic, legal and religious aspects is founded on the fact that the real function of marriage, sexual union, production and care of children and the co-operation which it implies, requires essentially two people and two people only.

Whenever men begin to realise their responsibilities polygamy dies a natural death.

In certain independent states in Africa, for example, in Tunisia and Morocco, despite their islamic background which permits polygamy, legislation has moved strongly towards monogamy. Tunisia has, in fact, abolished polygamy by law. The same is true of some independent countries in Asia -- India and North Viet Nam, for instance. Monogamy is a sign of progress.

In conclusion I should like to quote some points from the comments of the presbyterian church of Ghana on the Ghana White paper on marriage, divorce and inheritance. "With regard to the relations of men and women in marriage and in home life, three fundamental points may be mentioned here:

1. Marriage is intended by god to be the exclusive life-long union of one man and one woman. This is made clear in the holy scriptures, by Jesus' going behind the polygamy sanctioned by the mesaic law to re-affirm this as the will of god.:

This point explains away the trite argument that there is nowhere in the bible where polygamy is forbidden. The bible does have examples of the grievous consequences of polygamous marriage among the early men of God. It was because of Abraham's second marriage that Ismael was born as a rival of the legitimate son of Jacob. Jacob's polygamous marriage brought him nothing but grief and anxiety. In the later history of the Jews polygamy was not practiced at all.

2. "Men and women have equal value and dignity in the sight of God, as equally redeemed by him in Jesus Christ. The respect and honour with which Jesus treated wome was very notable in Jewish society in which women were not normally given a high place. "This is feasible in monogamous marriage where marriage is a total union of two personalities. The equality of men and women is strongly emphasized in the creation story. It is partnership and not master and servant as it is manifested in the polygamous marriages. Dr. D. M. G. Stalker says this clearly in the creation story. A woman is not from the man's head to have dominion over him, nor from

his feet to be trampled upon by him, but from his side, next to his heart to be cherished and loved by him as a partner.

A happy marriage is the one in which the partners always think more of each other than themselves. Selfishness is the murderer of marriage. But in polygamy the centre

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of everything is the husband's pleasure. It is a marriage of selfishness.

In advocating for monogamous marriage against polygamy I am concerned with what will promote human dignity and a sound social life. This is evident in the life of any nation and communities where monogamy is the practice and law.

DAKOTA STATON SAYS:

"There are more women in the world than men. Why shouldn't a man have different women....after all, some are better at cooking, some at rearing children, some at going to bed, others at taking care of the house."

Dakota Staton, one of America's top songstresses, is now also a devotee

voute Muslim and so believes in the Muslim practice of polygamy. She is married to "Alhaji" Talib Ahmad Dawud and declares that when her husband introduced her to Allah she found peace of mind. As a polygamy supporter, she says: Man is naturally polygamous. He is supposed to have more than one woman. In America, everybody knows that a married man has more than one woman, but they won't admit it. We're so hypocritical about everything.

"On the other hand, women are supposed to be monogamous. When a woman wants another man, there's got to be a good reason. But if a man can support more than one woman then let him."

AFRICAN PROVERB:

Woman without man is like field without seed.

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Back To The Land of Itt

It seems that the time of year had come around again for the Annual Spring Fertility Festival, and all over Itt the middle-class citizens and the aristocracy were making avid preparations. The peasants were particularly excited because, being able to sing well and having a natural sense of rhythm, they always showed up everybody else during the week-long Festival. It was their one time to really break out.

Rufus Redding, the spokesman for the peasants, was in the Emperor's chambers going over the last drafts of plans for the Festival.

"Now what we'd like is a Fortune-Telling Booth," Rufus said, "with some conga drummers out in front to stir up business, and we'd like a place to sell Soul Food, and--"

"I don't know," the Emperor mused, easing back in his golden throne. "You peasants have been getting mighty uppity lately, you know."

Rufus frowned, "I know," he nodded, breaking into a smile. "We've had our differences over the past year

Rufus frowned. "I know," he nodded, breaking into a smile. "We've had our differences over the past year, but this is more important than all that. You know how my people love the Festival."

"And I've been talking to the Empress lately," the Emperor continued. "She told me that some of you peasants have been singing outside her palace in the mornings and playing drums, too--"

"They've just been practicing for the Festival, sir", Rufus smiled apologetically. "Now about this chitterling sale we'd like to have-----"

"The Duke seems to agree with me, too," the Emperor said, "so I've decided to hold this Festival this year without letting the peasants participate in it."

