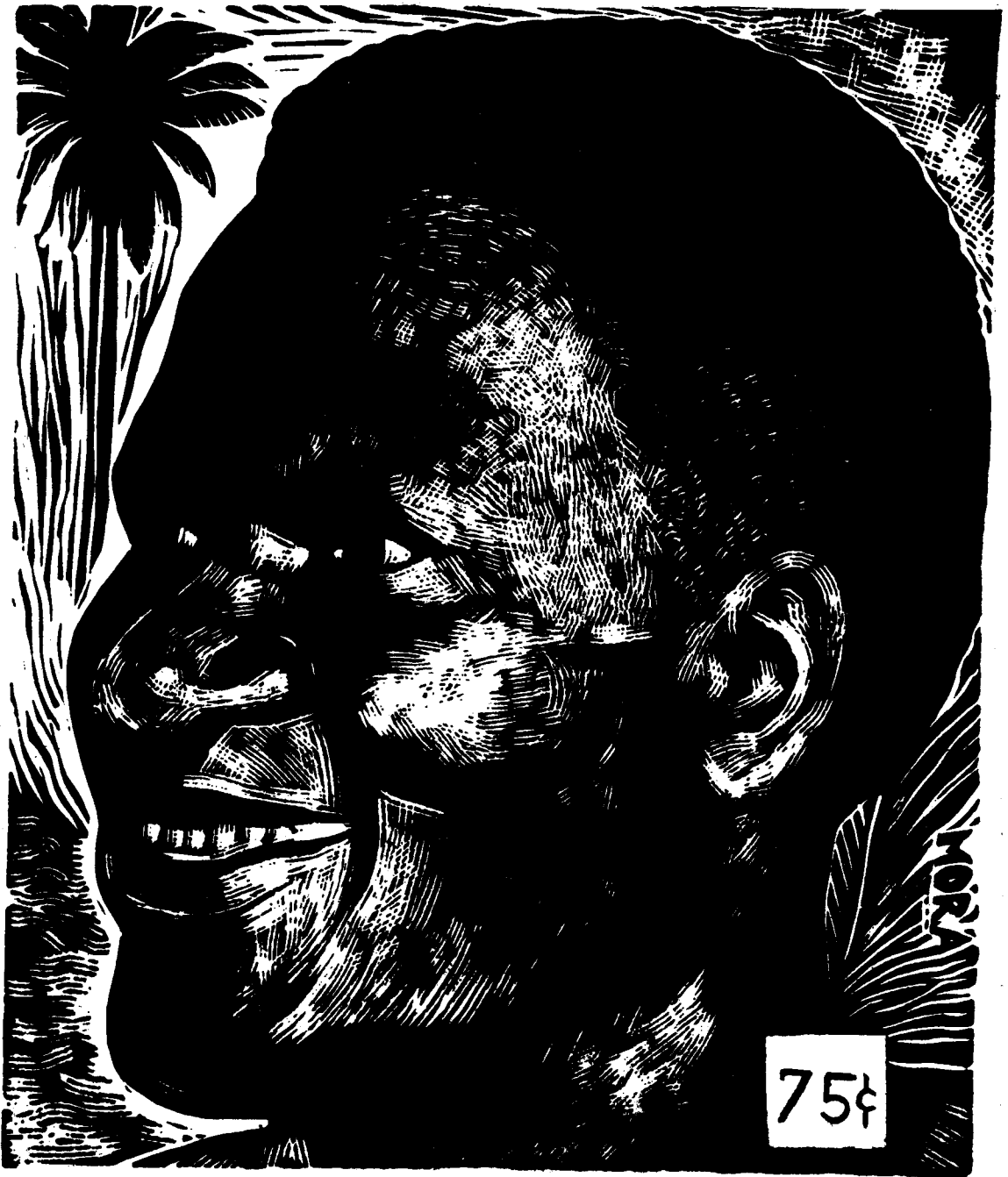


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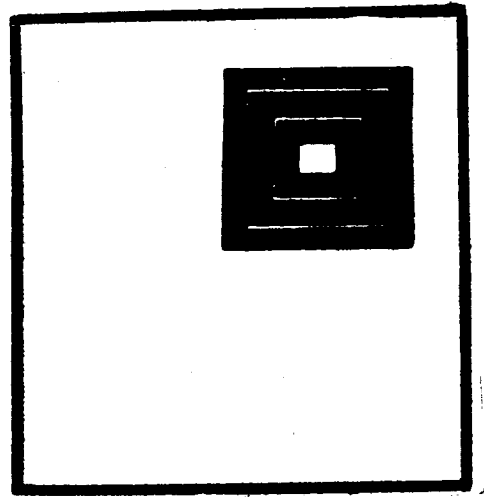
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**blackness,**  
**thats where**  
**its at!**

Editorial / Na Watengenezaji

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We are related--you and I.  
 You from the West Indies,  
 I from Kentucky.

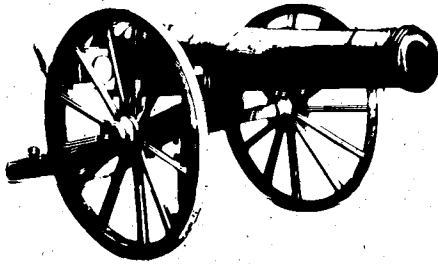
We are related--you and I.  
 You from Africa,  
 I from these States.

We are brothers--you and I.  
 langston hughes

The following intense, enlightening essays are for the purpose of helping project Blackness into its only true contact: humanism. Thus it is no accident that every article is by Frantz Fanon, Black man par excellence. Indeed we reiterate for all negro sychophants of white power (e.g., Roy

to p. 176

**Uwezo Meusi!**



**black power!**

**PODER NEGRO!**  
**POUVOIR NOIR!**

---

for it is not true that the work of man  
is finished  
that man has nothing more to do in the  
world but be a parasite in the world  
that all we now need is to keep in step  
with the world  
but the work of man is only just beginning  
and it remains to man to conquer all  
the violence entrenched in the recesses  
of his passion  
and no race possesses the monopoly of beauty,  
of intelligence, of force, and there  
is a place for all at the rendezvous  
of victory.....

Aimé Césaire

---

---



*science*  
*in the service*  
*of revolution*

---

In the remarkable preface to Fanon's final work, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Jean-Paul Sartre writes that "...Fanon is the first since Engels to bring the processes of history into the clear light of day." Without a doubt one will find there the appreciation of a sympathizer, of a friend and traveling companion. But it is a fact that the work of Fanon has forcefully imposed itself upon the diverse currents marking the "re-entry" of the Third World into the global scene of events.

Born in the West Indies, Fanon, as his friend Césaire gave a militant interpretation to Négritude. And along with Césaire he conceived of the rehabilitation of black culture as a "humanizing" project, the realization of which should express itself and can only express itself at the level of political struggle against the order which has "dehumanized" the black man. What Césaire attained at the level of poetry, literature, or politics, Fanon gave himself the mission of accomplishing at the level of science and politics. Elsewhere their complementarity appears in the similarity of their conditions, of their preferences, and of their projects: these are colonized men who armed themselves with Marxism in order to bring about a "new man."

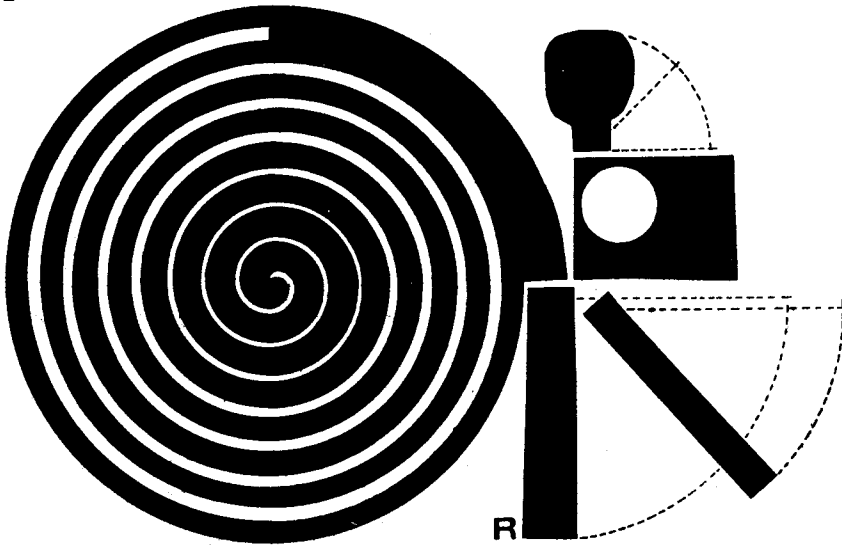
## OUR ANCESTORS, THE GAULS

Psychiatrist and sociologist , Fanon oriented his analyses toward the study of the social and psychological significance of the colonial order (Peau noire masques blancs\*) in order to arrive at the political conclusions (The Wretched of the Earth) which to his eyes imposed themselves

According to him the colonial order was based upon the domination and exploitation of one type of man, the colonized, by another type of man, the colonizer. The morality of the colonist order is simple; the white colonizer decrees that he represents Goodness and that the colonized black embodies Badness. In order to make this situation acceptable the colonizer first of all is going to form a class of "evolues," or "evolved natives," who will serve as figureheads for the colonized society. It is at this level in the colonized society that alienation and deculturation will manifest themselves the most. The colonizer will try to persuade these "evolues" that their ancestors were "barbarians," and will furnish them history lessons making them descendants of the Gauls, etc. And by a process that Fanon says springs from delight, most of these "evolues" will try to convince themselves of it, and as a consequence will behave according to this "new-found" ancestry. They will deny their cultural traditions and will make desperate attempts to assimilate with the master. But this willingness to identify with the master will be quickly brought to a stop by the colonial reality the assimilated will see themselves refused jobs, housing, etc., which are reserved for the colonizers.

In the end, the "perfectly evolved" become "perfectly uprooted" by virtue of the colonial situation. On the other side of the barrier, according to Fanon, the colonizer as well is an abnormal being, pulling from the colonial system a unique "raison d'etre" for his own existence.

On the other hand, in spite of the extortion and vexation imposed upon the rural areas, and in spite of the operation by which the colonizer persists in suffocating and emptying them, at the level of culture these areas remain less touched than the urban areas. In sum, Fanon thought that it would be the "wretched" (the peasantry) who would be the "motors of the revolution," for they had "nothing to lose and everything to gain" within the suppression of the system. For Fanon decolonization was of violent necessity; the colonizer would renounce his privileges only through force. This violence would feed upon itself; the least demand would be



considered inadmissible by the colonizer, who would repress it. On the other hand, from the time that the colonized reaches the point of stating, "Nothing to do; only force pays," he will be deprived no more. This is the moment where the "order of violence" is begun.<sup>3</sup> There is a spontaneous activation of the colonial machine, the results of which can be counted in terms of the number of persons who have disappeared, who have been wounded, or have been killed. On all levels the colonized resists the repressive apparatus; at this moment he returns to his roots. This is not a folding up, but a surpassing of oneself. In this regard Fanon observes in the attempts at dismembering the Algerian national culture, and notably in the producing of the "evolues," that the colonizer attacks the veil in particular, which he labels as stupid, excessive, inhuman... hiding so much natural beauty," and also that "at this moment the woman is in a state of subordination with respect to the man." During the resistance, the Algerian woman refused to "deveil" herself, that is to say, to abandon her cultural identity, save when the necessities of struggle demanded it; for example, to pass unseen among Europeans during a mission.

## THE PSUEDO BOURGEOISIE

In the majority of cases, the political movements in the colonies are attached to the existence of the colonial order. If they are not in all cases the organic extensions of the metropolitan parties, they at least reflect the leading ideas of these parties; the "great humanitarian principles" of the movement emanate from these ideas, and they organize themselves around electoral goals. The cadres of these movements are recruited among the civil servants, the appointees, the workers, etc.,: that is to say that they represent a privileged group with respect to the peasantry which they scorn. These cadres seek only to ameliorate their condition of existence within the established order. They belong to the proletariat neither by their condition nor by their consciousness; on the contrary, they act as "brakes" upon the liberation struggle. But in spite of the efforts which they employ to break the spirit of the masses, they will be surpassed. And to the extent that the struggle advances, honest intellectuals and workers will detach themselves from the political apparatus in order to join with the masses, organizing them for the purpose of achieving victory.

But once formal independence is acquired, the "evolves: of the political parties will try to "take the place of the colonizer" in every area. And without making the slightest changes they will try to "take the masses on trips with their high sounding and empty discourses on the nation..." They will develop into a "psuedo-bourgeoisie whose existence will be that of an appendix of capitalism." Fanon felt that this "false bourgeoisie" would be incapable of stepping the revolutionary process of the masses, first of all because the latter remain conscious of their role as motor that they have played in the liberation struggle, secondly because the bourgeoisie reveals itself as being incapable of leading the work of national construction, resulting in an aggravation in the conditions of life which will lead the proletariat to take up the struggle once again.

Fanon assures us that the masses will win, desiring that this will mark the beginning of a new order which will not be a replica, "even ideally," of the European order, towards which "even Europeans temporarily feel an immense nausea." Such is the thought of Fanon: a thought that marries the lucidity of the intellectual to the passion of the combatant. This profound and sincere passion brings to his work a mark of authenticity

resulting in a vibrant testimony. It is true that his work at times lacks lucidity; Fanon nevertheless remains one of the most brilliant spokesmen for the national liberation struggle.

## THE MALAGASY REBELLION by Aristide Ratsimbazafy

On Sunday, March 30, 1947, the world learned that an insurrection had taken place on Madagascar.

Arbitrary arrests and summary executions of the finest sons of the Malagasy people, pillage and systematic destruction of Malagasy property: all these crimes were officially termed "pacification."

In imposing this "pacification" over an 18-month period, the French colonialists killed 90,000 persons.

Despite these massacres, the Malagasy people -- who had valiantly resisted the French military conquest of the island and who had twice taken up arms to drive out colonialism -- never abandoned their demands for independence, liberty and progress.

It has been said that the Malagasy rebellion of 1947 was provoked by the colonialists in order to launch a military attack against the Malagasy national movement. All those who lived through the period of the rebellion to the "pacification" cannot deny that. But it is none the less true that the peasant masses, avid for liberty and progress, took up arms to end the social injustices and the brutalities of which they were the victims. It is none the less true that those rebellious peasants went beyond the calculations of the provocateurs and became the heroes of a glorious struggle against the colonial regime.

The Malagasy rebellion of 1947 takes its place naturally among Africa's struggles for freedom and independence.

We will not forget the 90,000 Malagasy peasants who died during the rebellion of March, 1947 !!

LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION !!

frantz fanon

**racism**  
**in**  
**france!**

translated from the  
spanish text by  
**SOULBOOK**



Two years ago the A.L.N.\* which had been active on French Territory in order to neutralize the then very active counter-revolution, or to react against certain torturers among the French police, finished its operations there. At this time, spontaneous attitudes of racism and passionate discrimination by the French against North Africans began to develop. One remembers this as being a period in which even a South American was riddled with bullets because he looked like a North African.

Tunisian and Moroccan citizens equally suffered from this racist conduct. Tunisian workers were arrested, isolated, and beaten up. Moroccan students were apprehended and interrogated in local police courts. On the streets, remarks were made which were discourteous and humiliating both for the person and for the young states.

We remember this as a period when every North African was questioned several times, when numerous Moroccans or Tunisians working in France decided to return to their national territory.

On that occasion it became customary to declare that only the Algerians were responsible for this state of things, and that it depended on the Algerians to bring an end to this generalized suspicion with respect to the North African population.

Therefore it was thought that this strongly aggressive and vengeful behavior was not a component of the social and mental structures of the French people but simply the self-defensive reaction of an organism that found it difficult to distinguish the difference between the inhabitants of the Maghreb.\*\*

The most recent events that have taken place on French territory merit special attention. This will demonstrate to us without doubt that the confusion between foreigners did not spring from the basis of a deplorable ignorance, but that it found its justification in a banal principle desiring that the most brutal forms of racism would settle in France at a truly explosive rate.

## A WRITER STABBED

The first fact is the assault on the young writer, Oyono a while back. the author of "Une Vie de Boy" left a restaurant in company of a woman. The pair was assaulted, the woman insulted in an obscene manner, knocked around, and then kicked repeatedly. As for Oyono after having resisted his attackers, he collapsed with a sharp pain in his lower back, and was then carried to the emergency ward of a Parisian hospital. After a blood transfusion, he recovered. Today he tells those who want to hear it that he does not feel safe in France, and that he is ready to leave.

How to interpret this fact? This was not a personal attack on this man of color, nor was it attempted robbery. That is not the point; the point is that it was corrective advice to the woman (who was white) and a warning to a Black. The attackers hurled themselves at Oyono with shouts of "Death to Blacks!" It is interesting to note that Oyono was able to point out to the police one of his attackers, before they vanished. The police to this day have ignored the names of the attackers and, in spite of methods taken by several associations, it is doubtful that this matter will ever be given judicial procedure. It should be noted that this happened in the heart of the Latin Quarter, that is to say, in the heart of an intellectual section of town frequented by students from all over the world. And it is significant to note that no one attempted to aid the victims, and with the operation (the assault) completed, the assailants were able to quietly disappear.

## AN ANTI-RACIST FILM PERSECUTED

In the eagerness of struggling against the ambient racism in the U.S. and elsewhere, several movies on that theme have already been filmed.

The last one to appear, "Tripes au soleil" (Tripe in the Sun), on which one could say many things, has just been shown in Paris. At the first showing, young Parisians burst into an extraordinary tumult, destroying the armchairs, staining the screen, and manifesting their hostility when the film ended. Shouts of "Down with the Blacks, Death to the Blacks, Long live Hitler" were given and the police then "dispersed the demonstrators"

About this same time the anti-fascist organizations were being systematically persecuted. One of the most active, M.R.A.P., and

organization against racism, anti-semitism, and for peace; and one of the first to take a position against the Algerian war and for the recognition of the Algerian nation, was the object of continued attacks. Their local branches were almost daily attacked, and their leading members were objects of direct threats and acts of violence. On the walls of Paris, at about the same time, swastikas made their appearance. These swastikas in Paris were no more than replicas of those that one could see in Algiers or in Constantine during the Algerian war.

In as much as in France an anti-racist film can be persecuted in full daylight by an organization which does not fear proclaiming the slogan, "Death to Blacks", it can be said that democracy is going very badly in France and that Blacks would do well to abandon her (France).

But then, it is said, shouldn't we guard against generalizing about these facts? Isn't this just a question of manifestations of episodes repressed by law and unanimously condemned by the national French conscience. Perhaps we should agree to postpone judgement until later. And perhaps such manifestations do not rise spontaneously. In order that they exist, in order that they take form, it is necessary in a certain measure, and precisely in the national conscience, that it produce a sufficient setting of racism, a superiority complex, and discrimination. These manifestations surge in a straight line from the heart, that is to say, from the heart of the individual. They express the viciousness of the French educational system with regard to the rest of humanity, and also the consequences of decades of colonial domination. Didn't General DeGualle himself, at the time of his speech at Blois, miraculously rediscover this road from the heart.

Speaking of the necessity of arriving at an agreement in Europe, did he not say, "Don't we civilized whites owe it to ourselves to find a common ground of understanding?"

We unhesitatingly think of this passage by the Black poet Césaire: "What they (the 20th Century bourgeois humanists) do not pardon Hitler for is not crime in itself, the crime against the white man, but it is in having applied colonial customs in Europe: that which until now was only marked for the Arabs of Algeria, the coolies of India and Blacks of Africa."

If already racism raises its head in France in such dimensions, it is time that Blacks abandon ship (France). To the members of the "French community" it is in deciding whether your place is still on the side of those who are still not free from their meanness and hatred toward the Black Race.

by ernie allen

98



# **“Love Me...”**

**A Review of  
Calvin Hernton's**

**Sex And Racism**

**In America**



"Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfill it, or betray it."  
Frantz Fanon

RULE 1: "Pay close attention to all manner of things; observe more, and if you have observed only a little, then do not write."

RULE 2: "Do not force yourself to write when you have nothing to say." Lu Hsun, quoted by Mao Tse-Tung

I would like, first of all, to briefly discuss my reasons for reviewing Hernton's Sex and Racism in America. I have always had admiration for Hernton as a Black poet. His "The Distant Drum," for example, is a very outstanding poem of which I never tire of re-reading. And I certainly would not have missed the chance of checking out his first book when it arrived on the scene.

Now we can well understand why white magazines (with the exception of three, to my knowledge) would have wanted to review Hernton's work, simply because of the "provocative nature" of the title; but viewed from a Black vantage point we discover in this work very little, if anything new to be found which has not already been said on the subject of the intertwining of sex and race within the last twenty-five years or so, and perhaps better by other authors. And this in spite of the lavish praise recently heaped upon Hernton by the "New Left" i.e., the old left "warmed" over." 1

For example, I find Sex and Racism in America to be little more than an updated parallel to John Dollard's Caste and Class in Southerntown, written in 1937. Dollard, an ofay, bourgeois psychologist, and as such, endowed with all the mental encumbrances (ie, hangups) characteristic of those whites who attempt to take up the all - elusive "negro question," brought along all these hangups when attempting to formulate his conclusions; since it couldn't possibly have been otherwise, we thank Dollard for his research and analyses, and forgive his "white" solutions

for the elimination of white racism in the U.S. But what disturbs me most is that Black America's thought regarding the sexualization of racism has, during the span of the last twenty-five years or so, apparently gone no further than as to corroborate Dollard's findings with additional personal observations, as it were with the case of Hernton; and that is why we're not going to let Bro. Calvin off so easily.

In an author's note to the (Grove Press) paperback edition of the book, Hernton makes a correction to the following statement which inadvertently "slipped by" in the first printing:

"When racism disappears, the nature of the American politico-economic system -- the way power and jobs and chances for the good life are distributed -- will change." 1.

This upside down equation Hernton attributes to an "error" in phrasing" on his part; though I have no real reason to doubt Hernton's explanation. I will say this: if Hernton were the least bit aware of the nature of the connections between the economic relations of a given society and its superstructure, that is, the political, philosophical, juridical, artistic religious, and other views of that society and the institutions which correspond to them, he would be less likely to err either in phrasing or in the formulation of really child-like statements of the following sort, which cannot be explained away so easily:

"For instance, the most rational move that Negro women could make in the South would be to agitate for the nullification of all legal barriers against inter-marriage. This nullification would afford Negro women legal redress against white men who refuse to support their illegitimate children and to honor sex relations with Negro women by a marriage contract. This would constitute a real step (!) toward revolutionizing (!! ) the power structure in the South," 2.

A quick glance at these two preceding quotes will reveal a common denominator of utopian reformism - one of the many white threads which run through this book from beginning to end - which desires, or rather, pleads that the social problem of White America's racist economic order be attacked not at their causes, their basic roots of decadent, White mispower, but at the level of their effects. 3 If one objects that

Hernton really and truly made a mistake in phrasing, we can then also charge him with inconsistency here, for the general trend of his writing clearly indicates a refusal on his part to deal with problems at their roots, a road which we know can only lead to mystification.

"The sexualization of racism in the United States is a unique phenomenon in the history of mankind;" 4.

This incorrect statement appeared in the first chapter; if Hernton had taken the trouble to do a little more research he might have discovered the fact while the sexualization of racism in the U.S. is unique to the history of the U.S. his over-simplified generalization is hardly applicable to the entire history of mankind. At this point it becomes instructive to see what the true expert on the sexualization of racism, Frantz Fanon, had to say on this subject in his *Peau noire masques blanc* (Black Skin, White Masks). For every experience that Hernton is able to relate to us regarding the sexualization of racism in the United States, Fanon's work is able to furnish us with concrete examples of parallel situations which have occurred, and are occurring still, between Black and whites living side-by-side in the West Indies, in Africa, and in Europe as well.

For example, Hernton states that:

"...whites conceive of the Negro male predominantly in genital terms -- that is, as a "bull" or as some kind of "walking phallus." To the pornographic mind this may be either disgusting or attractive, but it is always exciting! These two emotions -- revulsion and desire -- combine themselves in the psyche in such a way that the black man is perceived as sexually "abnormal." So that many white women who have intercourse with a Negro feel as if they have been "raped." The Negro may be ever so gentle and kind; the woman nevertheless feels that he has "ravished" her. Indeed, such women desire to be "ravished", and many of them tell their black lovers that they can never "sleep with a white man again." 5.

How, really, does this above remark differ from the following passages of Fanon's book?:

"At least on the genital plane, is not the white man who detests black men, reacting to a feeling of sexual impotence or inferiority? With the ideal lying at the level of absolute virility, and with the black man conceived of as a penis symbol, wouldn't the white man feel diminished in his contact with black men? Isn't the lynching of blacks a sexual vengeance? We already know of the manner in which cruelty, tortures, and beatings admit of the sexual; one is easily convinced of this by rereading several pages of the Marquis de Sade." 6.

And just before this passage Fanon describes the erotic manner in which the Black athlete is viewed by white women:

"A young woman confided to me that there was something about them which stirred up her heart. A prostitute told me that the first time she thought about sleeping with a Negro, the idea gave her an orgasm; she looked for them but avoided demanding any money of them. "But," she added, "sleeping with them was no more extraordinary than sleeping with whites. It was before the act that I attained orgasm. I thought about (imagined) everything that they would be able to do to me; and this is what was so remarkable." 7.

It would be no problem at all to cite case after case of similar examples, save for lack of space in this paper. Fanon's book --- full English translation of which has yet to be published -- is filled with numerous accounts of experiences, both sexual and not, of Black people in all parts of the world - experiences which certainly match those related by Hernton for the U. S. What should be stated here is that Hernton's unfortunate shortsightedness on this point has led him into a myriad of contradictions. For example, holding up his belief that "sexualization

of racism in the United States is a unique phenomenon in the history of mankind, " he can on one hand state that, "...I do not think that the personality forces that mobilize most Negroes who seek relations with white women are free of ulterior or psychiatric motives," <sup>5</sup> a point with which I would agree if I might be allowed to substitute the word "social" for "personality," since what we are dealing with is not an individual, but a collective problem. On the other hand, while speaking of young African brothers visiting the U.S., Hernton innocently states that "...it is nothing...for these proud young Africans to date and cater to white women." <sup>9</sup> Hence we must conclude that Mr. Hernton evidently believes that Africans, in general, have escaped the sexualization of racism process and that young African brothers, in particular, are able to enter into social relationships with white American females without having any effects of this sexualization process interject themselves into these relationships. Viewed solely from the standpoint of the American white woman this last statement is all the more surprising to us, since prior to this remark Hernton had already stated that:

"White America perceives -- or conceives of -- the American black man as a "clothed African savage."  
 "White people -- men as well as women -- want to see the Negro's penis. They want to see this "clothed savage" naked." <sup>10</sup>.

and further:

"I believe that American women are prone to be curious about, or attracted by, foreign men (even Africans), because they find these men "exotic," To many white women the American Negro is considered as a sort of "foreigner." <sup>11</sup>.

I am not too sure, then, simply on this last basis alone, as to whether one could not consider this "exotic" element as not having tainted any relationship between a white American female and an African male. I think the facts will bear out, however, the American white women find foreigners -- particularly men of color -- more "erotic" than "exotic," but all this is a bit beside the point; I find two major faults in the

preceding quote from Hernton. First point; I cannot in any manner imagine why Hernton would have wanted to qualify his remarks with the adverb "even" when it came to the mention of Africans. For if there is a myth surrounding the sexuality of the American Black man, the one following the African Black man is at least equal if not greater! And this very myth is exemplified in Hernton's statement that White America conceives of the American Black man as a clothed African savage. Due to the fact that Afroamericans in many ways have been dehumanized and psychologically destroyed by the Beast, isn't it logical (Chuck's logic) that an American white woman would desire an "original" Black man from the African Motherland even more strongly than she would a "watered" down" and "domesticated" American Negro version? How then would a relationship between an African male not spring from an ulterior motive (at least from the standpoint of the white woman) which is tied in one way or another to the sexualization of racism? And notice here that we have viewed this relationship only from the side of the white female. In a moment we will return our African brother and demonstrate that with regard to white women in general, he has also fallen into the same psychological trickbag as his American Negro counterpart.



The second fault in the above quote lies in the fact that it "terminates" the investigation just at the point where it should begin." Hernton states here that American women are prone to be curious about, or attracted by, foreign men because they find these men "exotic." But he has done nothing here but "explain" the observed phenomena away. Has Hernton thought to question why white women find so-called foreign men "exotic?" Evidently, not. And here we see once again that Hernton refuses at any cost (for what reasons I am not sure) to look beyond his parochial mental blindfolds and to admit of the international existence of this sexualization of racism; and this is but one of the factors which has spoiled his analysis.

Due to the ubiquitous presence of racism throughout the entire white western world and to the similarity of method of all white colonizers (be they from Europe

or from North America), one is not at all surprised to discover the existence of the same types of social problems whenever and wherever Blacks have come into contact with whites, or vice-versa; i.e., with respect to the Black, the inferiority complex, the sexualization of racism from the standpoint of the victim. Thus, when we view from the side of the African male his relationship to the white female, in reality we are viewing the hangups or potential hangups (meaning here that social conditions for their blossoming objectively exist) of all Black men who come into contact with white women, whether this contact occur in North America, the West Indies, Africa, or Europe.

