

SHOTGUN ATTACK MISSES CCAC LEADER



Brother Glanton Dowdell in his studio, stands besides portrait of beautiful black woman, mutilated in shotgun attack photo by S. Fields

Detroit

Glanton Dowdell, noted for his painting of The Black Madonna, narrowly missed death late Monday when white night-riders shot gunned his studio.

Two whites, armed with automatic shotguns, fired point blank at Mr. Dowdell through the bathroom window of the "Easel Art Gallery". On Detroit's West side.

When he heard the first shot, he dove to the floor as the blasts tore pictures and paint from the walls two inches above his head.

Neighbors saw two armed whites running from the rear of the gallery, guns in hand. They drove off in a 1967 Bluish Green Dodge or Plymouth.

Recently both The Easel Art Gallery and Vaughn's Bookstore, located in the same building, have been threatened by anonymous obviously white phone callers.

The shooting is a culmination of a campaign of harassment begun by white cops during the Detroit rebellion.

Eye witnesses this past summer saw police in uniform kick in the door of Vaughn's Bookstore (Detroit's headquarters for books on Black history), rip pictures off the walls and set fire to the rear of the building.

It is uncertain whether the recent attack was carried off by Detroit cops.

Mr. Dowdell through his paintings and as co-chairman of The City Wide Citizens Action Committee has taken uncompromising action against racism in Detroit.

His safety will now depend upon the brothers in the street.

WALLACE COMING TO DETROIT

White racist George C. Wallace Governor of Alabama is scheduled to stop in Detroit, December 11, at Cobo Hall.

Honkie Wallace is running for President of the U. S. and will be here to obtain support for his campaign.

White folks in Detroit will probably flock to see him.

Many Black brothers are expected to be there to show Mr. Wallace how they deal with a racist Governor, when he comes to town.

Killer Cops Get Vicious Weapons

Ray Girardin, head of Detroit's Police Force, announced that his group was purchasing the bestial Stoner rifle as part of the \$7.1 million anti-riot bill allocation approved by Common Council last week. Girardin said, that the Stoner was selected because of its penetrating power, and accuracy.

The Stoner .223 caliber round is described as a dum dum like bullet (a dum dum is a bullet that has been notched or filed on its end, so that it will expand within the body of its victim causing horrible wounds). The dum dum bullet is outlawed by the Geneva Convention.

The Stoner round is worst. It is just about liquid hot when it leaves the rifle barrel. The round spins and tumbles toward its target. Upon impact the bullet splatters, tears and tumbles through its victim. One round can tear an arm off a victim and a single hit in the calf can split a leg bone up to the hip. Militarist call it the gun that makes a big, big hole. A French journalist after seeing one of the rounds fired, commented "There are no more clean wounds. A simple hit on the arm bursts the

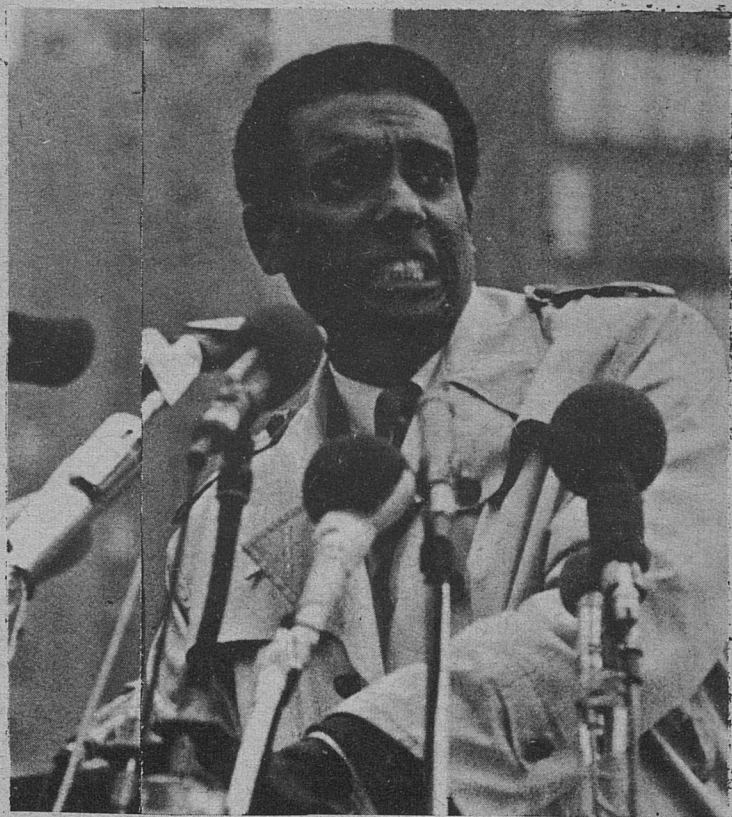
bone along its whole length," before ripping it off.

A weapons expert in Lansing said that there was no difference between the .223 caliber Stoner round and the dum dum. The wounds from the .223 are the size of hand prints.

The Stoner Rifle was devised by Eugene Stoner of Port Clinton, Ohio. The manufacturer is Cadillac Gage Co., of Warren, Michigan. The Detroit Force will receive Stoner rifles from them in January.

The cost for fifty of these rifles is \$20,000. Detroit Force is also in the act of purchasing 12 more shotguns: 500 M1 carbines for \$50,000; 24 telescope-equipped 30-caliber rifles for \$5,000; 5,000 Mace gas dispensers for \$50,000 (This gas has not been used against the Vietcong,) and 6,000 gas projectiles for \$60,000.

The weapon was introduced with a large amount of publicity, designed to frighten brothers from taking to the streets this winter. Obviously the Police Department is getting itself together. Are You?



Stokley Tells What Its All About

Ed. Note: While he was in Havana at the Organization of Latin American Solidarity conference (OLAS), Stokely Carmichael granted an interview to Mario Menendez Rodriguez, the editor of SUCESOS (EVENTS). This was published in the August 26 issue of the Mexico City magazine under the title "Por Que Luchamos los Negros." The interview is a major statement of policy and of such significance that we felt it necessary to publish as much of it as possible. We urge you to read it in its entirety to understand the nature of the revolution taking place.

Q. What is the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee? When and why was it founded?

A. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which I work for, is made up of young American blacks who decided to join together to fight racial segregation and economic exploitation in the United States. It was founded in 1960 and the reason why is important--the other organizations supposedly defending the interests of the black people weren't engaged in an active way. Most of them took their problems to the courts but we felt we couldn't get anywhere if an injustice for which a white man was responsible and which resulted in harm to a black man was taken to courts run and controlled by whites. That meant we were taking up injustice with persons who were unjust themselves. That way nothing could be solved. The only solution was and is in the streets.

Now, we used the word "nonviolent" because at that time the central figure in the struggle to end the black race was no one less than Martin Luther King and anyone who resorted to violence was considered a traitor. Consequently we resolved to use the word "nonviolent". However we knew that our struggle would end in violence, that it was only necessary to wait for the right time. So we accepted this name for the grouping and coordinated activities from city to city, wherever we could engage in nonviolent demonstrations.

However, a year later we came to the conclusion that these pacifist demonstrations were not an adequate answer for our problems; the young people had to be organized. We moved into the state where racial segregation is of unbelievable dimensions -- Mississippi. There we began to organize our people and train them for the struggle. And now we have come to the point where it's our duty to rouse our youth our people, to fight.

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Many of the INNER CITY VOICE'S supporters have commented that we are "out of sight." Well it has become painfully clear that not only will we be out of sight, but we will soon be out of business without your support. We need money badly. If you support ICV, we urge you to pledge your support in financial terms. Please fill out the pledge card on page 10, and send us some money as soon as possible. Thank you.

ADC Mothers Forced To Work in Foundry

Hamtramck, Mich.--The foundry workers in Chrysler-Dodge's operation on Huber Road, Detroit blew their "cool" when they discovered the company had hired a group of Negro women to work at the backbreaking jobs on grinding chipping, blowers and the shot blast. Some white women were also hired but placed in "easier" jobs working on cores, also in the foundry.

Charles Brooks, vice president of Dodge Local #3 was called in by the angry workers and had the Negro women taken off the hazardous, unhealthy work. They were placed with the white women who had been hired to work on cores.

Lee Cain, Negro leader in Dodge Local #3, UAW talked to this reporter about this situation; "the foundry is no place for a woman to work and especially on that kind of work. We foundry workers heard also that many of these women had been getting checks from Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) and had gotten the jobs through that organization."

Cain said "when we say gotten the jobs through ADC we mean that the women had been obviously pressured to come to work in the Dodge Foundry, or be cut off ADC that happens all the time on other places these women are sent."

Cain was asked why Chrysler hired these women. "Because these young workers, Negro workers, whom Chrysler puts into the foundry, don't stay, because the work is too hard. They quit, and like in all foundries there is a great turnover the company must be desperate for help. I think that's why they were hired," said Cain.

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Behind Student Revolt

What are the implications of the numbers of protests from black students in universities and high schools throughout the nation? In Detroit the protests are even occurring at the Junior High School level.

Since September the number of such protests have been formidable. Listed among the universities are Central State, Xenia, Ohio; Texas Southern, Houston, Texas and Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.

High school students have protested in one form or another in Winston Salem, N. C., Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, P. A., Baltimore, Maryland; Cincinnati, Ohio and Newark, New Jersey.

Black Teachers Organize

In September of this year a group of black teachers from all levels of the Detroit schools met to form the Black Teacher's Workshop. This group has since expanded to a membership of fifty teachers representing twenty-four schools. Northern Mackenzie, Henry Ford, McMichael.

The aims of this organization are encompassed in their statement of purpose:

For the purpose of identifying ourselves as thinking black, and for the purpose of doing as an organized group what we have been trying to do as individuals and for the purpose of influencing and motivating teachers, students and parents to think black and to develop a positive self image, we hereby organize to form an independent and continuing organization of Black teachers in the City of Detroit.

Our goals, more specifically are to give Black teachers ideas and methods that they can use in reaching black students by (1) a presentation at each meeting (2) sharing information in a designated field at each meeting, and (3) each Black teacher should be responsible for using the methods and ideas presented at the meeting at his or her school, a definite and concrete program. Reports of results should be made back to the meeting.

Black teachers interested in the aims of the group as stated above are welcome to attend the Workshop. The next meeting will be held on Saturday, December 11, 1967 at 1:00 p.m. at 7625 Linwood in the lounge of Central United Church of Christ.

To date the group has been concentrating on a program of self-education and the use of the new methods presented in the Workshops to the advantage of the black children that the teachers come in contact with.

The organization's long-range goal is to mobilize all means to attack the problems of the black child in the Detroit school system.

tion including brutality on a massive scale was used in an attempt to suppress the students.

At one of the schools 3,000 students were functioning at least

At one of the schools 3000 students were housed in a school originally built for 1800.

At many of the schools students were functioning at least two grades behind, for example eight grade students were reading at the sixth grade level.

It is noteworthy that teachers who have never openly voiced their disagreement with the school principals, pointed out many deficiencies which indicated lack of leadership from the principal and from the Board of Education.

In Michigan black high school students have demonstrated at Roshchaud High School in Dearborn Heights and Mt. Clemons, High.

Here in Detroit student protests occurred at Central, Northwestern and Northeastern High Schools.

Although a number of very different incidents sparked the initial protest there were three common elements in all the student revolts:

- 1) the students felt cheated and disenchanted by current curriculum deficiencies.
- 2) the students had their own solutions, demands for specific change.

Recurring time and time again in most of the demands were; upgrading the entire curriculum; the hiring of black teachers and principals and the teaching of black history.

3) at some point during all of the protests, riot trained police ac-

Vow to save Huey Newton

Jim Nabors of the Afro-American Students Union told the press in front of the central police headquarters here: "Huey P. Newton will be protected by the Black community.... We intend to overthrow the police state by any means, including violence."

Leaders of five Black Power and anti-draft organizations had come to the police to demand that they free both Black Panther leader Newton and the anti-draft protesters arrested in the October 16-21 anti-war demonstrations.

They also demanded, according to the Berkeley Barb, that Police Chief Charles Gain "publicly confess that his policemen provoked and assaulted Huey P. Newton and leaders of the Stop the Draft Week."

Newton is being framed in the shooting of two Oakland cops, one of whom, John Frey, subsequently died. Newton himself is in San Quentin Hospital wounded and waiting for trial.

Representatives of the five organizations had marched through the streets to police headquarters and there presented their demands in Chief Gain's office.

The groups were the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, the Afro American Students Union at U of C, the Soul Students at Merritt College, the Black Union at San Francisco State, and the Steering Committee for Stop the Draft Week.

Black youth of the city are a

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Honkie guardsmen brandish rifles and bayonets during Central State Rebellion.

Central State

The INNER CITY VOICE in keeping with its policy of reporting truth has uncovered the true facts in the recent rebellion at Central State College. The truth was attained by talking to eyewitnesses, participants and the main protagonist, Michael Warren.

The circumstances behind Warren's expulsion strongly smack of a breach of justice.

Conflicting reports by eyewitnesses about the substance of the confrontation between Warren and Mr. Stokes, Brother Warren said "You are a Tom and I'm going to kill you." Brother Warren denies saying that claiming he actually responded in a very serious manner "If this were the revolution and you were a 'Tom' then I'd have to kill you." This was supported by eyewitnesses. This is of course very different from the accusation that President Stokes made. In fact, the latter is a highly conditional statement.

The method in which Michael Warren was tried is also in question. In the past such cases have usually been tried by the Supreme Court of the College which is made up of students. However, Warren's case was tried by an impromptu board of school administrative officials who at first demanded that he only issue a public apology. With the good faith of the Board in mind Warren did apologize, graciously, thinking this was his only sentence. However, as soon as he had apologized a band of police attempted to escort him from the campus. He refused their magnanimous offer and returned to class with a student escort.

Later he presented his defense to the student body at a rally held in the student auditorium. Graves, the president of Central State University was invited to do the same, but declined, sending for the police, state troopers, and national guardsmen to deliver his unequivocal answer of NO, thereby cementing his dictatorial tyranny in the university.

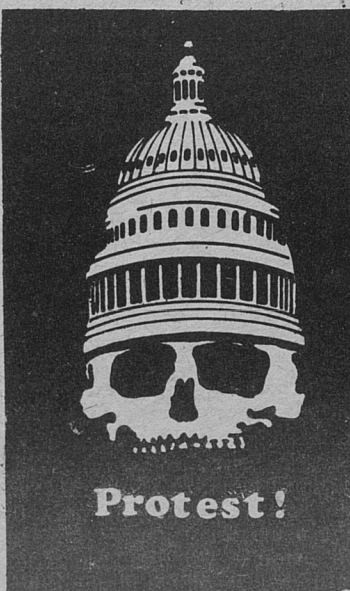
By his actions, President Graves is clearly the antagonist in the Rebellion at C.S.U. It was his decision to circumscribe 'due process' and enlist the aid of the beastly honkie oppressors (the keepers of 'law and order', the transgressors of justice), to brutalize the students into acknowledging his position and that of the school as pawns of a fascist racist system.

By: Clarence Brogdon



Michael Warren, center of controversy at Central State University.

Visit the office of the Inner City Voice while in Detroit on a speaking engagement.



STOP THE DRAFT STOP THE WAR DEMONSTRATE

4 p.m. Friday Dec. 8
Clark Park
(Clark & W. Vernor)

RALLY SPEAKERS:
John Watson, ICV
Dave Chamberly DCEWV
Dave Wheeler Draft Resist.

HONKIE JUSTICE

By: Tommy Glover

Hypocritical white supremacist justice is a thing well known to all black people was a major cause of the July Revolt here in Detroit. It is taken lightly by responsible white people and will be a basic factor in the cause of more violence. Of this we can be sure.

One of the impossible to enumerate cases that occur daily, came to our attention a week ago, and we see fit to print it, as we will try to do with every case that we can, until wisely something is done

Henry-Sheffield Debate

by: Sterling Smith

On November 1, liberal Wayne State University pitted a "man of colour" and a black man against each other on the question: "Is non-violent Civil Rights a proper tactic to achieve Civil Rights Goals?"