Rufus stopped short, aghast.

"But sir," he stuttered, "the Festival is my people's whole life. You can't just not let them participate just because you want to punish them!"

"No," the Emperor said, closing his eyes and gesturing that the matter was finished. "The peasants can't participate in the Festival this year and that's final!"

"Well damn you, then! Rufus exclaimed, flaring up. "We'll hold our own Festival then, and see how many people come to yours! It's the peasants that attract all the people anyhow! And if you don't like it, we'll burn down all of your booths and the whole damn community with it!"

He stomped out of the room, leaving the Emperor staring open-mouthed behind him.

Funny thing happened, though. Here we are in the middle of the Annual Spring Fertility Festival at the Merry Land of Itt, and the peasants are certainly participating. And there hasn't been any trouble.

Maybe the Emperor wised up.

THE HOUSE OF UMOJA

The primary purpose of the House of Umoja (Unity) as its traditional name implies, is designed to build a nation of Black People whose love and unity is so strong and tight that no poison will be able to contaminate the Black rhythm for unity and liberation.

BLACK POWER! is the official organ of the House of Umoja.

We believe, Brothers and Sisters, that we must come together because our ancestors demand that we raise their pure Black Souls on to the vestibule of the good Black dirt and above the white stench of the sunken slave ships, haunted plantations and corrupt, dirty cities. We must create a Love Supreme, a whirlwind which a UNITED Black Man will relegate to the ashes of oblivion the evil vibrations of western white decadence which will not let our ancestors partake in the music and joys of eternal happiness. In a word, this is what the House of Umoja stands for.

Co-Chairman Mwananchi Ernie Mkalimoto

Co-Chairman Mwananchi Robert Uwezo

Ndugu Zangu Wamekufua Waishi!!
(long live our ancestors!!)

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PÁGINA INDIOAMERICA

PODER NEGRO CONTRA PODER BLANCO RACISTA EN EL COLEGIO DE MERRITT

Las elecciones farsantes que estuvo recientemente en el colegio de Merritt en la ciudad de Oakland (California) cuando la administración blanca intervino en el colocar de la gente negra en el gobierno estudiantil ya ha acabado en un desastre completo.

Los blancos racistas han acusado a que los militantes negros han amenazado a los blancos racistas con asesinato a menos que los blancos racistas abandonen sus puestos en el gobierno estudiantil. Y también los blancos tienen que tratar para que apoyen su actitud racista por los negros militantes a los miembros de consejo principal estudiantil amazarlos con "asesinato físico."

En realidad, la hermana Makinya (Harriet Smith), una militante negra, y la presidenta de los estudiantes asociados del colegio de Merritt, su vida ha estado amenazada por sus enemigos, y sus hermanos militantes desde hasta Los Angeles han estado la guardia de corps de ella desde entonces la elección farsante. Según mucha personas estas acusaciones contra los militantes negros fueron forjados para esconder los hechos que habían seguidos.

Estas elecciones de Colegio de Merritt estuvieron sobre 25-26 de Enero. Los candidatos en la elección fueron la hermana Makinya (Harriet Smith) juntamente con la gente negra de su partido. Un grupo controlado por los blancos racistas "ganó" la elección, pero el hecho es que los miembros del comité de las elecciones no fueron permitidos a contar las balotas. Entonces, ¿quienes cuentan las balotas? Fue la administración blanca facista sí misma que contó las balotas. Y los estudiantes negros quienes

fueron a hicieron hecho, esta obra fueron excluido sistemáticamente, desde el cuarto donde la tarea estuvo llevando a cabo. Mientras tanto, sin embargo, el grupo controlado por los honkistas (blancos racistas) fue descalificado por el comité de las elecciones a cuara de irregularidades de sus campañas. El mas importante irregularidad fue la denegación de los lacayos entregar una lista de sus gastos de la campaña. La decisión del comité de las elecciones fue apoyada por el consejo judicial que movio a sentar los candidatos con la segunda cantidad de votos en la elección. Seguir esta acción por el consejo judicial, el senado de la facultad voto 19 a 4 para permitir los estudiantes a dirigir los asuntos de el gobierno de los estudiantes, pero la administración racista conducida por el Redford decidió a tratar con el gobierno estudiantil en declarar en favor de estableciendo en el poder los oficiales de la facción gobernado por los honkistas hasta hubiera sido arreglado la "disputa." Pero no era tal disputa, porque el consejo judicial, que conforme al código del gobierno estudiantil, tiene voz de mando en esta clase de asunto se hizo de decidido en favor de la hermana Makinya y su facción. La confirmación de esta decisión fue enviada a Redford por el procurador general del Estado de California (procuración 2/7, Vol. 14, pg. 210). En el segundo lugar, fuera de intervenir ilegalmente en el gobierno negro estudiantil, Redford coloco en el consejo estudiantil a los candidatos que habían sido descalificados. Y este opone a todas las concepciones de la justicia civilizada.