In a chapter of his book dealing with the relationship of the Black man to white woman, Fanon analyses a few passages from the novel, Un homme pareil aux autres (A Man Like Any Other). Here we check out the reactions of Jean Veneuse, a West Indian Black who has lived for some time in Bourdeaux, France (and as such is considered to be a semi-white); Veneuse has just asked a white man, Coulanges, for the hand of his sister in marriage :

**"Entreated, the white man accepts the offer of giving his sister to Veneuse-- but on one condition: You have nothing in common with genuine Negroes; You are not black, but excessively brown."**

This process is well known among students of color in France. The Negro is a savage, while the student is an "evolved." You are "us" Coulange tells him, and if someone believes you are a Negro, it is thru error; you only look like one. But Jean Veneuse Doesn't agree; he can't, for he knows. He knows that "exasperated by this humiliating ostracism, common mulattoes and blacks have only one thought from the time that they are in Europe; to satiate the appetite that they have for white women." 12.

Meanwhile, they tell us, Bro. Hernton has gone scampering off to Europe. Will he escape the sexualization of racism there?; only Lawd knows! Hernton has little understanding, if any, of Black Nationalism as it has manifested itself in the U.S. It appears to me that he views "the humanitarian solution to the race problem," (i.e., the mealy mush furnished him by his beatnik "ideological" masters) as being threatened by this nationalism, and has little comprehension -- nor does he appear to desire any -- of its use as a vehicles for social change --save, perhaps, in its restricted, "cultural" manifestations. Is Hernton unaware that nationalism has been used by Afro-american as a kind of "psychological balancing act" which has allowed them to maintain their sanity while living in semi-colonial status? I think so. The slogan quoted by Hernton, "Buy Black, Think Black, and most of all, Love Black," is expressing a means to self-preservation. The fault here is

not the nationalist sentiment which undelies this slogan, but rather, that the sentiment is channeled into a "cultural" bag. And one of the biggest practical problem presently facing our liveration struggle is precisely the politization and the re-channeling of the existing Afroamerican nationalist sentiment into a BIG, BLACK, FUNKY FORCE for social change. Is Hernton against this? I think so; and in this respect he reminds me of a little girl who would like to have a baby, but who is too afraid to gothrough with it for fear that it would be too painful an experience.

The love-hate syndrome that Hernton displays with respect to white women has an analogy in his ambivalence toward the United States; at times we find the words, "American democracy," written with "democracy" in quotes, implying that ne is hip to Cracker Johnson and all the other "crackers" before him. At other times we can find such bodacious statements as the following :

"Emphasizing the perils and sacrifices of associating with a white soman may tend to enhance her value in the eyes of the Negro. To such a Negro, the prize is worth the challenge. Indeed, it is this sort of spirit or "guts" that has made America a great nation. The rugged individualist, the man who transcends the chains of background and provincialism to surge ahead toward new frontiers is and American hero. For the contemporary Negro the white woman definitely represents a "new frontier."  
13.

When I read aloud that last passage to my puppy dog, even he rolled! Yes, indeed, as soon as we got to the subject of white women, "All is forgiven Massa Jim." Whimsically, Hernton finds White America either "disgusting or attractive, but it is always exciting!" But as I read this passage once again, the full meaning of Hernton's statement unfolded before me; yes, and there he was, the American Negro male (white-oriented and would-be-brother), clad in buckskin coat and greasy loincloth, razor in one hand and autographed picture of LBJ in the other, stealthily creeping through the snake-infested, racist roach-ridden jungle of North America toward the lily clearing, toward the new frontier, his new frontier, the American white woman!!!

Is this book as bad as I have pictured it? Surely there must be something in it of benefit. The answer is : yes, there is something of value in this book--but all of it has been said before. In sum, Hernton's book is a series of personal observations written by the wrong person

One last point; the intensification of the Afroamerican liberation struggle -- if one can take a cue from those liberation struggles which have already passed through this stage that we now find ourselves traversing -- will result in (indeed, will necessitate) qualitative changes on the relationships between individual members of the oppressed, Black nation. And this of course includes those relationships internal to the Black family structure as well. In this respect, any foreign ideological refuse that bubbles up from the toilets of either the White House or of Columbia University, that is, any ideas which tend to re-inforce those relationships among Afroamericans belonging to the old order (which began when Chuck snatched us from the Motherland), as well as the collective hangups which resulted from this order, must be given a thorough and ruthless re-flushing. What I am speaking of here applies, unfortunately, to the following passage of Sex and Racism in America :

"In addition to the general crisis occurring in contemporary race relations, a more specific crisis is ensuing in the relations between Negro men and Negro women -- and, I suspect, it will become more intense as time goes on unless Negro women ( I say women because, in this regard, I doubt the capacity of the men) initiate measures to resolve it." 14.

This remark concerning the "capacity of the men," of course, needs no further comment. In fact, we might have found this last quote in one of Chuck's sociology books. On the other hand, Western sociology, the 'logic' of which exists only to sustain both itself and the inhuman order which gave rise to it, cannot explain the dialectical connection between the intensification of anti-colonial struggle and the strengthening of relationships among the colonized which results from it. Far from being an intellectualization, this is a phenomenon that finds its basis in practice :

"...the Afroamerican family is, more often than not, a disrupted social unit where women suffer from too much freedom from their men. But in pre-revolutionary Algeria the opposite problem was pervasive; the women, and the children were tied too strongly to the male. But both problems are identical in a much more fundamental sense. One of the main results of both situations is that generally there is a lack of conjugal love between the husband and wife. Fanon shows that by the Algerian husband and wife struggling together their mutual love is qualitatively increased. It seems to me that this is the best way, if not the only manner in which we Black Americans can reconstruct the now mutilated relationships between our men and women." 15.

Though from preceding remarks I may have demonstrated to the reader my inability to relate to Hernton's book in a very positive manner, it must not be concluded that I, in a rabid fit of negro-egomania, have been attempting, consciously or subconsciously, to destroy my brother. For here we can learn a few lessons ; firstly, all of us who are Black and who are also writers must as a primary goal subscribe to the principle of writing to and for our people; in the present hour of our struggle this is a most basic point, open for neither sterile debate nor intellectualization. The "raison d'etre" of Bro. Hernton's work is most obviously, based elsewhere, and his very personalized, immature, often unfounded, and highly romantized idealizations of the Black experience in the U. S. as well as in other parts of the world become all the more apparent ( and consequently all the more demoralizing to Blacks when after a perusal of his work we discover sadly that he is writing to them, the oppresors, instead of to his own Black brothers and sisters. The fact of this is reflected, above all, in the title of his latest work : **White Papers for White Americans** .

To this highly creative and beautiful Black poet we would therefore suggest the following : My Brother : if you find yourself unable to understand the basic problems of your people and, moreover, if your personal hangups will not permit you to form a veritable bond of emotional identification with them (that is, if you find yourself psychologically unable to address your writings to Blacks primarily, and above all in a manner which would invite honesty), then we as concerned Black brothers and sisters urge you to suspend further publication of your writings until such time as you can get yourself properly together (i. e. , become totally immersed within a Black psychological framework). Please understand that we feel obliged to tell you this solely because of the intense love which enjoins us to all our people regardless of any individual or collective views to which they may subscribe, a love requiring consistent attempts at identifying and eliminating the ideological confuston present in much of the thinking of our people today, a love demanding of truth and above all, of commitment to struggle.

In conclusion, then, we can only say :

**KEEP ON PUSHIN', BLACK POWER GONNA COME!**

FOOTNOTES

- 09
- 1) The fact that White America is presently in the act of oppressing the majority of the world's peoples (i.e., the Third World) evidently eludes Bro. Calvin, but this "slight discrepancy" is apparently of not too much concern to those white radicals who find it eclectically convenient to "lap-dog" Hernton's book solely for the purpose of keeping their delicate, white leftist eyes intact, and particularly when it comes to their confronting Black Nationalism in the U.S., both at the levels of ideology and of practice.
  - 2) Calvin C. Hernton, Sex and Racism in America (New York, 1965), p.7, Doubleday and Co., Inc.
  - 3) A slight clarification is in order here; though capitalism is definitely not the cause of racism, it nevertheless remains true that one of the primary conditions for racism's uprooting lies in the death of capitalism at the international level. Space prohibits a detailed examination of this problem here, which must be dealt with separately.
  - 4) Hernton, p.7
  - 5) Ibid., p.39
  - 6) Frantz Fanon, Peau noire masques blancs (Paris, 1952) p.149, Editions du Seuil
  - 7) Loc. cit.
  - 8) Hernton, p.73
  - 9) Ibid., p.78
  - 10) Ibid., p.40
  - 11) Ibid., p.37
  - 12) Fanon, p.76
  - 13) Hernton, p.72
  - 14) Ibid., p.168
  - 15) Kenn M. Freeman, "The Colonized of North America," SOULBOOK 4 (Berkeley, 1965) p.311-12



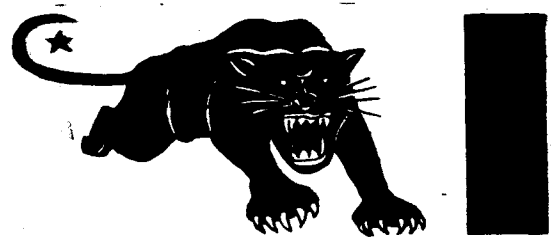
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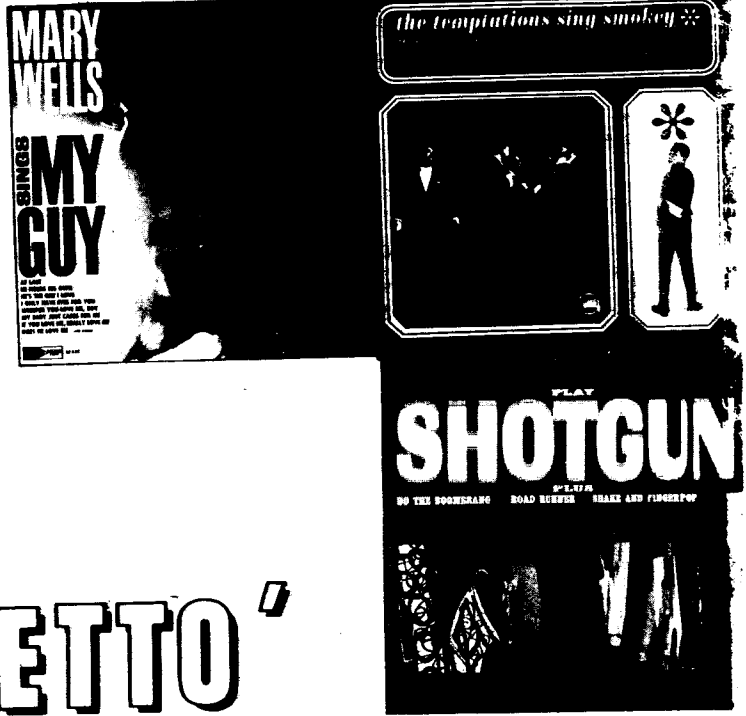
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# a 'GHETTO'

# MASCULINITY

This is a topic on which I have been wanting to begin a discussion for sometime. It is a product of experience that lingers from my own past, namely, spending a great deal of my life in what might be described as a "Black Ghetto". Further, I would hope that some objective research be made into this

particular subject.

The experiences that I am about to relate deal, I feel, with the problem of Identity in a particular Black Ghetto that had its beginnings after world War II in Albany, California. The setting was a housing project in this area called Cordonieces Village; ironically, the same area is now called University Village and is the setting of housing for University of California student personnel and their families.

In particular the related experience is concerned with the problem of identify of a particular group of gangs in this "Ghetto" community. Further, there is emphasis upon the "role playing" of individuals in this particular "gangland", noting this ambivalence and uncertainty in assumed role playing. I feel, in a basic and primal sense, to the assertion of individuals of their "masculine" identity.

When I use the description 'masculine', I do not mean it in any universal sense but it is used archetypally (as a model--ed) in relation to a conception of the "Black Ghetto" and in particular, this 'Ghetto' situation as having "matriarchial" character, thus ~~not~~ allowing (probably for reasons psychological as well as economic) young men, in many instances, to identify themselves in a 'masculine' role. Further, this 'matriarchy', so far as my own experiences are concerned, (I will not refer to any literature on the "matriarchial structure of the Black family", which I believe could be quite misleading), represents in this sense probably a matriarch -by-default'; that is, in this Cordonices community (if one could call it that) and the family in which I lived, a great many of the families were without fathers. Since these were poor Black communities, if the father was present, either because of lack of skills and education or because of 'racial prejudice' he was oft-times without a job. As a result, this father might spend, as was often the case in my own 'community', a great deal of time drinking, gambling, or giving the appearance of laziness. Under such conditions it was quite difficult for such a father to command respect from his wife and subsequently, from his children.

In a real sense, then responsibility, (both moral and economic) rested with the mother-of-the-house. I can remember quite distinctly in my own community (a housing project in Alameda, California) hearing women talking about "how no-good my oldman is" and how

she was "definitely going to raise my children to not be like their father". In fact, I can remember my own reactions to my father for many years, who in many ways, managed to provide for my father for far more diligently than most in our neighborhood. In spite of this, I saw him during this time, as of much lower character than my mother. Possibly, this was because he did 'go out and have a drink' every now and then and found himself away from home for a great deal of the time. It was only when I approached adulthood that I discovered that my father 'in his absence,' had been working two eight-hour-a-day jobs for something like five years. What becomes clear to me now is that I had most probably evaluated my father (through no urgings of my mother) in light of the prevailing roles (real or unreal) assigned to a male (i.e. father) in the community, namely as 'no-good and lazy.' I would assume also that many fathers, in spite of the poverty conditions and difficulty of obtaining jobs, found themselves 'content' at living up to their 'role expectations.' Further, and on the other hand, I am quite sure that many women (or mothers) found a measure of 'contentment' in playing the expected role of both mother and father. Today my respect for my father is quite complete with respect to his manhood.

The 'Cordonices Village' experience probably throws some light on the effect upon identity of male off-spring in such a 'Ghetto' situation. The experience here related was told to me by a friend not too long ago in the course of a visit one evening to my home. Both of us during the evening began to reminisce about our childhood experiences. After a while my friend began to talk of his recollections as the younger brother of members of a gang in the 'Village.' Most of what he said was very much 'news' to me for I had not lived there but had only heard of 'how bad the boys were in Cordinices Village.' Further, it became quite evident that this 'Village' community did have families quite similar in 'disintegration' as in my own community; yet, in contrast to mine the 'Village' possessed a number, for some reason, of very well organized gangs.

