



The Black voice. Volume 1, Number 3 March 26, 1971

Madison, Wisconsin: Afro-American Center, the University of Wisconsin-Madison, March 26, 1971

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THE BLACK VOICE

EXPOSING OPPRESSION ELSEWHERE

Turkey: A Progress Report

"...THE EXISTING SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF TURKEY IS NOW BEING CHALLENGED BY INTENSIFYING UNREST AMONG THE PEOPLE... STUDENT BOYCOTTS, LABOR STRIKES, OCCUPATIONS, DEMONSTRATIONS, PROTESTS... ARE BECOMING COMMON WAYS OF STRUGGLING FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE EXPLOITED PEOPLE IN A "so-called DEMOCRACY."

In a period of over two and a half years, between June 1968-February 1971 there have been 440 major incidents that made the headlines, in addition to those which the bourgeois press did not care to emphasize. A boycott, a strike, a protest march... every other day or so.

Without going into the details, one can see that the movement has gone through three stages of development in this two and a half years:

June 1968-June 1969: The number of important events: 110

Of these, 74.9% are student actions (83 events), 10 are labor strikes, and one is a peasant movement. Included also, was the march of the judges in the capital, protesting and warning the government, for the first time in the history.

June 1969-June 1970: The number of important events: 165.

Of these, the student movements, again are the major component with 81 movements, but only 49.9% of all, 16.3% are labor strikes and 5.3% are peasant movements. Also an increase in reactionary movements has occurred (9 events). This period is also characterized with the widespread strikes of thousands of teachers all over the country. Public employees and technical personnel have been on strike (13 events). There have been three acts of sabotage.

During this period, thus we see that, the workers rather than the students start becoming the primary pressure groups.

June 8, 1970-February 12, 1971: The number of important events: 165.

In the past seven months, the revolutionary fervor has intensified. Of the 165 incidents, 41.4% are student movements (67 events), 16.1% are labor movements (26 events), 30 are strikes and 4.5% are peasant movements (7 events).

In this period, the mass actions have matured and many revolutionary groups have committed themselves to the movement. There has been open manifestations of police discontent with the government, a government which is nothing but a lackey for imperialist interests.

The struggle in this period has developed to the point where stronger measures have been employed. Such tactics as sabotage, bank robberies, kidnappings... have become common.

Nevertheless, we do not mean to imply that the ruling classes do not unite when their own interests are at stake. The representatives of the ruling class in the parliament, in this period united to protest the highest Constitutional Court decision which overruled them, raising their own salaries, while the majority of the population were not certain where their next meal would come from.

This is short summary of the unrest that has permeated the Turkish society during the past two and a half years. This is a social earthquake and the bases of the system are trembling. These are mostly spontaneous uprisings of a small nature, yet we are witnessing the early stages of a second war of independence, a fight against imperialism and exploitation.

To stop the earthquake, to preserve the corrupted and underdeveloped system and the interests tied to it, the imperialists and their ruling class accomplices seek measures to suppress the freedom of those voices for independence and self-determination, dreaming that such measures will get them somewhere. They are planning step by step, a finance-capital dictatorship, a totalitarian regime in the hands of large capitalists, whether you call it a "Yahya Khan formula," a "Papadodemocracy-the regime of Papadopoulos" or a "Mussolini fascism," what is happening as well as what will happen to their dreams is obvious.

THE REALITY OF PEOPLE'S WAR CANNOT BE DENIED.

The history of revolutionary practice has definitely demonstrated that imperialists, domestic capitalist collaborators, and the elements attached to them will not accept defeat without struggle. It should be remembered that, for the attainment



of political power, an armed struggle under the leadership of the working class party is the only solution and not involvement in parliamentary procedures.

A peoples war for a revolutionary worker-peasant state under the ideological, political, and armed guidance of the working class is an arduous struggle requiring various stages developed by tactics carefully planned according to the local conditions. In the struggle of the working classes for political power, the universal support of their natural allies is indispensable. It is impossible to isolate the working class from the people engaged in revolutionary struggle all around the world.

The imperialism, headed by the U.S.A. today, is a whole with its economical, military, and ideological aspects. To regard imperialism only as an exploitative mechanism of monopolistic capitalism and neglect its political and ideological phenomenon without its mechanism of monopolistic exploitation and not to realize the problem of finance-capital is to yield completely to imperialism. The struggle against monopolistic capitalism will reach its victory only when it is fought against all of its manifestations. The revolutionary struggle in Turkey is an inseparable part of the revolutionary movements in Latin America, Asia, and in the Middle East.

Realizing that all the oppressed people in the world have the common enemy, Turkish Socialists propose the slogan of "Middle East Revolutionary Circle." At the roots of this slogan lies the following principle: Turkish Socialists have to evaluate their revolutionary struggles within the revolutionary movements of the world in general and within the Middle East in particular.

For the liberation of the peoples of Turkey and the absolute victory of Socialism, the closest natural allies of the working class will be the revolutionary peoples of the Middle East. Creating multiple fronts in several countries in the Middle East and generating solidarity between the revolutionary elements engaged in the liberation struggle will result in the inevitable defeat of imperialism in the Middle East.

The current problems of the people of the

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inal atrocity. According to information received from extremely reliable sources, the 2nd division is murdering all males over 12 years old in the villages surrounding Keren. They are committing numerous other atrocities on a wide-scale-decapitation, shooting off arms and legs, mutilation of women, bayonetting children and worse. The victims number in the hundreds. To keep Americans away from carnage, the U.S. Army rest center at Keren has been indefinitely closed due to 'sewer repairs.' This matter should be publicized so that the American people know what kind of government they are supporting here and for what purpose their tax dollars are spent. After all, they bought bullets, bayonets and uniforms." (Name withheld, Kagnes, station, Asmara, Eritrea).

The story is the same all over Ethiopia, where the government, the nobility, landlords and the national bourgeoisie thrive by victimizing the downtrodden peasants. The immediate producer in Ethiopia, the peasant, has been and still is being forcibly divorced from his means of production and livelihood—land. A third of the land in Ethiopia is owned by the royal family, a second third by the church, and the other third by landlords composed of government officials, feudal lords and the bureaucratic class.