Milton Henry, the brilliant black lawyer from Flint, maintained that non-violence was an important tactic in the Civil Rights Era. Henry identified the Civil Rights Era as THE TIME WHEN Black people were pointing to jobs, access to public accommodations, equal treatment before the law and the cessation of police brutality as the goals in this society. Now, he maintained, Black people have seen the futility of these goals in America.

Black people no longer address or embrace Civil Rights objectives. POWER - BLACK POWER is today's watch word. Young Blacks no longer compromise themselves with the system. THEY ARE READY TO RECEIVE POWER

Henry strongly emphasized Black Power as a proper tactic by using a historical example which indicated that power is not given but taken: During the American slavery period, Absolon Jones petitioned to Congress to "lighten slavery". Congress did nothing, then Gabriel Hesser organized a rebellion on a ship---this resulted in Congress passing the law that ended the slave trade---The only conclusion to this is that the idea of Blacks having power, leads logically to the exercise of force by blacks. This is not non-violence stated Mr. Henry.

Horace Sheffield, a well known Negro labor leader, denied entirely that Black people wanted power and emphasized the fact that Black Power goals were not in the Civil Rights category today.

Stating that violence was not even "profitable" he maintained that "people of colour" needed allies; that there were natural allies among the white who had the same problems, the poor, the jobless, and the disadvantaged. "Violence repels allies and violence begets violence."

He said that progress was being made naming the 5,000 jobs promised by Ford as a prime example of a new trend, to which someone in the audience shouted "the jobs were a result of the riot." Mr. Sheffield concluded his

opening remarks with the announcement that a "Newsweek" poll showed that "people of colour" were not for violence.

The whites in the audience enjoyed the show of 2 Black people apparently "cutting into" one another for their entertainment.

by white people, or until black people address themselves to the issue with more violent revolts.

On Tuesday, Sept. 19, 1967, Walter Hodo, 11750 Broadstreet, a black man, drove into a Clark's Gas Station on Livernois, off Puritan to purchase a pack of cigarettes. Hodo asked the white attendant if thirty-two cents would buy a pack. He was told to buy his cigarettes elsewhere. When he asked a reason for the attendant's hostility, he was cursed and threatened with a loaded revolver, and told to get off the premises. Which he did. He telephoned the police and remained off the premises until the police arrived. Two officers, a white and black team, answered the call in a scout car, refused to take action against the white man, or accept a charge from the black man. The officers advised Mr. Hodo to take his complaint to the 12th Precinct Station in Palmer Park.

At the precinct station, a detective was assigned to take the complaint. His first question was, "Is the defendant white or colored." Then, after a few more questions told Mr. Hodo that it was too late to file a complaint, and for him to come back the next day.

After being given the legal run-around Mr. Hodo has still not received any satisfactory results in his suit against the white Clark's Gas Station attendant.

Maybe the courts' are not the place for black folks to settle their problems with white people.

PAR elects the Uptight Honkie of the month

Detroit Mayor Jerome P. Cavanaugh was elected the first "Uptight Honkie of the Month," for the month of November, by a unanimous vote of members of People Against Racism (PAR).

In announcing the award, PAR Chairman, William T. Witt, said, "In line with our efforts to expose and combat racism, white supremacy and bigotry in the white community in all its forms, we have inaugurated the 'Uptight Honkie' award to give proper recognition to members of the white community who play key roles in continuing imperialism against people of color at home and abroad. Where possible and appropriate, we will attempt to present the award to the recipient in person, as well as publicizing the honoree throughout the community. We invite all citizens to submit nominations for consideration by PAR."

PAR cited the following recent efforts by the Mayor as those earning him the "Uptight Honkie" award:

--Pledging increased use of police manpower against the Black population (euphemistically known as "the criminals in the streets") of the city, as reported in the Detroit News interview on October 16, 1967.

--Securing funds through a bond issue which will nearly double police armaments, including the purchase of 100 Stoner machine guns, which, according to the Detroit Free Press of November 5, 1967 is "one of the most brutal mutilating weapons in gun history. Also approved for purchase were 150,000 rounds of ammunition for the Stoner gun, the largest amount of ammunition which the city will buy or any single weapon."

When the Common Council appropriated only \$5 million instead

of the \$9 million requested, Cavanaugh vetoed the action and demanded more money. A compromise of over \$7 million was agreed on, which unfortunately wiped out the "Detroit Air Force," which under Cavanaugh's plan was to consist of one helicopter and one fixed wing aircraft. Rumors that Cavanaugh had sought to purchase large quantities of napalm have not yet been proven true.

--In what was perhaps his most revealing action, Cavanaugh suggested that a tried and true solution for America's "minority" group problems--the creation of reservations used so successfully with American Indians--be applied in a new form to the Negro population. Speaking in Miami Beach, Florida, Cavanaugh appealed to the federal government to "make rural life more attractive" by buying farms and selling them on "easy credit terms to share-croppers.. This would be far cheaper than transferring that same family to the welfare rolls of a northern city." he said. Cavanaugh went on to describe the "reservation" proposal as "now" an "interesting idea," and "the right line of thinking." (Reported, Detroit Free Press, November 2, 1967)

--Most recently, Cavanaugh has courageously suggested that 12th Street be renamed because of its "negative connotations." He did not suggest that the name of Detroit itself be changed because of its negative connotations. It has, however, been suggested that, because of its negative connotations, Cavanaugh change his name.

In commenting on the award to Cavanaugh, PAR Executive Secretary, Frank H. Joyce, said: "The mayor has always been a leader, and it will be difficult to find a more appropriate uptight honkie. We do, however, select someone else for the month of December."

Our own experience with the same Oakland police strengthens our conviction that Huey P. Newton is a victim of police assault and is being held as a political prisoner."

Newton had been stopped by a police car while driving, refused to get out of his car when improperly asked to do so, and then suddenly was confronted by another police car immediately called to the scene.

One of his attorneys, Beverly Axelrod, says he had a legal right not to get out. The gunfire was obviously started by the cops in their frustration at his refusal to get out. Newton, if he shot them, fired in self-defense.

An official of the Panthers told reporters that "Huey had contacts with Frey before. Frey was rousing people. Huey pointed out to them that they didn't have to follow his orders. Frey didn't like that."

The statement of the five organizations said:

"We know Huey P. Newton to be a courageous leader in the struggle against oppression and, further, we know that, despite the long-standing and undeniable grievances that all Black people have against occupying forces like the Oakland police, Huey P. Newton would not have confronted cops in the manner described by the Oakland police."

As a result of the widespread brutality practiced by the Detroit Police Department over the years, a lawsuit is being planned that would put the Detroit Police under the supervision of the Federal Court system. Following is a synopsis of the kinds of behavior that is typical of the monstrous fiends carrying guns on the streets of Detroit. These and hundreds of other incidents have been investigated and prepared for presentation to the proper authorities. The ones printed here are some of the most vicious and the names, addresses, and telephone numbers have been withheld for obvious reasons.

O.L.A. and K. A. Hanco k
Place of incident: Wayne U area

Cou le witnessed harrassment of tenants. Officers ordered occupants out of dwelling and ransacked the dwelling. Witnessed beating of unknown white man near John Lodge Expressway. Man was hanging from waist over fence. Police officers hit him with their fists and guns. Called news papers and television stations, but they refused to print story. Reported that two Negro boys walking down Warren near Wayne State, were ordered to lie on grass, while guardsmen walked on their hands. Jerry Y. was reported to have been driving along Warren, was stopped by police, dragged him and girl out of car. Forced them to walk some.

They were beaten twice by the police.

V.A. Leslie
Place of incident: Glynn Court

Awakened by police gunfire. Told to come down with hands up. Arrested cousin E. H., V.A. and P. L. G. charged with sniping. Hone was searched and gun not used in 25 years was found. \$350.00 was taken from home, purses, pockets, etc., police stated they knew nothing of this. Taken to 10th precinct where the men were beaten with billy clubs, rifle butts, and black jacks. Later taken to Receiving Hospital--treated and then taken to 1300 Beaubien. Lawyer Murray Chodak

Mr. J.M. and Mrs. A. were in the gas station. They were placed under arrest and charged with breaking and entering. They were taken to McGraw station, then transferred to Wayne County jail the following afternoon. Spent 5 days at Wayne County jail. Mrs. A. was hit in the stomach with barrel of a rifle while being arrested. Had to sleep on concrete floor for 2-3 days, food was filthy--reported seeing roaches in it.

J.N.B. Chalfonte
Place: Livernois @ Fenkel

Fired at by Policemen and Guardsmen as they were leaving White Tower Restaurant. The two have gone to meet the girl friend J.N.B., J. N. J.N.B. was hit twice. The two sought refuge on a porch on Santa Rosa whereupon the police and guard and pistol whipped them despite J.B.'s wounds. J.B. was later taken to DGH and Mrs. R. to Palmer Park Precinct. J.B. still has the bullets in him.

R.D. Maine
Algier Manor.

Mr. D. was beaten by police about the head 7 or 8 times. He was asked questions but when he attempted to answer, he was told to shut up and was beaten. Police took \$15 or \$20.00 from him. His wallet and shoes were taken. His fingers were smashed with a gun. He was forced to lie down on floor and spread eagle while the police fired shots into the floor in an attempt to frighten him. He was subjected to abusive language and had to march away with his hands in the air barefooted. Told not to look back.

BRUTALITY BRINGS SUIT

P.A. Epworth
Place of incident: Gas Station

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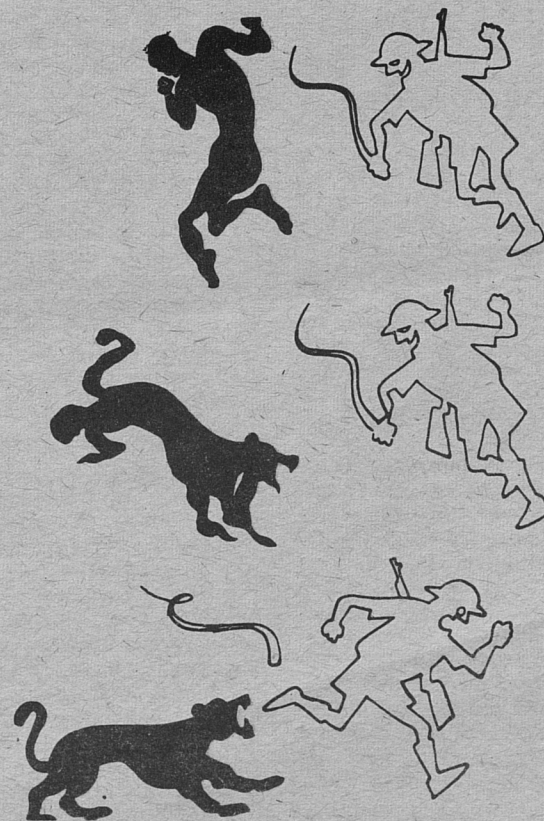
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Place: Livernois @ Fenkel

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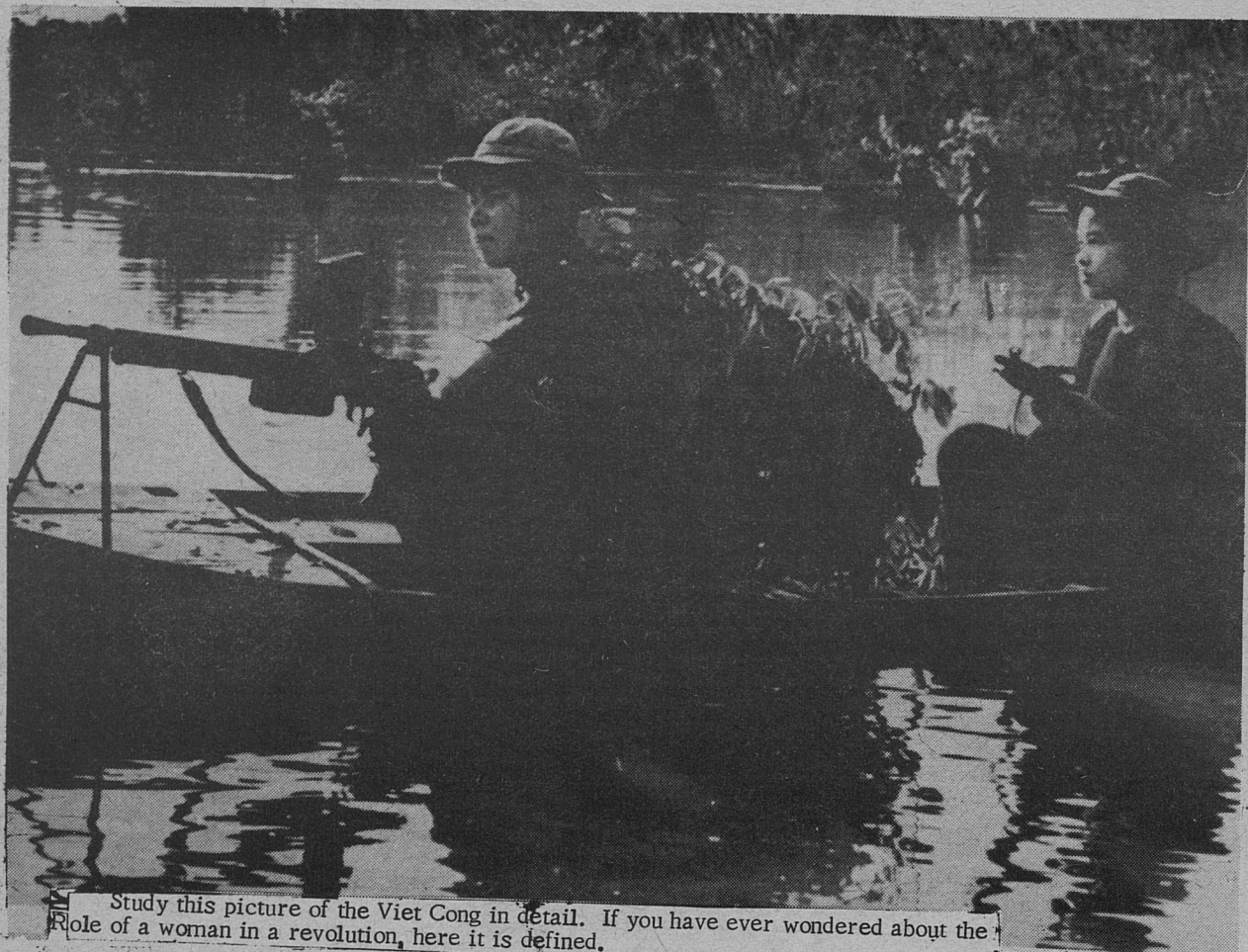
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Francisco Blanco Avila, Cuba

Inner City Voice



Study this picture of the Viet Cong in detail. If you have ever wondered about the role of a woman in a revolution, here it is defined.



Black Athletes Boycott Olympics

By: C. Savage

U. S. Black athletes have voted to boycott the 1968 Olympics.

Led by Lew Alcindor, of UCLA, they declared as black people they are "tired of being used by a racist society" to win prestige in foreign countries for America.

The best of the Black athletes across the nation met in Los Angeles. During the Thanksgiving week-end to lend support to the black ban on the Olympics. Bill Russell, Wilt Chamberlain, Jim Brown, and some of the greatest professional athletes in the world, gave the resolution overwhelming support.

Professor Harry Edwards of

San Jose College holder of several Gold Medals, won the 1964 Olympics, conducted the historic meeting.

He said we are "going to bring to everyone's attention that the U.S. is as racist as South Africa ever was."

The black boycott can bring this country to its knees in the international sports arena, since this country relies heavily on black victories in track events to pile up points in the Olympic games.

Muhammad Ali began the fight against American white racism when he refused to go to the army.

These black athletes have obviously decided to finish it.

Black Social Workers Organize

By Tommy Glover, Jr.

In a significant move to make an effective contribution to the struggle of poor people in general and black people in particular, black social workers met in the Urban League, recently, to announce a formulation of plans for organizing professional workers.