Organization, as described by my friend, meant that the gangs consisted of a large membership (some 30-40 boys in their middle teens\*), a code of behavior among members and between other gangs, and a leader, who because of his leadership qualities, held rather absolute control over his following, yet he was 'integral' with



gangs, and a leader, who because of his leadership qualities, held rather absolute control over his following, yet he was 'integral' with the needs of his following. The gangs, then, if I am interpreting my friend correctly, tended to 'act' as a social unit. In fact, it is almost as though the monolithic aspect of these gangs was an enactment, in the rather 'contrived' and 'disintegrated' situation of a Black Ghetto, of a highly organized pattern of social interaction; virtually, there

was the creation of a thorough-going societal framework.

What seemed clear to both my friend and myself is that in this 'societal' frame-work each individual had a rather precise definition of the role that he was to play. In emphasizing the 'masculine' character of these gangs, a part of the excepted code was that a particular girl or group of girls, for example, 'belonged' (in a possessive sense) to either one gang or the other. Ironically, the place of a chic in this 'society' bore no resemblance to the 'matriarchial' mother in the village society; in 'gangland' it was essentially the boys who 'ran the show.'

In this gangland 'society' probably 'masculine' or aggressive activity in the sense that I defined tended to take rather extreme manifestations, to say the least. It might well be the case, as my friend related, that if one member (or a group of members) of one gang attacked or, say, humiliated one member (or members) of another gang, then it was the obligation of the latter to 'take revenge;' sometimes a gang-fight would ensue, most likely resulting in someone hurt badly and oft-times, someone killed. At other times it would be the obligation of the gang leader, - in order to prove his leadership qualities, either to take some personal revenge or arrange (for the good of his following if he felt too much of a sense of danger) some sort of peaceful settlement.

The gang leader, as stated by my friend, generally had some rather dynamic, not to mention bizarre qualities. In many ways he epitomized the manly or 'masculine' aspirations of the group which he led; in fact, my focus is really on him for this reason. As a 'gangland' leader, he possessed qualities which could only be described (even in the outside world) as creative. For example, my friend told me of one leader whom he knew, who had developed a proficiency at the construction of bows and arrows (both of which he hand-crafted with great efficiency). Along with this, the gang leader possessed a certain amount of 'Pomp and Circumstance' indicating charisma that went along with his high office. Continuing with the previous example, my friend commented that this leader who made the bows and arrows would make it his practice, when showing up (as representative of his gang) at dances to precede his entrance into the dance hall with the shooting of a 'flaming arrow' into the middle of the dance-floor, consequently creating an

aura of fear and respect connected with the presences of his gang and himself as an individual.

A third quality of the gang leader was, according to my friend, that he had to constantly prove himself as being fearless and brave. In the case of this 'Village', being fearless and brave meant that he had to kill. This aspect of the leader astonished me the most for it was related to me that many of these leaders would kill another boy (or a man, inside or out) at the slightest provocation. In fact, my friend said, many leaders (many of whom are still walking around Northern California today) have been known to have killed from 10-15 people. Further, many lower level (rank and file) gang members in imitation and competition of their leadership (and thus, of their role expectations) have killed also. It is interesting to note that if these rank and file members were not skillful in their killing generally they were caught and went to prison; if they were skillful or successful, however, they tended to progress up the ladder' possibly to challenge the leadership.

It is significant, at this point to re-emphasize how much the gangland society contrasted with the 'Village' ghetto of the parents of the individual members of the gangland. In the ghetto society as a whole, it seems obvious that the authority of the father was rather tenuous; his identity appeared to be supplanted by that of his wife; this supplantation most clearly occurred when the family did not possess a father. On the other hand, in the gangland society, in a rather perverse way the masculine archetype was being enacted by the male himself in term of the gangland social structure and hierarchy; it is almost as though a social evil (i.e. the family dismemberment, expressed in a loss of masculine identity) was being corrected or rather compensated for by the only means (though limited) available to these Black youth, namely, the construction of their own societal framework.

In conclusion, and as a final possible substantiation of the function served by the gangland society to supplant a lost sense of masculine identity, my friend related a most astonishing aspect of this situation. He told me that after the Cordonices Village Black Ghetto had been 'broken up' in the mid-1950's after city 'Urban Renewal' pressure and the families were dispersed to all parts of the Bay Area most of the gangleaders that he knew -- those who had escaped jail -- had now become homosexuals.

I would, however, find it difficult to make sweeping generalizations about connections universally about gangleaders and gangland and homosexuality; however, it does seem valid that in this particular 'ghetto' situation, gangland society did provide an 'outlet' for the formation of a masculine identity. On the other hand, when the gangs were forced to break-up, I wonder what could fill the void of identity left by the loss of such an intense and integrated social structure.



1. Charms, La Pythie
2. Le langage et l'agressivite
3. We mean by this remark that blacks who return to their families give the impression of having completed a cycle, of having something added to them which formerly was missing. They return literally "complete."
4. "Je suis Martiniquais, c'est la pemie fois que je viens en France."
5. Leon-G. Damas, Hoquet (Pigments)
6. "Garcon! un ve de bie."
7. Aime Cesaire, Cahier d'un retour au pays natal (Presence Africaine)
8. Ibid., p.30
9. "Goodbye madras, goodbye scarf": a song sung in Martinique, dating from around the 17th century
10. lycee: grammar school
11. toubab: the name by which Europeans are known in the French West Indies

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**COLTRANE**

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**Aitibo**

**Legba**

**Luvri**

**baye**

**pu**

**mwe**

**Touré**

**Samori**

**Tchicaya U Tam'isi**

**W.E.B. DuBois**

**Tuthmosis III**

**LUMUMBA**

**Maceo**

**SHANGO**

**RA**

**NOMMO**

**nat Turner**

a solitary man imprisoned in white  
a solitary man who defies the white cries of  
white death

TOUSSAINT TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE

He is a man who bewitches the white hawk of  
white death

He is a man alone in the sterile sea of white sand

by Aimé Césaire

**MALCOLM X**

to you  
     who almost  
                     turned me on

yeah.

    my man.  
**got no place else**  
 to go. have to turn  
 into myself.

                    child  
 like am i my man.  
 i believe in fairy tales  
                                     (tales  
 told by fairy men)

slow  
 fabri-  
 cated  
 stories  
 that  
 scare.

like.    today.  
                     full  
 of yesterday's hide and  
 seek shadows, i sucked  
 a strange mouth out of  
 control. but.

                    strangers  
 are rainbow colored and  
 i am color-blind.

sonia sanchez

## homecoming

i have been a  
 way so long.  
 once after college  
 i returned tourist  
 style to watch all  
 the niggers killing  
 themselves with  
 3 for oners  
 with  
 needles  
 that  
 could  
 not  
 support  
 their  
 stutters  
 now woman i  
 have returned  
 leaving behind me  
 all those hide and  
 seek faces peeling  
 with freudian dreams.  
 this is for real.

black.

niggers.

my beauty.

baby.  
 i have learned it  
 ain't like they say  
 in the newspapers.

sonia sanchez

to a jealous cat

my man.

don't try none  
of your jealous shit  
with me. don't you  
know where you're  
at?

no one never told  
you that jealousy's  
a form of homo  
sexuality?

in other  
words my man  
you're faggot bound  
when you imagine  
me going in and  
out some other cat.

yeah.

my man.

you ain't the man  
we thought.

**sonia sanchez**

## GOD'N HIS SHIT

Hold evuh thang Jesus, Lawd, God  
 Or who de hell evuh you says you is,  
 Time you'n me had uh lit'l talk  
 Bout de shit yous ben hammin us al dees years!

Now al dis time we's ben catch'n hell,  
 We wus shout'n, sing'n and pray'n tuh you.  
 We kissed charlies ass, read yo bible,  
 Did evuh thang else you told us tuh do.

You talk a hol'lotta shit bout what you dun dun,  
 how you went down'n Egypt and raised cain;  
 But whennit cums rat down to de real nity gritty.  
 You aint dun uh goddamn thang!

While yous off sum whare rid'n uh cloud  
 Our ass is down here on de back uh de bus .  
 You lef woid tuh ask'n hit wud be giv'un,  
 Who'n de hell dun mo ask'n dan us?

You said dat vengence wus yos,  
 Dat al de powuh wus in yo hans;  
 Yet my ass ben kicked uh thousun times  
 And you aint dun shit tuh de white man!

Ben sit'n on my ass uh hundrud years,  
 wait'n tuh see whut you wus gonna do.  
 But I dun got hip tuh al yo shit  
 Now my sit'n and waint'n is thru!

Gonna stop g'in yo preacher my money  
tuh help de white man run my life.  
Gonna lern bout Africa, Malcolm and Marx,  
And makit back'n de pad wid my wife.

Gonna sell my bible and byy me uh gun  
Den I'll git my freedum dis very day:  
I'll shoot white crackers, black house niggers,  
And yo ass too god if you git in de way!

**major carter wright**

## leonard deadwyler: before the revolution

so the city will hear  
 the cityscry  
 the cityspain  
 the cityswail of agony  
 only a city knows---

ADW they tattled  
 and hounded the buick down

the broken boulevard

the woman's sharp cry  
 the woman's pain

the wail of agony only a woman knows  
 between swerves and lurches  
 rails and curbs the game flew  
 boyscout-with-a-gun game  
 chasing-blackman-and-wife game

cops and robbers  
 calling all cars

ADW rattled  
 thru the shitstrewn yard of the city  
 a sudden screech a brite white blast  
 then the rush of singed blood  
 the smell of angry blood  
 the fumes of failing gasps  
 blackdeath tasting blackdeath

to fulfill another mania  
 among the ten thousand drilling

motorcycl ed manias

guarding wretchedpeace  
 ten thousand big

blue boyscouts excreting ten thousand gungames

onetoone with blindness  
onetoone with murder  
onetoone with beastness  
to plot this blackman's breath past

rotted scales of  
gigglingjustice

ten thousand blotting out this  
blackman's breath like it was a dirty  
word miasmatic ten thousand big  
blue boyscouts hissing "hey  
niggergitfucked nigger"  
calling all cars calling  
brave scouts for god mom country.

but we knew because for centuries  
we knew what these excretions held

heard smelld fast

eed of  
mened anguish roars  
and mumbling

but we felt and smelld that deep Man  
scouts came out of their dens  
to play waving their weak  
joints slamming their boar head  
on a stake. we saw thru the

andoned last, the  
countryous

exonerated moment---  
we recalled the blockade, the red roars  
the mosque the thirtyfour, recalled  
our errors the whitehotfears with  
an oath to redo it well:  
in the streets on walls roofs  
with the carbine the luger

so the city will hear  
the citycry  
the cityspain  
the cityswail of agony  
only a city knows---

h. winfield tavasti

## A PROFILE

Black Bourgeois man

Wear a fifty dollar hat on a ten cent head

Go to work in a

All white firm.

He pioneer.

Wall to wall carpet, big desk,

Big black cigar

'tween his pearly white teeth-

Fire on one end,

Fool on the other-

He asset to firm!

White man give him speech,

For to read on television,

He say, "progress just around corner,

You all get ready,

Look at me," he say.

He a leader .

He go home to 40 thousand dollar mortgage;

Wife she high society,

Also high yaller.

Her great great great great grandfather was gov'nor of state.

She having a club meeting Black bourgeois man

go to look at self on t.v.

He got no nuts;

Left one in desk drawer,

Wife got other one in pouch

'tween her legs. She keep sharp scalpel

On top of her head

Under her store-bought hair-

Black bourgeois man

He henpecked.

They go abroad every year,

to Toronto Canada;

They world travelers.

He responsible, He a credit to his race

He a handpicked nigger

bobb hamilton

## A LETTER TO BOY WILKENS

I just wrote

My son a letter,

Told him to pay you no mind-

You live in that

Piss-puddle

That the white folks

Told you to call,

"The Mainstream"

I saw your wife-

And your mother

Flopping and splashing

About

Like puppy-dogs

With their bathing-caps on:

They didn't want

Them heads to get wet-

**Not even in the main stream.**

"Whoopee," they said,

"Sure is good to be in."

Man, whats wrong with

You folks,

Caint ya'll taste

All that salt?

bobb hamilton

## AFRICA

Muffled tom-toms

Reverberate

Through steaming swamps,

Increasing in tempo,

Till an ear-splitting

Crescendo

Shatters the evening air

Of a land

Where white fingers

Are slowly slipping.

Black hands

Grip flailing drumsticks

Tighter...

FLIRTATION

Against these two  
pillars and the evening  
sun stands the baobab  
as I stand  
between memory and desire  
AFRIKA! my memory the melody  
that lingers across the hovering  
womb of desire at dawn: AFRICA  
the bitter stench of absence  
AFRIKA! the fragrance of rebirth

K. william kgositsile

Word From the Right Wing

President Johnson  
 is a mass murderer,  
 and his mother,  
 was a mass murderer,  
 and his wife  
 is weird looking, a special breed  
 of hawkbill cracker  
 and his grandmother's  
 weird dumb and dead  
 turning in the red earth  
 sick as dry blown soil  
 and he probably steals  
 hates magic  
 and has no use  
 for change, the changing, and changed  
 the weather plays its gambling  
 tune. His mother is a dead blue cloud.  
 He has negroes work for him hate him,  
 wish him under the bullets of kennedydeath  
**OPEN FIRE FROM THE SCHOOL WINDOWS**  
 these projectiles kill his mother plagued  
 by vulgar cancer, floating her dusty horoscope,  
 without the love even she thinks she needs, deadbitch,  
 Johnson's mother, walked all night holding hands  
 with a nigger, and stroked that nigger's  
 hard. Blew him downtown newark 1928 ...I got proof

leroi jones

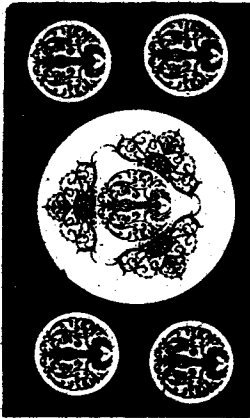
W.W.

Back home the black women are all beautiful  
and the white ones fall back, cutoff from 1000  
years stacked booty, and Charles Of The Ritz  
where jooshladies turn into billy burke in blueglass  
kicks, With wings, and jingly bew-teeful things.  
The black women in Newark are fine. Even with all that grease  
in their heads. I mean even the ones where the wigs  
slide around, and they coming at you 75degrees off course.  
I could talk to them. Bring them around. To something.  
Some kind of quick course, on the sidewalk, like Hey baby  
why don't you take that thing off yo' haid. You like like  
Miss Muffett in a runaway ugly machine. I mean. Like that.

lerci jones

When i was young and small with ashy grey legs that had little rivulets  
of black where the pee had driped, i used to run head long into  
thin cutting places of johnson grass, hiding from the greying sun, and  
the grass would rustle static and still and hoarse huffs of noise would  
limp from my open lips, and the grass would jab little slivers of pain  
into me, as the seeking wind parted the grasses, and jabbed cold  
fingers up my nose and whispered you're it.

carol freeman



# the nation of ISLAM

an estimate

The drive of the ghetto petty-bourgeoisie for a Black controlled economy is a main dynamic of the most vocal, aggressive current within Black nationalism today - the Black Muslim movement, led by Elijah Muhammad. Profit and business, enterprise is one of the most important aspects of Muhammad's teaching. <sup>1</sup>

The Muslims, in the most vociferous and trenchant way, challenges the myth of integration. They articulate the bitterness and resentment of the vast majority of Black Americans, placing the onus of moral depravity where it belongs ; on the white man's culture.

