

afro-americans for halstead and boutelle newsletter

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RACISM IN ENGLAND: INTERVIEW WITH PAUL BOUTELLE

Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for Vice President, made a two-week tour of England and Europe during May and June. The following interview was obtained by Tony Thomas, editor of the AAHB Newsletter on the non-white movement in Britain.

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Thomas: Could you tell me the purpose of your trip to England and Scotland.

Boutelle: The purpose of this tour was to get an understanding of the problems that existed as far as racism is concerned, as well as the general problems of revolution, and to find out about the different non-white groups in England. While I was in England I had a chance to meet with every major non-white group and every major non-white leader with the exception of Michael X or Malix Abdul (as he is called now) who is now in jail. I met his second-in-command, Frankie Diamon.

Thomas: Could you give some information about the background and development of the non-white movement in Britain.

Boutelle: Over the last twenty years there has been migration to England of non-white people from the colonies. In England recently racism has really started to spring up very openly because of the competition for jobs and other benefits.

Unemployment is very high in England, not only among non-whites, but among whites. As many people are now aware, the British government is having economic problems, losing their colonies and not being able to compete effectively on a world scale with American capitalism. The non-whites are feeling the brunt of this economic decline of England.

There's about three or four major non-white groups in England. These include the Committee Against Racial Discrimination (CARD), the Universal Colored People's Association, and the Black United Action Front. I met with the leaders of these groups--specif-

ically Obi Egbuna, an Ibo from Nigeria who has a very Marxist outlook and who is the president of the Universal Colored People's Association; and Roy Sawh, an Indian from British Guyana, another leading spokesman of the Universal Colored People's Association. I also met with Gideon Job who is from the Fiji Islands in the Pacific. He is the head of the Black United Action Front.

Now the problems of non-whites in England are different from the problems of non-whites in America. First of all, some of the leading militants over there think in terms of going back to their own countries to make a revolution. They don't see themselves as permanent residents of England.

But while they are now in England, they are not actively involved in protesting racial discrimination there.

There are also divisions on tribal and national lines according to the places around the world that the various non-whites come from. In some cases this has been a barrier to their effectively getting together.

However, the groups I have mentioned -- the Committee Against Racial Discrimination, the Universal Colored People's Association, and the Black United Action Front--have been able to overcome these barriers because they have representation from non-white groups from many countries of the world and they have been able to unite on various issues.

Thomas: What kind of interest and identification do these groups have with the Black Power movement in this country?

Boutelle: Non-white groups in England are very interested in what is going on here in America. They asked many questions in relation to SNCC, the Black Panther Party, Leroi Jones, and many leading black figures that have been and are being persecuted by the United States government.

The Black Panther Party in California has had an influence on the non-white groups in England. I carried the Black Panther news-

paper with me and they eagerly read it. As a result of their finding out about the Panthers, a few people wanted to start a Black Panther group.

They not only see the need for dealing with the question of racial discrimination, but have also been active in the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign and many of the antiwar activities.

Thomas: Could you speak about some of the places where you spoke?

Boutelle: I spoke at the London School of Economics, at Roy Sawh's platform in Hyde Park, at a teach-in on race discrimination at Oxford University, at the University of Edinburgh, and to several other meetings.

The general response was pretty good. There were a few non-whites who had an unfavorable response, but these were the same type that would not respond well to any voice of protest.

Also, there were many whites in different parts of England that criticized the necessity of black nationalism. They were "pro-socialist" but they did not see any relevancy to my nationalism.

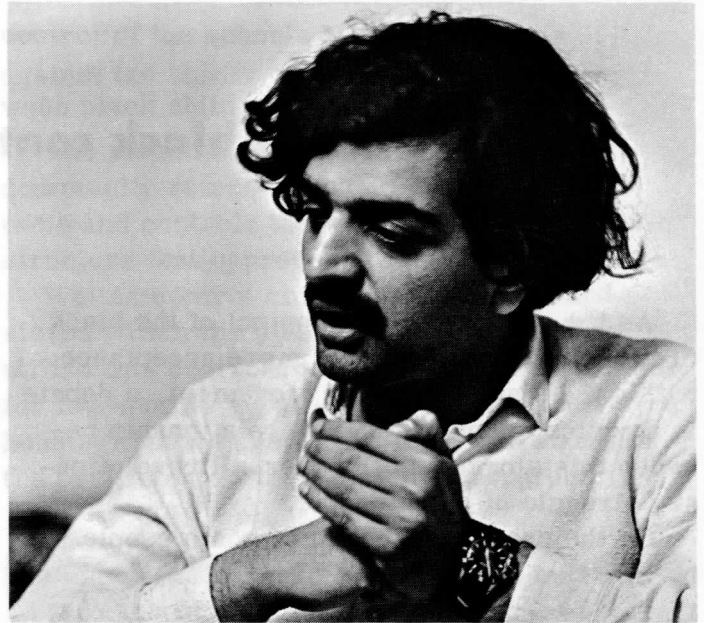
Thomas: What response did you give to that argument?