(El parte segunda, de este artículo será en el número próximo de BLACK POWER!)

SOULBOOK 7

FOR BLACK GUERRILLAS.....weusi

The first SOULBOOK work of an up and coming young Black writer, potentially one of the best of the generation. The 19 year-old Brother gives a to-the-point review of Regis Debray's Revolution in a Revolution?, with particular emphasis on its application in Black America.

THE PROPAGANDA DETACHMENT OF THE VIETNAMESE LIBERATION ARMY.....Vo Nguyen Giap

75 ¢

Translated from the French by the SOULBOOK Foreign Language Department, this story of the beginning days of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is written by the military and political genius who masterminded the devastating Tet Offensive last January.

ON CENTRALIZATION.....Roland Snellings

Brings out the necessity for the creation of a Black United Front, such as has been formed in Washington, D.C., the San Francisco Bay Area, and Los Angeles, by a Brother who worked in Atlanta with their founder, Brother Stokely Carmichael.

REJECT NOTES.....Black Poets

Another fantastic selection of poetry from the SOULBOOK Poetry Department. Included is poetry by Ho Chi Minh, Carol Freeman (perhaps the best poet of the Black South), and Ernie Mkalimoto (Allen), National Co-Chairman of the House of Umoja.

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A PRISON DIARY.....Phan Nhuận

Another first for the SOULBOOK Foreign Languages Department. An intimate story of the early life of one of the greatest revolutionaries the world has ever known, President Ho Chi Minh.

or
Le Graham
3245 W. Chicago Blvd.
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FANONIAN IDEOLOGY AND THE PEASANTRY.....Abdelbaki Hermassi

Translated by SOULBOOK, this is a short review of the revolutionary theories of Brother Frantz Fanon, the great Black writer and psychiatrist.

48206
or
Bobb Hamilton
473 W. 152nd
New York, N. Y.

OTHER VERSIONS.....Ama Ata Aidoo

One of the short stories of the year, this work by a young Sister from Ghana reflects the dynamic young viewpoints of the SOULBOOK staff. Fresh and Black.

OR
Donald Freeman
New School of
Afroamerican
Thought

CUBA: THE UNTOLD STORY (PART I).....Carlos Moore

Must, must, MUST be read before you pick up anything about Guevara, Castro, or the Cuban revolution. Written by an Afro-Cuban, Part I deals with the background of the Cuban situation, the Black revolutionaries, and the racism inherent in Cuba from the days when she was a slave port to the United States.

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violence in the world."

For those who knew the man and the depth of his non-violent convictions, this was the admission of grave incertitude and defeat. But a dangerous defeat for whom? Least for the Blacks of the ghettos, who had, by their own pressure, pushed the apostle of non-violence to take on such a position. Mostly for the white power structure.

In Autumn, 1966, Dr. King decided to push his offensive of non-violence in the North by beginning in Chicago. He prepared a march on Cicero (a section of Chicago), then called it off at the last minute after the local authorities made a promise of concessions.

Two years later, the uprising that overflowed in the supportive march for the garbage collectors of Memphis could no longer afford an occasion for surprise. King, in effect, had to count more and more on pressure exercised by Stokely Carmichael and numerous other christian leaders of the South; even SNCC had remained non-violent only as long as the weight of oppression had allowed.

King himself was walking a tight-rope. His is the tragedy of Black liberals in a society based on segregation. Reduced to making compromises from all sides, at the same time he had to relay the challenge that a new generation of Blacks had flung at him, all the while entertaining the liberal illusion that the "integrationist dialogue" was still possible.

From there we go on to the real causes of King's death. It was inserted on the American calendar a few days before Johnson's "peace offensive" in Vietnam; this was not by accident. The "hawks," the American army which was humiliated by a loss of initiative equivalent to defeat in the famous Tet Offensive, and the tensions between those who earned their livelihood through the war and those who wanted "peace" did not spare this Black liberal whom they had expected better of.