The Black Muslims identify with the most radical sections of the international struggle against colonialism. Their publication, *Muhammed Speaks*, has given favourable and extensive coverage to the Cuban Revolution, the successes in eliminating racism from the island. The newspaper featured the message of support from Mao TseTung to the Afroamerican struggle under the heading, "First Big Power to Assail Racist Doctrine in America." <sup>2</sup> It reports the activism of the most militant sections of the liberation movement, such as SNCC, and exposes the hypocrisy of the Federal Government.

The main base of the organization is among Black workers and youth, who make up the over whelming majority of its membership.

**"Up to 80% of a typical congregation is between the ages of 17 and 35. 3**

The rigorously high moral standard of its personnel and membership; its emphasis upon dignity, self-reliance, and race pride; its defense and respect for the Black woman; its rehabilitation of thousands of demoralized victims of racist oppression, have won wide respect.

The movement's eloquent disaffection and rebellion against prescribed patterns of "Negro protest;" its violent rejection of the "American Creed," along with its social myths which have been used to keep the Black Liberation movement under wraps, has sent cold chills down the spines of the ruling elite of the United States. Their reaction is reflected in the capitalist press, and in the writings of liberal "friends" of the "Negro," whose comments often verge on hysteria. A typical reaction to the Muslim's advocacy of self-defense is that of the Southern liberal, Harry S. Ashmore.

**"So long as violence is directed against Negro demonstrators, elemental standards of justice and Federal guns are automatically on their side (sic!). Let Negroes initiate the attack, or even reply in kind, and the balance will shift -- and without this essential support, Negroes against will be a helpless minority in an aroused white community." 4**

The ruling circles fear that even the formulation of the concept that Afroamericans constitute a nation in the United States, if attached to a realistic, strategic program, would basically upset the power balance within the country. The charamistic and messianic character of the Black Muslim leadership is typical of many national revolutionary movements among oppressed peoples. Examples abound in history of such movements, utilizing a religious vehicle, have played an objectively revolutionary role. One can cite the Mad Mehdi Revolt in the Sudan in the 1860's, the recent Mau Mau Rebellion in Kenya, etc.

Despite the positive aspects of the Black Muslim movement, their ultimate political program calling for a segregated, exclusively controlled Black state within the U. S. A. is at best utopian, and escapist,

diversionary, and at worse, extremely dangerous. The Muslim leaders expect not only the acquiescence of the white rulers for this project, but their material support as well. As Elijah Muhammed said :

"If they don't want us to mix with them in their equality, give us a place in America. Set it aside...Give us three, four or more states. We have well earned whatever they give us; if they give us 25 states, we will have earned them. Give us the same instruments that they had to start a civilization in that territory. Take care of us. Give us what we ask them for, for the next 20 or 25 years, until we are able to go for ourselves. Demand something. Don't demand a job. Demand some earth. We have come to the point we must have a home on this earth that we can call our own. You pray for help to be sent to Africa. Money to help them be free from England and America. It is like a blind man praying for eyes for the other blind man, that can't see and yet does not realize that he doesn't have any eyes. It is a shame..." 5

It is clear that the Muslim leader conceives the projected Nation of Islam as a neo-colonial dependent of the dominant white power elite, and that with all their professed hatred of the white devils they are unable to transcend the idea of natural white overlordship. The Muslim plan is a dangerous caricature of nationhood, and a crass distortion of the important idea of Black political power. Their false doctrine of inherent racial conflict logically leads to this distortion of the concept of nation. They pessimistically write off the possibility of any white support for a Black nationalist revolutionary movement, ignoring the many examples in United States history of whites who have identified with and fought uncompromisingly for Black Liberation. They regard all whites as an undifferentiated mass: Robert E. Lee and John Brown; Gov. Wallace and the murdered freedom riders, the KKK and the white freedom riders - all are "white devils". Their emphasis upon strict separation of the races, their rejection of support of all whites, is in itself a capitulation to the white racist doctrine of inherent racial antagonism. Objectively, this dogma lays the basis for practical agreement with the most rabid Negrophobes, the troglodites of the fascist right, the Birchites, the American Nazi Party, the White Citizens Councils and the KKK. The racist, ultra-right has already acknowledged their unholy



Whitney Young  
coppin' pleas



Boy Wilkins getting  
his bone from L.  
Beast Johnson

kinship with the Black Muslims. (The American Nazi Party's endorsement of Muslim separatism. Also, approval by Birchites. Please document) <sup>6</sup>

This tendency towards practical agreement with the most implacable enemies of the oppressed people is an inevitable danger and a characteristic feature of zionist type nationalist movements, which have projected a solution through exodus of the oppressed from the land of bondage. The Garvey predecessor of the Muslim movements sharply illustrates this point. In 1924, we find Garvey seeking support for his back to Africa program from Col. Simmons of the KKK, whom he visited and invited to speak at the UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association) Convention. Garvey also publicly praised the KKK. <sup>7</sup> We also negotiated with various Southern senators and congressmen for cooperation. According

to W. E. B. DuBois, the clan issued circulars defending Garvey and declaring that opposition to him was from the Catholic Church. <sup>8</sup> Characteristically, in 1938, Sen. Bilbo of Mississippi introduced a bill to deport 13 million Black People to Africa, and received the support of remnants of the Garvey movement. <sup>9</sup>

The pattern of enlisting the support of the enemy was set by Theodore Hertzl, father of Jewish Zionism in Tzarist Russia, who evolved a plan for the Jews to give up the struggle for equal citizenship rights in return for the support by the Tzarist Black Hundreds and reactionary Ukrainian nationalists for his scheme for a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

Another negative aspect of the Muslim program which also flows from their principle of racial separation is the tendency to abandon the struggle for Black Power in the communities where they reside, which in effect mean pessimistic abandonment of positions already won.

#### REVOLUTIONARIE POTENTIALITIES OF THE GHETTO BOURGEOISIE

While it is true that the ghetto bourgeoisie, including the Muslims, are incapable of leading a revolutionary struggle for Black Power, it would be a mistake to equate them with the top assimilationist stratum. The latter, as a stratum, has no revolutionary potential; whereas the ghetto bourgeoisie, when it sees a strong national revolutionary movement with a realistic program, is perfectly capable of throwing its weight as a stratum behind such a movement. This is confirmed by the experiences of the 1930's.

The Muslim's long-range program for deportation or transportation of Black People from where they reside is necessarily utopian and unrealistic. But even if it could be put into effect it would involve serious economic losses to their own stratum. We can cite the example of South Africa, where small business and professional people were forcibly removed from their homes, businesses, and long built up clientele when the areas in which they reside were declared for white occupancy only, and they were forcibly removed to overcrowded barren, poverty-stricken areas. They are only allowed to leave these reservation when they are needed for labor by the whites, and when they are no longer needed, are forced back onto the reservation. <sup>9</sup>

This is euphemistically called "Bantu Self-Government," and this is precisely the type of Black state which we can anticipate in the U. S. A. organized with the ardent support of the Southern Oligarchy and their ultra-right allies if the Muslim program were put into effect.

Instead of achieving Black Power, it would reduce Afroamericans to a condition worse than slavery. These dangers in the Muslim political program must be emphasized by the revolutionary forces, both for the sake of clarification within their own ranks, and in order for them to exert influence on the Muslims to alter their program in the direction of fighting

for Black political power in the areas in which they actually reside, while fighting for the maintenance and advancement of all rights for Black Americans. At the same time, the revolutionary forces should seek unity of action with the Muslims on immediate issues confronting Black people.

From the above, it is evident that neither the assimilationist nor the ghetto nationalist section of the bourgeoisie can lead the type of movement necessary for Black liberation. As we have seen, the dominant characteristic of the bourgeois-assimilationist leadership is that even in the process of opposition, they not only vacillate, but constantly seeks compromise with the oppressors, to arrive at new agreements based not on the interests of the masses, but to favor special interests of their own stratum and enhance their own prestige among the masses. The Muslims only offer disengagement, a retreat from positions already won, withdrawal into fantasies of Black Power, substituting nationalistic symbols in place of struggle for real power. Clearly, the leadership must fall to more radical social forces.

One cannot gloss over the difference between the position of Afroamericans in the United States and the oppressed peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial world without doing violence to U. S. realities. In the colonial world, the choice of political separation or independence is clear, viable, and the sine qua non for freedom. But the Black minority in the U. S. cannot choose racial separation without abandoning the struggle for defense and extension of Black rights within the country. This hurdle



is a rock on which all Black movements which have adopted strict racial separation as a principle, have and inevitably must founder.

The two trends in the Black Liberation movement, the integrationist and the separatist trend, are developing side by side. Neither offers a viable solution to the "Negro Question". But both contain elements of truth. The integrationist trend arises from the need of the masses to win full citizenship rights and to combat racial discrimination. The separatist trend arises from the need of the Black masses to consolidate their strength as a people with autonomous culture, values, and economic and political strength. The problem is to arrive at a revolutionary synthesis of the best elements in both trends.

The present situation urgently raises the question of the revival of a THIRD TREND, a revolutionary trend, based upon the most disadvantaged sections of the Black population, the vast majority; the workers and the depressed and land-hungry agricultural population in the South, the small bourgeoisie and semi-proletarian elements of the urban ghettos: a trend reflecting the basic interests of those masses, their life needs, aspirations, their fighting determination to achieve freedom and human dignity. Already the nucleus of its potential leading cadre is forming among Black industrial workers in the trade unions, the radical section of the petty-bourgeoisie intelligentsia, the youth on the campuses and in the urban ghettos, and among the left forces in the existing bourgeois-led organizations and the socialist-oriented left. They are already discussing programs for the next stage, the national revolutionary stage in the movement which will mark its passage from the narrow and limited goals set by the incumbent bourgeois leadership of the civil rights and ghetto nationalist movements.

True, the third trend is only in its nascent stage. Its voice is still weak, its elements are still scattered and lack the cohesion of a unified force. Nevertheless, the fact remains that all the objective prerequisites for its resurgence are at hand. Assistance in the organization and building of this revolutionary third trend should become a major prospect of the socialist-oriented left.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Essien-Udom, op.cit.,261
2. Muhammad Speaks, 8/30/63
3. C. Eric Lincoln, 8/30/63
4. Look Magazine,summer,1963.
5. Essien-Udom, op.cit.,260.
6. Please document
7. The Liberator, New York,Oct.1924.
8. The Century, New York, Feb.1923
9. Congressional Record, May 24, 1938
10. Outlook, VI, 6 Sydney,Australia(Dec.1962)



## AS WE GO TO PRESS

CONAKRY, GUINEA -- Between Sept.1 and Nov.28, 345 Portuguese soldiers were liquidated in encounters with combatants of the PAIGC (African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands), according to figures released to Soulbook by PAIGC offices here. The dispatch made the point that principal operations taken occurred in regions situated to the north of the Jebba River, with the combined participation of both guerilla military detachments and the Liberation Army. As a result of these operations, 9 military trucks of the colonialists were destroyed, a radio station was put out of commission, as well as were two electrical plants. Soulbook has also learned that a Portuguese warplane was shot down and an arms supply seized by our Guinean brothers in the Empada region during this same period. DO IT, DO IT!

# BROTHERS

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145

*don't join*

*devils'  
army*

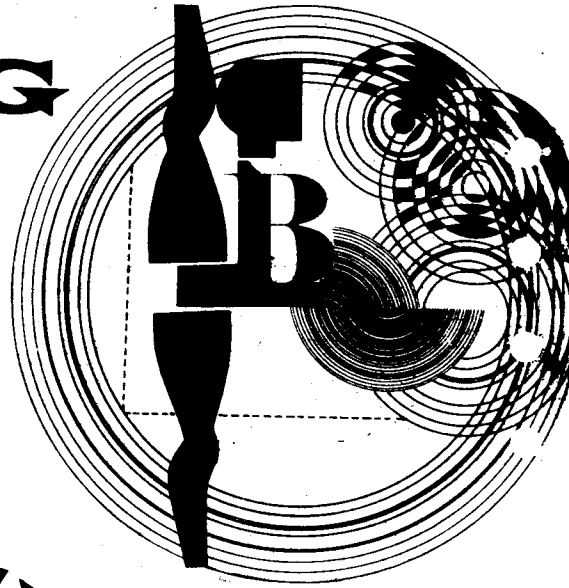


*Join*

✉ *afroamericans  
for freedom*

P O BOX 6161  
ELMHURST STATION  
OAKLAND, CALIF.

# PROBLEMS FACING BLACK AMERICA



by cedric little

---

This was the position paper of the steering committee of the conference on Black Power and art, held in San Francisco in September, 1966. It (This paper) was subsequently adopted as the manifesto of the Black Panther Party of Northern California.

## INTRODUCTION

### THE SITUATION TODAY

Brothers and Sisters, we have come together out of a shared experience of race oppression. We have come together out of a need to discuss the local, regional, and national aspects of our oppressed condition. And we have come together out of a shared desire to find a means of struggle that will truly liberate us.

Our past experiences have confirmed the fact that American "democracy" means race hatred and exploitation of our people. We well realize that we are living in a hypocritical country ; it preaches freedom, yet practices slavery; it preaches equality, yet practices "discrimination" (race oppression); it preaches justice, yet practices injustice. Freedom, equality, and justice are a mockery to our very existence here in racist America.

Black people have learned from their past struggles. Experience has shown that the "integrationist" movement (assimilation, civil rights, etc.) has not been in the best interests of Black People, and have run counter to our collective experience. At exactly the time when Black People should be concerned with providing for our own defense and survival, the integrationist tells us to love a people who have consistently proven to be our enemies. Our homes and churches go unguarded and our families undefended. These integrationists have sold out our cause and our people because they have set Black People up to be wasted by the enemy. Because we Black People are no longer fooled by these Uncle Tom integrationists, we have raised the cry of Black Power! We have set upon a search to find ways of struggle that are more in keeping with the way we are as a people and the objective conditions surrounding us.

### A SHORT HISTORY OF OUR STRUGGLE

#### BACKGROUND

A look at our past history might help to clarify many issues involved in our current struggle, The history of our people has been a long

and soulful one. It began in Africa. Our Black ancestors developed cultures and civilizations that today far surpass the western world for their emphasis on the humanity of man to man, and its emphasis upon art as being an essential part of everyday living. In fact, Greece "borrowed" from these civilizations (ancient Kush, Ethiopia, and Eghpt) much of what became the basis for their religion, agriculture, geometry, and sculpture.