Boutelle: I told them that in America black people suffer a double and triple oppression because of the color of our skin as well as being exploited as workers. We must think of ourselves as a separate people with special problems and history. Thus we need special programs and organizations dealing with these problems. In America I feel that black people should be nationalist. We need to get an awakening to what we are so that we can begin to organize around programs that relate to us.

Once we have done that we will be better able to become socialists. I told them that both nationalism and socialism are very relevant.

Thomas: Could you give some information about persecution of non-white militants in England, especially such leaders as Roy Sawh, Michael X and Tariq Ali.

Boutelle: Tariq Ali is a revolutionary soc-



Tariq Ali

ialist, a Trotskyist, from Pakistan. Along with Roy Sawh and Michael X, he is one of the best known non-white leaders in England.

When Ali came into prominence in the last eight months, he was harassed continually by the British Government. They would like to deport him. There have been posters around England and newspaper cartoons ridiculing Ali. He would like to leave England to speak in other parts of the world, and possibly come to America, but he hesitates to do that until he gets his citizenship.

Roy Sawh is from Guyana and he is also under harassment and there have been times when the police in London have attempted to break up his meetings because he has pointed out England as one of the leading racist countries around the world.

Michael X was sent to jail under the Race Relations Act of 1965. This was a law that was supposedly passed to protect non-whites against acts of racism. The only person who has ever been convicted under that law has been Michael X. He was sentenced to one year for calling whites "monkeys, savages, and bastards."

On the other hand, we have some racists on the level of Enoch Powell, a member of the British government, who call black people "pickinies" and make other racist statements. Nothing has been done to him.

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revolution and black control of the black community

by Tony Thomas

As the slogan of black control of the black community gains more and more acceptance within the black liberation movement, a debate is developing concerning the relationship between this slogan and the over-all revolutionary struggle of black people.

On the one hand, there are some people who believe that black control of the black community can be achieved without a revolution; that is, without doing away with the present system.

At the recent convention of the Congress of Racial Equality, for example, CORE took the position that it is possible to win black control of the black community within the framework of capitalism, and that the election of Carl Stokes as Mayor of Cleveland is an important step in this direction.

On the other hand, there are those people such as Phil Hutchings of SNCC who have expressed the view that it will take a change in the present system in this country in order to win black control of the black community.

A few black revolutionaries have put forward the idea that the slogan of black control of the black community is "reformist," that it is not specifically revolutionary or "anti-imperialist." They feel that the slogan can be taken over by the power structure and that it is not useful in raising the consciousness of the black community.

The answer to these questions can only be found by analyzing the exact relationship between the black community and white America, by explaining why it is that ever since the first African was brought to the shores of this country, white America has attempted to totally dominate the political, cultural, and economic life of the black community.

This domination must be seen as part and parcel of the continuing white economic exploitation of Afro-Americans. The economic

role which has been consigned to Afro-Americans is that of a super-exploited source of cheap labor for American capitalism. Even unemployed black people play an important role in the system--they represent a reserve labor force which must take whatever jobs they can get at whatever the capitalists will pay them, a group that can be hired and fired according to the needs of the system.

White capitalist America needs the profits it gains from the super-exploitation of Afro-America and the colonial and neo-colonial nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America in order to gain enough profits to maintain the capitalist system within the United States and to maintain its ability to buy out sections of the American white working class.

Correspondingly, an end to the political and economic domination of the black community by white America would mean a total shake-up in this system.

This is the first thing to understand: black people are worth a lot to white America in pure money terms. Robert Vernon, a writer for the Militant, has calculated that just on the question of the difference in incomes between black and white workers (who are also exploited)--black people are exploited over and above white workers to the tune of about \$23 billion per year.

As Vernon comments, "We are worth plenty. We can see from this that Uncle Sam won't be too eager to let black people cut loose. He really would not be able to make it without us."

White capitalism systematically oppresses black people in the same way it oppresses the peoples of the third world--that is, by treating them as colonial subjects without any control over their destinies.

Politically, the black colony is controlled either directly by white capitalist politicians or

indirectly by use of neo-colonial Toms who run the black community for whites. The principal tools of this policy are the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

When it is necessary to use black faces to maintain their control over the black community these parties resort to the use of black mayors, congressmen, and legislators. These Toms play the same role as neo-colonial puppets like Tshombe and Marshal Ky.

In Vietnam, Ky provides the Vietnamese face for the neo-colonial government, but he is at the mercy of the Americans and is controlled by them. He screams for more U.S. occupation troops so that white imperialism can survive in Vietnam.