The Ethiopian peasant refuses to starve and is seeking to regain his rights regardless of how arduous the struggle may prove. The Ethiopian workers, linking their struggle with that of the peasants, also refuses to be exploited and starved by the feudo-capitalists system and daily are soaring new heights in their struggle for a new era. Ethiopian students, too, not forgetting their oppressed fellow-men, stand side by side with the working class and the lower-middle peasant in a steeled and blood cemented bond of unity. The comprador and puppet class responds to this tremendous upsurge of the Ethiopian people in the utmost reactionary manner—

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The Eritrean Front

The Ethiopian peoples, in their historic attempt to liberate themselves from the fetters of feudalism and imperialism have unleashed themselves in a protracted struggle with the forces of reaction. To this effect, the world-wide Ethiopian student movement, which stands in the forefront under the general principles of democracy and socialism, has formulated the appropriate historical notion, "Land to the tillers." It has rallied the poor and lower-middle peasants, the proletariat and other patriotic elements behind the banner, and has dealt significant blows to the enemy. The struggles of the Eritrean, Somali, Bale, Gojjum, and Arussi peoples has to be viewed from this historical dimension. Its revolutionary nature is characterized by the commonness that consists in the rejection of the feudal order and the struggle for a free and democratic Ethiopia.

The Eritrean people have blazed the trail and lit the prairie fire that will engulf all of Ethiopia. Unfortunately, the imperialists and their local henchmen in their futile attempts to extinguish the flames of freedom, are waging a war of systematic genocide against the Eritreans. The tottering monkey's (Haile Selassie's) notorious puppet troops, armed and trained by the U.S.A. have ravaged the countryside, pillaged the villages, burned homesteads, terrorized and murdered thousands and thousands of men, women and children.

The standing army order is now to kill every male above 12 years old in the Keren and western region of Eritrea. An American soldier stationed in Eritrea described the situation in a letter published in the New Republic, January 16, 1971: "During the last 6 months, Eritrean Liberation Front activity has become more frequent and effective. Americans must travel in two car convoys. Roads and bridges have been blown up and whole areas of the Eritrean countryside are no-man's land. Last November 28, the ELF ambushed and killed the commanding general of the Ethiopian army, second division on the Keren road. This was a despicable act and I do not condone it in any way. But for sheer brutality and inhumanity, the retaliation of the second division has far over-shadowed the orig-

Toward A Democratic Palestine

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The Palestinian Revolution has officially adopted the creation of a democratic, non-sectarian state where Christians, Jews and Moslems can live, work and worship without discrimination, as the ultimate objective of its liberation struggle.

Undoubtedly, the establishment of a progressive open society for all Palestinians is the only humanitarian and permanent solution to the problem. It is certainly superior to "throwing the Arabs into the desert," or "throwing the Jews into the sea." For the goal to be feasible, it must be acceptable to all parties concerned, as well as to the people of the world as an interested third party. It must be shown that it will work.

A revolutionary change of attitude on the part of the Palestinians may be observed in the fact that these do not see the Jews as monsters, supermen, or eternal enemies. They clearly identify their enemy as the racist-settler State of Israel and its Western allies. Reading Jewish literature, joining hands with progressive Jews around the world, and acquiring self-confidence—all have helped the Palestinians change their attitudes. Racist-chauvinistic solutions epitomized by the "throwing-the-Jews-into-the-sea" slogan have been categorically rejected, to be replaced by the goal of creating the new democratic Palestine.

On the part of the Jews, although perceptions of the Palestinians as nomads, blood-thirsty terrorists and villains have persisted through Zionist propaganda, several Jews—especially those living outside Palestine—are changing their minds, and are rallying to the call for a progressive non-sectarian Palestine. Changing the minds and attitudes of Jews in Palestine remains an important and unfulfilled task of the Revolution. A popular war of liberation aimed at the destruction of racism and imperialism will create new conditions that will make a new Palestine possible. In the process, the alternatives presented to the Jews of Palestine will be drastically changed. Instead of having two options only: the fortress of Israel versus being thrown into the sea, the revolution offers Jews a new alternative: an open, safe and tolerant Palestine

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Published by the Black students at the
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Editorial

In order to rid themselves of the grip of their rulers, oppressed peoples have historically sought example from other social struggles. During any period of history we find a contemporary successful social struggle providing a source of inspiration for others who dare to liberate themselves. We find them not only being inspired spiritually by the success of their comrades but even adopting when possible some of their tactics and strategy. Finally, we find them not only expressing genuine solidarity with similar social struggles but actively encouraging their victory, sometimes even through participation of their children. For in a real sense, all our struggles are ultimately intertwined in purpose.

Today our paradigm is the gallant liberation effort of the Vietnamese people. It is they who bear the brunt of a well planned imperialist expansion and at the same time, inch their way toward freedom. More than ever must we realize that their struggle is also ours. For they engage the imperialists on one front of a worldwide war of liberation against the main agent of international capitalism, the Amerikan government. The enemy is the same wherever we find oppression: it is international capitalism and all its defenders.

The argument is not new; nor are there few people who accept it. Yet we reiterate it for ourselves here in the lair of the Amerikan imperialist that we may ever be conscious of our duty to humanity.

No longer can we call for withdrawal of Amerikan forces from Vietnam. Instead we must embrace a Vietnamese victory for freedom. Not only will the heroic Vietnamese be rewarded but in a real way our struggle will be lessened with the weakening of the forces of our common enemy. Again, a Vietnamese victory is a victory for all who would dare to fight for their freedom.

The invasion of North Vietnam seems imminent. Will we militate against it or will we wait until the periodic news black-out is lifted long after the expected invasion and gasp in surprise that "Nixon has done it again"? Shall we enjoy a brief period of indignation long after the perpetration of such a grave international crime against North Vietnam as we did after Cambodia and Laos were violated? Perhaps not. For the Chinese have declared a limit to the unpardonable American aggression against their comrades in Vietnam. And so it is not unlikely that driven by their madness the government of Amerika will plunge their people into war with the Chinese. A state of emergency is then inevitable to prevent any interference with what surely will be called a crusade against the Reds.