During the "middle ages," three West African cultures arose. The ancient African empire of Ghana reached its peak at a time when Europe was going through the "Dark Ages." The empire of Mali arose during the 13th century. Its famous cities of Djenne and Timbuktu were centers of trade and thought. The empire of Songhay in the 15th century covered an area larger than the United States.

### MODERN TIMES AND THE BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE

But then came the slave trade and slavery. The slave trade resulted from the "discovery" of the New World, which created a demand for cheap and plentiful labor to work it. The basis of this slavery was founded upon racial inferiority. As the lie went, Black People were heathens and thus were fit subjects to be "christianized" and use as free labor. This racism was made the foundation for the West's industrial development, because due to the slave labor of Blacks, Western civilization was able to develop its low-overhead economy.

Thus, Western civilization from its modern beginnings was based upon the exploitation of Black people for its advancement. Every advance by the white world has meant that the Black World has been pushed further into the dirt.

### OPPRESSION AT WORK

To white society, slavery meant gain. To the Africans, it meant that our culture was taken from us; our roots were destroyed; our whole way of life was manipulated to the advantage of the slavemaster.

The slavemaster tried to take our African heritage away from us and to replace it with a culture and way of life that was completely alien to our very nature. We were Christianized; that is, told to obey and submit

to the slavemaster. Our main means of communication, the drum, was taken from us because it could be used to call Black slaves to a national revolt. In an attempt to enslave Blacks completely, the symbols of our culture were systematically taken from us, destroyed, and substituted with things acceptable to the white slavemaster.

## SLAVE REVOLTS

The majority did not accept their enforced slavery. Their national consciousness was high. They knew who the enemy was and what had to be done to take their freedom. "Liberty or Death!" was a declaration very real to them. They fought oppression on every level. Some Black mothers killed their newborn babies rather than have them grow up in slavery; some killed themselves; and others revolted. During the period of slavery, there was a slave revolt or rumor of one every two weeks. The names of Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vessey, and Toussaint L'Ouverture were feared among the white slavemasters as being the model of Black Men in general.

It was the knowledge of the growing national consciousness among Blacks that had a great deal to do with the coming of the Civil War. The Slavemasters realized that it was just a matter of time before the slaves and slave revolts would hook up nationally (which Blacks, in fact, were already doing).

## THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

The war came and we were systematically excluded by both sides until we were needed. Then we were promised 40 acres and a mule by the Union to fight our slavemasters.

Then came Reconstruction, and the biggest sellout in history. In order to win the presidential election of 1876 (Tilden-Hayes), white Northern liberals abandoned the reconstruction of southern society for a few electoral votes. It was after this day that the South began to degrade, humiliate, and exterminate Black People with the sanction of the national government, until we began to believe that it was always like this.

## THE GARVERY MOVEMENT

Black America was asked again to fight "to make the world safe for democracy" during the First World War, and the crack Black troops were more often than not the best on the battlefield. The Black Man came back at the end of the war expecting freedom as a reward for our valour, but facing instead a "Red Summer" that saw 26 race riots in American cities from June to December. Riots begun by whites in order to "put niggers back in their places."

Our people, however, kept on pushing. As a result of the war, Blacks began more and more to migrate to the cities (a process which is continuing to this day). The cities were, mythically, the places where anyone could make it "if he would only try."

At this time, Marcus Garvey arrived. He was a Black Man who realized that the salvation of Black People was only to be achieved through Black Unity. He knew the needs of Black People, and by satisfying those needs he built up the largest Black organization in the history of Black America. He had understood their basic national consciousness.

But like all Black leaders who blow hard to their people and who understand their basic national consciousness, Garvey was isolated from the Black community by a coalition of Uncle Toms, white liberals, and so-called radicals. The Justice Department exiled him, and he died in 1940 unable to return to our people.

## THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE STRUGGLE

El Haji Malik Shabazz (Malcom X) was, like Garvey, a threat of destruction to the white power structure. He was dangerous because he correctly saw the position of Black People in America, and could convey this message to the people. Because of this, he was assassinated by black hands with white minds and white money. Malcolm recognized that Black People have had our cultural roots destroyed. We were cut off completely from what we have been. Because of this, we have developed a lack of self-confidence. This is just another result of the marks of oppression that our people have been forced to suffer.

It is out of this historical perspective that SNCC made their decision to bar whites from their organization. SNCC's paper on Black Consciousness is another advance in the struggle because it reaffirms

Black People's national consciousness and their determination to decide for themselves upon the events that directly influence us.

## OUR RESOLVE TO RENEW THE STRUGGLE IN THE TRADITION OF BLACK PEOPLE

### WHAT WE GAIN FROM HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Thus, we come to the present. As we must begin to chart a course of action to return to the glorious day of our Black past, we can draw from our past experience and develop a guide to action in the coming struggle:

1. We Black People are in search of our collective self-identity. As a nation enslaved, our culture was taken from us by the slavemasters. Now, we are in search of ourselves. Out of the struggle for liberation will come that self.

2. We Black People will not fight in another white, racist war. Learning from our past experience in white war, we realize that this time we must fight for ourselves, in defense of ourselves.

3. We Black People will no longer accept leadership from Uncle Tom sellouts, or white liberal "friends" We have learned from past struggles (Garvey, Malcolm, etc.) that our friends are those who support our cry for Black Power out of a firm commitment to our people and to what we stand for.

4. We Black People have come to an awareness through struggle that we must struggle for liberation - and the essence of liberation is Black Power. We Black People realize that we are an oppressed people, therefore we must fight for our very survival in racist America. We are being trapped in the cities with no jobs, poor housing and education and in a hostile ring of whites.

5. We Black People realize that we have something in common with the majority of the world's peoples" we are all-nonwhite and we are all oppressed by white.

### DEDICATION

Brothers and Sisters, we are at a crucial stage in the struggle, and our actions must be decisive. Learning from our past struggles, we cannot fail.

As Marcus Garvey said, "Up you mighty people, you may accomplish what you will!"

---

## WHAT IS RHYTHM?

Rhythm writes a soul brother, is the architecture of being, the inner dynamic that gives it form, the pure expression of the life force. Rhythm is the vibratory shock, the force which, through our sense, grips us at the root of our being. It is expressed through corporeal and sensual means; through lines, surfaces, colours, and volumes in architecture, sculpture or painting; through accents in poetry and music, through movements in the dance. But, doing this, rhythm turns all these concrete things towards the light of the spirit. In the degree to which rhythm is sensuously embodied, it illuminates the spirit.

Since man controls things through the imperative of the word, rhythm is indispensable to the word: rhythm activates the word; it is its procreative component. Only rhythm activates the word, that is gives its effective fullness. It is the word of God, that is, the rhythmic word, that created the world.

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# BLACK POWER!

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# *the world is the black man's land*

**part 2: power in the world**

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There is just one last area which I will cover, and this concerns the relationships between Afroamerica, other nations of the Third World, and the United States. That the Boggs correctly consider the relationship of Afroamerica to the US as being a case of domestic colonialism, I have no doubt :

"Like the colored peoples of the underdeveloped (ie, super-exploited) countries, Afroamericans have been kept in a state of underemployment, doing tasks which are already technologically outmoded." 22.

In his article which appeared in Black America, James Boggs also gave the following historical account of Afroamericans :

"For over 300 years they (Afroamericans-WG) have lived as a semi-colonial people inside the USA where Democracy has meant racist degradation of anyone colored and class exploitation of anyone poor." 23.

But when they pose the following statement their entire analysis breaks down:

"It is because labor is becoming more and more socially unnecessary in the United States and another form of socially necessary activity must be put in its place that a revolution is the only solution. And its because Afro-Americans are the ones who have been made most expendable by the technological revolution that the revolution must be a black revolution." 25.

This statement appears adequate enough on the surface, but here the Boggs have made the error of equating the struggle for Black liberation with a new type of social revolution, what I have called the "Cybernetic Revolution" in pages to follow ; they are not the same struggle, nor do they have the same goals. But in order to understand fully here the position which the Boggs have taken it will be necessary to touch very lightly upon one of the elementary but basic laws of Marxian economics which states that production relations must correspond to the character of the productive forces. <sup>26</sup> This law, and it is important to keep this in mind, reveals the economic basis of social revolution, Let us examine the functioning of this law under two radically different economic periods, both of which assume capitalism as their basis; one of these economic periods creates the basis for socialist revolution, the other has, during the past year, given rise to certain theories which claim that a basis has now been or is being created in the US for what I have called the "Cybernetic Revolution". The two economic periods which we will be examining will be those of capitalism before the introduction of cybernation (at least on a wide scale) into the means of production, and capitalism after their introduction.

With an eye upon the most industrially advanced nation of his time, Great Britain, Karl Marx during the mid - 1800's correctly pointed out the contradiction between the social character of labor and the private ownership of the means of production under capitalism. Though this particular contradiction has yet to be resolved within the economic systems of the advanced capitalist nations, though production relations in these countries still fail to correspond to the character of the productive forces, there have never been socialist revolutions in the highly industrialized nations as Marx expected; we will concern our-



selves with the reasons why very shortly ( I might add here that we are not at all discovering any "new" principles, for as any third grader in the People's Republic of China will tell you, the answer to this last puzzle is; imperialism; but it is because of the deliberate distortion of this fact by bourgeois economists and other proponents of the status quo that we must emphasize this point again and again). What we should understand at this point is that the failure of production relations to correspond to the character of the productive forces under "pre-cybernated" capitalism in the United States has led to the occurrence of another, qualitatively different factor in the connection between these production relations and the character of the productive forces. What is the nature of this new factor and what were the conditions for its emergence? We will also see here that these conditions are directly related to the failure of socialist revolutions to materialize in the advanced capitalist countries.

The basis for this new relationship corresponds to a level of productive forces that Marx thought could only reach attainment through socialism. But because of the arisal of imperialism and the means of production in the US have been able to develop through automation and cybernation to such a point that productive work ( in the Marxian sense) is becoming no longer socially necessary. This has led to the introduction of a new relationship side-by-side with the old, a qualitatively different type of non-correspondence between production relations and the character of the productive forces under US capitalism:

- i) production is of a social nature whereas the means of production are privately owned; this is the same unresolved contradiction which existed under US capitalism before the introduction of cybernation
- ii) productive work is becoming no longer socially necessary yet the worker's means of existence is tied to a diminishing number of jobs; this is the new contradiction

That the two contradictions can temporarily exist side-by-side under the same economic system is due to the fact that capitalism in the US, as a direct result of the cybernation process, is in the act of approaching, but has not as yet reached, what might be termed a state of "economic limbo" by this I mean that under the present system it will soon prove unable to move either backwards or forwards in its further introduction of cybernated equipment into US productive facilities. For the present owners of the means of production are now challenged with the necessity of both having to introduce cybernated equipment at the greatest rate possible in order to maximize their economic growth rates (and meet competition in their respective areas) and at the same time having a need of markets for their products, a contradiction when workers, because of a dwindling ability to purchase as a result of mass job elimination brought about by automation, are no longer able to buy. Supposing now that the second contradiction could be resolved without affecting the first it would then mean that the state would have to furnish wages (or some form of monetary assistance) to the population whether performed productive work or not, and the source of these wages could only come from a portion of the surplus value accrued by the owners of the means of production. No matter how this contradiction might be solved, there is the implication here that a total change in the nature of capitalism within the US would be required, that is, it would not be capitalism anymore. And of course the solution to the first contradiction by making the means of production of a social nature would negate the economic basis of capitalism: private ownership of the means of production. <sup>27</sup>

Recall that the first contradiction is the "raison d'etre" of socialist Revolution. The arising of the second contradiction, that a man's right to existence in the US is being tied to a diminishing number of jobs, has led to the proposal of a number of solutions, all of which have been formulated incorrectly. <sup>28</sup>

Among the first of these solutions to appear was included in the "now-famous document known as the Triple Revolution (which stated in so many words that the most important reform needed in the US today was the abolishment of the income-thru-jobs-link)." <sup>29</sup> The positive aspect of this document lay in the fact that it exposed the need for a close examination of present-day economic relationships within the US,

but the failure of the document to propose any viable solutions, however, was reflected in its bourgeois nature and "prestigious" signatures with which it was accompanied. As a consequence no mention at all was made vis-a-vis the question of privately vs. socially owned means of production (ie. reference to the first contradiction mentioned above), and in lieu of a concrete solution the document could only end on a plea to Cowboy Johnson, imploring him to "do something."

A second of these solutions was advanced by a sector of the "Ofay Left" in the form of a reply to The Triple Revolution document (discussion of their position is not absolutely essential here; I have given a thorough analysis of the Crowley's essay in my "A New Ideology for a New Age").

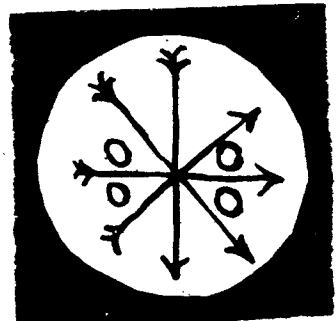
There is one last position to which we must address ourselves; this is the solution which was posed by the Boggs, one which is tied up with the struggle for Black Liberation in the US as well as the rising conditions for the Cybernetic Revolution. Because so many words have interjected themselves from the time that their erroneous statement was originally presented, I will state it here again for purposes of convenience:

"It is because labor is becoming more and more socially unnecessary in the United States and another form of socially necessary activity must be put in its place that a revolution is the only solution. And it is because Afro-Americans are the ones who have been made most expendable by the technological revolution that the revolution must be a black revolution." 30.

The failure of this statement is due to the following shortcomings :

- i) it ignores the semi-colonial status of black people within the United States and instead concentrates upon economic relationships: that production relations must correspond to the existing state of productive forces and that non-correspondence between them prescribes social revolution for their amelioration
- ii) it ignores relationships between Black America and remaining countries of the "Third World" (ie, relationships between peoples who fighting against the same enemy)

How does the statement ignore the semi-colonial status of Black Americans First of all, the relationships between the two Americas, Black and White, have since the beginning of the Black man's appearance in the United States taken on concrete forms of colonial relationships which have been seen to appear between colonizers and colonized in other parts of the world. <sup>31</sup> When the Black liberation struggle is placed within the context of a Cybernetic Revolution (or socialist revolution for that matter), the entire Afroamerican quest for self-determination is reduced to a question of relationships between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the US, or to be more exact, between the bourgeoisie (owners of the means of production) and a section of the proletariat (the most oppressed strata of the society who in this particular case happen to be Afroamericans). From this premise it falls upon the Black liberation movement to lead either the Cybernetic or the socialist revolutions, which I have stated previously are entirely different struggles, the fact of which will become more apparent during the course of this present essay. Suffice it to state here that the principle contradiction between Afroamerica and White America's power structure is that of the colonized-colonizer relationship and not the worker-capitalist relationship. <sup>32</sup> And in addition, this formulation, this blending together of the two movements is also dangerous because it leaves open the door for the proposition that some whites, because they, too, lack technical training and thus would be among the first to be affected by automation (and hence could be considered to be among the "most oppressed" of the society), should be able to play leadership roles within the Black liberation movement. This of course leads to a contradiction, since all White Americans, regardless of class affiliation, benefit in one way or another from the US colonial (ie, racial) situation. Another manner in which the Black liberation movement differs from either Cybernetic Revolution or socialist revolution falls upon my second major point; thus the relationship between Black America and other nations which comprise the Third World must be taken into account. This cannot be done subjectively by observing only the external characteristics of our present struggle and by remarking upon their similarities to the struggles of other nations: we must discover the inner logic which binds together worldwide liberation movements.