The group of black militant men and women has found a growing interest among social and welfare workers, dissatisfied with existing programs and agencies and is addressing itself to the correction of the neglect of inner city people by the social and welfare agencies set up to assist them.

Don Roberts, chairman of the group, known as the Association of Black Social Workers, indicated that social workers in other parts of the country have seen the failings of existing federal and local agencies, and are moving along

similar lines to organize among themselves and unite with groups in other cities where they are to be found.

Mr. Roberts said that the group's plan is to work out strategies to bend existing agencies so inner city folks can get more and better service. "With the idea of creating our own agency, a sort of ombudsman agency, so that we can do group work, case work, and community organizing, possibly providing psychiatric care."

The group also expressed a concern over the difficulty of college educated black people to communicate with grass roots black people, and will strive to break down these barriers.

Mr. Roberts said also, that anyone working in a social capacity will be welcome to join the group and to apply their talents in this endeavor.

Birth of a Nation

Friends and Enemies

James
Boggs

In every revolutionary period of every revolution the movement is confronted with the critical task of separating its friends from its enemies. The process is always painful because the enemy seems everywhere. First, there is the main enemy, the oppressor. Then there are the members of the oppressed group who believe that their fate rests with the oppressor, the people who cannot see any possibility of the oppressed who waver from side to side, for the most part acting like bystanders, waiting to see where the power will end up.

With all these various tendencies involved in the developing movement there is also the ever-present question of how best to silence those who by their behavior seem to and often do betray the movement.

Informers, collaborators, quislings, traitors have been present in every revolution: in the American Revolution, in the Santo Domingo Revolution, in the French Revolution, in the Russian Revolution, in the Irish Rebellion, and most important for us today, in this period of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed colonial peoples, in China, in Kenya, in Cuba, in Algeria, in the Congo, etc..

Usually we think of collaborators and traitors as agents of another country, as in the case of the collaborators with the British in the American Revolution and with the French, English and Spanish in the Santo Domingo Revolution. In the French and Russian Revolutions, we think of the traitors and collaborators as those who betrayed the people to an internal enemy, the old regime from whom the people were trying to take power.

When we come to the United States-North American rebellion, the role of the collaborator (the Tom) is a unique one. In other countries the collaborator or traitor usually tries to keep his activities secret, knowing that if the people found him out they would have to do some serious purging. So the people have to put two and two together in order to arrive at who are the informers.

In the United States, on the other hand, Uncle Toms, stool pigeons, investigators, organizers for the enemy, have all at various times openly admitted their role. Some of them even make a profession out of being a Tom and still others sincerely believe that they are best serving the interests of the oppressed by being Toms.

There are many reasons for this unique U.S. phenomenon. First, there is the slave mentality developed out of the struggle for survival in a slave society where one's life and livelihood were not only enhanced but often depended upon telling the boss.

Another aspect of this slave mentality is the conviction of a racially-oppressed people that the enemy will always be in power because he is racially superior. Then, there is the peculiar United States mentality, shared by most people in this country, black or white that getting to the top is what matters and how you get there is your own business, regardless of who is hurt in the process. A corollary of this position is the acceptance by most people in this country that there are two or more sides to every question and that they are all right. Thus they are unprepared for the struggle for power which is the climax of every revolution and which permits only one side to be right.

As a result of all these fallacies operating in this society, the Tom or collaborator not only gets rewarded in money and position but he even seems to the people to be a smart and responsible person who has gotten where he is because he has the qualities that the power structure respects and which are respectable in the society.

However, the most dangerous fallacy of all, and the one that makes the process of weeding out the collaborators so painful and so costly is the belief held by most of the revolutionists themselves that all the oppressed are revolutionists are potential revolutionists. This fallacy inclines them to accept all members of the oppressed group into their confidence. Even when they do not actually accept them into their confidence, they are still reluctant to believe that any member of the oppressed group can be a collaborator or traitor. After all, they should know better; they should know that the enemy of the revolutionist is in the final analysis their enemy too.

To accept and operate on this illusion is to ignore the dynamics of every revolution or the gathering of the revolutionary forces. In every great revolution there are many tendencies and stages of development of people inside the struggle.

First and foremost, in any and all revolutions there is always a small section of the oppressed people who would be revolutionary even if there were no mass movement. These are the professional revolutionists. Usually they are the ones who are imbued with the concept of the organic corruption of the existing society and the conviction that the success of the revolution and their own future lives are inseparably intertwined. Thus for them the revolution is life and life is the revolution. This group is usually very small until the mass movement, centering around grievances and issues, is brought into being by the increasing pressure and oppression of the rulers. It should be noted that the masses always start out with demands of reform. Only when they do not get these reforms, or when they are not satisfied with the concessions that are made to their demands, do they go on to more militant demands which in turn usually flow from the few revolutionists whose whole life has been dedicated to functioning in this kind of a situation.



How Many T's Must Be Crossed?

third world Report

Viet War Industry

(The ingenuity of the Vietnamese people in turning to advantage even the most improbable "resources" in their struggle against the U. S. imperialist aggression is strikingly shown in a report sent by Agence France-Presse from Hanoi October 7

The air war over North Vietnam has given rise to an entire industry in which North Vietnamese artisans produce useful objects from the scraps of downed U.S. planes and spent rockets and shells.

Combs, letter-openers and ash-trays are already in production, based on metal from the downed planes, to such a degree that it is nearing the export stage, but the North Vietnamese application of the axiom that "nothing is lost" doesn't stop there.

Parachute-shrouds from flares dropped by the American planes are turned into hammocks for children. The Plexi-glass cockpits of downed planes are turned into two-man water-scoops for use in the rice paddies. Parachutes go into pillow-slips, bedspreads, camouflage covers and scarves.

Each of the supplementary fuel-tanks jettisoned by American pilots can make, when cut in half, two small boats capable of carrying a man, his weapons and his equipment. Bomb-casings, napalm cannisters and the girders from wings and tails are turned into shovels and picks. Containers from ball-bearing bombs are made into plates, saucepans, bowls, surgical instruments, sterilization trays, and splints for broken limbs.

The North Vietnamese make tankards, flutes and one-stringed musical instruments from flare and rocket tubes.

Mudguards and chain-guards, for bicycles come from small pieces of wing.

Agriculture also profits, since bomb fragments can be forged into plough-shares. The fragments, ranging in weight from a few hundred grams to many pounds are gathered in the fields by farm workers and children on their way to school.

The story is told of one lone bridge in the Ky Anh district, 340 kilometers south of Hanoi, which was so heavily bombed that the surroundings produced thirty tons of bomb fragments.

A forge run by the neighboring farm cooperative used them to turn out 60,000 ploughshares, furnishings them not only to farmers in the Ky Anh district but in two neighboring districts as well.

Perhaps the most unexpected use to which the north Vietnamese put the metal from downed planes is the manufacture of the medals used to decorate North Vietnamese soldiers and militiamen.

Debray Gets 30 Yrs

Camiri, Bolivia

A Bolivian military court convicted French Marxist Regis Debray of guerrilla activities and sentenced him to 30 years imprisonment.

A co-defendant, Giro Bustos, an Argentine painter, was found guilty of the same charges and also sentenced to 3 years.

Defense attorneys announced immediately they would appeal the convictions and sentences to the supreme tribunal of military justice in La Paz.

Debray, 26, a friend of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro and Bustos

were arrested last April in the village of Muyupampa, in south-east Bolivia, after having spent 43 days with a guerrilla band led by the late Ernesto Che Guevara.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Regis Debray

On the Death of Che

AFTER THE HEROIC DEATH of the man whom the future and all the peoples of the world will list among the greatest liberators of the Americas, in the mourning felt by all revolutionists today, the moment has come for me to define certain points of principle which may be of some interest to the court. But I want to state in advance that the death of "Che" Guevara does not mark the end of the anti-imperialist struggle, but its beginning, just as it has given this struggle, in an irreversible way, its banner. Because "Che" is not one of those who dies -- as an example and guide it is correct to speak of him as immortal, because he will live in the hearts of all revolutionists. One "Che" is dead. Others are on the point of being born, of rising in action; others are already in action or will be tomorrow, here and other places in the continent. As for the "Che" who just died here, history and the revolutionists will undertake to judge those bearing the responsibility for his death, no matter where they may be.

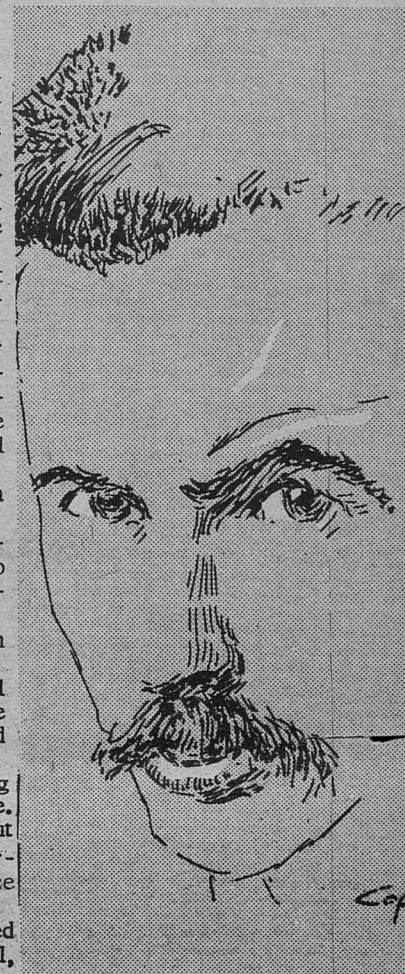
Under these conditions, a full definition of my situation, with regard to you will not adversely affect anything or anyone. My lawyer, Dr. Novillo, who has done me the honor to defend me and whom I wish to ratify publicly and formally as my counsel, will be able to demonstrate that the concrete charges lodged against me in the indictment -- the instigation, guidance and carrying out of the so-called crimes for which this trial is being held -- lack any real foundation whatsoever. But now, leaving aside the juridical questions, I want to deal with the essence, that is, the political and moral side, which for a revolutionist are the same.

(1) Without entering into the details of my activities, I wish to emphasize that, completely sharing the ideas of the Bolivian guerrillas, I myself asked, upon reaching the base camp of the guerrillas, to participate in all the duties and daily tasks of the guerrillas, such as mounting guard both inside and outside the camp helping in the cooking, in hunting and other tasks of the daily life. I asked accordingly that I be put on the list like any other guerrilla for my turn of duty, because as a revolutionist I could not and did not wish to be considered like a mere visitor in a hotel, standing arms crossed or sleeping peacefully while my comrades exhausted themselves providing food for me and guarding my sleep.

This lasted until I was able to meet "Che" on March 20. Although I had arrived as a mere journalist, I myself asked "Che" the guerrillas cannot accomplish a similar work of solidarity. There are a number of ways of fighting. Providing news and explanations is also a form of combat, which does not exclude the others, except in past times. In this sense, not only do I have the kindness to consider me on the moral and political level as equally responsible for the acts of my guerrilla comrades, the legitimacy of which I am convinced and in which I would have participated if "Che" Guevara had not decided otherwise. If unfortunately I cannot claim the honor of having been a combatant, let me at least have the honor of asking to be considered as in solidarity with them.

But he rejected my request, letting me understand that my mission of reporting to the world about my visit there and his activities was just as important as that of fighting. So the decision was taken to have me leave the guerrilla zone as soon as possible, and that while waiting I could and should continue to participate in the ordinary camp work, but I neither could nor should engage in the fighting and I could not be considered a guerrilla. Because of this, after several attempts to leave, I left the guerrilla zone with Bustos and Roth, my destination being La Paz and France, as is known, something I would never have tried to do if I had been incorporated among the guerrillas, and which no guerrilla has yet done up to now. I mean any guerrilla worthy of the name.

(2) To facilitate the task of the military prosecution, I state that this mission, of conveying news abroad about the guerrillas, is an



REGIS DEBRAY

Stokley is now in Guinea, West Africa. That means he has now talked to revolutionaries in Asia (Vietnam), the Middle East (Syria) Latin America (Cuba), and Africa (Algeria and Guinea).

Kwame Nkrumah, CIA deposed, President in exile, is also in Guinea. Sekou Toure, President of Guinea has, I'm sure, arranged that they all should meet. Stokley should be "ready" when he returns to the States.



Despite all the jive about "limited war" in Vietnam, the war has already extended into Cambodia and Laos.

The U.S. government keeps talking as though they barely ever cross the border, but the troops keep tromping back and forth across those lines like Southeast Asia is already U.S. property.

And there was the Black American tourist, who was on his first bartender with - "What's happenin', baby."--That's also where he learned to do the "funky Broadway".

James Foreman, SNCC's director of International Affairs, has called for a boycott of General Motors Corporation products because of the Corporation's support of the racist government in South Africa.

LETTERS TO NATIONS

Dear Cuba,

I just can't get over how much you have done to eliminate illiteracy. You got a higher percentage of literacy than the richest country in the world. You're out of sight.



New Colombian Front

NEW GUERRILLA FRONT REPORTED IN COLOMBIA

Several new groups of guerrillas have appeared in the wild, mountainous region of Valledupar, not far from the Venezuelan border, according to the Bogota newspaper EL TIEMPO.

The groups are reported to be led by Comandante Caldas, also known as Tulio Bayer. He is a doctor who has already been in prison because of his revolutionary ideas.

The guerrillas are alleged to have ambushed several buses.

Venezuelan Ambushes

Four members of the Venezuelan National Guard were reported killed recently by guerrillas in two ambushes near the villages of Santa Teresa and Altagracia, which are about fifty miles from Caracas.

Guerrilla activities have been reported to have likewise increased lately in the state of Lara.

The Venezuelan government reported late in October that the army had discovered two tons of arms and ammunition in the village of Junquito, near Caracas. The supply, which had been hidden in a tunnel, included mortars, grenades, rifles and cartridges as well as field clothing and medical equipment.

A month ago, on October 24, the army claimed to have killed a guerrilla commander known as Comandante Sapo, whom they identified as Carlos Miguel Febres.

He met death during a skirmish in the Voladero region in the state of Managás, about 350 miles from Caracas.

Bolivians Fight On

A group of guerrilla fighters tried to take over the village of Mojocoya in order to replenish their supply of food, Agence France-Presse reported late in October. Mojocoya is about 65 miles from La Higuera where Che Guevara was captured and murdered.

The Bolivian army command claimed that the guerrilla fighters were driven off. Two soldiers were wounded. Apparently the guerrillas suffered no casualties in the encounter.

Immediately after Guevara's death, the top army command claimed that only six guerrillas were left in the country. The claim was obviously a false one.

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FEATURE PAGE

A Blackman in Vietnam

Exclusive to INNER CITY VOICE

Charles Cobb, a member of SNCC, traveled to Southeast Asia, early last spring. The following is an interview taped by ICV News Editor, of some of Mr Cobb's discussions and observations while in North Vietnam.

Q When did you leave for Vietnam?
A. March 13, 1967.

Q. Who funded the trip?

A. The Bertrand Russel Peace Foundation financed the trip to North Vietnam.

Q. What part of the North Vietnamese Govt. did you come in contact with?

A. We visited Hanoi, first, Julius Lester and myself, surveyed bomb damage, and talked to some victims of U.S. attacks. We talked to the Vietnamese about the kind of racism which exists in America. Q. How much did the North Vietnamese know about the Black struggle here in America?

A. The Vietnamese had very little information about Black people here. There weren't any newspapers coming into the country which explained clearly the situation of Black people in this country. We talked about the significance of music in terms of the broadcasts that the North Vietnamese make to the Afro-American GI's. We told them that James Brown, the Temptations, the Miracles, were what Black GI's were interested in hearing.

Q. What was being broadcast to the soldiers there?

A. Generally, Joan Baez, Pete Seeger, white liberal peace type records. It was very difficult to determine if they were somehow aware of the general life patterns of Black people in the U.S., or whether they were testing what they had already learned about racism and our response to it in America.

The Vietnamese were interested in some specifics concerning: how they could talk to Black GI's fighting in South Vietnam, and what kind of draft resistance movement existed in the U.S.