We have had ample warning. None of us can plead as the Germans tried to plead that we did not know. Pressure must be mounted to prevent Washington from taking one step further in "making the world safe for democracy"—for democracy, read capitalism. To demonstrate his "desire for peace" Nixon must no longer merely withdraw. He must prevent any attack by his disciples in Saigon before we can believe him.

Our duty now is to organize a genuine anti-imperialist movement to force the government to comply with the true wishes of suffering humanity: peace in Vietnam and victory to the NLF.

The Struggle Will Determine Our 'Role'

Charlotte Wilhite

It all began in the Ujamaa room (at the Afro-American Center) over an argument concerning birth control, the Black woman, and her 'role'. "Is the pill a form of genocide as destructive as a round of bullets—except more subtle?... How far should this women's lib 'thang' go?... Is it relevant to Black women?..." These questions are being asked throughout the world, but perhaps more often since the inception of the "liberated" female.

The many books, articles, anthologies, poems, and speeches have at times confused rather than clarified issues. What we have in our midst for the most part are female reaction-

aries who range from being totally self-abnegating and self-effacing to being a stalwart in the fight for female supremacy—and at the same time cursing all men as perpetrators of capitalism, racism, prostitution, sexism, etc.

The First Annual Revolutionary Convention of Black Women will not attempt to answer the questions of the Black woman's role, the participation in women's lib, or the pill as a subtle form of genocide. There are no 'correct' answers. Instead we will deal with a larger issue—that of comradeship and the immediate need to recognize that we are an oppressed nation of people sharing a common past, present, and (hopefully) future. In essence, our topic is not womanhood but Peoplehood. Yes, the survival of a people. Your role as a woman will be determined by those tasks which are necessary in the movement toward total liberation.

Those duties might include anything from breast feeding to head splitting. Just as we are oppressed as ONE we must seek freedom as ONE. This is comradeship, pure and simple. If we prey together, we'll stay together.

The planning committee for the first annual convention hopes only to clarify one issue—who has been/will always be/is committing genocide against us as a people unless we move. Yes, move (but not move as one moves from a M.A. to a Ph.D.; or move as one moves from Witte Hall to the Regent; or move as one moves from a blond wig to an Afro but keeping the blond mentality. We mean MOVE as one moves to remove the chains of colonialism, imperialism, racism, niggerism, etc.

That is the only issue that time will allow us to clarify. We don't have time to debate why John Henry or Willie Boy has been hanging on Miss Ann. We know why. We don't have time to "push our boys into men" (as a sister so aptly said—yea, singing that same old dead tune whose verses were written by white hands, recorded especially for black ears). We don't have time to talk of the relevancy of woman's liberation when we are Black women and not women who just happen to be Black. We don't have time to talk of the pill and birth control cause screwing in cold, heavy chains should be a preventive measure in itself!

We will begin clarifying our real problem beginning Wednesday, March 24 at 7 p.m. Our first topic, "Is Revolution Real?" will be dealt with from three very different perspectives. A sister from the Black Panther Party, Poetess Carolyn Rodgers, and a possible representative from the NAACP will offer their views. The conference format is as follows:

Wednesday 24th March

7:00 p.m. Is Revolution Real
[A panel discussion of differing views (or tactics)]
Carolyn Rodgers, black poetess, SOBU Speakers' Series
Yvonne King, well-known community organizer
Black Woman member of SCLC

Thursday 25th March

7:00 p.m. Black and White Women: Is there a Common Denominator [A panel discussion of Madison Women (Liberation From What?)]
9:00 p.m. Film Series

Friday 26th March Because We Are Black And Oppressed

9-5:00 Registration: Afro-Center
5-6:30 Dinner
7-9:00 Opening Remarks
(1) Welcome
(2) Address - "Oppression is Real"
Laureen Hyman, member League of Revolutionary Black Workers

(3) Musical Skit - "Men on Women"
(4) What's Next (Workshop Instructions)

9:30-until Revolutionary Entertainment
"Lumpen"

Saturday 27th March

9-5:00 Research Assemblies
7:00-until Co-operatives

The gauge for success will not be measured by the number in attendance but the viable programs formed to thrust aside our chains. Black women, like all Black People, must begin to operate in their full revolutionary capacities: Not confined by feminisms, not contained by narcissistic insecurity, not controlled by any dictated reality.

Yours in Our Struggle.

If registration forms or information is needed call Femi Taylor or Charlotte Wilhite at 263-1791.

C.L.R. James Contd'

In continuing to focus our interest on the works and thought of comrade C.L.R. James we have decided to deviate from our previously stated intention. Instead of continuing the overview study of his works which for obvious reasons would mean the condensation of his thought, the paraphrasing of his ideas and the synthesizing of his argument on our part, we thought that it would be pertinent at this stage of our development and complimentary to other articles in this issue to reprint his views on the black struggle vis-a-vis the proletarian struggle in this country. Please note that this piece was written by James in 1947 but remains remarkably relevant to our present day analysis.

"We, on the other hand, say something entirely different.

We say, number one, that the Negro struggle has a vitality and a validity of its own; that it has deep historic roots in the past of America and in present struggles; it has an organic political perspective, along which it is traveling, to one degree or another, and everything shows that at the present time it is traveling with great speed and vigor.

We say, number two, that this independent Negro movement is able to intervene with terrific force upon the general social and political life of the nation, despite the fact it is waged under the banner of democratic rights, and is not led necessarily either by the Organized Labor Movement or the Marxist party.

We say, number three, and this is the most important, that it is able to exercise a powerful influence upon the revolutionary proletariat, that it has got a great contribution to make to the development of the proletariat in the United States, and that it is in itself a constituent part of the struggle for socialism.

In this way we challenge directly any attempt to subordinate or to push to the rear the social and political significance of the independent Negro struggle for democratic rights. This is our position. It was the position of Lenin thirty years ago. It was the position of Trotsky which he fought for during many years. It has been concretized by the general class struggle in the United States, and the tremendous struggles of the Negro people. It has been sharpened and refined by political controversy in our government, and best of all, it has had the benefit of three or four years of practical application in the Negro struggle and in the class struggle by the Socialist Workers Party during the past few years.