**THE PROBLEM OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IS THE PROBLEM  
OF THE COLOR LINE**

W. E. B. DuBois

**THE FIRST PRINCIPLE**

History is sordid with accounts of the enslavement, degradation, and dehumanization of colored races at the hands of whites for over three hundred years ; peoples of African descent in particular have suffered the most from white oppression. As Bro. Mohammed Babu stated in his historic Harlem speech:

**"This (African-WG) is the continent of the oppressed people and when they tell you about oppression they know what they mean. There is no other continent that has suffered the oppression that Africa has suffered." 33.**

And it is in understanding completely the international ramifications of the oppression of all colored races that we can see why the Afroamerican revolutionary struggle must not be confused with other socialist or Cybernetic revolutions.

Recall our previous discussion concerning the contradiction, or non - correspondence, between the production relations and the character of the productive forces under "pre-cybernated" capitalism; let us examine in particular the contradiction between the social character of labor and the private ownership of the means of production. This belongs to the class of antagonistic contradictions since the overriding relationship between labor and the owners of the means of production is of an exploitative nature. Now with the division of the Black world (in its broadest sense) by the predatory white nations into "spheres of influence" came the enrichment of the white nations (the US and its NATO - thug allies) at the expense of the Black nations (Africa, Asia, Afro and South and Central America). Thus it is important to realize, as one writer remarked, that development and underdevelopment are both sides of the same coin, in the same manner that one side of a balance goes up because the other side goes down. Thus one group of nations was able to develop because they forced another group of nations to remain in a state of under -

development. This process of exploitation which began illegally through the colonization and enslavement of the colored races by the white races has, after nominal independence in many cases, taken on the outward appearance of "legality" and "respect" through the signing of commercial treaties between Black and white national (ie, between the black bourgeoisie and their white counterparts in the metropolises), "aid to underdeveloped nations" by "benevolent" imperialism, etc., etc. But as we have seen, the masses of black, brown, and yellow peoples throughout the world still remain in the same super-exploited condition as before, and the situation is growing progressively worse. <sup>34</sup>

What have been some of the results of the exploitation of two-thirds of humanity (or all of humanity, if you subscribe to theories of "demonology") by a handful of white nations? With the surplus value created through the super-exploitation of black, brown, and yellow peoples throughout the world the power structures of the industrially advanced white nations were able to "pacify" their white working classes with scores of reforms, which included higher wages, improved working conditions, and the like. And this action, in general, has led to relative internal stability for the capitalist nations and virtual impoverishment of the Third World nations.

And so we can see very clearly now why socialist revolutions in the advance capitalist nations were never able to materialize as Marx expected; increased demands by the working classes of the industrialized nations for improved work conditions and higher wages always resulted in an increase in collective exploitation of colored peoples all over the globe for the satisfying of these demands! Though the antagonistic contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie remained, these contradictions took on secondary importance with respect to imperialist exploitation of the darker peoples of this earth. I find it beneficial to insert here the following lengthy quote:

"The widening gulf which separates the affluent nations and the proletarian nations is perhaps the strongest indictment of the failure of the European working classes and their leaders to live up to the ideals of global socialist solidarity. The gulf between rich and poor nations is, of course, nothing new; for over a generation the world situation has been characterized by the juxtaposition of affluent metropolitan countries and starving and stagnating dependent territories. Over this

generation the working classes in the West have progressively pushed up their level of living, and certainly there can be little criticism of their determination to emerge from the often sub-human conditions under which so many millions were formerly condemned to live and die. What is harrowing and what is crucial here is that, in part at least, this rising level of living should have been achieved at the cost of the worker in the non-western world; that, having tasted the delights of affluence, the workers should have become ever more bourgeois and Europe-centric in their attitudes. In Britain Macmillan's claim that 'you've never had it so good' and the working-class attitude enshrined in the phrase 'I'm all right, Jack!' express succinctly the means and the result of the alienation of the western masses. 35.

This brings us to an important proposition: if there are in the world today class struggles within nations, they are rapidly becoming overshadowed by what might be considered as class struggles between nations: the rich, white nations which own and control the bulk of the means of production throughout the world, and the impoverished black, brown, and yellow nations which struggle to create surplus value for the exploiting, white nations and bare subsistence wages for themselves. And all trends, as noted both by independent economists and various committees of the United Nations Organization (notably the GATT and the FAO) indicate the continually growing enrichment of the industrialized white nations and the corresponding trend towards greater impoverishment of the colored nations of the Third World. And though far from being an economist singer Ray Charles thesis that:

"Them that got is them that get  
And I ain't got nothin' yet..."

has evidently become as true for nations as it is for individuals. But to cite only these economic problems experienced by the exploited nations is to understate the entire filthy history of white oppression; to this economic exploitation has always been the attempt by whites (and with measurable success) to dehumanize the nations of the Third World by destroying systematically both their cultures and their peoples. Thus were attempts to cram christianity down the throats of colored peoples during the colonial era, the recent attempts of the USIS to force "modern" paintings upon the cultures of South and Central American peoples (ie, a form of cultural genocide), the chopping off of arms, legs, ears and private parts of the Congolese during the infamous reign of Belgium's bastard King Leopold, as well as the recent lynchings of these heroic Congolese peoples by white mercenaries. This is but a small portion of the atrocities committed against the colored races of the world by white beasts, not to mention the long history of lynchings and castrations of Afroamericans, whether "legal" or illegal, physical or cultural. Needless to say, there is no parallel situation to be found among the histories of white working classes of any nation. And, as a matter of fact, members of the American working classes have many times (or a majority of times) been a party to acts of caveman savagery directed against Afroamericans.

This then leads us to another important proposition. You will recall the earlier discussion concerning necessity for revolution in which was stated the Marxian economic law that production relations must correspond to the character of the productive forces; this law led us to the economic basis for social revolution. But worldwide revolution of black, brown, and yellow peoples is not only for the rectification of existing (and blatant) economic inequities but also for the restoration of pride in themselves and for their attainment of dignity as human beings. As Modibo Keita, the President of the Republic of Mali, stated recently in a published interview (while speaking of some of the results of colonial oppression):

"We have undergone a certain number of traumatic experiences from which I am not sure that we have completely recovered. These traumas were

able to destroy in us [the feeling that we were men in the same respect as other men, regardless of the color of our skin or the system of domination which we underwent... we have a need to regain our dignity and to respect it. Colonization created in us certain habits, gave us a certain mentality. We didn't have the heart to work. We didn't care. We were content to survive. With independence came the duty for the former colonized to enter the door of progress and development, the responsibility of taking in hand the obligations of his freedom... the Revolution must take place, first of all, in each African; it is in this manner that we will eliminate our own weaknesses and 'win victories over ourselves' in order to be in a better position to resist imperialism." 36.

(\* for more dealing with the colonial problem of Black people check out page 172 -- ed)

Thus the dictum that "the oppressed must free themselves" is ever so true here; by themselves shouldering the responsibilities of both their economic problems and other results of imperialist oppression, colored peoples of the world are also aiding in ridding themselves of their inferiority complexes (of which Fanon has so beautifully analyzed). Thus as we progress we are able to see even more clearly the difference between the Black liberation struggle and the Cybernetic Revolution. This brings us to the statement of the First Principle of this paper.

#### FIRST PRINCIPLE :

We, as colonized Afroamericans, are an integral part of the worldwide movement of black, brown, and yellow peoples who are struggling not only for economic advancement but also for dignity to live as human beings; these two goals are inseparable: both must be fulfilled

## THE SECOND PRINCIPLE

Aside from the question of imperialism in general, it is necessary to state that which is today already known to the majority of peoples of Africa, Asia, and South and Central America; without a doubt, the United States of America is today the citadel of world oppression, both racial and economic. As Lin Piao, Minister of National Defense of the Peoples Republic of China stated in his historic, **Long Live the People's War!**

"Since World War II, US imperialism has stepped into the shoes of German, Japanese and Italian fascism and has been trying to build a great American empire by dominating and enslaving the whole world. It is actively fostering Japanese and West German militarism as its chief accomplices in unleashing a world war. Like a vicious work, it is bullying and enslaving various peoples, plundering their wealth, encroaching upon their countries' sovereignty and interfering in their internal affairs. It is the most rabid aggressor in human history and the most ferocious common enemy of the people of the world. Every people or country in the world that wants revolution, independence and peace cannot but direct the spearhead of its struggle against US imperialism." 38.

As the leader of the white imperialist powers (which, incidentally, is the only existing type of imperialism) the United States is the staunch supporter of the festering pockets of white oppression in Southern Africa. Through its thug-machine, NATO the US furnishes arms to its degenerate Portuguese allies for the purpose of halting liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, and "Portuguese" Guinea; aid to South Africa's oppressive regime comes from the US in forms of military (arms and instruction) and financial support; and who is fooled by the platitudes of the Johnson administration with regard to the Zimbabwe (ie, Rhodesian) situation. The cases of the Dominican Republic and of Vietnam are more brazenly overt links in a seemingly endless chain of atrocities and abuses. against the majority of mankind. And as the Venezuelan delegation to the Tri-Continental Conference

representatives of the FALN, stated truthfully : "there are no longer frontiers!" It is against this blood-stained backdrop of worldwide savagery both perpetrated and perpetuated by the United States and its allies that the nations of the Third World are busy forging their strategies and tactics for the emerging united struggle against "international thuggism."

That Cowboy Johnson and his Ku Klux Klan regime will, under the pretext of "halting aggression," use all force necessary for the maintaining of the status quo is manifest in the Führer's May 11 address at Princeton University in which he stated that the US was going to oppose "international aggression" wherever it presented itself. Thus at the whimsy of the imperialist powers led by the United States, counter-aggression against reactionary forces by colored peoples will be labeled "aggression," counter-violence will be termed as "violence", just wars will be labeled "unjust," and military intervention in the affairs of ostensibly sovereign states will be enacted for the "protection of Americans abroad" (ie, CIA agents), all for the purpose of making the world safe for white exploitation.

We need to state this point again:

"If there are in the world today class struggles within nations, they are rapidly becoming overshadowed by what might be considered as class struggles between nations: the rich, white nations which own and control the bulk of the means of production throughout the world, and the impoverished black, brown, and yellow nations which are forced to struggle to create surplus value for the exploiting, white nations and bare subsistence wages for themselves."

"The fundamental duel which seemed to be that between colonialism and anti-colonialism, and indeed between capitalism and socialism, is already losing some of its importance. What counts today, the question which is looming on the horizon is the need for a re-distribution of wealth." 39.

I have in various places criticized the program set forth by the Boggs, as well as others; I refuse to do so without offering alternatives. There is a very important role which Afroamericans are destined to play, must play, in the emerging, united worldwide struggle against oppression; the question which remains to be answered here is; what is this role and how did it arise?

There is no doubt that 250 years of free labor by White America's internal colony, Black America, furnished the capital necessary for North American industrialization, which as a result helped to catapult White America into leadership position of the imperialists' pus heap. As the late El Mahdi remarked:

"In essence, the Afro-American produced the 'imperialist' thesis (United States), and its oppression in the United States has ultimately forged it into the anti-imperialist humanistic antithesis. Thus the emerging Afro-American revolution is an aspect of modern 'dialectical eschatology' -- Armageddon, the ultimate, final confrontation of the inhuman West and the humanistic Bandung World -- Asia, Africa, Latin and Afro-America." 40.

Once this fact is grasped one can then clearly see that the key role of Afroamerica lies at the heart of this final confrontation between the humanist Third World and the inhuman West, for as events in Vietnam, Korea, virtually all of the South and Central American countries, and in recently overthrown (and also white-dominated) African nations have shown, no nation of the Third World which has not as yet consolidated its national democratic revolution will be able to do so under its own power (let alone enter into the socialist phase) without the destruction or severe weakening of White America's political power. 41 And Afroamerica, furthermore, as an internal colony of the Beast, is the only nation capable of dealing the final, internal death blow to "international thuggism!"

That we are considered as being of significant value to the rising worldwide revolutionary storm - not only theoretically but also in fact - is born out by the following statement taken from the Resolution on the Rights of Afro-Americans adopted by the Political Commission of the first Tri-Continental Conference held in Havana in January (1966) :

"...although, geographically, Afro-Americans do not form a part of Africa, Asia or Latin America, the special circumstances of the oppression which they suffer, to which they are subject, and the struggle they are waging, merits special consideration and recommends that the Tri-Continental Organization study a mechanism through which representatives of their clearly anti-imperialist organizations can participate in future conferences and the organization of the three continents; "

**This brings us to the statement of the second principle of this paper.**

### **SECOND PRINCIPLE:**

The key role which Afroamerica has inherited historically through her peculiar position as internal colony of the citadel of world oppression, the United States, rests in the demolishing of the internal political and military machinery of the United States in coordination with the worldwide struggle for liberation and self-determination

**And, as one writer remarked, once this historic feat is accomplished by courageous Afroamericans:**

"US lackey governments will topple everywhere, once the racist white american government is no longer able to come to their aid. With the White American ruling class wired off the face of this planet, and the remaining reactionary forces suffering eventual defeat, the revolutionary Afro-American Government will call on the help of other revolutionaries and revolutionary governments to help restore order and to fulfill the ultimate objectives of the world black revolution." 42.