Q. Were they interested in the Black Power movement in America?

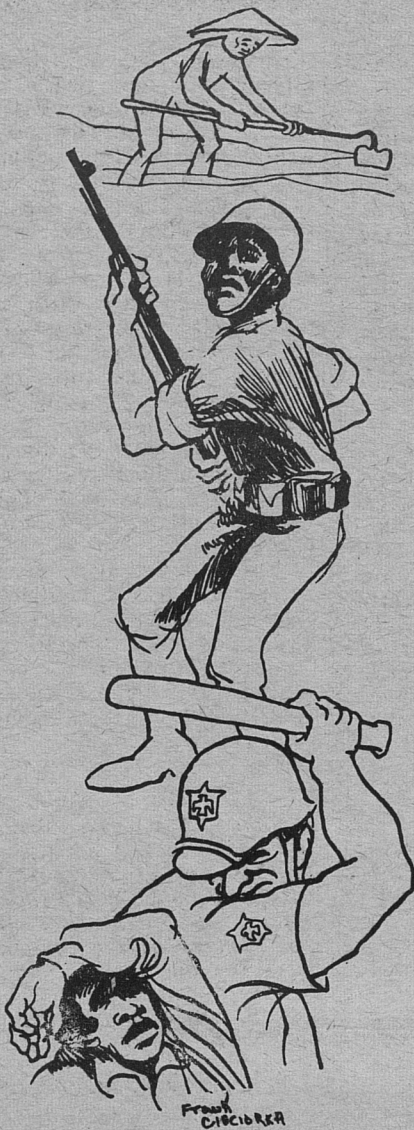
A. Yes. They wanted to know particularly about Malcolm X, Stokely, and Rap Brown, because they had heard about the Black Power.

Q. Did the North Vietnamese appear to identify with the aims of Black Power and with the problems of Blacks?

A. There was a general kind of identification. They do see themselves as persons of color. As I mentioned earlier, there is an identification of themselves with other persons of color around the world. I think that as they obtain more information about Blacks in America and elsewhere, the North Vietnamese will come to see that white American racism partially explains American aggression.

Q. Did the North Vietnamese discuss the Watts Rebellion and other rebellions in the U.S.?

A. Again they were interested insofar as the rebellions could be applied to the Vietnamese struggle. And they do see Americans as whites. But part of their political philosophy prevents their analyzing



zing peoples and situations outside of Vietnam in any terms other than the classical class analysis. Q. What they are saying then, is that as they see it, the struggle is based on economics, rather than racial differences?

A. Right. But I think they are becoming aware of the particular kinds of racism which has colored the situation and is affecting the war in Vietnam. Clearly they have some first hand knowledge of Black problems, because Ho-Chi-Minh the President of North Vietnam, once lived in Harlem.

Q. Did they talk about any special consideration given to Black GI's?

A. Yes. It was really kind of interesting because in talking to some of the members of the National Liberation Front, they said they didn't really like to shoot Black GI's, but sometimes the situation just demanded it.

The North Vietnamese do have special broadcasts for the Black GI's. It is significant that there are real differences between the Black GI and the white GI, a, were you the first Afro-Americans to visit North Vietnam?

A. No. Dianne Bevel, from Martin Luther King's SCLC had been there earlier. But we were one of the first to present a "Black Militant position which they were very happy to hear.

Q. What did the persons you talked to in the North, say about U. S. bombing of Hanoi?

A. Well, most said a halt in bombing would not necessarily mean that they would stop fighting. The South-

Black Perspectives The Cleveland and Gary Elections

by JOHN WILLIAMS

It is interesting that the election of Carl Stokes and Richard Hatcher to the mayor's seat is progressive and yet unequal to the black a accomplishments of Reconstruction one hundred years ago.

During Reconstruction, Blacks held many local, state and national offices. The significant aspect of holding office during Reconstruction was the fact that a bourgeois capitalist revolution had taken place. The overthrow of chattel slavery was accomplished and America almost freed black people. The 1877 Tilden-Hayes betrayal smashed the black victory and the failure to carry out land changes destroyed and failed to complete the "revolution" for all Americans.

Stokes and Hatcher have won mayoral elections without benefit of an American revolution. In-

stead, they come at a time when whites fear another Newark, Detroit and/or Watts, a time of failure of the old administration to heed the admonitions of black nationalism, and a time when blacks are intent on self-determination.

The current trends are manifestations of the insistence of blacks to control their environments. However, one should understand that a black mayor in any large city with a predominately black populus is burdened with insurmountable problems.

A monopoly capitalist system, in which the financial oligarchies represented by steel, oil, autos, ammunition, etc., retain the decision-making powers inevitably affects the local scene and how much can be done locally. The Vietnam War remains a boon for big business and a massacre of domestic and local-state programs as well as national ones.

The interesting reality facing Hatcher and Stokes and the goal of self-determination of blacks, is the most vicious tenet of the system--racism. Racism, unlike yesterday, when it was effective in pitting white labor against black labor, plays a different role today. Because of the worsening conditions of blacks and their greater expendability in light of the rising need for skills, many colonial welfare plans are being suggested to pacify the disenfranchised blacks. It would be a great feat for monopoly capital of palliatives could be implemented in the form of poverty programs, urban renewal, etc.,

but whites refuse to accept these programs.

Concomitant to this is the federal government's emphasis on Vietnam, etc., and its virtual disregard of domestic needs. Congress takes a foolish view of the rebellions and consideration of programs for the cities are vetoed in favor of punitive measures for the so-called rioters.

Stokes and Hatcher are faced with these powerful odds. Such a situation points out the fact that any concept of black self-determination that assumes it can exist within a monopoly capitalist order is sheer foolishness. Many people, no doubt, have the illusion that blacks can now vote their way to power. Look around you, however, and you'll see a new phase arising in America.

This phase is that of a neo-colonialism in black areas. The black nationalist consciousness, and relentless struggle of grass roots blacks for freedom has denied the financial oligarchy the use of the old "handkerchief head house nigger", or the Senator Brooke types. Instead there appears Hatcher, who is no Rap Brown any more than he is in the category of the others. This new type "militant" black leader is strong on equality for blacks and all people. His demand is for change within the framework of the system and has no intention of changing that system itself.

Continued on page 13.

Now, Full Circle

By John Cosby, Jr.

Under the caption, EXPLOITING RACE TENSIONS, Harvey Taylor, Free Press staff writer, called Dick Davey a white man who likes to make "WHITE FOLKS SQUIRM."

You remember Mr. Taylor, the sage who wrote Nancy Wilson is heir-apparent to Ella Fitzgerald, a slot having nothing to do with popularity, and as if incomparably voiced and classy Sarah "Sassy" Vaughn wasn't on the planet. That was when Miss Wilson showed at the Alwood Casino and cut-up Muhammad's refusal of the draft for Taylor and those wanting blacks ghost-white.

But when she came back through and performed at the Ford Auditorium, it was in concert with Dick Davey, a comedian who uses in Taylor's words, "an exaggerated Arkansas drawl."

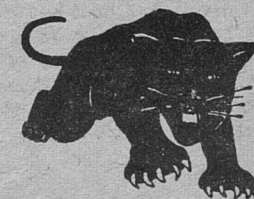
On the eve of the happening, Taylor wrote to his readers, "any white folks who want to be made uncomfortable will have the opportunity when Davey appears with singer Nancy Wilson, at 8 PM Sunday in Ford Auditorium." So, now Nancy, you've come full circle. . . mmm hmm, read back, just-plain-singer, no build up.

We can be sure Nancy read the column which went on to spell out seven pieces of Davey's material, (why go and spend bucks after reading the venom of Dick Davey, why support him Besides, Nancy's rich now....) and it can only be hoped Nancy wasn't sorry she didn't give Taylor an interview.

maliguiting the notions of the poor and oppressed as she did in the case of Muhammad Ali.

When Nancy left her field and spoke against Ali and the civil rights movement, Harvey Taylor called her the tops. However, controversial Caucasian comedian Dick Davey came along (is there a NEGRO Dick Davey?) in concert with Miss Wilson through no fault of hers, it seems certain, then, Taylor put you down, Nancy. And this, baby, is the sort of thing we meant when we said in our open letter to you that it was not Muhammad Ali, but YOU who have been used. Or, victimized by a weak version of the flim-flam, pity . . .

To whittle it finer for you, mistake this of --- Once a man was tricked out of food to the point of starvation, then he saw a tidbit, and grabbed it. Now, would you draw Emily Post on him?



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ARMY CONT.

he meant by "academic license," apparently it means you can say things to students you wouldn't say to real people).

One wonders how many TV cameramen, eager to fin their perfect stereotype of a hippie demonstrator, spent their time filming no one but the "worst looking ones out there," which Col. Creel and the Army public relations machine had conveniently supplied.

What role did the Army infiltrators among the demonstrators play in the "violence of the demonstrators" against the troops? One does not have to be paranoid to imagine that the role was a large one.

About a month ago the Army staged a mock "riot" at Ft. Belvoir, Va. to provide training for its troops, since more and more of them are expected to see duty in American cities as the Great Society comes apart at the seams.

As reported on television (NBC) this "mock riot" included squads of troops dressed like the Army thinks rioters dress (complete with beards and signs proclaiming the virtues of acid), and behaving like the Army thinks rioters behave (charging the troops, grabbing their rifles, etc.).

Many of the same troops used as mock rioters at Ft. Belvoir last month were probably used as "infiltrators" at the Pentagon last Oct. 21. They were nearby, already had the beards, and supposedly knew how to behave like a demonstrator at a "riot", which is what the Army expected the October 21 demonstration to be.

(Col. Creel still expected it to be a riot a week after it was all over. He kept referring to it as "the Pentagon riot" until one student called him on it, when he admitted almost wistfully that it was only a demonstration.)

Thus the U.S. Army put teams of "the worst looking ones out there" into the crowd of demonstrators after telling them to behave like demonstrators behave at what the Army and the mass media all expected to be a riot.

Is it odd to assume that some of them followed orders?

This is perhaps too sinister a thought for people who still want to believe that our military commanders are really good fellows who make little mistakes occasionally.

But if the Pentagon can send 5,000,000 troops and millions of tons of bombs down on a small Asian country in the name of peace why should it hesitate to send a few riot-starters into its own parking lot in the name of crowd control?

Were the "demonstrators" the Pentagon said were tear-gassing themselves really "demonstrators" or "infiltrators"?

Were the soldiers who supposedly defected from the line of troops just guys who suddenly remembered that they had received a different duty assignment that day?

Was the white guy waving the "No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger" sign really an infiltrator counting demonstrators and paying no attention to what sign he had picked up?

Was the whole October 21 demonstration really a spectacular side-show staged by the U.S. Army with technical assistance from Daryl F. Zanuck for the benefit of the Washington Post and NBC-TV?

Only Col. Creel knows for sure, and he isn't talking because it has been rumored that he is really a crazy pot-head demonstrator whom the peace corps have infiltrated into the Pentagon.

Stokley

Continued from Page 1

Q. What are your organization's political, economic and social aims?

A. Politically, we want the black people of America to free themselves from their oppression. We also want the peoples of the Third World to get their freedom, especially the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America; because we know our liberation depends on their liberation and that, vice versa, their liberation depends on ours. Therefore, we must carry out the same struggle.

Politically, I mean that in the United States we're pressing for the right to control the communities where we're up against incredible poverty, these communities called ghettos, are politically controlled by the whites. Actually, in a tragically real sense, we are colonies inside the United States, colonies like most Latin-American countries; because it is no secret that these countries are controlled by the United States. To sum it all up: both the Latin-American countries and the American black ghettos are part of the colonial empire of the United States.

Economically, we would like our people to be able to enjoy, to get everything they need to enjoy a decent standard of living without having to work as hard as they do now because they are exploited, because they are victims of the political structure of American imperialism. We want power not only to control the wealth within our communities but to divide up this wealth according to the needs of each community. We don't want to establish a black capitalist system; on the contrary, we want to destroy capitalism economically because this system always goes hand in hand with racism and exploitation. It is no secret that wherever capitalism has been kept up these two characteristics are certain to be seen. Consequently, it is our duty to destroy the capitalist

system which enslaves us at home and enslaves the peoples of the Third World abroad.

Socially we want what most people aspire to in life: a happy people, free and independent, who can make all the decisions they think right and in the interests of the majority--a people who participate in all decisions and never feel ashamed of the color of their skin or their culture.

Psychologically, physically, morally we want a people that feel equality in their entire being, who definitively cast off capitalism.

Q. Some people believe that the black people of America think of their struggle only as a racial conflict, that is, a struggle against the white race, instead of understanding it as a class struggle. What is your opinion about that?

A. On this question, I think it is important to note this: racism is so strong in the United States that it is virtually impossible to get whites to fight shoulder to shoulder with black people. When most poor whites or white workers organize in the United States, they don't fight for redistribution of the land; they fight for more money, all they want is more money. They have no conception of dividing up property, because their main concern is economic and not social. What is happening is that the ruling class in the United States has centered its attention on the countries of the Third World with the aim of increasing profits, profits which it shares to a small degree with the white working class of the United States.

Let's understand one indisputable fact: the American ruling class never reduces its profits; just the opposite, it increases them by dint of the oppression to which it subjects the underdeveloped nations. From this it follows that when it shares its gains with the white working class, the white workers become part of the capitalist system and both of them enjoy the money gotten by bleeding other peoples. The result is that the white working class is unable to fight the capitalist system, because it has become a part of it by accepting tainted money.

Consequently, it is hard to develop a revolutionary consciousness in the ranks of white workers. So what we are faced with is a group of white citizens fighting to protect their money. This is also why we aren't able to find white working-class people opposed to the war in Vietnam; the genocide brings them certain advantages. If they opposed the war in Vietnam, they would be attacking the system and injuring their own interests.

Unfortunately, the whites don't realize that if they destroyed this system they could build a better one.

In reality, it is the black people who constitute the vanguard and who are leading the struggle in the United States. And if this struggle has been interpreted as a conflict between black and white, it is due solely and exclusively to the fact that the white working class, out of a contemptible fear of losing the little it has, has joined with the privileged group that oppresses the majority. We believe that a revolutionary consciousness can develop in the white working class only when the United States begins to lose its profits, profits which it gets from the entire Third World. Once this process begins, it will have to seek ways and means at home to maintain its relative prosperity. Then and only then will the white working class develop a revolutionary consciousness, because once their sources of profits in the Third World are curtailed, the rulers of the American capitalist system will stop sharing what it used to share with the white workers.

This means that today only the black people are struggling. Certainly it would please us if the white working class joined in this struggle. Whether or not this happens, however, does not change the present situation. Because we blacks will fight until we win. And when the white working class decides to join this struggle, we will welcome them. In the meantime, and until then, we will continue in the vanguard.

It cannot be denied that the ruling class of the United States recognizes Marx's concept of the inevitable class conflict that will take place

Northern High Becomes BELL Training Ground

By Charles Colding

Northern High School, that bastard child of bumbling racism and miseducation, has finally been adoptee, and by such fine prestigious parents, The Michigan Bell Telephone Co. This poor orphan had been, on the blocks so long that I was beginning to worry. After all, who wants such a filthy child that needs to be taught good grooming?

The "adoption" was carefully negotiated by Principal Leonard Sain, whom I'm sure was glad to be relieved of the little monster. Everybody wins - right?

Wrong. This is just another blatant example of how the Black community is ignored when decisions are made that affect their lives. There's been very little community participation in Northern since the boycott in the spring of last year and what little there was seems to have nose-dived since Dr Sain was appointed principal. The only remote substitute for community participation has been an intellectually anemic "Alumni Club" who, upon their formation, loudly proclaimed the deficiencies of Northern but cast serious doubts on their sincerity by deciding a few weeks ago that they could administer to the school's gaping wounds by meeting once a month.

Northern Technical High School? No. Northern High School of cobblers and telephone operators? No. Northern High Trade School? Hmm.

Some of the more astute critics of education in America have charged that the destinies of Black children have already been decided by the time they begin kindergarten. They suggest that the sole function of Black schools is that of employment allocation. Certainly the socio-economic structure of this society bears this out. The students are the big losers in this deal with Michigan Bell and, obviously, the telephone company (a private organization) has everything to gain.