Now if this position has reached the stage where we can put it forward in the shape that we propose, that means that to understand it should be by now simpler than before; and by merely observing the Negro question, the Negro people, rather the struggles they have carried on, their ideas, we are able to see the roots of this position in a way that was difficult to see then or even fifteen years ago. The Negro people, we say, on the basis of their own experiences, approach the conclusions of Marxism. And I will have briefly to illustrate this as has been shown in the Resolution.

First of all, on the question of imperialist war. The Negro people do not believe that the last two wars and the one that may overtake us, are a result of the need to struggle for democracy, for freedom of the persecuted peoples by the American bourgeoisie. They cannot believe that.

On the question of the state, what Negro, particularly below the Mason-Dixon line, believes that the bourgeois state is a state above all classes, serving the needs of all the people? They may not formulate their belief in Marxist terms, but their experience drives them to reject the shibboleth of bourgeois democracy.

On the question of what is called the democratic process, the Negroes do not believe that grievances, difficulties of sections of the population, are solved by discussions, by voting, by telegrams to Congress, by what is known as the "American Way."

Finally, on the question of political action. The American bourgeoisie preaches that Providence in its divine wisdom has decreed that there should be two political parties in the United States, not one, not three, not four, just two; and also in its kindness, Providence has shown that these two parties should be one, the Democratic Party and the other, the Republican, to last from now until the end of time.

That is being challenged by increasing numbers of people in the United States. But the Negroes more than ever have shown—and any knowledge of their press and their activities tells us that they are willing to make the break completely with that conception...

Quotation From Pedagogy of the Oppressed

"The radical, committed to human liberation, does not become the prisoner of a "circle of certainty" within which he also imprisons reality. On the contrary the more radical he is, the more fully he enters into reality so that, knowing it better, he can better transform it. He is not afraid to confront, to listen, to see the world unveiled. He is not afraid to meet the people or to enter into dialogue with them. He does not consider himself the proprietor of history or of men, or the liberator of the oppressed; but he does commit himself, within history, to fight at their side."

Paulo Freire

Any Means Necessary: Marxism And The Black Revolution

Kwame Salter

At no point during the 400 years of physical and psychological incarceration have Black people (in any significant numbers) in America failed to rally behind and support America against whosoever (or whatsoever) was currently being denied as the "enemy". Despite an horrendous domestic experience that has included resistance to involuntary servitude, severe and crippling social discrimination, inhuman (even for capitalism) economic exploitation and blatant political rape and expropriation, Blacks have steadfastly remained "patriots" and most recently the loyal opposition.

The question of loyalty, then, has largely been academic. In almost a surrealistic manner, a steady parade of mellow-voiced Black arias have touched the "national heart" with their soulful renditions of "God Bless America," and "My Country 'tis of Thee." Equally as appalling and even more disturbing has been the effective programming of innocent young black children to "recite" the contradiction-laden "Pledge of Allegiance," to a flag that should immediately signal and warn them of oppression. Finally centuries of seemingly endless deprivation has taken its toll as elderly black matriarchs and patriarchs extol and perpetuate the half-truths and inconsequential rewards implied in the American dream.

It has been both ludicrous and pitiful to observe Black freedom fighters strenuously avoiding any and all political persuasions, tactics or analysis that might be construed as communist or un-American. As a result of a "made and manufactured in America" illusion of the *reluctant democracy*; i.e. a naive belief in intrinsic human values that supposedly underpins the American political system, it has become almost sacrilegious, immoral and "not Black" to employ a communist tactic or even discuss it. Understandably, the fascist-democrats along with the avaricious capitalists who control Amerika and consider the world their "turf" encourage such a perception of reality—for its not threatening. What results from such a perception of reality is a distorted and oft-time inaccurate analysis of exactly what problems confront black people and which are the most critical and pressing.

Class or Race Struggle?

As a result of an economically inspired racism in the United States, Black people defy the traditional Marxian class analysis and structure. For regardless of socio-economic position and material wealth, blacks have found it exceedingly difficult—near impossible to penetrate the middle and upper bourgeois class; entrance into the capitalists class remains more of a fantasy than a reality. The proletariat or white working class of America has been so inoculated with racist perceptions and fears that they actually serve as obstructionists to black liberation—economically, politically, and socially. In other words, the most oppressed white class in America because of their relative position to blacks—assume a very reactionary posture. Where does this leave black people vis-a-vis a class struggle?

Immediately, such a distorted class alignment underscores the need for black radicals—regardless of the analytical tools employed—to be ever conscious and cognizant of historical forces at work in America and the social forces at work within the black communities of America. More specifically, he must always proceed from a black reference point, because of his direct affinity to real black conditions.

Such a black modus operandi does not obviate the utility of analysis done by white people: What it does however is to make it incumbent on those employing such analysis to fit them to the unique and historically distorted position of black people in America. In one very real sense the class struggle in America is critically dependent on the success of the race struggle—both are inseparable entities.

Subsumed (at times very obvious) in the question of race struggle vs class struggle is the question of black people working cooperatively along-side of whites in the thrust towards freedom. Black cultural nationalism embodied all these concerns and was a manifestation of all the justifiable suspicions blacks historically held of whites.

In its initial stages, cultural nationalism, was a revolutionary "reaction", and at times a violent rejection of decadent white western values and life styles that oppressed % of humanity directly. Embodied in this "reaction" was the clear vision of mentally and culturally freeing blacks—it lacked, however, a direct political thrust. As Huey P. Newton observed, it (cultural nationalism) "is basically a problem of having the wrong political perspective. It seems to be a reaction instead of responding to political oppression." Black People had rejected the symbols of America but hesitated to confront the system, per se, in a revolutionary sense. Instead, cultural nationalism—after a brief "skirmish"—emerged as a political limbo and even received the endorsement of some of Amerika's most regressive elements. Gradually, revolutionary militancy gave way to cosmetic concerns (hair); artifacts (dashiki); etc. more important than essence; and revolutionary analysis was undermined by periods of political-cultural

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exhilaration. Subsequently, the black thrust towards liberation was diluted and lacked the clout to deal a lethal blow to capitalism and its noxious hand-maids, i.e., racism, sexism, fascism, adanuseam. The most revolutionary element is American society-black people are in essence saying "Better Dead than Red."