In the Herald Tribune editorial

of February 24, 1968, a last and grave warning was addressed to King on the question of the Black United Front that he and Carmichael had formed in several cities (including the San Francisco Bay Area...ed.): "King's poorly thought-out campaign coincides exactly with the new Leninist stage--and the most dangerous one--of the rapid ascension of Stokely Carmichael towards the summit. In effect, the latter since his return has been practicing the Leninist tactics of alliance between revolutionaries and non-revolutionaries."

United with King, the revolutionaries could take the initiative all the more, as they then had at their disposal the Black masses whom King could cause to move into the struggle. With King dead they (the white power) thought they could make the "Black monsters" leave their "jungles" so they could be offed by racists. King's death could serve as a justification for repression against Black "extremists." But, in fact, the revolutionaries have shown that with or without King they have the initiative....if King had to pay with his life for the difficult task of Black Unification....in the United States, his murder is already achieving results; the coming together of Black Americans is a more fitting tribute to the goal of Martin Luther King's life work than all the useless eulogies that have been written after him.



Black Power salute is given plane bearing body of Dr. King as it readies for Memphis takeoff, trip to Atlanta.

On page 22 the title should be :

AMERIC--N-- instead of AMERIC--

EDITORIAL

Why must Black People unite? This is a question that many Black Americans are asking themselves today. The answer is that we must unite in order to survive, in order to present a common front to our oppressors.

Why did the Vietnamese unite? Why did they feel they needed a National Liberation Front? Do all Vietnamese have the same interests?

Let us take a look at the National Liberation Front (NLF) in South Vietnam. Inside the front you will find Catholics, Communists, Buddhists, capitalists, workers, peasants, and socialists. Each group has different self-interests which it wants to protect. Then why do Vietnamese come together? They come together because they have a common interest which is more important than all of their differences put together, and that interest lies in seeing white American imperialism driven out of their country. No one group of Vietnamese itself, whether it be Communist, or Capitalist, or Buddhist, or Socialist, is capable of driving the white man out of their country. The Vietnamese realize that the only way to fight the war is to join together in a common front which unites all those who can be united, and neutralizes or isolates those who cannot or will not be brought over. This is the way a united front works.

When we look at our situation in the United States, we see that the overriding contradiction in America today is that between the Black Nationalist oppressors. No one would deny that there are differences with the Black Nation, but just as in the case of the Vietnamese, the common interest we have is the survival of the Black Nation far outweigh these differences. We have Uncle Toms, certainly, but they can

in no way be compared to Chiang Kai-shek, because no Black person in America has ever wielded the power which Chiang Kai-shek once had. And history shows that even though Chiang Kai-shek was a traitor to the cause of Chinese people, Mao Tse-tung was able to unite with him in a common front when China was invaded by Japan in 1936. Why did they unite, even though they were sworn enemies? They united because China was being invaded by a power stronger than both of them put together, and the survival of the Chinese nation was at stake.

Black People! We cannot afford to wait until each of us is threatened individually before we decide to unite. The survival of all Black people is at stake! Dr. Martin Luther King was not killed because he was a Baptist. He was killed because he was Black! Brother Bobby Hutton was not killed because he was a member of the Black Panther Party. He was killed because he was Black! No matter what our differences may be, they are small indeed compared to the problem of our survival in America. This is the basis upon which we must unite, or else we will perish in the white shadow of imminent death. Black United Fronts, (or Black Congresses) must be formed in all Black Communities so that we may link ourselves together nationally behind a common organization.

SIGNED: Mundo Mugo Wa ita
Mundo Mugo Wa ita

NEWS ARTICLES DO NOT NECESSARILY REFLECT THE OPINION OF THE EDITORS OF BLACK POWER! NEWSPAPER; ONLY THE EDITORIAL REFLECTS THE POSITION OF THE HOUSE OF UMOJA

BECAUSE GARVEY WAS A VERY BRILLIANT AND AGGRESSIVE YOUNG MAN, HE DEVELOPED A "NEVER-SAY-DIE" PHILOSOPHY WHICH BROUGHT HIM AN EXCELLENT POSITION.

HE WAS GENERAL MANAGER OF A LARGE PRINTING FIRM WHEN HE WAS ONLY (18) EIGHTEEN YRS. OLD.