The same critics have been quick to point out that specialists of the future will be the unemployed of the future, with the exception of the professionals, due to the all-engulfing age of cybernetics. In light of this, it would seem that the school authorities responsible for this are ill-equipped to do their jobs or are perpetrating a vicious hoax on the Northern High community. Dr. Sain has extolled the "blue collar worker." Apparently he places education secondary to labor. "The important thing is that our students are able to get a job." This line of argument is ignorant of the effects of technology on the American economy. Many of today's jobs will be handled by machines in the future. As we master technology and begin to employ it intelligently, the unemployment ranks will be increased. As swelling population will further add to the number of those without "jobs," I have heard estimates that the working forces will be cut by as much as 80%.

It is abundantly clear to me that Black schools have to begin educating and abandon this useless scheme of employment allocation.

sooner or later. In order to avoid it, to postpone it, they cling desperately to the profits provided by the Third World in order to give a minimal share to the white working class.

What the ruling class of the United States has achieved is postponement of the inevitable class conflict. Today the Third World has become the proletariat and the white society of the West is playing the role of the bourgeoisie. So that when we draw lines based on skin color, these are also class lines because of the way in which white western society has "won over" the majority of its working class.

This is exactly what Europe did when the imperialist nations there divided up Africa and Latin America among themselves, thus staving off the inevitable class conflict in those countries.

Nevertheless, there can be no more postponement because the confrontation is at hand. Moreover, I think that people outside the United States must remember that, unlike any other people, we were the only people brought in from abroad and enslaved on this continent by those who still exploit us. Other peoples have been slaves in their own countries so that when they fought they could develop a nationalist conception as a point of unity to rally around. We, I repeat, were brought to the United States and cannot develop a nationalist conception. Consequently, our conception must center on the color of our skin, since it was, in fact, due to this black color that the whites resolved to make us slaves. In a certain sense, the color of our skin represents our nationality. Because what the white man did was to scatter Africa around, to bring black people to the United States, to disperse them through all the countries of the continent, without any nationality whatsoever.

Cuba's case is different because here the African has a conception of nationality, since side by side with the white man, he was the victim of oppression and merciless exploitation by the privileged groups. The black people of this Caribbean island, especially after the revolution, feel they are a part of the Cuban system, and even before that they called themselves Afro-Cubans.

Unfortunately for us, this is not the case in the United States and cannot be. For 400 years we have been the victims of a brutal fascism and, with the exception of John Brown, no white man has come out in our defense. Many have spoken and now speak in our defense, but no one is ready to fight to destroy the system of which they are a part.

Continued on pg. 10

Inner City Voice

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PEOPLE GET READY

We got a New Detroit Committee and an Open Housing Ordinance through the Common Council. But, that's not all we got. While whitey was engaged in these diversions he was getting his other thing together. So along with the Committee and the Ordinance, we got a new rifle for the police, a new tank for the police, several new gases for the police, etc., etc., etc. This sounds like a familiar tune to us. The honkie is putting on this facade and going through the motions of negotiating while he is moving toward our extermination

on the real level. But, let him not be fooled. Black people have learned how to play the game too. For while we can sit and discuss and negotiate irrelevant considerations, we are also getting ourselves together on the real level. Or maybe he hadn't heard that we are talking about revolution and we understand that a revolution knows no compromise or accommodation. So while the liberals provide the cloak for the arming of the police, waste no time brothers in the words of Rap, get yourself a gun.

BLACK WORKERS MUST ORGANIZE

The recent wildcat strike at the Dodge Main, Hamtramck Assembly Plant clearly showed that the working class, and especially the black working class is prepared to carry on a life and death struggle against the white ruling class.

The black working man is, and always has been the most exploited and oppressed segment of the American population. At the same time, the black worker has been one of the most productive elements in this country. Ever since we were brought to America some 400 years ago, we, the black laborers, have created the wealth which has made this country the richest nation in history. It is a power of the laborer which built white America: the time has come for that power to be used to benefit Black America.

For our priceless labor, we have received abuse, poverty, degradation, discrimination, and always more, and harder work. Over the last few years, the system has increased its exploitation of our black bodies and worked us so hard that now, thousands of us are sick and tired of it all, and ready to overturn the whole system. We want more, of the hard wealth and

less of the hard work.

This new militancy has manifested itself in the spontaneous organization of black caucuses throughout the American industrial complex. It is time that these small groups of militant black workers are brought together, and new groups be organized. An independent league of black workers is desperately needed to use the power of black labor to benefit black workers rather than the white racist capitalist system. Needless to say, such an organization could never be effective if tied to present sell-out leadership of the American labor movement.

Plans are currently being laid for the establishment of just such an organization. We encourage all black working people to follow the development of the league of black workers in the Inner City Voice. We urge you to join the league when it begins to organize in your place of employment, we insist that you use the power of your labor, which has been used to enrich the white man, to liberate yourselves. Be neither a fool nor a coward, brothers, prepare to organize the league of black workers, and to struggle for your own interests.

WILL 'Voice' LIVE?

With the publication of this edition we have reached the point where we either make it or we give it up. We hope with this edition enough revenue will be returned to pay for the cost of printing. However, we cannot be sure at this time as our resources are at an all time low. We ask that our many friends bear with us and continue their support.

This edition carries several articles that are of major importance to the world struggle for liberation of the oppressed victims of U.S. capitalism. We urge specifically that you read completely three very long articles on our pages. They are: (1) The interview with Stokely Carmichael in which he enunciates the position of the international revolutionary which is the only meaningful position to assume as all true revolutionaries know. Study this interview and if you find yourself in

disagreement with it we suggest that you take some time off and do further studying. (2) Pay close attention to the article on police brutality. If you are not revolutionary this should make you so. There is a pattern to be found in these cases having to do with the power structure's attempts to re-establish the old order of fear of the policeman that existed prior to the July Rebellion. (3) Last, but not least, the profound brother, James Boggs has addressed himself in a most significant way to a question that should be on the minds of every black man in this country at one time or another. That is, will the Uncle Tom get his first due?

It is an extension of his thesis that the American white worker is a fascist to include black traitor or Tom, as we know him. So no matter whose side you are on, you certainly should read it carefully.



Stop the riot before it gets out of hand

The new Bauer Ordnance Armored Police Car will stop 30-06 rifle bullets at point blank range. It has a 360° turret that will mount a machine gun, riot gun, water cannon, flame thrower and grenade launcher. The body is protected by high voltage electricity. The body is designed to protect against Molotov Cocktails and the vehicle carries sufficient water and foaming agents to put out gasoline fires. Can be used to control riots or just to patrol the tough districts. Plenty of room in the back for stretchers or to take in those unruly prisoners. This vehicle was designed by same people who designed the XM706 now being used in Viet Nam.

- Mark the troublemakers with dyes
- Break up crowds with smoke
- Clear the streets with fire
- Protect the lives of your police
- Put out the small fires with fog or foam
- Move the crowds with water based irritants
- Keep the crowds away from the car with electricity
- Drive the snipers out of hiding with teargas grenades

Dear Sir:
TO A DEAD GI

Let's tell it like it is... you didn't matter, otherwise you wouldn't have been here in the first place. People who matter don't get drafted or enlist; society has more important things for them to do at home. Even if they do wind up in the service, their talents aren't wasted in the front lines.

With you, it was different. You didn't have any talents. We didn't have a decent job to offer you back home, and the service tests weren't good enough to send you to school for some special rate. Try to see it from our point of view; the best way we could use you was being expendable. You were real good at that. And you kind of enjoyed it too. Right up to the last minute. Come on now, admit it, for some reason, you felt better than you'd felt in years.

I mean, if you had lived, your life wouldn't have been all that much anyhow, now would it? This way, you died thinking you were important. You got a bargain; stop complaining.

Father - Son L.B.J. amen

Dear Sir:

Perhaps you have heard about the banning of my publication THE CRUSADER from the U. S. mails by Johnson and the postal authorities. The American Civil Liberties Union is supposed to take the case to court. However, it is my hope that all of those who have received it in the past and have not received it lately will file a protest with the U. S. Postmaster General, Lawrence F. O'Brien in Washington, D. C.

Robert F. Williams



BLACK US SOLDIERS ARE DEAD

If you are a black man and about to go into the army, you have probably wondered why? The answer to that question became quite clear to me during the July rebellion in Detroit. I am also sure that that exparatrooper involved as a witness in the Algiers murder case knows the answer. He had just returned to this country and gotten discharged after serving in Vietnam. Upon his return there was no job for him in his home state of Kentucky so he came to that great paradise for Black men, Detroit. In search of a job. Here he played the bad role in the play "the Killing of Black GI Joe."

No doubt the brother is valiant. No doubt he is proud I am sure he fought with courage against our brothers in Vietnam. But what was wrong was that the enemy was beside him, behind him and way back here waiting on him in the form of the week-end warrior, draft dodging type, patriotic honkie. And it was here that he and all his black comrades died on the floor of the

Algiers Motel. Not fighting, and taking tit for tit against his enemy as he thought he was doing in Vietnam, but groveling, crawling, pleading and begging to be spared by his real enemy who had sent him there to get killed in the first place. All he did wrong was to come back.

The message is quite clear, black soldier, you are fighting to die in Vietnam. Whether you return or not you're dead. You might not know it, but sooner or later the honkie will get around to pointing it out to you. Perhaps it will require a visit to the Algiers Motel, the place where you died on your knees.

The U.S. Army trains its men well, especially the paratrooper. They are taught to believe that, they are supermen and most of them come to believe this. But when supermen return from overseas he is no longer with us. He has become a member of the legion of walking dead in this country. The Black former, U.S. soldier.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

We are told that the Detroit Police Department had on display in the Thanksgiving Day parade, a large can of mace, the gas that we told you about. There can be no question about the fact that they plan to use it, and other gases on us when the time comes. There are still a few gas masks available around Detroit, and if you know what's happening you'll try to get one.

Brothers who take a revolutionary posture are disappearing off the streets in great numbers in most of the large cities in this country. Of course, we have always expected this and it should not deter anyone from doing what is necessary. Suggest you read what Stokely has to say about the fact that he might be signing his death warrant by making public his position. The statement is part of his interview carried in this issue of the Inner City Voice. Brothers in the south are beginning to move in an offensive manner against the system. And just because you don't hear about it or see it in the news, don't think business isn't being taken care of. The ICV will tell you what we are.

THINK TWICE AND BE NICE

by Ted Joans (for white bigots only)

All God's Spades . . . got shades and some of God's Spades

(you'll never know which one)

has got long-sharp protective blades So I shall repeat

(though he may be raggedy or neat)

ALL God's Spades Got shades



Ron Karenga (l), LeRoi Jones (c), and H. Rap Brown at Jones' press conference after the Newark uprising.

LEROI JONES VICTIMIZED

The White Establishment has found Le Roi Jones guilty of contempt because Jones declared his judge to be unqualified and maintained he was being tried not by his peers but "by my oppressors." The jury of ten white men and two white women proved Jones correct by finding him guilty of illegal possession of weapons during the Newark Insurrection. Judge Leon Kapp sentenced Jones to 30 days in the Essex County Penitentiary for criminal contempt of court. Jones was handcuffed and taken into custody by the sheriff's deputies.

Charles McCray and Barry Wynn were also found guilty but released pending sentence on Nov. 28 when Jones will be sentenced on the weapons charge. The three men were picked up at 2:30 A.M. on July 14, during the peak of the insurrection's fury. Police maintained that they had found two 32 caliber revolvers and a box of ammunition in the Volkswagen camper owned by Jones and driven by Wynn. Jones maintained the guns were planted and that the police had beaten him before taking him to the station. The police who

have long been after Jones because of his literary and political activities in Newark stated that Jones had been hit by flying debris.

Judge Kapp said he was disturbed at Jones' pre-trial hearing when the poet used a word, "descriptive of excrement" as his opinion of the New Jersey court procedures. The judge instructed the all white jury, "not to be concerned with the public interest or with the interest of any individuals, but only with the question of whether the guilt of the defendants has been proven beyond reasonable doubt." The defense attorneys, Irvin Booker, and Louis Sanders, had stated the innocence of the three men throughout the trial. Assistant county prosecutor Andrew Zazali, Jr. stated the defense was "laying down a smokescreen" in accusing the Newark police of brutality and that Jones had a "notoriety complex." The maximum sentence faced by the three victims of hunkie justice is a thousand dollar fine and three years in jail for each.

By Dan Georgakas

SNCC Workers Jailed

Atlanta

Four members of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee have been sentenced to three years' imprisonment for allegedly interfering with the induction of GI's at an Atlanta, Ga., induction center.

The four, and two other SNCC members, have also been sentenced to six months on charges of damaging federal property at the Atlanta headquarters of the 12th Army Corps. The sentences result from anti-war demonstrations sponsored by SNCC's Atlanta Project at the Army offices in August 1966.

Those sentenced for the full three-and-a-half-year jail terms are Michael Simmons, Donald Stone, John P. Tillman and John Wilson. Receiving six-month sentences are Larry Fox and Robert Moore. All were released on \$2,500 bond each.

The sentences grow out of a picket line outside the Army offices in which the black men carried placards stating "The Vietcong never called me 'Nigger,'" and "I fought in Korea, I'm not free." Another showed a 1919 lynch scene with the caption, "Who is the enemy? Did the Vietcong do this?"

The protest went on for four days and was followed by a four-day vigil SNCC reported white reaction from passersby to include

shouts of "Kill the black son-of-a-bitches," and "Send all Niggers to Vietnam." After Army personnel dropped lighted cigarettes and an "unidentified liquid" from upstairs windows, spat and shouted obscenities, a protest was made inside the building.

JOHNSON BURNED

Shortly before President Johnson spoke at the Americana Hotel in New York City on Thursday, November 8, a 6 foot effigy of him was burned as a war protest, one block away on 51st St.

Conducted as a guerrilla tactic against the war, the effigy burning was sudden and the participants quickly disappeared after the kerosene-soaked cotton took to flame.

The demonstrators were liable to arrest because of fire laws and disturbance of peace ordinances. None were apprehended.

Like all "criminals," one of the demonstrators returned to the scene of the crime, to retrieve the pole which had held the mock President. He placated the patrolman who stopped him by explaining that he had picked up the pole to throw it away.

Army Infiltrated March

ARMY INFILTRATES MARCH
BY: Bill Hobbs, Washing on Free Press LIBERATION News Service (LNS)--Teams of U. S. Army "infiltrators," dressed like hippies, were spread through the crowd of demonstrators during the anti-war demonstration at the Pentagon October 21.

"There were more men infiltrated by us into the crowd at this demonstration than at any event I can remember. Our infiltrators were the worst looking ones out there," Col. George Creel, Assistant Chief of the Army's public information office, told a George Washington University public relations class last week.

Exactly what role the "infiltrators" played during the demonstration was left unclear by the Colonel, who began clamming up when asked for more information by students.

"They were in radio contact with each other and with the Army operations center in the Pentagon," he said, and they acted in disciplined units, "with certain people designated to make decisions."

"How many infiltrators were there?" a student asked. "Enough," said the Colonel.

Would the Colonel give this information to the press? "Well, it's not the kind of story we push. I say this in a certain academic license." (No one asked him what

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Philly Cops Beat Black Students

Five thousand black high school students in Philadelphia were attacked by 400 riot trained cops during a massive orderly demonstration.

The police wielding billy clubs and spraying the poisonous chemical mace waded into the young blacks attempting to beat them from in front of the Board of Education building.

Attacking both young men and women, the cops injured more than a hundred persons, many seriously.

The students came together from more than 14 black high schools demanding that black principals be placed in charge of black schools and courses in black history be taught.

Afraid that the students might not turn their other cheeks in the face of the savage police beatings, cop chief, Rizzo, for the "City of Brotherly Love" called out 500 additional state troopers. White chief Rizzo in addition ordered the entire police day shift of 1500 to stay on duty until further notice.

Earlier this month, comedian Dick Gregory and several local Negro leaders discussed common problems with students from six of the participating high schools.