Much of the skepticism that blacks hold towards communism is understandable when one looks (with hindsight) at the CP's feeble and racist bourgeoisie attempt to galvanize blacks during the 30's. The CP's (Russia's too) operating principle in regards to black people was (and is) nothing more than organized condescension and paternalism with a "red" twist. Black people are not looking for a substitute "master" and therefore the reactionary and opportunist line of the CP (Russia too) is insulting and archaic. So, to dismiss the CP is understandable, but to dismiss communism as a viable alternative to our present conditions is not intelligent.

Interestingly enough, most anti-Marx people and a goodly number of self-proclaimed Marxists have not read Marx, do not really understand the concepts advanced within and therefore operate from an incomplete basis of evaluation and/or action. Perhaps, the most important concept to understand is the "dialectical materialism". Dialectical materialism is the Marxist view of nature and as such determines the course of action employed to solve problems that confront man. The following three paragraphs represent a synthesis of two brilliant expositions on Marxism: *Introduction to Marxism* by Emile Burns and *Karl Marx* by Isiah Berlin.

Introduction to Marxism

Marxism regards human beings and therefore human society as a part of nature. Man's origin is therefore to be found in the development of the world; man developed out of previous forms of life, in the course of whose evolution thought and conscious action made their appearance. This means that matter, reality that is not conscious, existed before mind, reality that is conscious. But this also means that matter, external reality, exist independently of the mind. This view of nature is known as "materialism."

The opposite view, the view that the external world is not real, that it has existed only in the mind of some supreme being is known as idealism. There are many forms of idealism but all of them are based on the belief that mind, whether human or divine, is the primary reality and that matter, if it any reality at all, is secondary.

To the Marxist, as Engels put it, "the materialist world outlook is simply the conception of nature as it is, without any reservations". The external world is real, it exists independently of whether we are conscious of it or not, and its motion and development are governed by laws which are capable of being discovered and used by man, but which are not directed by any mind.

Idealism, on the other hand, because it regards matter, external reality, as having only secondary reality, if indeed it is in any sense real, holds that we can never know reality, that we can never understand the "mysterious ways" of the world.

Why is the controversy of materialism versus idealism important? Because it is not just a question of speculation and abstract thought, it is, in the last analysis a question of practical action. Man does not only observe external nature: he changes it and himself with it.

Marxism, therefore, bases all its theories on the materialist conception of the world and from this standpoint it examines the world, it tries to discover the laws which governs the world and since man is part of reality-the laws which governs the development of human society. And it tests all its discoveries, all its conclusions, by actual experience, rejecting or modifying conclusions and theories which, to use the simplest phrase, do not fit the facts. (Emile Burns)

In order to avoid becoming tools of our own oppression, we as black people must broaden our political scope and grab hold to any tactic that has utility in our struggle towards human dignity. We must be careful of over-reacting to white racism and becoming so saturated with the ecstasies of being "black and beautiful" that we obscure facts while intensifying fantasy. In other words, to dismiss Marx because he "was a white boy, a Jew, or a lazy malingerer intellectual" who never saw his analysis reach social-political fruition is to be guilty of subjectivism. We must avoid becoming so black (superficially) that we further imprison ourselves; to be black in America is to be revolutionary; and to be revolutionary is to employ scientific analysis to all that oppresses us.

When Marx becomes ineffectual, drop him; when black becomes so *beautiful* that it is reactionary, dispense with it; when black American patriotism reaches (as it has) the point of diminishing returns-use any means necessary.

Palestine (from page 1)

for all. The Palestinian Revolution thus aims-in the long run-to recruit Jewish Palestinians as well as non-Jews in its liberation forces as an important step toward its final goal. This requires a basic change in Jewish attitudes.

It is toward the fulfillment of such a goal that further elaboration on and clarification of a democratic Palestine is attempted. We will presently address ourselves to the question of what is really meant by a democratic, non-sectarian Palestine.

Difficulties and Limitations

It is both difficult and risky at this early stage of the Revolution to make a clear and definitive statement about liberated Palestine. We do not believe that victory is around the corner. The Revolution does not underestimate the enemy or its allies. What will happen during the years of hard struggle for liberation cannot be easily predicted. Will the attitude of Palestinian Jews harden or become more receptive and flexible? A further drift to the right, stepping up anti-Arab terrorism-in the Algerian O.A.S. tradition-followed by a voluntary mass exodus on the eve of liberation will pose, for example, an entirely different problem

On the other hand, joining the Revolution and working with it will lay firmer growth for the New Palestine. The Revolution is striving hard to achieve this second alternative. Guerrilla operations are basically directed at the military and economic foundations of the Zionist settler-state. **Whenever a civilian target is chosen, every effort is made to minimize loss of civilian life-though it is hard to distinguish between civilians and non-civilians in this modern Spartan militaristic society where every adult is mobilized for the war.** Hitting quasi-civilian areas has the psychological effect of shocking the Israelis into realization that a racist-militaristic state cannot provide them with security when it is conducting genocide against the exiled and oppressed Palestinian masses. In the Dizengoff Street bomb in Tel Aviv, *Fateh* guerrillas delayed the operation three times to choose a place (in front of a building under construction) and a time (12:30 after midnight) to maximize noise and minimize casualties. The result: few were injured, but thousands were shocked and made to engage in serious thinking.

In conclusion, despite all uncertainties, there is hope that the vision and the behavior of the Palestinian revolutionaries will achieve a better future for their oppressed countrymen. Answers must be thought out and found for myriad questions relating to this future. Even if the answers are tentative, they will start a dialogue which will provide the path toward maturity and fulfillment.

Profile of the Democratic Palestine

1. The Country

Pre-1948 Palestine-as defined during the British Mandate-is the territory to be liberated and it is there that a democratic, progressive state is to be created. This liberated Palestine will be part of the Arab nation and will not be an alien state within it. The eventual unity of Palestine with other Arab states will make boundary problems less relevant and will end the artificiality of the present status of Israel, and possibly that of Jordan as well. The new country will be anti-Imperialist and will join the ranks of progressive revolutionary countries. Therefore, it will have to cut the present life line links with, and total dependence on, any of the Great Powers. Integration within the area will be a prerequisite.