In Cleveland, Mayor Carl Stokes, a "Negro," Humphrey's man, is the black face in charge of the white government over black people. His first major action was to raise taxes on pay-rolls to raise money so that more cops could be hired to maintain the occupation of the black community.

The slogan of black control of the black community is a direct attack against white colonial control of the black community. Already, struggles by the black community to control the cops and establish community self-defense groups challenge this domination.

Real black control of the black community would mean a black police force set up and controlled by the community. And the Stokes's and Hatcher's could not support withdrawal of police from the black community any more than Marshal Ky can support the withdrawal of imperialist troops from Vietnam.

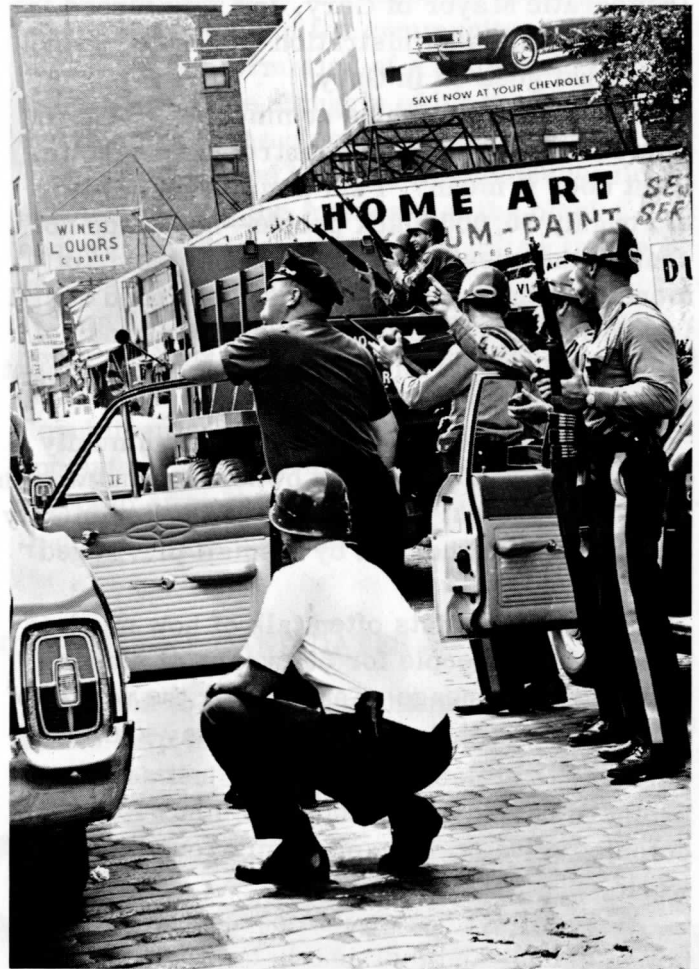
White capitalist city governments control the cops which are the occupation troops that keep blacks in their place, that protect white property, that suppress the attempts of black people to organize to fight for control of the community.

White governments control the racist school systems that teach white racist history, that deny the identity of Afro-Americans, that hide the oppression of blacks and colonial peoples, and prepare the black man for the colonial position of wage slave and selects a small elite for the job of being Toms. The fight for black

control of the schools can strike a blow against the ability of white racists to white-wash black children.

The slogan of black control of the black community raises the basic question of who owns and controls the wealth and the economic structure that oppresses the black community.

Whites control almost all the shops and stores within the black community and they utilize this control to extract cut-throat prices for low-quality goods. They control the rotten housing that we are forced to live in and rake the profits out of this crude exploitation.



White occupation troops during Newark rebellion.

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But the profits which these small-time capitalists receive is peanuts compared to the benefits of the white control of the black man's labor in such industries as auto, steel, transportation, and the service industries.

In such plants as the Ford River Rouge Plant in Michigan, the largest automobile plant in the world, blacks comprise the bulk of the work force with the lowest jobs at the lowest pay.

To control our community, to end racist exploitation, black people must have full voice in the control of the products of their production and the places where they work. This is the only way unemployment can be ended.

It is interesting that Richard Hatcher, black Democratic Mayor of Gary, Ind. , is forced to admit that his administration has little control over what goes on in Gary.

In a recent speech he commented, "There is much talk about black control of the ghetto. What does it mean? I am a mayor of a city of roughly 90,000 black people--but we do not control the possibilities of jobs for them, of money for their schools, or state-funded social institutions. These things are in the hands of U. S. Steel Corporation, the County Department of Welfare, and the State of Indiana."

True black control of the black community can only be achieved if the ownership and wealth of society are put in the hands of the community as a whole, and not run by a small privileged group.

Black nationalists often talk of how much is owed to black people for 300 years of slavery and colonial bondage. Taking over the wealth of this society is the most efficient way and the only way to collect on this debt, just as our brothers have done in Cuba and other former colonies of Western capitalism around the world.