The growing militancy among black students nationally may indicate that Philadelphia is but a hint of what is to come.

Alabama Report

By: Scott B. Smith

Last year a 16 year old girl was raped by a white Insurance salesman in Macon County, Ala. A warrant was sworn out for his arrest by the girl's parents. Of course for a black man to swear out a warrant against a white man in Alabama is almost unknown. This is because of the harsh retaliatory measure taken by whites in these instances. And in this case, measures were taken to bring pressure on the parents to get them to drop the charges.

As a result of the slaying of Sammy Young, the students of Tuskegee had begun to take more of an interest in what was happening in the community around them. So when this happened they became aware of it and sought to do something about it. The trial ended in a deadlocked jury with six whites and six blacks, despite the fact that black people constitute 83% of the population in Macon County, the jury was composed of 6 whites and 6 blacks. Because of the deadlocked jury the judge declared a mistrial and rescheduled the trial for some time next year.

The students had been watching this trial very closely and were quite upset by the outcome of this trial. A meeting was held in Logan Hall to discuss the situation. It was agreed that the students should hold their own trial. This was done and the salesman was convicted. During the trial everyone was aware of what would have happened had the girl been white and the salesman black. So they decided to symbolically deal with this case in the tradition of southern justice. With several other students, we made an effigy of the cracker in question. We then acquired a rope and a noose was fashioned and placed around the crackers' neck. He was then hanged inside the student union where he was left for several hours for all to see. As more and more students learned of the developments they began to congregate and another meeting was held.

At this meeting the Dean of Men asked to speak and his request was denied. The students decided at this meeting to go downtown and stage a demonstration. In the march downtown the effigy was placed on my back like a cross and I carried it to symbolize the ever-present cracker on all our backs. Which we, of course, want gotten off. When we arrived downtown the group had grown to 300 strong. Upon arriving there we were told by the public safety Director that we could not lynch the cracker in the center of the City because it was private property and owned by the Daughters of the Confederacy. I then held up the figure by the rope in a symbolic gesture, he was hanging from my hand, after a while we placed the figure on the ground, castrated him and set him afire. This was followed by several speeches by various students and they express their feelings that whenever an injustice is committed against the black community, that community should rise up and seek justice by whatever means necessary.

OTHER ITEMS:

The new saying around here is "TTA" meaning "Tear That Ass" we think it's a good one and will serve as a slogan when dealing with Whitey. When that saying is used, you know that the brothers are getting ready.

I almost forgot but the same night that the aforementioned demonstration a black who owns a store and restaurant in Selma had been beaten by a group of young

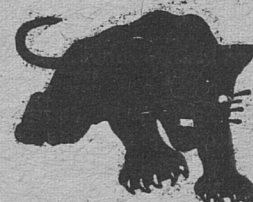
toughs, Whitey, when he sought to quiet them down in his business establishment. He left the store and returned later with his gun, whereupon he chased them out of his store. Later they returned and started shooting into the brother's house and he returned the fire and one of the "boys" was seriously wounded as they fled.

Also that night another brother was threatened by a honkie in Selma. And when the honkie sought to enter his house the brother greeted him with two loads of double 0 buckshot. The first blast hit him in the face taking off his head and the second blast hit him in the stomach, cutting him in half. He was literally scooped up by the undertaker when they came to get him.

Following these incidents, phone calls were made throughout Alabama asking brothers to come to Tuskegee and Selma to help protect these black communities. The Klan had threatened to march through Tuskegee and had failed to carry it out when challenged by the students. At this time the black people of this area began to arm themselves with a variety of defensive and offensive weapons. This is especially true of our women. These arms included kitchen knives, spikes, and some have learned how to make spears. The spears are made by driving a large penny nail through the end of a broom or mop handle. The broom handle is then shaved down into the shape of a javelin. It is then dipped in Human Excrement and the punji stick and is very accurate up to 25 yards. These are possessed in quantity by a large number of high school and college students. Each student would have three spears and waited or any whitey to come through the community raising a ruckus or for any whites to mass in this neighborhood. Also being employed by the students are slingshots with broken glass.

At the same time in the northern part of the state the Klan had been staging a number of rallies and marches with the end result of a lot of forest fires set on whitey's farmland. Cattle owned by whites are still being found dead. So are dogs, which are very important in rural areas because they will warn you if strangers approach. Gunpowder has been found in the bus station and whites are no longer on the front of the bus especially at night. And in Birmingham someone is reported to have taken an air pistol and gone around to all of the car dealers and busted out the rear windows of the cars thereby causing hardships on some dealers.

There have also been reports of the widespread burning of new and expensive merchandise in stores. What happens it seems, is that a number of young brothers have been going in stores with lighted cigarettes and touching them to articles of apparel on the shelves and racks.



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Stokely Carmichael: Text of "Sucesos" Interview

Q. What do you think of the other black organizations in the United States, such as the one led by Martin Luther King?

Publicly, it is very important to present a united front and for this reason we support the organizations now fighting for the black people of America. When we feel we have succeeded in gathering together a considerable number of people, we will eliminate the other organizations. At present, in order not to divide those participating in the struggle for the demands of the black race, we support a united front. But the time will come very soon when there will be no reason to discuss and nothing to discuss and then we will simply eliminate all those who put obstacles in the way of the real liberation of the black people. Here and now, many black Americans have set out on the road to real freedom.

Q. What kind of struggle will develop in the United States against the policy of imperialism? Do you think that armed struggle is the only kind of struggle left open to the American people to win control of the government? What is your opinion about opposing reactionary violence with revolutionary violence?

A. Let me make it quite clear that the only solution is a black terested in peaceful coexistence. Armed struggle is the only way, not only for us but for all the oppressed people in the world.

The people who talk about peaceful co-existence today are talking about maintaining the status quo because the only way to destroy an imperialist system is through force, since talking about it doesn't get you anywhere. That is something that is especially clear because most Afro-Americans in the United States have been talking for 400 years, talking and nothing more. They lost sight of the fact that when you talk you are playing the game of the imperialists, who invented the talking game.

But today we have a new game called guerrilla warfare. It's a game the imperialists can't take part in. And if you want to win a game, you must make the rules. If anybody else makes the rules, he always wins. The imperialists established the rules for talking; and so when you sit down to talk with

them you can't possibly win. They always find a reason why they can't do it now or why they can't do it next, and they appear very reasonable. If you sit down with them and try to argue according to their point of view, in their own terms, how can you win?

In the first place, they have no right to oppress peoples, so there is no need to bring up oppression for discussion. They have no right to exploit anybody. So starting a discussion about freeing yourself from exploitation and oppression with those responsible for this:

exploitation and oppression is ridiculous. It's something like a slave's sitting down with his master to talk about when he must free him. It doesn't make sense because the master doesn't want to free him. What must the slave do? The answer is simple: rise up and kill his master if he refuses to stop exploiting him. That's the only solution.

So, it is completely clear as far as we are concerned that armed struggle is the only road. The time for talking is over. We have talked and talked and talked for too long. We must destroy this system by force.

Besides that, reactionary violence can be legalized by the people

in power. For example if I killed a slant-eyed man, there would be two different reactions depending on whether I did it in the United States or in Vietnam. If I killed thirty slant-eyed men in Vietnam,

I would get a medal, since I would be in the army of course. But if I killed thirty or killed one in the United States, say in New York, I would end up in the electric chair for committing murder.

So the question is not violence, but who can legalize violence. That's all there is to it. A policeman can shoot at anyone he pleases or kill anybody he likes for any reason and come before the court and say: "I did it in the line of duty. And they let him go. But anyone responsible for the death of a policeman would automatically land in jail.

So, violence should not be discussed. What should be discussed is whether or not you can legalize it. The oppressed peoples of the world must legalize violence in their minds in order to solve this problem.

Once they have legalized violence, the raising of questions and looking for answers is over with--left is to take what belongs to them.

So the reactionaries manage to stay in power solely by means of arms but they legalize their violence and then reach with an unheard-of cynicism that it's not right to use violence. Take away their guns and their imperialist forces and we will see how many people listen to them; take away the bases they have in Santo Domingo, Venezuela, Brazil, Chile and throughout Latin America, and the arms they have in these places, and you will see nobody paying any attention to them. But because of their arms the peoples find themselves compelled to listen to them. And so the only thing to do is to become accustomed to the use of arms and have the will and determination to struggle. Then you've got the right answer. For example, take a good look

at the pacifists and all the nonsense connected with pacifism. The United States, Great Britain, France and the USSR developed atomic and hydrogen bombs. After they developed them, they met and declared: "We are going to put an end to nuclear testing; there will be no more tests." And the whole world sat there and believed all that nonsense because they told them: "We don't want bombs to spread; if other peoples have bombs it will lead to violence."

What they were doing, since they were the ones who had the bombs, was to keep other peoples from developing the same striking force. So, they were not dealing with the others on an equitable basis. If there was equality for all, everyone should have the bomb.

Israel has the atomic bomb, which it got from the United States. On the basis of equality, since Israel has the atomic bomb, Egypt needs to have it too. Otherwise, Israel can threaten to drop the bomb on Egypt and that country will become the victim of atomic blackmail. The whole world must have the atomic bomb; this is all too clear. So, there can be no talk about putting an end to nuclear testing as long as all the countries have not yet developed the bomb.

When all the countries of the world from little Cuba to big China have the hydrogen bomb, then you can say: "We are all going to put an end to nuclear tests." Before then it is absurd to talk about it.

Another example of this is Cuba and the United States. The Americans can threaten Cuba since they have weapons which they can drop on the island. This is a rather recent example, of course; it happened to the Soviet Union when the United States threatened to drop bombs and the USSR said its rockets would be withdrawn.

The United States compelled the USSR to withdraw its rockets. Once they were withdrawn, Cuba was at the mercy of the United States, except for a little something which I think makes the difference in today's world: dignity and the will to fight until victory is won.

West has plainly developed the best weapons system in existence at present. But there is still another small item, and that is that weapons can never overcome the will of men to struggle. That is just what today's world is all about--the oppressed peoples have the will to struggle and are struggling against those who oppress them.

So, as Mao said, this is a war of weapons against the will of men. And we believe that weapons can never triumph over the will of men to struggle.

A good example of this is Vietnam, where the United States is using all its weapons and finds itself unable to defeat a small country, because that country has the will to fight and is preparing to fight to the death before it will let the United States enslave it.

When the United States talked about using bombs and missiles against Cuba, it declared that that Caribbean island had no right to defend itself. It also declared that there was no reason for Cuba to have any kind of missiles. And the rest of the world was more on Cuba's side than on the side of the United States because there was no reason for the United States to foment aggression against Cuba any more than there was later against Vietnam. And what is happening is that the Vietnamese are not only waging a defensive war but a defensive kind of propaganda campaign; for they have every right to drop a bomb on the United States and to begin bombing that country and to equalize the terms of the struggle in that way. That would be real equality but instead of that they find themselves forced to keep to a defensive war. And this was also Cuba's position regarding the missiles. They were fighting a defensive war.

The point in Debray's book *REVOLUTION in The Revolution?* that made the most impression on people was that they must go beyond a defensive war and that the next step for the peoples of the Third World is to go beyond a

Q. What do you think about guerrilla warfare as a means by which the American continent can gain its freedom? What is your opinion concerning utilization of this type of struggle by the colored people in the countryside and cities of the United States of America?

A. The imperialists have taken everything by force. For example, they annihilated the native population of Cuba and took possession of the land. So, the only way to win freedom is by force. And the only way to initiate it is to begin guerrilla warfare right now; and it must never be discussed in terms of whether or not it is good or evil. It is the only way to put an end to exploitation and oppression.

T here is no doubt at all--guerrilla warfare is the only way. We will not question about when to utilize it. That is the only question that out to concern us.

We are moving toward guerrilla warfare in the United States. We are going to develop urban guerrilla warfare and we are going to beat them in this field because there is one thing the imperialists do not have: their men don't want to fight, they don't want to fight what they call guerrilla warfare, which is really hand-to-hand combat. You see, their men are cowards. White America is the most cowardly nation in the world. They can send a million men to Vietnam but they cannot wipe out the Vietnamese people and that people will annihilate them in hand-to-hand combat. What the imperialists do is say that there is a guerrilla war in Vietnam, and people think that a guerrilla war is a dirty war, that it is not a clean kind of war. Then they declare that they are sending a lot of planes to drop bombs to win against the guerrilla war. No one asks: What is more revolting than sending a man in an airplane that can drop fifty or sixty bombs on helpless women and children or use napalm on them and burn them to death? Don't you think that hand-to-hand combat is much more honorable? That is the question. The question is simply when to employ it. Urban guerrilla warfare is the only means by which we can win in the United States because they cannot use bombs against us, since we are inside their country. They will have to fight us in hand-to-hand combat and we will defeat them.

The counterpart will be in the South, which is the part of the country where we know the terrain, where we worked the land for years where the white man has taken the fruits of our sweat, moving us around the whole region. He really did us a big favor because we have gotten to know the area and when we go up into the mountains we will inflict another defeat on him in a guerrilla war waged there. Guerrilla warfare is the only way we can bring them to their knees, it's the only kind of war where they can't use their big guns and bombs. And this is the road we must follow, because they have no guts.

Q. What is your feeling about solidarity among all countries struggling to liberate themselves?

A. It's the only answer. I think that what we fail to grasp, what we haven't grasped in the past, is that capitalism has become international and that we are fighting against international capitalism. So, against international capitalism, you must wage an international struggle. In the past what occurred for example, was when a nation was fighting, everyone wished it good

Continued on pg. 12

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THE BLACK COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER



Black writer, John O. Killens, answers questions for Sterling Smith, reporter for the
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-photo by S.Fields

John Killens

Last week John O. Killens, famous black revolutionary writer (author of such important books as "Youngblood" and "And Then We Heard the Thunder" stopped in town to push his latest work "Sippi".

A few of his Motor City boosters dropped into Vaughn's Bookstore, (Dexter and Monterey) for cookies, to view his style and shake hands. But the honorable Killens did not allow them to get away with just that. He shot through the formalities and spoke to the subject: "Black People's Struggle with Charlie."

Killens outlined a cultural enrichment program that would cover every corner of the Black community. He called on the people to control their own areas and to become a workable base for the new black culture.

In such an environment the Afro-Americanese language and Black History would take over.

Community-universities would be set up that would not only teach but would involve all adults and children in the objectives of all black people in every field. "Black people must have goals they are willing to fight for", he concluded.

BLACK BIBLIO

"The Negro Freedom Movement: Past and Present," an annotated bibliography, has been issued by the Wayne County Intermediate Board of Education. The bibliography traces the history of the introduction of slavery into the United States and subsequent developments from the Civil War period to the present.

The Desegregation Advisor Project sponsored the publication under a grant from the U.S. Office of Education.

HOW U SOUND

MoTown

By John Cosby, Jr.

Bee Gee, that's Berry Gordy, according to the Michigan Chronicle is aware of his stature hereabouts and throughout much of the world, and was recently quoted in that weekly, "I know Motown is a source of great pride for Negroes."

Well, why? Why are black people proud of Motown?

The sound identified as, the Motown sound, which originated from the ghettos in this town, is what Mr. Gordy has reference to. And, of course he means the cliché about the world loves a winner.

But the larger question is this: what has Motown done for the environment that put it on the map?

has saved Motown's stable of talent from Abe, Hymnie and Sol. Perhaps. But if some of the better than 15 million per annum doesn't funnel back to some lay blackies, it really shouldn't matter about Motown. And talk of being a source of pride, to the serious minded, is nonsense.

For a black exploiter is no less diseased than any other. Certainly, we've all seen eyes glisten as a Motowneer eased by in a heavy General Motors coach. Some people have been sleeping for years

to dream an Eldorado into being theirs. So Motown not only snags fingers, then, but, inspires some to dream a number that will get them off automobiles or out of oppressive expenses.

But, other than this, Mr. Gordy what has Motown meant to its source? Are your white employees training Blackies?