### **THE THIRD PRINCIPLE**

The conditions for the Cybernetic Revolution in the US disappear before our eyes once we strip off our provincial blindfolds and are able to view the world in its present, divided state of "developed" and u"underdeveloped" nations. First and foremost, a good-size portion of the material wealth to be found collectively among the nations of the imperialist West - and

and particularly the United States - was expropriated, stolen, from the peoples of Africa, Asia, Afro and South and Central America in the form of either raw materials or exploited labor (or both). This is the principal contradiction existing in the World today, the contradiction between exploited peoples and the exploiting peoples, between the Third World and the decadent West, and to its amelioration we propose a two-fold solution:

- i) coordination of worldwide liberation struggles combined with seizure of White America's means of production through their nationalization in all countries of the Third World
- ii) the role of Afroamerica as worldwide distributor of the material wealth of the U S after consolidation of the revolution which, since it has already been paid for many times over in the form of blood, sweat, tears, and bodies, rightly belongs to the super-exploited of the earth, the peoples of the Bandung nations

That the Black revolutionary government would directly participate in the distribution of this wealth on a worldwide scale is not a question but a dire necessity for the survival and well-being of the majority of humanity. Because the conditions for the Cybernetic Revolution arose not simply from internal factors but from the external exploitation of other nations (ie, took on an international character) its solution must also be of an international character. As such, we, as international revolutionaries, as black internationalists must see to it that a more even development is able to take place between the super-exploited and the developed nations of the world. For us to subscribe to any other position would be to render our struggle both contradictory and counter-revolutionary to the struggles of our brother revolutionary peoples around the world.

The Third Principle has already been stated in so many words, but here it is again in more concise form.

### THIRD PRINCIPLE:

Because of Afroamerica's historical position as internal colony of Beastron, usurper of the world's wealth and oppressor of the world's peoples, she must, after consolidation of her revolution, aid her sister nations of the Third World both materially and

physically in the abolition of poverty and human suffering, and spiritually in the creation of new man dedicated to the elimination of exploitation between all men.

## SUMMARY

We have come a long way since the first opening remarks of this paper, and it is necessary, I think, to present a brief summary of the most important criticisms made of the Boggs's paper.

First, I felt it necessary to take the issue of the Afroamerican liberation struggle out of the restricted context in which the Boggs had placed it by their noting only the similarities in some of the more outward characteristics of our struggle with those of our brothers abroad, instead of taking account of a worldwide strategy which we, in conjunction with these other struggles, might employ; thus the reason for my choice of title.

Secondly, my criticisms were also directed towards what I consider to be an overemphasis which they placed upon achieving power in the cities instead of at the national level, even though they would qualify their position by stating that some of the reforms could not be achieved without seizure of power at the national level. But in spite of this qualification they continued in their unfolding of a program of reform which the Black governments in the cities would initiate, which to me appeared to be contradictory. I might add here that the attempt at programs which are basically reformist, thereby furnishing a lesson in political education for the masses (and leaders), is one thing, but the placing of too much faith by leadership in the possibility of enacting these reforms is another. Furthermore, Stalin's position that under bourgeois rule "reforms are a by-product of revolution" expresses clearly and succinctly the position that Black revolutionaries should take on this question of the relationship between reformist and revolutionary tactics and strategies. And it was not only the possibility for the type of reform which the Boggs had in mind and of which I was critical, but also the very nature of one of the reforms which they mentioned: that of providing unconditionally guaranteed incomes to the US population. The mistake of assuming that Afroamericans were next in the "historical line" to power

in White America's cities resulted from the inconsistency in treating Afro-america as a minority group with the same characteristics and on the same level as a that of the Irish, Poles, Italians, etc. , instead of as an internal colony which was never intended for anything else than the creation of super-profits for White America.

Finally, the Bogg's treatment of Afroamericans as the most oppressed section of the US proletariat (by their being the first to be affected by the march of cybernation through US industry) led them into the error of nominating Afroamericans as the vanguard of a revolution to eliminate work in the US, when in fact Afroamerica has an entirely different role to play as regards the aims of her coming revolution, as outlined by the Three Principles of this paper.

### WHY WE WILL WIN

The United States, as usurper of the world's wealth and oppressor of the world's people, will be forced, because of the very nature of imperialism, to intervene militarily in the affairs of any peoples who are determined to cast off their chains of oppression. Liberation struggles throughout the world will continue to develop and to become stronger, simply because two thirds of humanity cannot continue to live in their present state of poverty stricken misery. In this case the strength of the United States (as measured by its ability to send troops all over the world) is its very weakness, for it is in the worldwide coordination of liberation struggles that the United States will meet its well-deserved and just defeat.

"The struggles waged by the different peoples against US imperialism reinforce each other and merge into a torrential world-wide tide of opposition to US imperialism. The more successful the development of people's war in a given region, the larger the number of US imperialist forces that can be pinned down and depleted there. When the US aggressors are hard pressed in one place, they have no alternative but to loosen their grip on others. Therefore, the conditions become more favorable for the people elsewhere to wage struggles against US imperialism and its lackeys." 43.

At this historic juncture, when the torrent of worldwide revolutionary forces is defeating the Beast in all sectors of the globe, is when the forces of Black Liberation within the US should strike at the white heart of the same bellicose Beast. For by correctly utilizing the contradictions between United States imperialism and the peoples of Africa, Asia, and South and Central America, as well as ourselves, we cannot but win. Why is this so?

White America cannot afford to lose any major struggles for power, whether they are at home or abroad. The United States has only a finite number of men within its armed forces, and they are deployed over the entire globe. When we strike at the heart of White America's industrial-military complex with all of our forces of Black majestic glory, the present disposition of troops within the US will not be able to handle the all-enveloping black storm. White America will have to decide what to do with her troops abroad (which will be pinned down in their attempts to crush other liberation struggles); if she decides to have those troops remain abroad, then we will surely win, but we will win nevertheless even if these troops are recalled to the United States. For in recalling her troops the liberation forces throughout the world will triumph one by one, and the losses to White America of both markets and sources of raw materials will weaken her economically to a very great extent, thus precipitating economic crisis within the US and putting the forces of Black liberation there in an excellent position to bring down with a thunderous and most glorious roar the remaining walls of the Beast.



This concludes my criticisms of the Bogg's paper, but there is one last point here that I would add; the Boggs, while citing the many schemes which are being used by whites to block any attempts by Blacks to gain power in the cities, have stated - and I sincerely question the revolutionary character of this statement - that :

"these schemes may definitely delay or even permanently exclude the black majority from taking over the reins of city government." 44.

To this statement I must reply " nothing ever remains the same, not even in North America.

LONG LIVE MALCOLM X!  
 THE WORLD IS THE BLACK MAN'S LAND!  
 WE WILL WIN, BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!

\* This problem of colored peoples regaining their dignity, a question to which many still relegate to a position of minor importance( for example, by subordinating it to a question of economic relationships), was considered of such importance by delegates to the Tricontinental Conference as to warrant special attention in the form of a resolution:

"The colonial system was not satisfied with dislocating social structures, deplacing entire populations, imposing artificial frontiers upon territories and languages, and decimating our peoples by means of forced labor in mines and on plantations; with an equal violence it attacked the cultural heritage of our countries...In the best of cases the cultures that escaped pure and simple destruction were condemned to vegetate in historic secrecy. The cultural dynamism belonging to each people rapidly degenerated into a totality of fragmented folkloric traditions, into clothing and culinary practices, into groups of artists incapable of carrying on the process of historical continuity in the creation and genuine effervescence of both literature and science. Savage exploitation, misery, famine, racial discrimination,

the loss of self-esteem, and the inferiority complex--factors due to colonialism--provoked everywhere a deep inhibition in both culture and knowledge, and condemned hundreds of peoples, that they might keep from dying of spiritual cold, to sift time and again for scores of years the same sources of legends, stories, popular songs, and spoken literature." 37.

#### IV. The Only Thing Worse Than Capitalism Is the White Man

22. James and Grace Boggs, p. 38

23. James Boggs, "Integration and Democracy," p.5

24. Grace and James Boggs, p. 44

25. Ibid., p. 37

26. note: production, or economic relations are those relations which rise among people during the process of production, distribution, and exchange of material wealth.

productive forces include the means of production created by society, the instruments of labor primarily, and also the people who produce material wealth.

the relation of people to the means of production determines the place people occupy in society and the methods by which the products of labor are distributed.

27. note: the first contradiction can only be resolved in one way under "pre-cybernated" capitalism, by replacing the privately owned means of production with socially owned means of production. Under "post-cybernated" capitalism (in its final stage) one might argue theoretically that if the state could furnish wages for non-productive work (or<sup>no</sup> work at all) that this first contradiction would resolve itself simply because of the fact that production would no longer be productive workers); capitalism, obviously, would have to really go through some changes to accomplish this, but that is not the point: assuming that the above could be effected, the results would only tend toward making the US population more pliable, leaving White America's government free to go about its daily routine of exploiting the rest of the world.

28. What I have called the "Cybernetic Revolution" can now be explained in greater detail. Proponents of the Cybernetic Revolution contend that its necessity has grown out of the contradiction that productive work is becoming no longer socially necessary, yet a man's right to live in the US is being tied to a diminishing number of jobs. What is interesting to note, however, is that neither the authors of "The Triple Revolution" document, the Crowleys ("Beyond Automation," Monthly Review, Nov, 1964, pp.423-39), whose position I have taken up in my essay, "A New Ideology For A New Age," nor the Boggs have ever, as far as I have seen, posed the question as to how, in the first place, the conditions for the Cybernetic Revolution could have arisen; all accept these conditions as "a priori," as "given" and thus begin their analyses from this point, failing to take account of the historical development of the question. The factor of imperialism is then conveniently "forgotten," and this is one basic reason as to why their analyses are all necessarily incomplete. Thus the Cybernetic Revolution is given by the Boggs the role of eliminating work in the US; the Crowleys end up in a mish-mash of theoretical bankruptcy by coming out of an anarchist bag (see "A New Ideology For A New Age").
29. Ernie Allen and Kenn M. Freeman, p. 224
30. Grace and James Boggs, p. 37.
31. many of these parallels can be found in Kenn M. Freeman's "The Man From F.L.N.", Soulbook 3, (Berkeley, 1965) pp. 164-177; see also "A New Ideology for a New Age" by Willie Green (to be published)
32. the national question and its relevance to Afroamerica have been taken up in the two above-mentioned essays.

The Problem of the Twentieth Century Is the Problem of the Color Line

33. Mohammed Babu, "Dedication, Discipline, Decisiveness," Black America, Summer/Fall, 1965, p. 6
34. see Kwame Nkrumah's Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism for an excellent breakdown of imperialist maneuvers vis-a-vis the Third World; also helpful is Pierre Jalee's excellent work, Le Pillage du Tiers Monde (Paris, 1965), as well as Jacques de Sughy's "L'Art d'appauvrir les pauvres" in the July 25 issue of Jeune Afrique (Tunis), pp. 13-14, 1965.
35. Keith Buchanan, "The Negro Problem - An Outsider's View," Monthly Review, September, 1963, pp. 237-38.
36. Justin Vieyra, "Modibo Keita Parle," Jeune Afrique, May 8, 1966, p. 12.
37. "Social and Cultural Resolution of the Tricontinental Conference," cited by Albert -Paul Lentin, La Lutte tricontinentale, (Paris, 1966) pp. 13-14.
38. Lin Piao, Long Live the Victory of People's War, (Peking, 1965) p. 52
39. Frantz Fanon, p. 77 The Wretched of the Earth (NY, 1963).
40. El Mahdi, "Dialectical Eschatology; Destiny of Afro-America," Black America, Summer/Fall 1965, p.16
41. see Lin Piao's Long Live the Victory of People's War
42. Max Stanford, "We Can Win," Black America, Fall, 1964, p. 22.

VI Why We Will Win

43. Lin Piao, p. 56
44. Grace and James Boggs, p. 36. (emphasis added -- wg)

BLACK POWER!!  
 UWEZO MFUSI!!  
 PODER NEGRO!!  
 POUVOIR NOIR!!

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Wilkins and C. Rowan); all niggahs who are still "enslaved between two white sheets, caught in the crotch of our enemy\*...." (e.g., Sammy Davis Jr.); for all negro leftists (e.g., Bayard Rustin, James Jackson); beatniks (e.g., Calvin Hernton); and others of our race who are trapped in the North Beaches, Greenwich Villages and the Latin Quarter of Paris, and other "concentration camps for imitation white men\*": Time is running out!! This is the last chance for you to understand that to be Black is to identify with, and learn about humanity, to struggle to be more human, and, of course, to help destroy inhumanity.

To identify with white is to be part of a long tradition, in fact, a way of life; that is, the life of the oppressor, the creator of inhumanity: those who struggle to be more inhuman. Brothers, we present Fanon to you because he understands your problem.

To our Brothers who talk Blackness, but have never ceased to use their own people as cannon fodder for their negro-egos and for their own, personal ambitions in the white hypocritical, decadent world, let Fanon's honesty and frankness grind you and your hypocrisy into the wastes of the Sahara!

In sum, we believe there is something in Fanon for all Black Freedom Fighters, dormant or otherwise. To we Blacks who understand the racism of the white world (western civilization) and the torture of Black people within, the brilliancy of Fanonism clarifies much. To those of us who are more ideologically togetha Mohamed Cherif's article on Fanon is out of sight! His analysis of the brotherhood between the great Black poet Aime Cesaire and Fanon should inspire us all in our own personal relationships. And to those of us who still believe in "gay" Paree his expose of racism in France is a stark lesson.

As for those theoreticians of our struggle, who have not as yet understood the development of the Black liberation struggle, (although they have contributed much to the destiny of the Black revolutionary struggle) Fanonism gives the opportunity for one to see the Black light in the biggest breakthrough in the historical development of our struggle: The Black Panther Party. It is about time somebody asked, "what does the emergence of the Black Panther Party in Lowndes County signify?" It shows beyond any kind of doubt that is is in the RURAL south where organized political resistance to white america (our colonial oppressors) is initially found in the colonized nation of Black America. Is this not the peasantry Fanon found in all parts of the Third World? Is this not

where Stokely et al first found Black Power? Nowhere else have Black people been organized to take political power, Black power; that is, independent power for Black people. Therefore Fanon's thesis of reliance on the peasantry is valid at least in the all-important initial organizing stages of the Afroamerican national liberation movement. But we would like to make this as clear as a Black woman: the Black Panther Party should immediately be organized in the North as well as the South, and the Black Panther Party is the next organizational stage for all of Afroamerica.

To the rest of the Third World we say that the above mentioned thesis in regard to the peasantry is unquestionably valid to you.

For instance, the isolation of the proletariat in the city of Santo Domingo from the Dominican peasantry--diabolically imposed by U.S. Imperialism--and the stultified stupidity of Juan Bosch were the chief reasons why the resistance of Black People on that island collapsed organizationally. Hence, revolutionaries in the West Indies, South and Central America should stop their reliance on Fidel's speeches and start reading Fanon's books! But that's not all.

It is fanon's theoretical applications which show clearly the essentiality of the relationship between racism and colonialism. And it is the Fanonist method which gives us the tools to make us all into new men; worthy descendants of our Black African ancestors.

**\*taken from the poem "Carbon Copy  
White Man," by K. William Kgositsile**

CHECK OUT!!!!!!

THE ORIGINAL

# SOULBOOK

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آرسل سائو

(Peace Man) *We're in it together*



*Kitabu Cha Weusi*