It should be quite obvious at this stage that the New Palestine discussed here is not simply the occupied west bank or the Gaza Strip or both; these are areas occupied by the Israelis since June, 1967. The homeland of the Palestinians usurped and colonized in 1948 is as dear and important as the part occupied in 1967. Besides, the very existence of a racist State of Israel based on expansion, and the consequent forced exile of part of its citizens is unacceptable by the Revolution. Any arrangement accommodating an aggressor settler-state is unacceptable and temporary.

2. The Constituents

All Jews, Moslems and Christians living in Palestine or forcibly exiled from it will have the right to Palestinian citizenship. This guarantees the right of all exiled Palestinians to return to their land whether they were born in Palestine or in exile, and regardless of their present nationality.

Equally, this means that all Jewish Palestinians-at present Israelis-have the same rights provided they reject Zionist racist chauvinism and fully accept to live as Palestinians in the New Palestine. The Revolution therefore rejects the supposition that only Jews who lived in Palestine prior to 1948 or 1914 and their descendants are acceptable.

In a recent interview, *Fateh* official Abu Iyad reasserted that not only progressive anti-Zionist Jews, but even present Zionists willing to abandon their racist ideology will be welcome as Palestinian citizens. It is the belief of the Revolution that all present Israeli Jews will change their attitudes and will subscribe to the New Palestine, once they are aware of its ideology.

3. The Ideology

During the process of liberation, Palestinians will decide upon the system of government

and the political-economic-social organization of their liberated country. (One repeats at this juncture that the term *Palestinians* includes those in exile, those under occupation, and all Jewish settlers.)

A democratic and progressive Palestine, however, rejects a theocratic, feudal, aristocratic, authoritarian or a racist-chauvinistic form of government. It will not allow oppression or exploitation of any group of people by any other group or individuals. The goal is to establish a state that provides equal opportunities for its people in work, worship, education, political decision-making, cultural and artistic expression.

This is no Utopian dream. For, the very process of achieving the New Palestine inherently produces the requisite climate for its future system of government i.e. a people's war of liberation brings about new values and attitudes that serve as guarantees of democracy after liberation.

Palestinians, after liberation, will not accept subjugation and will not reintroduce oppression against any group, for this will be a negation of their *raison d'être* and an abdication of their revolutionary existence. This is an obvious result of experiences in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and Jordan. After twenty two years of oppression, humiliation and manipulation, the camps have awakened. In the process, the exiles have instituted democratic self-management. Medical, educational and social services are being provided locally through revolutionary organizations. Crime rates in these camps have drastically gone down to 10 per cent of pre-revolutionary magnitude. Self-discipline has replaced the police. The new militia is providing the link between the revolutionary avant-garde and the masses. Democratic checks are being built in.

Newsmen and other foreign visitors have discovered that nowhere in the Arab world can they find equally mature and tolerant people *vis à vis* the Jews than in the camps in Jordan and Lebanon and especially among the *Ashbals*, the fighting lion cubs. These young Palestinians (8-16 years) are almost totally free of any anti-Jewish bias. They have a clearer vision of the new democratic Palestine than that previously held by bourgeois city-dwellers. These young liberators of tomorrow will complete the dismantling of Israeli oppression and the rebuilding of the new Palestine.

If the democratic and progressive New Palestine is Utopian, then the Palestinian guerrillas and camp-dwellers are practicing Utopian living. (Continued in next issue)

Monopoly Capitalism And Black People

In their contributions to recent issues of the "Black Voice" many of our revolutionary comrades have articulated, if only in theoretical terms, the bankruptcy of the capitalistic economic system, the subtle and at times not so subtle exploitative techniques it employs to sap the resources of peoples of colour all over the world and they have also explained to us the nature of psychic scars that result from such exploitation. In the wake of their courageous intellectual efforts I will simply try to amplify, with some factual detail, the conceptual arguments that were presented before.

In order to place the relationship of monopoly capitalism and blacks in a large and more understandable perspective, it's imperative that we sketch a brief historical background and smash some so-called "historical facts" that have remained sacrosanct for years. For example the Civil War was not fought by the Northern ruling class to free the slaves, as many mistakenly believe. It was fought to check the ambitions of the southern slave owning oligarchy which wanted to escape from what was essentially a colonial relation to Northern capital. The abolition of slavery then was an accidental result of North-South conflict and not the successful effectuation of any Northern liberal humanitarian motive.

Prior to World War I blacks in the U.S. comprised the bulk of the southern peasantry. As the war petered out, however, European immigration which greatly supplied the labor market for northern capital was suddenly reduced to a mere trickle. This of course created many economic headaches for northern capitalism. The demand for labor of all kinds shot up and the rate of unemployment reached astronomical heights. The "sensible" alternative for the white capitalists in a situation of economic desperation was to tap that vast reservoir of black surplus manpower in the southern states. The shift from external to internal supplying of the demand for unskilled labor meant the urbanization of the blacks and the transformation for many of our people from a regional peasantry into a substantial segment of the urban working class.

It was of course inevitable that blacks should enter the urban economy at the very bottom because of their poverty, illiteracy and lack of skills compounded by historic race prejudice and discrimination. But have our people been able to follow in the footsteps of earlier immigrant groups, climbing the economic ladder and escaping from their original degradation? Since, there has been tokenism and we are all familiar with the talented tenth argument, but for the great mass of black people the answer is emphatically and unequivocally, no.

What then are the social forces and institutional mechanisms that have forced black people to play the part of permanent immigrants? There are three major sets of factors involved in the answer to this nagging question. Firstly, a continually segregated sub-proletariat greatly enhances the benefits of private interest. For example, owners of ghetto real estate are able to overcrowd and overcharge; also middle and upper income groups exploit the large supply of cheap domestic labor provided by the black community. Secondly, the socio-psychological pressures generated by monopoly capitalism intensifies existing racial prejudices (prejudices that were deliberately manufactured as a rationalization and justification for the exploitation of non-white labor) and thirdly, as monopoly capitalism developed the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor (a category into which most blacks fall) declines both relatively and absolutely.