As an alternative to this perspective a number of groups and individuals have put forward the call for black control of the black community through the development of "black capitalism." Although some progress can be made through the formation of black cooperatives, the development of a full-blown black capitalism is impossible to achieve, unless it were established and controlled by white imperialism,

which would mean it was only a new form of white control of the black community.

It is impossible for blacks to develop capitalist economic institutions of the character of General Motors or Standard Oil. There is simply not enough capital in this monopolistic economy to provide for the establishment of black capitalism potent enough to compete with the big corporations and banks.

Even small businesses in the ghettos, owned by whites as well as blacks, are often controlled by or are deep in debt to white corporations and banks.

The imperialists have at their control vast surplus profits from exploitation of the black community and the colonial masses as well as from less exploited working class whites. Moreover, they have control of the banks and legal system to discriminate against black economic development.

Black business could only come about by being financed by the big racist corporations and the imperialist banks. Under these conditions, black business would be controlled by whites. And black capitalism, in any case, would still have to extract super-exploitative profits from black workers in order to compete with the established businesses and monopolies.

The color of capitalism in this period of American world domination is white. Tshombe is a black capitalist and Chiang-Kai-Shek is a nationalist capitalist, but both need imperialist aid to maintain the exploitation of their peoples.

Only through a revolutionary struggle can we win real black control of the black community and the full liberation of black people.



Huey Must Be Set Free!

Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Oakland Black Panther Party, is on trial for his life, framed up by racist Oakland officials for attempting to defend himself against white cops. This attack on Newton is part of a campaign of the white capitalists to smash all efforts by the black community to defend itself against racist attacks. It also marks part of the drive against the attempts of the Black Panther Party to organize the black community. The Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle call upon all brothers to support the defense of Newton and his demands for a trial by his peers—namely brothers and sisters from the community. To help: send telegrams, letters, and donations to Huey P. Newton Defense Fund, P. O. Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, California.

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SEATTLE PANTHERS TO RUN INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES

The Seattle, Washington Black Panther Party announced on July 5 that it would be running two candidates, E. J. Brisker, a leader of the University of Washington Afro-American Society, and Curtis Harris, Seattle Panther Minister of Defense, for the Washington State Assembly.

Brisker said that the campaign would be based on the Panther 10-10 program which calls for black control of the black community.

Brisker is under indictment for participating in a sit-in at Seattle's Franklin High School. A defense effort is now being organized.

BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION IN NEWARK

The Newark black community took a big step by organizing a black political convention to orient to the 1968 Newark city elections.

Over 1,000 brothers and sisters attended, including 100 delegates, representing 200 local organizations. Though Newark is 64% black, only two blacks are on the city council and they are controlled by the Democratic machine.

The convention decided to nominate one candidate for each of the two city council seats open in the 1968 elections.

The program adopted at the conference called for black control of the schools, housing, and other institutions of the community. It also called for the formation of a black united front to coordinate the struggle of blacks in Newark and to conduct the election campaign.

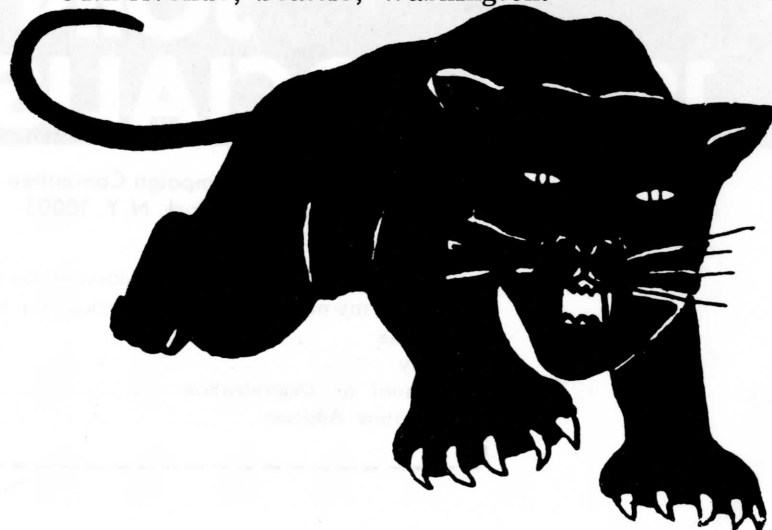
It was stressed that the candidates would be subordinated to the interests of the black community and that they would follow the convention's program.

Donald Tucker and Theodore Pinkney were nominated for councilmen in the East Ward and at-large in that order. Lucius Thompkins, a Republican and Leon Ewing, a councilman appointed by the Democratic machine, were rejected after they refused to allow the convention to control their politics.

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Donations to help defend the Seattle Panthers and to help their election campaign can be sent to the Seattle Black Panther Party, 1127 1/2 34th Avenue, Seattle, Washington.





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