It's hard to say just what all Joe Louis knew or did not know. But he funded ball teams in Black Bottom, and created payrolls via J. L. Chicken Shack and Brown Bomber Bread, and the Joe Louis Punch soft drink company gave jobs to breadwinners unrelated to his field. Then, on the South Side of Chicago, it was the Lakeview Milk Co., and even more comprehensive, a trade school. Of course, Joe went through school--in the front door and out the back, but he had soul, nonetheless.

Now Joe is a hawk, and we don't always relish his talk, but getting hit in the head was his livelihood. What's your excuse Bee Gee? Does B.G. mean Be Good--- to Berry Gordy, period? I mean you know....

the poet's box

Black Art

by Leroi Jones

[illegible]

whites ass. Look at the Liberal
 Spokesman for the jews clutch his throat
 & puke himself into eternity. .rrrrrrrrr
 There's a negro leader pinned to
 a bar stool in Sardi's eyeballs melting
 in hot flame. Another Negro leader
 on the steps of the white house one
 kneeling between the sheriff's thighs
 negotiating coolly for his people.
 Agggh..stumbles across the room. .
 Put it on him, poem. Strip him naked
 to the world. Another bad poem cracking
 steel knuckles in a jewlady's mouth.
 Poem scream poison gas on beasts in green berets
 Clean out the world for virtue and love
 Let there be no love poems written
 until love can exist freely and
 cleanly. Let Black People understand
 that they are the lovers and the sons

of lovers and warriors Are poems & poets &
all the loveliness here in the world.

We want a black poem. And a
Black World.
Let the world be a Black Poem
And Let All Black People Speak This Poem
Silently
or LOUD



Leroi Jones

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Stokely Carmichael CONT.

luck but no one saw its struggle as part of their own—even when they could see that it was the same countries oppressing them that were also oppressing the other country, they still didn't get it fixed in their minds that there was a common enemy. What we have done today is to get this situation, straight, in our minds. We see a common enemy; we are fighting against an international structure that enslaves us, and the only way to defeat it is to internationalize our struggle. This way, one international power will be pitted against another. That's the only way we can win, because if we do as Che says—create two, three, many Vietnams, we will have them fighting on all fronts at once and then they can't win. When a struggle is isolated, imperialism can turn all its power against one country and that country is lost.

But they cannot fight us all at once. So, even if we don't have the same ideas, the same ideology, we have a common enemy—imperialism. And that will unite us more than anything else.

Q. What do you think about the Organización de Solidaridad de los Países de Asia, Africa y America Latina (OSPAAAL—Asian, African and Latin-American Solidarity Organization)? What does an organization like yours expect from OSPAAAL?

A. Well, one thing is that we are now beginning to concretize our relations with these groups. The first thing we must do is just meet all the fighters, sit down with them and discuss with them and exchange ideas. Then, when we have done that, we can begin to act together and jointly plan the strategy and tactics to be followed in our struggle for liberation. But we can only do that when we begin to internationalize our struggle because the enemy has its CIA espionage system and all its intelligence agencies, which are international and work together in a coordinated way. So, they can carry out assassinations and organize coups against governments beginning to fight for liberation.

Once we have taken power—because we will—the problem will be to start building an international system with no room for capitalism, in which we can trade with each other on the basis of our needs and what each country has, instead of trying to control the world market where prices are set in accordance with profits and not by the needs of humanity. We will find when we take power that, unless we have the spirit, the will, and the intelligence of Cuba's leaders many of us will end up in the same way as all the other countries which fell victim to colonialism, or where taking power ended with acceptance of the whole bureaucratic structure that the imperialists imposed on their countries and where they are not in position to fight. Thus we must begin. The other thing we must begin is exchanging fighters with the peoples of Africa and Latin America who are struggling for freedom. Thus we can set up an international network of guerrilla warfare, and, for example, if people from other countries want to come to the United States to help us fight when we are able to start fighting the real war there, well and good. We want to do the same thing; we will want to go away and fight, because that's what the capitalists do. Every time one of the countries they control is in trouble they send aid to that country.

This is clear and that is what happened in the case of Israel, a capitalist country supported by Western imperialism. When it was in trouble, they all came to its aid, including France. What

we must do is recognize that once the struggle begins, we must have the determination to aid the forces of liberation with our men, just as the imperialists have the determination to aid each other with their guns, their money and their men.

Q. What do you have to say to guerrilla leaders like Douglas Bravo of Venezuela, Fabio Vazquez and Marulanda of Colombia, Cesar Montes of Guatemala, and the leaders of the Bolivian guerrillas?

A. We want to say to our brothers to our comrades, that although they may not know it, there are many of us here who follow all the news about their struggles very closely and with great attention. We know that they are conducting a very serious, brave and good struggle. And in spite of the fact that we don't control the communications media, we can say to them that they must never lose hope or ever fear that their struggle is in vain or that nobody knows of it. We know about it and we are with them. The day is not far when they will be able to act in freedom and together, armed, we can build the world we are fighting for. Our only message to them is not to lose and to keep up the struggle, because they are our inspiration and hope.

Q. What do you think about aggression in Vietnam?

A. I think that it is the most revolting aggression in the world today. I think that it shows the hatred and cowardice of the United States. I think it's the dirtiest war there ever was and because of that I think that, in the face of the determination of the Vietnamese people, the United States will lose the war.

Q. What is your feeling about Che Guevara and the things he has said concerning the revolution in Latin America and throughout the world?

A. We agree 150 percent with Che; he is becoming one of the most widely read men in black America today. Everywhere you go black people are reading Che; and not only that, he is being read throughout the world. One of the reasons I think is that Che is a man who has never just talked about revolution but has made a revolution. He is a man who, even after winning a revolutionary struggle for power in this country, left his wife to go to other countries, risking his life to help initiate the struggle there. We don't come across such a man every day.

Q. The struggle you are waging in the United States is giving some people the impression that you have signed your death sentence. What do you think about that?

A. Brother Malcolm X used to tell us that there are several different kinds of death. I think that dehumanized people who don't respond to blows are dead people. The West has been able to do that to most of us. It has dehumanized us to the point where we don't even hit back. Once you begin to strike back you are alive, you are alive and bullets won't kill you. If you don't hit back against the blows you are dead and all the money in the world can't bring you back to life. Today we are alive, we are alive throughout the whole world; all the oppressed peoples are coming back to life, they are striking back, they are fighting for humanity. When you are dead, when you do not rebel, when you are not fighting to live, then you are already dead. But we are alive and we love life so much that we are ready to lose it. We are alive. Death cannot stop us.

Rev.

Archie Rich

Pastor

Berea Methodist

speaks

The Black Colony in Detroit has declared its independence. The white colonial power has been given notice that property in the black community shall no longer be used to exploit the Black people. Gouging merchants must go. Money earned by the sweat of Black people and spent in the Black community must benefit the Black community. We have declared that Black people must and shall control the businesses, the schools, the housing, the policing and everything else in the Black community.

The rising claim for independence from white domination on the part of black people will not be readily acknowledged or honored by a great number of whites, including the white establishment. They will use all of the old familiar tricks and some new ones to maintain the status quo. When they discover that their tricks no longer work, they will have but two choices: granting to black people the rights of full citizenship in this country; or continued resistance through brutal force, which would usher in the demise of this country.

A significant and primary phase of black people's securing independence from white domination is that of accepting our blackness. We will embrace our blackness and wear it with dignity. No longer will we go along with the notion that black skin, kinky hair and thick lips are ugly and undesirable qualities. We must reject the white man's standards of beauty, especially when those standards debase and belittle the natural features of black people. We must

destroy the myth believed by many white people and shared by too many black people, that blackness is a badge of inferiority.

Our independence from white domination and exploitation will not be freely granted. It will come about only as black people vigorously assert and courageously claim that independence.

Perhaps, the three most important areas where our independent power must be most vigorously asserted are the areas of education, jobs, and housing. The white establishment's concept of schooling for black children has changed little since Reconstruction days. As a general rule, black persons, are not being educated to enter fully into the mainstream of American life or to assume positions of leadership in American society. The prevailing concept of education for black children has been to give them merely enough training to perform the menial tasks considered beneath the dignity of white men. Since machines have taken over many of these tasks, black children are now being pushed through the schools and out into a world that has no place for them. And thus; unemployment, poverty, ghettos, captivity, futility.

The old colonial concept of education for black children must change. The old colonial concept of what types of jobs black people should hold must go. The old colonial concept of designating where black people must live will have to change. The only persons who can initiate these changes and bring them into reality are black people



THE CRUSADER

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, IN EXILE

INNER CITY VOICE Presents the Crusader as a public service since the U.S. post office has banned the newsletter from the mail.



Rob Williams

In the movies and via television, that man Sam, whom some of our dark folks have the audacity to call Uncle, has come up with a new mode of brainwash. The foxy old bastard, Uncle, is trying to breast feed and nurture a new Tom breed of spy nigras. All of this bunk about SPY and BROWN NOSE TOM is mood crap, designed to create a desire to join Whitey's spy

corps. How be it that Chuck is so willing to integrate his cannon fodder goon forces and peepin' Tom snoop corps while maintaining discriminatory selective employment? The adventures of Sherlock Tom Honey is a whole lotta b.s. The so-called new breed of 1 SPY coons is nothing but a third rate cage of stool pigeons, and CIA pimps. There is nothing noble about being a sniffing dog for head-hunters. It is a dirty business the same as prostitution and dope peddling. Our people must start a campaign to frustrate and negate this under-world traffic in soul selling. We must counteract both Whitey and his mangy running dogs. The feists of the establishment are enemies of the freedom of our people as well as of all the oppressed people of the world.

In actuality, Boss Charlie use these mercenary Nigras surreptitiously to rupture the growing unity between the Afro-American and the liberation forces of the world. He uses them also to inform on the brothers in the ghetto. How honorable is an adventure that requires you to cut the throat of your own brother? Instead of joining Whitey, we must infiltrate him. We must counteract his nefarious schemes by out double-crossing him at his own con game. Revolutionaries must play it cool. Infiltrate the police and the master infiltrators, the CIA. We must learn to subvert him at his own expense while using his facilities to advance our cause of Black liberation. We cannot afford our own, so his will have to do until the real thing comes along.

Chuck is engaging in subversion around the world with his slick operators. Wherever there is strife, in fair weather and foul, you will find the old devil fox in the thick of action. Charlie is always where the action is. He's got money, a blank check from Wall Street. He's got connections

and he's got a gilded tongue for deception. He is as omnipresent as his great creator, the devil. The naive of the world are suckers for his sob story and everybody wants to believe the best about him. Surreptitiously, the devil fox paints a negative image of black folks. He projects all of his evil to the brothers. The brothers get all negative attributes while he gets all positive ones. The facilities of his international network and dragnet puts him at a great advantage. One black subversive is looked upon the same as one black whore. Chuck makes it with a Negro whore and he wants to convince the world that all Black women are without virtue. Now that a few Negro agents are being recruited, old Whitey fox wants to spread the impression that all Blacks are suspect. This is to divert attention away from himself and to make way for the bull gang to make the scene. Black Americans must close ranks and put the heat on Negro police pimps in the ghetto and the few Negro running dogs in the sinister underworld of the CIA. The struggling peoples of the world must be apprized of the fact that the spy business is still a white man's hipec. That glamorous spy JIVE WHERE Sambo plays with the fabulous blondes is a phoney. The big scenes where Stephen Fetchit scrapes and bows to lady Anne is what's happening. Adventurous Black men who get turned on from the odor of the sewers, those who like to wallow in the stench of the shadowy underworld would do well to stick to petty larceny. Big time spying is deceitful Whitey's scene.



Oh please, don't let violence smear our moral image!

Election

continued from pg 6

There exists a real problem with cries for black self-determination. If black self-determination attempts minimal goals such as control of the boards of education, local politics, et cetera, in place of long range programs, then it would suffer the fate that corporate imperialism wants and will help it to suffer. It's absurd to assume that blacks can vote themselves to freedom and coexist with the system. Hatcher "made it" but all those burdens he is faced with will continue to plague the masses of toiling blacks regardless of his "success".

Kenya and Jomo Kenyatta; the Congo and Lumumba, as well as others, found that coalescing with an imperialist power planted only the seeds of destruction. Nationalism and self-determination are necessary phases of development for the black freedom struggle but it is not the only end result of revolution in America. A revolutionary program recognizes the fact that blacks in America are an oppressed nation within a nation and are about to be faced with the same type of neo-colonialist tricks that most of Africa, Asia and Latin America are facing.

In conclusion, the only significant lesson of the election of black candidates is the political education that will accrue to blacks, specifically, and whites. The impossibility of black mayors operating justly in a monopoly capitalist order and use of neo-colonialist tactics by the power structure in the cities, will depict and define the real need which is revolutionary change. It is only through revolution that the concept of self-determination and long range goals of freedom and justice can become reality.

It is just as important that whites, en masse, realize the futility of a black mayor preventing so-called riots. The nominally exploited whites will be forced to recognize the inadequacies of the structure and can then either move to try to destroy blacks or coalesce to work towards a better system. It is my contention that latter is far more feasible since the former presents no alternative but death and I suspect white America isn't ready for that despite their moves toward Nazi tendencies.

When America's call is to actively support Africa, Asia, Latin America and the black freedom struggle, then and only then will one be able to view the election of a Hatcher or Stokes as revolutionary. In essence, when America is ready to put capitalism and racism with all other past events; in a museum, then freedom and justice can become a reality for all people.



Debray

continued from pg 5

activities was just as important as that of fighting. So the decision was taken to have me leave the guerrilla zone as soon as possible, and that while waiting I could nor should engage in the fighting and I could not be considered to be a guerrilla. Because of this, after several attempts to leave, I left the guerrilla zone with Bustos and Roth, my destination being La Paz and France, as is known, something I would never have tried to do if I had been incorporated among the guerrillas, and which no guerrilla has yet done up to now. I mean any guerrilla worthy of the name.

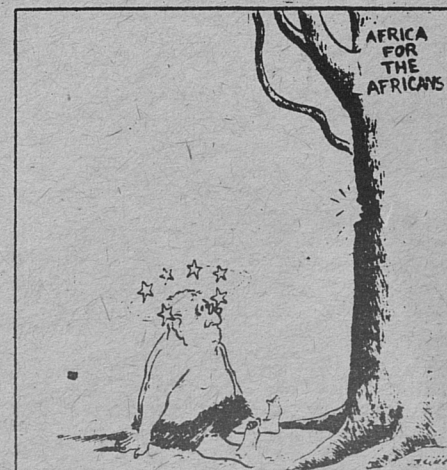
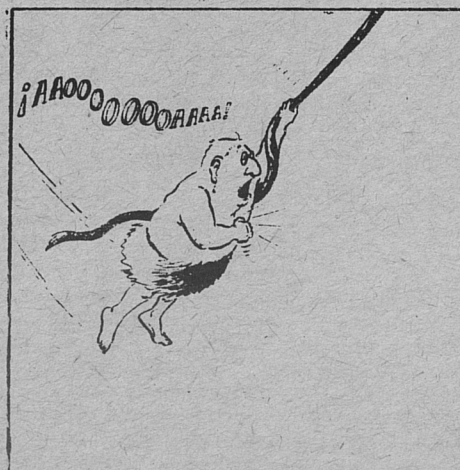
(2) To facilitate the task of the military prosecution, I state that this mission of conveying news abroad about the guerrillas, is an integral part of revolutionary work. Someone who is not in complete solidarity with the actions of the guerrillas cannot accomplish a similar work of solidarity.

As for the characterization of these acts--acts of a just war that cannot be prevented--as crimes and murders, and the guerrillas as bandits and cowards, it would be an insult to the memory of "Che" Guevara to begin considering such insults two days after his death. We will reply to this on another, better occasion with arguments,

details and historic examples. This is not the first time, nor will it be the last, in the history of Bolivia and the world as a whole that a revolutionist has been called an offender and a criminal by representatives of the established order.

What I want to make very clear here is that these so-called crimes although they involved the spilling of innocent blood, which calls for compassion as in any other popular insurrection, are, in my opinion, titles to glory and proofs of duties carried out. Popular insurrection, of which guerrilla war is an example and a variant, is recognized as a right in the last encyclical of Pope Paul VI, and a sacred duty of whoever loves justice. If I did not participate it was not because of any privilege or right held by intellectuals to not carry out their ideas to their ultimate conclusions, but a mere matter of fact under the discipline and division of revolutionary tasks.