Sophisticated monopoly capitalism is complemented and supplemented by a complex social stratification and a pervading status-oriented mentality that is a product of this stratification. In such a social structure individuals define themselves in terms of their "status" in the hierarchy. They are motivated by a social mobility which is astutely played upon by the large profit-haunted corporations that manipulate the utility functions of the consuming public. Needless to say that black people are also caught up in this vicious syndrome. They end up always in a disadvantageous position for you see it happens that a special pariah group at the bottom of this structure we are speaking about acts as the dump heap for the frustrations and hostilities of all the higher groups.

This complex of attitudes, product of stratification and status consciousness in monopoly capitalist society is part of the explanation for the bigoted efforts to resist black progress by great portions of white society.

"China Story"

Edgar Snow's film "One-Fourth of Humanity" was a significant effort to rip down the curtain of myths rung down on China by the Western press. Those who view China as the vanguard of the Third World appreciated the too rare opportunity of peering through a camera into their source of inspiration.

Basically, it was a Then-and-Now type of documentary composed of scenes taken about 4 years ago interspersed with film strips which went as far back as the 1930's. Snow focused on improved living conditions, the superb health and overwhelming elan of the masses of Chinese people. In addition the tremendous technological progress in science and medicine was evident throughout the film.

Of particular interest was the story of the building of one particular commune, the mixture of work and education all over China and the recurring theme of participation by the masses in building China.

One saw in the commune story the revolutionary spirit of a group of peasants as they fought with their hands and picks to wrench farmland from a mountain and protect it from frequent floods. Their efforts portrayed in particular, people working together for the benefit of the whole group as well as steeled determination to carve out their own destinies.

Education in China transcends mere formal schooling and appears in many different manners. Everywhere the people have their own study groups aside from community education and cultural programs which stress 'learning by doing.' Students in formal institutions on the other hand, spend half their time working in the fields or factories. Implementation of all forms of education and integration of education with work derives from the socialist view of developing all of man's potential, from the idea of freeing man through making him conscious of the social and physical forces about him and the desire to destroy the bourgeois specialization of man even between intellectual and physical activity.

The film depicted an alternative to the individualistic and yet impersonal society in which we live. It presented a view of human beings fully involved in creating a new society unlike we who are frustrated, helpless and even alienated from our present society. In short, Snow has given us a priceless learning experience in contradiction to the blatant falsifications perpetrated by those who control the media.

But you know that the Chinese have never been allowed to experiment free of harassment much less encouraged by the United States.

At the present time, it seems that they will face another crisis from the U.S. aggression in Indo-China. If one appreciates their efforts at liberating themselves from their oppressors as well as their attempts to utilize all their potential and if one is conscious of international attempts of sabotage led by the U.S.A. and if one perceives the extent of repression within the U.S.A., and if one happens to be in the U.S.A. and if one's consciousness does not permit him to sit by idly while his people are oppressed, then must not one . . .?

Turkey (from page 1)

Middle East engaged in the anti-imperialist war are: to start the people's war; to build the foundations of the anti-imperialist war on the class basis; to make the scientific Socialist theory a guide to this struggle, which must be carried on under the leadership of the proletarian socialists; to extend the war beyond the national borders; to visualize it in an international framework, the Middle East Revolutionary Circle; and to collaborate with the revolutionary powers within the imperialist countries.

ALL THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!

TURKISH STUDENT ASSOCIATION TRI-CONTINENTAL

Eritrea (from page 1)

murder. Last year alone, the government massacred over 40 students and wounded 150 more. It killed over 100 workers and wounded many more in labour struggles and disputes, while the number of peasants killed climbs into the thousands. The Ethiopian people, indignant as they are, have resorted to armed struggle. They have struck appropriate and resounding annihilative blows with vigorous intensity to the moribund forces of history and enemies of the people.

Long live the victory of the people's revolutionary war of Ethiopia.

SUPPORT THE ETHIOPIAN STRUGGLE. SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO:

Ethiopian Student Movement
(Madison Chapter)
10 Langdon Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53703

The following is an excerpt from a pamphlet, *Black Draft Resisters*, published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Just as the U.S. Government has escalated its war against the people of Vietnam to a war against the people of Indo-China, so too have progressive forces within the United States escalated their activities against their government's war. They have moved from protests against the war's occurrence to resistance to the institutions that make it possible.

Unfortunately, this escalation has not included active and visible support for black draft resisters. This is true even though black people are some of the worst victims of this war. It is true even though the peace movement in this country—and its counterpart, the draft-resistance movement—have from the beginning of this war encouraged young men to refuse induction into the U.S. Army.

Indeed, these two movements support, and have supported in the past, young men who do refuse. And, because of this support, respect for the rights of draft resisters has been growing in the court of public opinion and in the courts of law. This is partly because of the growing public disgust with the war and partly because of protests organized by the anti-war movement.

Within the past year, a number of important cases of draft refusals have been won and prison sentences set aside. These cases include certain landmark ones decided by the Supreme Court, and also many decided by the lower courts.

And with the recent victories in the cases of Joe Mulloy of Kentucky and Elliott Ashton Welsh, II of California, there is even a break in the pattern of using the draft to silence and remove young men who have been active in movements for social change.

Thus far, however, the breakthroughs that have been made in establishing rights under the draft law have occurred almost entirely in the cases of white men.

Since 1965, the U.S. Supreme Court has decided 28 cases involving the rights of draft resisters. Twenty-four of these were won, and four were lost by the young men involved. But only three of those whose cases were accepted for review by the Supreme Court were black; two of these were among the four cases that were lost.

Meantime, other black draft resisters have had their appeals rejected or have been unable to appeal to the higher courts. They are now in prison or on the way or in exile in other parts of the world, convinced that they can get no justice in the U.S.A.

Many of these are young men who were active leaders of the movement against this society's oppression of black people; as with young white activists, the draft has been used as a weapon to silence them.

And meantime, other black men who might have refused the draft have been convinced from the beginning that it is useless, or they lack the resources to make a major fight. So they have

simply gone into the Army—or disappeared.

This gap between the expanding rights of white men under the draft and those of blacks simply cannot be explained away. It is racism in a most poisonous form—a form that leads to prison or often to death on the battlefield.