BETTER ECONOMIC CONDITIONS FOR BLACKS



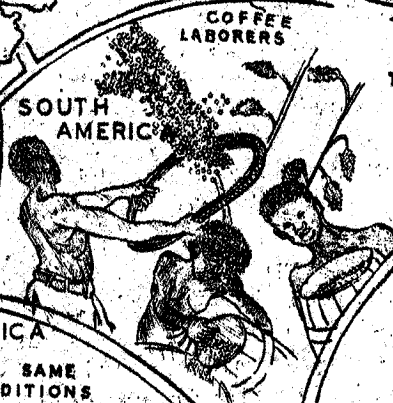
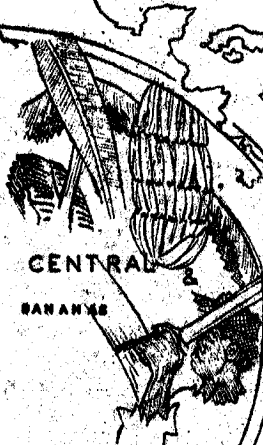
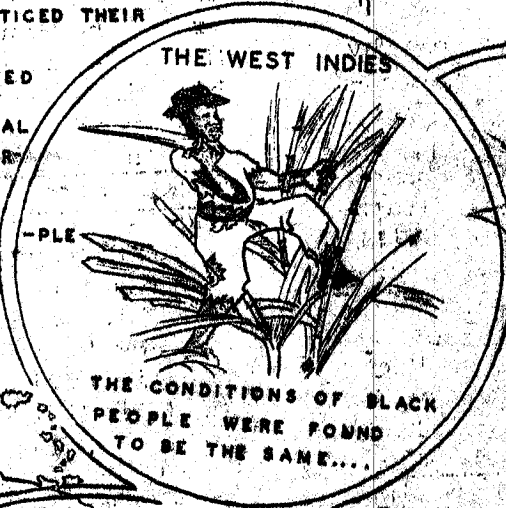
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MORE BLACKS IN THE LEGISLATURE

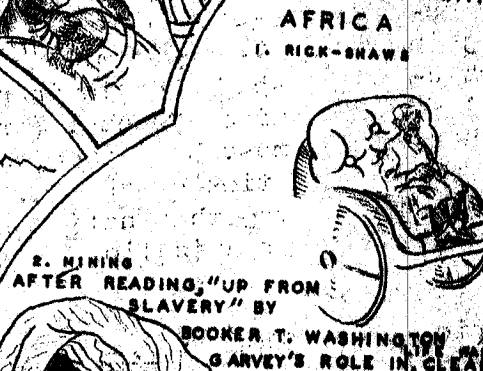
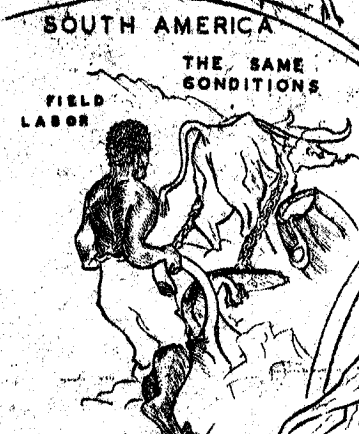
GARVEY ENTERED POLITICS IN THE WEST INDIES.

WHILE IN POLITICS GARVEY OBSERVED THE SUFFERINGS OF BLACK PEOPLE. GARVEY NOTICED THEIR CONDITIONS.

GARVEY TRAVELED THROUGH-OUT THE WEST-INDIES, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA. HE FOUND THE CONDITIONS OF BLACK PEOPLE TO BE THE SAME.



MARCUS GARVEY WENT TO EUROPE AND THERE ALSO FOUND THE SAME CONDITIONS EXISTED AMONG BLACK PEOPLE. HE LEARNED FROM HIS CONTACTS WITH BLACK STUDENTS, SEAMEN, ADVENTURERS AND OTHERS WHO TRAVELED FROM AFRICA THAT THE CONDITIONS OF THE BLACKS WERE THE SAME IN AFRICA.



AFTER READING "UP FROM SLAVERY" BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON GARVEY'S ROLE IN CLEAR.

GARVEY READ OF CONDITIONS OF BLACK PEOPLE IN THE U.S.A. AND FOUND THEM TO BE THE SAME. HE ASKED HIMSELF, "WHERE IS THE BLACK MAN'S GOVERNMENT, WHERE IS HIS KINGDOM, HIS KING, WHERE IS HIS PRESIDENT, HIS COUNTRY, HIS AMBASSADORS, HIS ARMY, HIS NAVY HIS MEN OF BIG AFFAIRS?" HE FOUND NONE. GARVEY THEN REALIZED THAT THESE POSITIONS MUST BE ACHIEVED.