In taking leave of "Che" Guevara April 20, I felt the separation as a painful necessity--that of having to carry out my duty as a revolutionary militant abroad, outside the zone of combat, as he had asked me. And now that this separation has become definitive and irreversible, my greatest sorrow is not to have died at his side.



Times are no longer so swinging for neocolonialists in Africa.

Inner City Voice

In the United States, however, the desire for unity and the fetishism of the masses and of the grass roots people are so great that the tendency is to regard everyone as a revolutionist and thus to regard everyone as a brother or sister in the revolution.

Nothing could be further from the truth in this or in any other revolution. The fact is that if we were all together and if we were all revolutionists or potential revolutionists, there would be no need for the revolution now. We would have already had it a long time ago. For what is the revolution but a mass struggle for power in order to create the new economic, political and social relations that will transform our lives and our perspectives?

In other countries the postman usually only rings once. When the revolutionists find out who the collaborators, quislings, informers, traitors are, they put them out of action immediately. In today's revolution in the United States, the postman will have to ring twice. Knowing that he will ring twice, the revolutionist does not have to expend his precious energies chasing after or even trying to silence the Tom.

Some of the Toms will be silenced by the very dynamics of the revolution itself. Many will find that, as the revolution develops, they have become useless to the enemy who will toss them aside as coldly and calculatingly as he hired them in the first instance. Some will be liquidated by the enemy because they could not bring them enough information or because the information they brought turned out to be costly to the enemy. This first ringing by the postman is helpful to the revolutionists because it leaves them less to do when they come to power and must deal with those who have made the struggle so costly. Then, however, as in every revolution, justice must be swift. For the task of absolving the traitor can then no longer be left to history.

ADC Mothers

continued from pg 1

He said that when this new foundry of Dodge Motor opened on Huber Avenue and the old Dodge Foundry was closed, many workers took a 30 cent to 40 cent an hour wage cut when they were transferred. There are 1500 working there now and the company wants to bring it up to 4,000 employees, that's also why they are looking everywhere for people to fill the jobs.

The plight of the women on Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) is little publicized. Over 100,000 in Michigan get this meager aid from state funds. A large section are Black women, some ADC mothers just recently staged a sitdown in the offices of the Detroit Housing Commission for better housing than the rat infested, bug ridden, condemned houses many of them are placed in.

They are constantly spied on and up until recently they had to open their doors in the middle of the night to stated snoopers wanting to go through their houses. Also they are threatened with immediate cutoff from ADC unless they accept any and all job offers. ADC chiefs thus become recruiting agents for all the low paying, anti-union employers.

The persecution of Negro women is practiced constantly. They are sent out to any all kinds of industrial slavery operations. No unions exist in the main to where they are sent. They are asked to do a man's work or face starvation with their children, by being cut off ADC if they refuse. They are sent to do domestic work and have to accept whatever wages "the white lady" hands them at the end of a long day of domestic slavery. If they object, a complaint can see them threatened to be cut off ADC. Meanwhile they have to leave their children, to the care of neighbors or an elder child who has to stay home from school so the mother can work.

If they earn any money, and don't report it to ADC authorities then they can be charged in criminal courts with taking "money under false pretenses", meaning ADC checks. The ADC women, Negro and white are building an organization of ADC mothers to fight against this many fold discrimination practiced by state authorities, local police, and city, state government politicians. Its become a sizable movement and is becoming

feared by the oppressors of these women, who now get hit with sit-downs in their offices, picket lines in front of their buildings and quiver with fear when they hear of mass rallies of hundreds of these mothers on ADC.

How does someone else, connected with Dodge Motor Car live? Take the story of Mrs. Horace Dodge, Sr., who according to Fortune Magazine, sank her entire \$56,000,000 legacy into state and local bonds, the interest from which is nontaxable. At an average yield of 3 percent, Mrs. Dodge could enjoy the comforts of a \$1,680,000 annual income, without even having to bother filling a tax return. Her probable tax saving, between \$1,000,000 and \$1,500,000 annually.

Or take Governor George Romney of Michigan, who constantly advocates cuts in ADC checks for over 100,000 mothers. When he (Romney) was president of American Motors, enjoyed stock options benefits of about \$1,300,000 for a minimum tax saving of \$650,000. Or take other members of the establishment who escape paying their share of taxes and nothing happens to them.

Charles Stewart Mott, onetime General Motors largest stockholder, with over 2,600,000 shares. To him the so-called "dividend tax credit" meant roughly \$315,000 extra spending money a year. Or take the example of E.R. Breech, former president of Ford Motor, who realized some \$3,200,000 of gain on his corporate stock options and enjoyed a tax saving thereon of at least \$1,600,000.

But let a mother on Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) go out and earn some additional money besides the \$100 to \$140 a month ADC check, for herself and four to five children and she is stuck off the rolls and hauled into court to pay back what she earned besides the amount in the ADC check. She thus gets a police record, that further provides obstacles to getting work. The "Concerned Democrats", the liberal politicians, the labor movement, still have not concerned themselves with this brutal oppression of women, being practiced right in Michigan cities. It's time they did

What is Jazz?

What is JAZZ?

an Article by John Cosby

The title here is also the title of your music page. And after smoking over this page, a young reader asked, "well, man, what is jazz?"

Max Roach's definition, Afro-America, is the answer in the simplest and purest sense. However the definition, for this young black, needed some seasoning, which was broke down as follows:

When Africans showed on the American scene, the social climate was necessarily stiff. Then, after the roots of slave experience took hold, our people began complaining and humorizing -- the foundation of America's only art form, jazz.

After clear-cut slavery came funeral marches and whore lamentations, the blues up and down. And this is one reason why Max Roach disapproves of the word "jazz." He has traced the word to its root, which loosely means black inferiority. Therefore, because the sound today, whether New Wave or New New Wave, is not hopelessness, or a future after death, or just a page from a whore's diary -- Afro-American music.

And this is one why Max Roach disapproves of the word "jazz," he has traced the word to its root, which loosely means black inferiority. Therefore, because the sound today, whether New Wave or New New Wave, is not hopelessness, or a future after death, or just a page from a whore's diary -- Afro-American music.

Well, then, what is Afro-American music?

Once, it was Bird coming onto the bandstand where Kenny Dorham, Max Roach, and a pianist awaited him. Parker would start out with the brothers but after they reached their zenith, he was away. While appearing in

Toronto with Max and Sonny ROLLINS, Dorham told me and a singin' girl a Bird thing. Later it hit Downbeat Anyway, you should know if Bird was together he was soon out of sight, if only moderately tuned he was great. So this night Dorham focused with the aforementioned personnel, Bird musta been into one of his better bags. Take this off:

The cats are cookin, you dig, but Bird is just coolin it. The gig is in Philly at one of those steam joints with uniformed help, braids and all. So the cats are really doing it, and Bird is nodding approvingly, when a whittess shouted, "play My Wild Irish Rose."

But Bird was cool. Then came Bird's solo. He eased into the melody and then got good and funky before he flew off into the cool winds of improvisation. After an intricate exploration of new territory, Bird came back and blew, "That's Why The Lady Is A Tramp." And right on cue, without disturbing the pattern earlier established. Something only a master in his sphere could do.

A. J. Sax invented the saxophone, and his kind created the condition that sired jazz. But a saxophone ain't music, and a condition ain't people.

So when brothers and sisters here at the VOICE set up a page entitled, "WHAT IS JAZZ?" They answer with stories about black people in the theatrical sphere. For Afro-American music, or jazz, is people relating their knowledge of the common condition, by and large, of blackness. And to perform or really appreciate jazz, you must have the capacity to recognize human need and appreciate human aspiration -- you gotta have soul. Be you rare white, or black.

By John Cosby, Jr.

***** RUFUS HARLEY



BAGPIPES & soul

Backstage with Rufus Harley

Rufus Harley recently appeared in Detroit at Baker's Keyboard Lounge, where he displayed his virtuosity on the bagpipes. He is next scheduled for a three week appearance in Dayton, then back to home base in Philadelphia. The following is a candid interview of Rufus Harley as given to this ICV reporter. In it he talks about his music and some of the problems confronting the new Black man in this country.

BY Miriam Moses

The very instrument that Rufus Harley is so well known on the bagpipe, is an example of how he feels. The bagpipe originated from Africa in Egypt in about the sixth century B. C. It is as old as the drums. It made its way to Rome and entered Scotland through the Roman occupation of the British Isles. Rufus first became interested in the bagpipe during the funeral services of John Kennedy, when he saw the Black Watch pipers perform.

In regard to the criticism often made that the pipes are not an authentic jazz instrument, that they are just a gimmick devised to gain quick publicity and easy fame, Rufus states, "No musical instrument needs to be defended for its existence. Any instrument is like

a new born baby in the hands of its mother. If it is well nurtured and tenderly cared for it will grow into manhood and live a full life. Also, with the pipes which are in their infancy in regard to jazz, if they are treated with respect and sincerity by a gifted and serious musician, they can grow into manhood in the world of jazz and can contribute great things to that field."

Rufus Harley feels that he has been chosen to deliver a message through his music. In school he was a poor student but his mind was always open to music, and music opened his mind.

"I am what I am. That's what I am. Before me there was none. After me there shall not be any. Anything next to me will only be the reflection. Because Man is Man and Man."

This is the philosophy of Rufus Harley, Black man and musician. He is a quiet man; young and serious, who neither drinks nor smokes. He feels that what you eat affects the way you think. Consequently Rufus eats none of the scavenger animals which includes pork, lobster and shrimp. He feels that the Black man must go back to the biblical times, consuming only the fruit of the tree, that he should do everything in his power

continued on pg 15

ODETTA



ODETTA as she appeared at the Living End. photo by S. Fields.

At the Living End

by: Sid Fields, III

Sweet and proud, are the only words worthy of describing the sensitive personality of Odetta, whose real name is Odetta.

From the sweet rose water and glycerine in her beautiful natural hair to her deep vibrant and natural voice, Odetta is naturally pleasant performer.

"I became aware of my heritage fifteen years ago," said Odetta, who was born in Birmingham, Alabama. Since then, she has attempted to promote that same awareness among black people North and South, through the songs of protest and her proud au-natural hair style.

Odetta's singing style varies from old "rock-house" storefront beats to songs of love and lullabies.

An important part of her performance, but unlike a hippy-hootenanny, Odetta captivates and charms "her people" while everybody has a good time.

Harley

continued from pg. 14

not to neglect himself; to be aware of from where he came and where he is going

Rufus Harley is a Black man first, who realizes that it is necessary for him to let our youth know that he will not let them down. For our young people have traditionally looked upon the musicians and athletes of our race as its heroes and models. Rufus feels that our people have been tricked by the brainwashing of this commercial society. "What our Black children need is a full history of their background; to discover their roots and to find out the reason things are the way they are today. We need to gain control over ourselves because we've been held mentally captive by the white society. The natural hair is the symbol of the Black man. We don't look at natural hair as just a fad. We've just begun to find ourselves and to get away from the brainwashing of this commercialized society and our lack of knowledge. We have to stop telling our children that their hair is ugly because it only creates complexes during the early years. When Black people run to the straightening comb, it is a sign that he hasn't been able to accept himself."

"Our Black children need school. Instead of supporting the commercialized Christianity, we need to rent buildings and teach our children about the great and beautiful Black men and women in our history. Let them go to school and learn about Lincoln and Washington but also about the Blacks who have played an important part in the history of Man."

"We have to know what hate is but not let it control us. This is the thing that is destroying society

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and beaten and police held occupants back using clubs and guns. Referred to man handcuffed, pushed and kicked down stairs. Subject's son grabbed also. Police went through building breaking up chairs and desk drawers. Seventy five people taken down to 10th precinct. Whereupon told no charges and released immediately

H.W.K.
Hendricks
7/24/67 3:34 p.m. Chene nr. Chestnut

Mr H. was low on gas, drove to gas station that appeared to be open with man pumping gas. Waiting in line when someone yelled "olice." Whereupon vehi les sped away and he realized that gas was being stolen. Then drove away through alley and National Guardsman and police officers pursued cars in jeep. As he approached Chestnut, officers jumped out and fired one shot hitting Keith in his right shoulder. Fragment o slug hit his companion R. C. , McDougall, who escaped. Keith was taken into custody, car searched and no loot found. Taken to Det. Gen. Hospital. Treated and moved to headquarters where he was locked-up. Following morning was arraigned on charge of assault and attempted murder. Pleaded not guilty and placed on \$200,000 bond, taken to Wayne County Jail, transferred to Ionia, remained until Aug 3. Then confined to Belle Isle prison until Aug. 5 Trial postponed until Aug. 7, at which time the case was dismissed. (his atty. was John Kosav) C. is willing to testify re. shooting.

R.L.
Stoepel
7/26/67 at 6 p.m.
R. L. was on his front porch, awakened by 2 private agency officers and taken to 10th precinct saying that they had a sniper. There he was beaten sustaining scars, and a broken jaw. Charged at that time with intent to commit murder. Following morning his was discharged. Private policeman took a polaroid camera, claimed he found a gun in the house and guardsman struck him with rifle. Private Negro policeman.

Police

Continued from pg. 3

T.F.
Parkside
Rio Grande Motel

Mr. G was one of several persons interrogated during the raid on the motel. He had a rifle in his room. He gave information as to where the rifle was bought. He was cut and burned by police on his back. He was also hit across the face with a blackjack. His room was ransacked and he is missing the following articles: polaroid camera, 4 bottles of cologne 4 ties, 2 pr. of shoes, 2 hair p s., were thrown down toilet, 1 electric shaver, 1 diamond ring, and 1 suit destroyed. A Longine watch was beaten from his wrist.

C.E.J.
Greenlawn
Time @ Date of in.: 7/25/67 11:30

Mr. J, a state employee, returning from work with a pass was stopped on Livernois and Grand River. After showing his pass he was struck on his head and back and then told to open the trunk of his car. He was struck again on the wrist with a blackjack, then ordered to drive away when police broke his windshield in his face and beat on the car. Due to blood in his eyes, subject had to stop and was taken by a National Guard Sgt. @ Captain to Kirwood Hospital.

A.C.J.
Glendale
Mack near Van Dyke 8:50 p.m.

Stopped and sear h by National Guard and then released. As he was driving away a policeman grabbed him by the neck and tried to pull him out of the car window. Car brought to a stop, assaulted by policeman and taken to Jefferson, St. Jean station where he was confined until July 28, during which time he was not allowed to a phone call, received no medication for his injured back. On July 28 approx. 6 a.m., Judge Gillis found him guilty of urfew violating. Police lied on ticket claiming time after 9 p.m. and sentenced to 5 days in Det. House of Correction.

B.J.
Clairmount
7/24/67 3:30 p.m.

Police raid this address. A man trying to make exit was grabbed

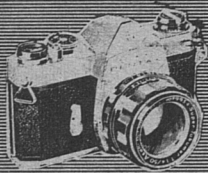
THINGS JUST AIN'T WHAT THEY USED TO BE

A SHORT STORY BY SHONDU ARKEEM

"Which way are you going?" said the young Black boy to the old Black man. "Why forward my boy" said the old man. And in reply the young boy said, "Then you have to catch up to me because that's the way I'm going and if you're not moving fast enough you might lose your life should you look back." And as the young boy ran along burning city after city, the old man tagged along shouting "this is not the way." As he stopped to rest he looked back at the burning cities and said to himself "the old days were never like this." Just then a burning building collapsed on him.

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THE WALL OF RESPECT is a giant mural donated to Chicago's Southside Black community by a group of talented black artists known as O.B.A.C. (pronounced oh Bah See).

The creation which consists of paintings, photographs, and collages featuring black heroes, extends the entire side of a run-down ghetto building at 43rd St. and Langley Ave. We hope that Detroit artists will follow suit in making a similar worthwhile contribution to Detroit's inner city. Photos by Bob Evans