White America must look at the facts about this gap.

The white peace movement must look at it. White draft resisters who have won their rights have won them mainly because of protest from the peace movement—and the same outcry has simply not been heard around the cases of black men.

Some may say that the gap is not real—that white men are winning more draft rights than blacks, because there are more white men who resist. The draft resistance movement is a white movement, they say.

This is not so. One of the first mass calls to draft resistance during the Vietnam War came from Stokeley Carmichael, then chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee (SNCC), when he made black campuses across the South and black ghettos in the North ring with the echoing cry of "Hell No, We Won't Go." Black leaders of SNCC were among the first to refuse the draft and to demonstrate against an induction center—in Atlanta, Georgia, in the summer of 1966. The people who took part in that demonstration are now in prison—and there has been virtually no outcry from the peace movement, or anybody else.

"Islam At UW Madison"

By Levert X

As-Salaam-Alaikum (Peace Be Unto You) my Beloved Brothers and Sisters. In one of the earlier editions of the Black Voice newspaper I stated that not only should Black Students get themselves together, but I also stated that we should recognize our other Original Asiatic Brothers and Sisters. I am speaking about the Arab Students, the Chinese, the Japanese, the African, Hindi (Indian), the Egyptian, and all other Original Asiatic Black People on this campus.

In the serious time in which we are now living it is important for us to consider the time. The time is ripe for unity as the prophets predicted in the past. This is the time of the "Universal Rise Of The Black Man".

As I invite you, my Beloved Brothers and Sisters to get acquainted with our Asian and African Brothers and Sisters, I further extend my invitation to you in the same breath to attend Muhammad's Mosque # 3 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The Address is:

MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE OF ISLAM NO.3
2507 No. 3rd STREET
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53206

PHONE: 372-5733

Our meetings are on Wednesdays and Fridays at 8:00 p.m. and on Sundays at 2:00 p.m.

Come and Hear the "LIFE-GIVING, LIFE-SAVING" words of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad next Sunday.

Thank you for reading this article and may Allah (God) Bless you with the Light of Understanding as I greet you in Peace in the Arabic Language of As-Salaam-Alaikum (Peace Be Unto You).

Black Studies Conference

Between Feb. 17th and 21, 1971 the first national Evaluative Conference on Black Studies was held at Jackson State College, Jackson, Mississippi. The conference entitled "Black Heritage: Our Cultural Roots", was a call to students, teachers and directors of existent Black Studies programs to assess the social significance and educational value of the whole range of current Black Studies programs.

The conference focused on the following objectives:

1. to discover the philosophy, educational purpose and method of the various Black Studies programs
2. to establish more lines of communications among the various programs
3. to evaluate the effect of such programs in furthering social change
4. to delineate necessary criteria for establishing Black Studies programs

Seven workshops were set up based on the above topics.

The Afro-American Center was represented in some of the programs by Dorothy Bell and Gerald Wilson. They maintain that apart from their personal educational experiences the conference was indeed a success in laying down guidelines for the development of Black Studies in the American University System.

Convening such a conference implicitly reiterates the need for watchfulness and self-criticism in the development of the Black liberation movement. In the words of Sister Dorothy, "we hope there will be many more such conferences in the future."

Boxing Club

The Afro-Center is sponsoring a boxing club. So far, things are just getting underway. Starting with a small nucleus, we hope to eventually expand and attract others. The participation of individuals in dual meets is optional. However, if one wants to enhance his confidence in self-defense and learn something about the nature of offensive battles, the club will try to deal with this.

To say something about the purpose of the club, we are attempting to teach and emphasize that there are elements of skill and a lot of thinking, planning and executing in confrontation with another individual. This also applies to our struggle at large, and for those of you who think we are well schooled in the elements above, there is always room for further development and enhancement.

Another purpose is to instill a type of individual confidence which could carry over to other aspects of the black man's struggle.

We hope the boxing club will be an on-going thing with the Afro-Center and that Black people will continue to grow and expand.

Brown McGhee

Note!

Plans to cope with student disruptions have been drawn up for almost every educational institution in this country. In most cases, committees have been set up to draw together various proposals for social control by apologists for the system into coherent strategies. These plans are available in libraries at the UW and ought to be studied by those who would confront the administration.

Black Womanhood

Your tender yet strong hands engulf All of Africa's Strength within them. Your compassionate, warm eyes reflect Beauty, wisdom and all of the pain Which has been inflicted upon you. So rounded, firm and soft are your breasts, Which has been the security for so long a time Of all Black peoples.

The gentle swaying of your hips brings to mind The rhythm and beat of absolute Blackness.

But with all your strength, beauty and dignity, You have been mentally used and physically abused You have been the Mother of Africa, perhaps the Universe You have always been known to stand by your man In time of need.

You have been insulted, raped, degraded and dehumanized, By the White man and your own. Yet you have and always will remain A tower of strength. As my thoughts roll back over the past years, I wonder, Will you ever be free?

Vicki King

Need For A More Progressive Level Of Thinking

Black people must begin to broaden our means to liberation. The issue of fighting white racism with Black racism has become "old hat" simply because of the fact that racism is not the issue anymore. Oppression at all levels has become the enemy against our peoples' liberation. And we must begin to deal with this enemy on a more tactical level.

Capitalistic oppression has grown in many parts of the Eastern as well as the Western world and manifests itself in class stratification (each class bearing its own economical destinations). As a result of this, oppressed, people of the world have begun to unite against this oppressive force. For without unification, we only promote our enemy's aggression through continual stratification.

This tactic can (and must) be applied on a local level. Capitalistic aggression in America also manifests itself by dividing the people. Economical separation is only a "capitalistic plot" to extend oppression. We must begin to realize that in order to promote and extend the capitalistic structure, all those not in the ruling class must be oppressed. When we have realized this, then we will begin to understand the necessity for all American peoples' forces (Red, White, Black...) to unite and fight against this decadent system. When we have accomplished unification, we will have defeated the manifestations of oppression. And as an end result, the term "hand-in-hand" can be applied on a more progressive level.

By Berry-Jean Murray
Black United Front
University of Wisconsin

Thanksgiving '70'

Thanks?
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O.R. Dathorne

